

THE MUSEOLOGY OF PEACEBUILDING

Making “New” Histories & Heritages in Cyprus

by

Bengi Atun

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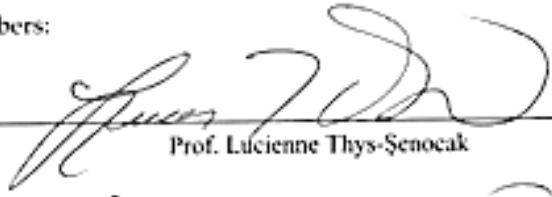
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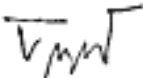
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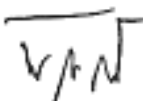
Committee Members:


Prof. Lucienne Thys-Şenocak


Asst. Prof. Ilgin Veyeri Alaca


Assoc. Prof. Alexis Rappas


Prof. Turgut Saner


Assoc. Prof. Muge Şevketoğlu

Date:


July 19, 2019

ABSTRACT

The discipline of museology experienced a major paradigm shift in the late 1960s and 1970s, termed the new museology movement, during which it evolved into a flexible domain of practice encompassing such objectives as the achievement of major social and even economic changes in society. This led to a proliferation of museum types ranging from social and neighborhood museums to ecomuseums. This dissertation builds on this paradigm shift to suggest and delineate a “new” and “specific” type of museology, a multi and cross-disciplinary domain of practice called *the museology of peacebuilding* which it conceptualizes as *the discipline and practice of an empowering pedagogy that uses museological strategies to re-establish the individual’s perception and relationship to reality to improve relations amongst estranged communities*.

The design thinking methodology is employed throughout the dissertation and a corresponding selective approach in curating the new discipline of the museology of peacebuilding out of theories, insights and practices from the disciplines of museology, peacebuilding, heritage and education amongst others. Adopting a contextual approach, the inquiry is conducted on the island of Cyprus and the methodology for the museology of peacebuilding is established as a local, place and people-based one designed to bridge the distance between the two major communities, namely the Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Adopting also a pragmatic approach, a proposal is made, the Collaborative Histories and Heritages Platform of Cyprus (CHHP of Cyprus), for which a case-study is conducted within the Ayios Loukas (Ayluga/Ay Yıldız) neighborhood of the walled city of Nicosia. The practice of the museology of peacebuilding is thus more specifically described as the making

of “new” histories and heritages for the island of Cyprus through the eye-witness accounts and memories of the islanders.

The dissertation suggests that it is these “small” histories and heritages as compiled through oral history, the new “hybrid” narratives of Cyprus, that have the potential to dilute and dismantle the authorized heritage discourses of the Turkish North and Greek South creating in this way the necessary sub-stratum for the development of peace on the island. The dissertation also argues that the museology of peacebuilding thus delineated paves the way for “other” specific types of museologies to emerge, increasing the social relevance of the discipline of museology and charting a more effective path for its future development and evolution.

ÖZET

1960’ların sonu ve 1970’li yıllar müzecilik disiplininin geniş çaplı bir paradigma değişikliğine tanıklık ettiği yıllardır. “Yeni Müzecilik” olarak adlandırılan bu akım sayesinde daha esnek bir disiplin haline gelen müzecilik, amaçları arasına toplumun sosyo-ekonomik kalkınmasına yardımcı olmak gibi geniş kapsamlı hedefleri de ekler. Bu paradigma değişikliği, sosyal müzeler, mahalle müzeleri ve eko müzeler gibi birçok farklı müze tipinin ortaya çıkmasına sebep olur. Bu doktora tezi, söz konusu paradigma değişikliğinden yola çıkarak, müzeciliğin, toplumlar arası barışın inşası esnasında nasıl aktif bir rol oynayabileceği alternatifini inceler ve bu doğrultuda çok disiplinli ve disiplinler arası yeni bir alan önerir.

“*Barışın İnşası Müzeciliği*” diye adlandırılan bu yeni alan, itilafta olan toplumların birbirleriyle olan ilişkilerini iyileştirmek için bireyin geçmiş ve şimdiki zaman ile ilgili var olan algısını bir takım müzecilik stratejileri kullanarak değiştirmeyi önerir. Kıbrıs’ın yereli özelinde incelenen *barışın inşası müzeciliği*, ana merkezine mekan ve insan unsurlarını koyarak adada yaşayan Türk ve Rum toplumları arasındaki iletişimi geliştirmeye odaklanır ve bu bağlamda uygulanabilir, rasyonel bir müzecilik projesi önerir. Sözlü tarih vasıtası ile, Kıbrıs’ın bölünmüş başkenti Lefkoşa’nın surlar içi bölgesinde yer alan Ayluga (Ayios Loukas) mahallesi için tasarlanan projede, Kıbrıs’ın tarihi ve kültürel mirası adada yaşayan insanların hatıraları ve tanıklıkları sayesinde çeşitlendirilerek çok katmanlı bir yapı içerisinde tekrar şekillendirilir. Adına “Kıbrıs’ın Katılımcı Tarih ve Kültürel Miras Platformu” denilen bu projenin çok katmanlı yapısı, içinde melez anlatıları da barındırır ve böylece her iki toplumun resmi tarih algısı keskinliğini kaybeder.

Bu doktora tezi, öne sürdüğü yeni anlatılar aracılığıyla barışın inşası için gerekli alt zeminin oluşacağını, yeni bir müzecilik alanı olarak ortaya çıkan *Barışın İnşası Müzeciliğinin* müzecilik biliminin sosyal bir alan olarak geçerliliğini arttırmasına katkıda bulunacağını, farklı müzecilik alanlarının ortaya çıkmasına yol açacağını ve bu kazanımlar sayesinde müzecilik biliminin sosyo-kültürel bir zeminde daha geniş bir coğrafyada ve daha etkin bir şekilde gelişeceğini öne sürer.



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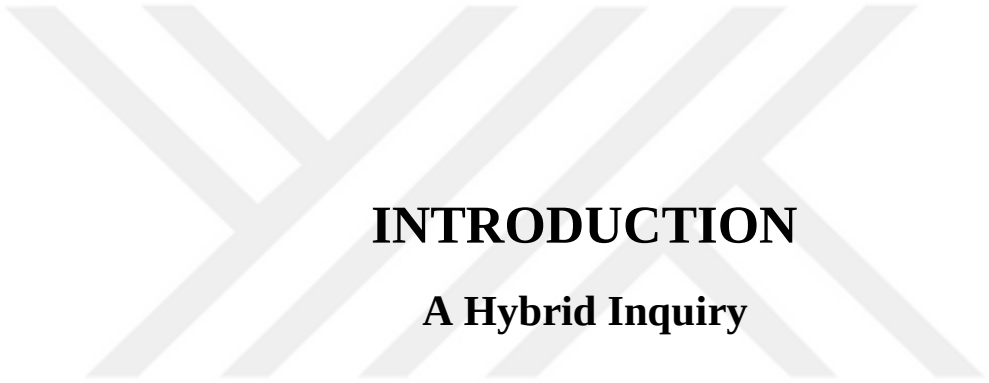
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INTRODUCTION

A Hybrid Inquiry

INTRODUCTION

A HYBRID INQUIRY

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Research at the Intersection of Disciplines, Theories and Practices.....	9
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A Hybrid Inquiry

The continuation of wars across the globe is one of the most significant problems facing the world today. In the twentieth century alone, 86 million people have died in wars, not to mention the damage to other life and property along with the disturbing trend that increasingly, a larger proportion of these deaths have been civilian casualties.¹ The island of Cyprus, the third biggest island in the Mediterranean after Sicily and Sardinia, has had its own share of troubles which reached their peak in the civil strife during the late 1950s and early 1960s, followed by war in 1974, which finalized the physical separation of the two contesting communities on the island, namely the Greek Cypriots (GCs) and Turkish Cypriots (TCs) who make up approximately 80% and 20% of the population of the island respectively.²

In my dissertation, I ask whether or not, and/or to what extent, the field of museology can be a driver of positive social change on the divided island of Cyprus. More specifically, I question whether there can be a separate discipline I call the

¹ Nel Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 21. Noddings notes that during WW I, 95 percent of those killed in war were soldiers and 5% were civilians, during WW II, 52 percent of those killed were soldiers and 48% were civilians and finally, in the Korean War, 16% of those killed were soldiers and 84% were civilians.

² David Wathen Stather Hunt, Herman W. Goult, and John S. Bowman, "Cyprus," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, May 28, 2019, accessed May 31, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cyprus#ref33842>.

museology of peacebuilding that can contribute to the development of peace on the island and elsewhere in the world. I am aware that my proposition is bold and ambitious but given that the well-worn path for peacemaking and peacebuilding in Cyprus, spanning many decades, has so far yielded no positive results, I suggest that it is time to tread a different path. I maintain a feeling of cautious optimism that better relations are possible between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots and a belief that my multidisciplinary background and identity as a local islander places me in a strategic position to research and articulate a new perspective on peacebuilding in Cyprus; one that is hybrid in nature and situated amongst various disciplines, theories and practices.

I set out to ascertain whether or not museology can contribute to peacebuilding by delineating a specific type of museology I call the museology of peacebuilding. To this end I carry out a theoretical, contextual and methodological inquiry covering various related disciplines. I also articulate a pragmatic proposal for the specific context of Cyprus, more specifically within the Ayios Loukas quarter of the walled and divided capital city of Nicosia. In this introductory chapter, I explain the nature of my dissertation, my working methodology and provide a summary of the chapters. In the words of David Fleming, Director of National Museums Liverpool between 2001-2018 and founder of the International Slavery Museum, “only by knowing our history can we have any hope of understanding the present; and only by understanding the causes of conflict can we have hope of achieving lasting peace.” I begin my PhD dissertation by embracing this dictum as well as Fleming’s assertion that “museums are core to the public understanding of our past and present.”³

³ "Chapter 6, A Conversation with David Fleming: The Role of National Museums Liverpool in Social Justice and Peacebuilding," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding*, by Diana Walters, Daniel Laven,



Located in the Eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus lies in the middle of what used to be the ancient sea trade routes between Europe, Africa, the Arab Peninsula and the rest of Asia. It is 65 km south of Turkey, 100 km west of Syria, 380 km north of Egypt and 770 km south east of Greece.⁴ Due to its strategic location, Cyprus has been captured and ruled by a diverse range of civilizations including Persians, Romans, Byzantines, Lusignans, Venetians, Ottomans and British.⁵ It is distinguished

and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 67. Dr. Fleming is also the two-term director of the UK Museums Association.

⁴ David Wathen Stather Hunt, Herman W. Goult, and John S. Bowman, "Cyprus," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, May 28, 2019, accessed December 11, 2018, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/148573/Cyprus/242736/The-arts#toc214648>.

⁵ Rupert Forbes. Gunnis S., *Historic Cyprus. A Guide to Its Towns and Villages, Monasteries and Castles ... With ... Plans and a Folding Map*. (London: Methuen &, 1936), 473-479. Gunnis notes that there is evidence of settlement in Cyprus from the Bronze age onwards. In 525 B.C. Cyprus is conquered by the Persians. In 320 B.C. Ptolemy occupies Cyprus. In 58 B.C. it becomes a detached portion of the Roman province of Cilicia. In 395, upon the partitioning of the Roman Empire, it comes under the control of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire up until 1192 A.D. Between 1192 and 1489 it is ruled by the Lusignans, between 1489 and 1571 by the Venetians and between 1571 and 1878 by the Ottoman Empire. In 1878, the island's administration is handed over to the

geographically by two mountain ranges which run in an east-west direction, the Pendadactylos, (Beşparmak or Kyrenia) mountain range in the north and the Troodos mountain range in the south. In between these two mountain ranges lies the fertile Mesaoria (Mesarya) plain and along the coastline lie its sandy and rocky beaches. The Troodos mountain range in the south is comprised of “ancient oceanic crust” 92 million years old which emerged from the sea 10 million years ago, and the Kyrenia mountain range⁶ consists of limestone sediments that attached themselves to the Troodos mountain range.

The island as we know it today came into existence some 1.8 million years ago as the area arose from the sea, exposing the Mesaoria plain between the two mountain ranges.⁷ Cyprus is known to have rich natural resources, including gypsum and coppers⁸ as well as the more recent discovery of hydrocarbon in its surrounding seas. The island is also home to the oldest agricultural settlement found on a Mediterranean island. The village of Klimonas⁹ was discovered in 2012 by a team of French scientists¹⁰ who dated it to 11,000 years ago, making this village an older

British Empire. Cyprus becomes a crown colony in 1925 and it is ruled by Britain until the Republic of Cyprus is established in 1960.

⁶ The Kyrenia Mountain range continues all the way to the eastern tip of the island, a region called Karpasia (Karpas), which is a protected site and considered one of the most scenic spots on the island, famous for its endemic “Cyprus Donkey” and various other plants.

⁷ Loukia L. Hadjigavriel and Bouli Hadjioannou, *A Guide to the History of Nicosia: Through the Leventis Municipal Museum* (Nicosia: Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, 2009), 25.

⁸ David Wathen Stather Hunt, Herman W. Goult, and John S. Bowman, "Cyprus," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, May 28, 2019, , accessed May 31, 2019, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/148573/Cyprus/242736/The-arts#toc214648>.

⁹ Klimonas is at Ayios Tychonas in the Limassol District of Cyprus in the south of the island.

¹⁰ Science X. Staff, "The Oldest Farming Village in the Mediterranean Islands Is Discovered in Cyprus," *Phys.org*, May 15, 2012, accessed May 31, 2019, <https://phys.org/news/2012-05-oldest-farming-village-mediterranean-islands.html>.

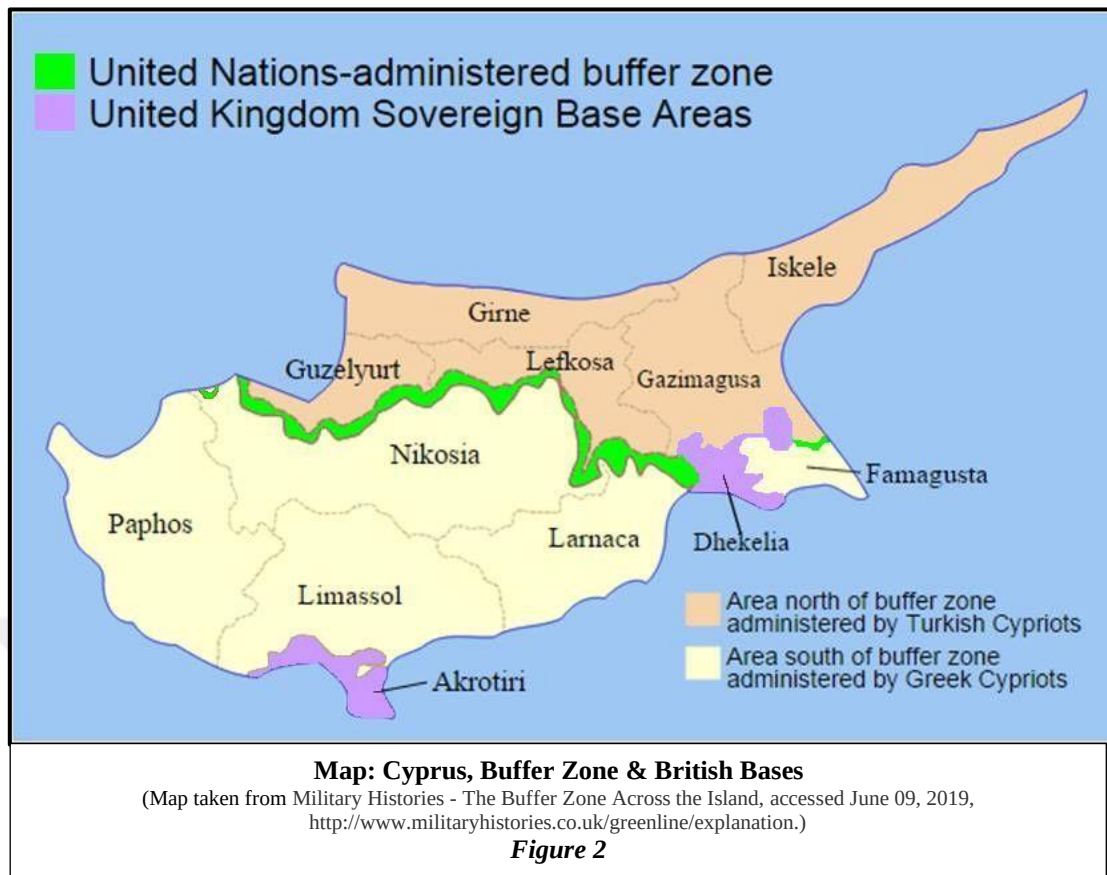
settlement than the Neolithic settlement of Khirokitia, a UNESCO world heritage site, believed to be the home of about 2000 inhabitants who lived in well-built two-storey round stone houses around 9000 years ago.¹¹ The discovery of Klimonas in 2012 indicates that early cultivators of the Middle Eastern Continent had migrated to the island shortly after the emergence of agriculture in this region. These early Neolithic settlements disappeared within a few centuries and the island was uninhabited for nearly 2,000 years thereafter. Nevertheless, there is proof of continuous habitation on the island from the Chalcolithic (Cooper Period, 4500 B.C.-3500 B.C.) period onwards.¹²

Currently, there is no overt violence in Cyprus but there is no real peace either since the present state of calm, in place since the 1974 war, is maintained through the physical segregation of the two communities and the threat of military force. The United Nations Peace Keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) arrived in 1964 with a three-month mandate¹³ but has maintained its presence on the island ever since.

¹¹ Hunt, David Wathen Stather, Herman W. Goult, and John S. Bowman. "Cyprus." Encyclopædia Britannica. May 28, 2019. Accessed May 31, 2019.
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/148573/Cyprus/242736/The-arts#toc214648>.

¹² R. S. Merrillees, *Nicosia before Nicosia* (Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1992), 14.

¹³ "Establishment of UNFICYP," UNFICYP, December 30, 2015, accessed May 31, 2019, <https://unficy.unmissions.org/establishment-unficy>. It is noted on the website of UNFICYP that "on February 15 1964, the representatives of the United Kingdom and Cyprus requested urgent action by the Security Council. On the same day, the Secretary-General appealed to all concerned for restraint" ... "on March 4 1964, the Security Council unanimously adopted the resolution 186 (1964), by which it noted that the situation in Cyprus was likely to threaten international peace and security, and recommended the creation of a United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), with the consent of the government of Cyprus" ... "on March 6 1964, the Secretary-General reported the appointment of General Gyani as Commander of UNFICYP, and referred to his approaches to several governments about the provision of contingents" ... "meanwhile, as the situation in Cyprus deteriorated further, the Secretary-General on March 9 1964 addressed messages to the President of Cyprus and the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey, appealing for restraint and a cessation of violence. The government of Turkey sent messages to President Makarios on March 12 1964, and to the Secretary-General on March 13 1964, stating that unless assaults on the Turkish Cypriots ceased, Turkey would act unilaterally under the Treaty of Guarantee to send a Turkish force to Cyprus until the United Nations force, which should include Turkish units, effectively performed its functions" ... "At the request of the representative of Cyprus, the Security Council held an emergency meeting on

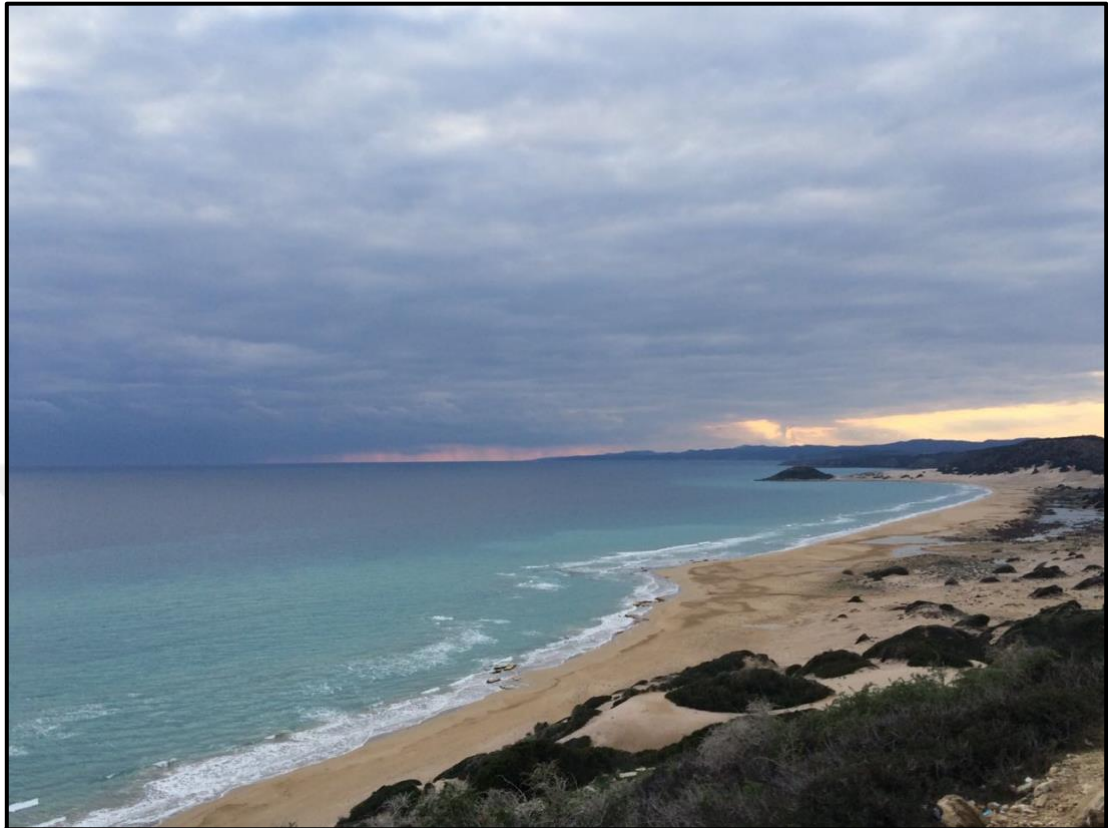


Turkish and Greek Military Forces maintain their presence in the north and south of the island respectively with UNFICYP patrolling the Buffer Zone, alternatively called the “Dead Zone” or “Green Line” and extending the entire length of the island in an east-west direction for approximately 180 km. The width of this zone ranges from only a few meters in some parts of old Nicosia to a few kilometers in other parts.¹⁴ Cyprus and the surrounding Eastern Mediterranean remain highly

March 13 1964 and adopted resolution 187 (1964). The resolution noted the Secretary-General’s assurances that the force was about to be established, called on member states to refrain from action or threats likely to worsen the situation in Cyprus or endanger international peace, and requested the Secretary-General to press on with his efforts to implement resolution 186 (1964)” ... “UNFICYP was thus established in 1964, with military contingents from Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom, and civilian police units from Australia, Austria, Denmark, New Zealand and Sweden. Under the terms of the 1960 Treaty of Alliance, Greece was given the right to maintain an army contingent of 950 officers and men on the island, and Turkey a contingent of 650” ... “The Turkish contingent left its camp when the intercommunal strife broke out and was deployed in tactical positions astride the Kyrenia road North of Nicosia, where it remained until 1974.”

¹⁴ "About the Buffer Zone," UNFICYP, January 19, 2018, accessed May 31, 2019, <https://unficy.unmissions.org/about-buffer-zone>. It is noted on UNFICYP’s website that “in the eastern part of the island the Buffer Zone is interrupted by the British Sovereign Base Area of

militarized as the island maintains its strategic geopolitical significance as wars continue to rage in the Middle Eastern geography.



Photograph: Karpasia Peninsula

(Photograph by Author)

Figure 3

Given the recent history of violence on the island and the persistence of unresolved issues between its Turkish and Greek speaking populace, Cyprus remains a highly volatile place. Potential conflict is currently kept in check by the physical separation of the two communities from each other as well as the threat posed by the presence of military forces on the island. In so far as peacebuilding is concerned, Cyprus is in

Dhekelia, where the UN does not operate. Another area the UN does not control is Varosha, the former resort town near Famagusta, now under the control of the Turkish military” ... “located in the eastern region of the Buffer Zone is Pyla, the only village where Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots live side-by-side. Other areas are largely untouched by human activity. Remnants of old villages, shops and other reminders of lives once lived are scattered throughout the Buffer Zone” ... “approximately 1,000 incidents occur within the buffer zone each year, ranging from name-calling to unauthorized use of firearms.”

a double bind because on the one hand the “harsh reality is that segregation between groups exists primarily because it works,”¹⁵ while on the other hand it is precisely this kind of segregation that is counterproductive to peacebuilding. This is exemplified by the case of the peace walls that were built in West Belfast, Northern Ireland, as temporary structures for the purpose of minimizing inter-communal violence, namely Shankill Road and Falls Road; these however have not only become permanent but have, ironically, become divisive elements between the contesting parties.¹⁶

Historical evidence indicates that it is never easy to establish healthy and positive relations between contested groups in the aftermath of violence¹⁷ and studies which examine the implicit and explicit attitudes of people in regions of conflict indicate that in most cases, even when there is no longer any conflict involved and there are promising peace agreements in place, “deep-seated antipathies” harbored against the “out-group” remain.¹⁸ What this means is that even when security is restored in the aftermath of violence, as is the case in Cyprus, unless the “underlying emotional sources” of the conflict are also addressed and “feelings of revenge placated towards a culture of healing and collaboration,” lasting stability is unlikely to be achieved over the long term.¹⁹ In other words, even if a political solution to the Cyprus

¹⁵ Shelley McKeown, "Chapter 9 Social Psychology and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 128.

¹⁶ Annika Björkdahl, "Urban Peacebuilding," *Peacebuilding* 1, no. 2 (2013): 218, doi:10.1080/21647259.2013.783254.

¹⁷ Stephen Ryan, "Chapter 2 The Evolution of Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 25.

¹⁸ Shelley McKeown, "Chapter 9 Social Psychology and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 128.

¹⁹ Roland Bleiker and Emma Hutchison "Chapter 6 Reconciliation," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding*, by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 85.

dispute was to be agreed to in the future, this will not necessarily bring peace to the island unless its Greek Cypriot (GC) and Turkish Cypriot (TC) residents also orient themselves towards a peaceful future.

My objective, in this thesis, is to contribute to a much-needed change in attitude towards the establishment of an improved culture of healing and collaboration on the island, an ambitious undertaking which requires a “strong commitment to confront complexity.”²⁰ Towards this end, I inquired into various disciplinary areas and theories which seemed relevant to my objective, and this has made my dissertation a *multi and cross-disciplinary investigation*. Given my background as a designer and practitioner, I have further investigated what my theoretical findings suggest with respect to *practice and implementation*. My thesis therefore addresses the theoretical aspects of a museology of peacebuilding but also examines the practical challenges of realizing a project of this nature.²¹

Research at the Intersection of Disciplines, Theories and Practices

Amongst the disciplines addressed within my dissertation, the broadest one is the *interdisciplinary field of peace studies* which was founded in Europe in the 1950s and 1960s and draws upon “political science, sociology, history, anthropology,

²⁰ Zvi Bekerman and Claire McGlynn, *Addressing Ethnic Conflict through Peace Education: International Perspectives* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 2.

²¹ Peter Senge, Hal Hamilton, and John Kania, "The Dawn of System Leadership," *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, Winter 2015. The authors state that designers who immediately get engaged in an issue when it presents itself as a challenge are designers who go on to create innovative solutions to problems. I see the practical component of the work carried out in this dissertation as part of a similar search for innovative solutions to peacebuilding.

theology, psychology, philosophy and other fields” in order to contribute to peace.²² Enduring or sustainable peace does not mean the plain absence of war or violence; this is referred to as negative peace. Real or positive peace includes the notion of “just peace” which encompasses the resolution of such issues as “human rights and unjust social and political conditions.”²³ The concepts of peace and justice are therefore intimately linked with each other and real peace cannot exist without the simultaneous establishment of justice. Cyprus is currently in a state of “negative peace” because although there is no overt violence on the island, the political dispute between the two sides remains unresolved; its two contesting communities remain physically separated from each other through a militarily guarded border, remaining also distant and distrustful of each other.

Given that the violent conflict on the island is currently under control, I suggest here that it is the right time to execute intensive peacebuilding initiatives on the island precisely because the islanders currently feel safe within the segregated confines of their own territories. What is urgently needed is for both communities to “reorient themselves from the adversarial, antagonistic relations of war to more respect-based relations of co-operation.”²⁴ It is only through such reorientation that the islanders will be in a position to prevent various scenarios on the island which could compromise the maintenance of peace. Such a reorientation requires that there is, on

²² University of Notre Dame, "What Is Strategic Peacebuilding? // Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies // University of Notre Dame," Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, accessed May 31, 2019, <https://kroc.nd.edu/about-us/what-is-peace-studies/what-is-strategic-peacebuilding/>.

²³ University of Notre Dame, "What Is Peace Studies? // Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies // University of Notre Dame," Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, accessed May 31, 2019, <https://kroc.nd.edu/about-us/what-is-peace-studies/>.

²⁴ *Citizen Peacemaking in Cyprus, The Story of Co-operation and Trust across the Green Line*, report, United Nations Development Program (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2013), 60.

both sides of the divide, a sustainable capacity for continuous positive social change towards a culture of peace. Building such capacity is the essence of peacebuilding, described by renowned scholar and practitioner of peacebuilding John Lederach as “a complex task” and undoubtedly “an overwhelming challenge” which tries to answer the question of how “whole societies wrapped in histories of violence that date back generations” begin to move towards a “newly defined horizon.”²⁵



Photograph: Mesaoria Plain looking south

(Photograph by Author)

Figure 4

Peacebuilding is an endeavor which needs to be approached not only with humility because “no one person, no one process or project is capable of delivering and sustaining peace on its own”²⁶ but also with caution because as noted by peace

²⁵ John Paul. Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 31.

²⁶ Ibid., 107.

education scholar Noddings, human beings have “evolutionary inclinations” to violence under circumstances they perceive to be threatening to themselves, those they love or things they hold dear.²⁷ Noddings further notes that as human beings, we exhibit contradictory inclinations towards war by “dreading” it on the one hand while on the other hand using the same term to refer to struggles against evil through expressions such as the “war” on drugs, the “war” on poverty and the “war” on terrorism.²⁸ The ambiguity we seem to harbor towards war may in fact mean that our pleas for peace are not always sincere.

Van den Dungen suggests that this is indeed the case by pointing out that there are significantly larger numbers of museums of war in the world than there are museums of peace. Based on this, he puts forth that the ancient dictum that “if you want peace, you should prepare for war (si vis pacem, para bellum) ... continues to reign supreme.”²⁹ Taking a historical stance, Steinberg voices similar sentiments and cautions against an outlook that is too optimistic about the human capacity for maintaining peace. He states that “the most peaceful periods of history have generally been due to the dominance of major empires” and points to the likely

²⁷ Nel Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 12. Noddings also points out that the “widespread violence among humans is largely male violence.” On p.38 she writes of her theory of peace education that is inspired by the *ethics of care*, care itself being exhibited naturally by the female species as they tend to their children and extend unconditional care and love towards them. She posits that in most species, including humans, females are more likely to behave altruistically. On p.39, she argues that it is through “the continuous work of caregiving that” the “moral sentiments favoring altruism” are cultivated naturally in the female species. She does not exclude the male species from being capable of embracing the ethics of care and hence taking a key role in peacebuilding but puts forth that this occurs more naturally in the female species and there is therefore a lot to be learned from them.

²⁸ Ibid., 12.

²⁹ Peter Van Den Dungen, "Chapter 1 The Heritage of Peace: The Importance of Peace Museums for the Development of a Culture of Peace," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* by Diana Walters, Daniel Laven, and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 12.

validity of the “Hobbesian model of the Leviathan (1660)” which posits that peace is only possible through the imposition of international order by superpowers.³⁰ Peace education scholar Noddings notes that even though we may understand why we lose our moral control during periods of war, this will not necessarily prevent war from happening in real life because “when we are engaged in war or have it visited upon us, we are in a different moral (immoral) world.”³¹

While scholars express varying degrees of faith in the human capacity for building and maintaining a peaceful society, I adopt a stance of cautious optimism and suggest that a scholarly approach to the topic, supported by rational inquiry as well as innovative practices, has the potential for building peace. In principle, I am aligned with Einstein’s assertion that true peace “can only be achieved by understanding”³² and Noddings’ stance that “without pressing for an absolute, perfect peace, we can continue to advance the idea of peace beyond the cessation of war.”³³ The more challenging question is *how* to build peace. Summarizing this inquiry, peacebuilding scholar and practitioner Lederach asks, “how do we transcend cycles of violence that bewitch our human community while still living in them?”³⁴ Author, philanthropist and scholar Kathryn W. Davis who is renowned for initiating

³⁰ Gerald M. Steinberg, "Chapter 3 The Limits of Peacebuilding Theory," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 37.

³¹ Nel Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 47.

³² "A Quote by Albert Einstein," Goodreads, accessed June 04, 2019, <https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/4464-peace-cannot-be-kept-by-force-it-can-only-be>.

³³ Nel Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

³⁴ John Paul. Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 5.

the well-known *Projects for Peace* states that the road to achieving peace goes through “talking and dialogue that fosters understanding and reconciliation.”³⁵ The founders of the Pasos Peace Museum in New York adopt a similar theory on which they base their practices. They state that, in the course of our evolution, our ability to communicate as a species is what differentiated us from our Neanderthal cousins who had bigger bodies and brains and is therefore the reason for our survival as a species. They put forth that it was our “ability to tell stories, and with this, a way to remember the ways of the past, the outcomes of past actions and learn new strategies for the future” which enabled us to survive as a species.³⁶ They reason, in other words, that our ability to communicate with each other is the most important determining factor with respect to our chances for achieving peace in the world.

Based on the above stance that peace is possible through understanding and communication with each other, and cognizant of the complexity and difficulty of the endeavor, I set out to contribute towards it by approaching the topic through the discipline of museology and more specifically the concept of new museology which puts forth that museums are institutions capable of bringing about positive social change in society. The International Council of Museums (ICOM) defines new museology as a concept suggested by “a few pioneers” who had published innovative

³⁵ "Projects for Peace," *Projects for Peace: The Vision of Kathryn W. Davis*, accessed June 04, 2019, <https://www.davisprojectsforpeace.org/>.

³⁶ William Repicci, "Pasos Peace Museum: The Inspiration and Challenges of Creating a Museum That Empowers the Peacebuilder in Each of Us," in *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures: Papers Based on the 7th Conference of the International Network of Museums for Peace, Barcelona, 2011: "The Role of Museums in the Transformation of a Culture of War and Violence to a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence*, by Clive Barrett and Joyce Apse (The Hague: International Network of Museums for Peace, 2012), 47. Repicci cites a recent scientific study which indicates that language developed in humans around 50,000 years ago as a result of the mutation of a chromosome, which in turn allowed them to move their jaws in such a way that speech became possible.

texts during the 1970s in which they emphasized “the social role of museums and its interdisciplinary character, along with its new styles of expression and communication.” The term “new museology” first appeared in France in the 1970s and was introduced into the English-speaking world much later by Peter Vergo through his book of the same title published in 1989.³⁷ In its most general sense, the new museology movement represents the major paradigm shift which took place within the field of museology in the 1970s and 1980s, characterized by a period of intense experimentation with new forms of museums which included ecomuseums and social museums as well as a wide range of cultural institutions ranging from science centers to community centers.

A point of convergence for most of these new museum types was their use of local heritage for the promotion of local development.³⁸ As such, my PhD thesis is firmly situated within the concept of new museology because it sets out to use heritage, and more specifically local heritage, to contribute to peacebuilding in Cyprus. Although the objective of positive social change has been the main theme of the new museology movement, the more specific goal of peacebuilding has only been recently addressed within the context of “museums of peace” or “peace museums,” and this link has been established at the level of *activities* only and *not* the field of museology itself. Thus far, no direct link has been established between museology and peacebuilding at the level of the discipline itself and it is this gap that I address

³⁷ Peter Vergo, *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013).

³⁸ André Desvallées and François Mairesse, *Key Concepts of Museology* (Kopie: Armand Colin, 2010), 55.

in my dissertation by investigating how peacebuilding and museology can be merged into a new discipline and practice which I call the “museology of peacebuilding.”

Although not mentioning the word peacebuilding, an attempt was made towards thinking about a museology of peacebuilding in 1997 by Clifford James in his seminal essay, *Museums as Contact Zones*, where he visualizes the museum as a “contact zone” and makes reference to discrepant communities much like the ones in Cyprus. He asks the critical question of how such museums could become tools through which these communities begin to communicate with each other about their disputes. In reference to such a museology, James asks most pertinently;

“What would be different if major, regional or national museums loosened their sense of centrality and saw themselves as specific places of transit, intercultural borders, contexts of struggle and communication between discrepant communities. What does it mean to work within these entanglements rather than striving to transcend them? By thinking of their mission as contact work – decentered and traversed by cultural and political negotiations that are out of any imagined community’s control – museums may begin to grapple with the real difficulties of *dialogue*, *alliance*, *inequality* and *translation*.”³⁹ (emphasis mine)

James’s vision of the museum as a contact zone describes a place where difficult issues in a contested society such as “inequality” and “alliance” are addressed through the methodology of “dialogue” with the end result that “translation” is

³⁹ James Clifford, "Museums as Contact Zones," in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard Univ. Press, 1999), 213.

achieved. What James refers to as translation, I interpret as *the process of understanding the “other,”* in other words, of *developing empathy for the other.*

Based on this, his vision for the museum as a contact zone is one which initiates and sustains processes through which discrepant communities begin to better understand each other by better communicating with each other. Given that issues of inequality and alliance are major concerns in regions of conflict across the world, and that dialogue and translation are the general means through which these major concerns are addressed, James’s conceptualization of museums as contact zones that deal with the “real difficulties of dialogue, alliance, inequality and translation” is an apt starting point for imagining a museology of peacebuilding – and this is where I begin my inquiry. In my dissertation, I set out to answer the below questions:

1. How can the museology of peacebuilding be defined?
2. How can the museology of peacebuilding be practiced?
3. What are the advantages of delineating such a field?
4. How does the museology of peacebuilding differ from other museologies?
5. Can the museology of peacebuilding delineated for the island of Cyprus be applied elsewhere in the world?
6. What do the findings of the dissertation suggest for the future of the museology of peacebuilding and the field of museology in general?

Methodology of Inquiry and Summary of Chapters

While arguing for the necessity of this new sub-field - the museology of peacebuilding - I investigated a variety of disciplines, theories and practices. Given the multi and cross-disciplinary nature of my PhD thesis as an argument *for* and an articulation *of* a museology of peacebuilding, I have necessarily been selective in the

theories and concepts addressed, highlighting only those which I found relevant to my argument and thus necessarily making omissions along the way. In this regard, each argument I make has the potential for further elaboration, refinement and perhaps even refutation. Therefore, my dissertation needs to be seen as a framework for thinking about the museology of peacebuilding rather than a definitive statement on it. In what is perfectly suited to be a collaborative and ongoing inquiry amongst various disciplines, the major contribution of my dissertation is in putting forth the possibility, usefulness and necessity of delineating a specific field called the museology of peacebuilding along with the methodologies, theories and practices which I put forth to be pertinent to it.

An overriding working methodology I used throughout my dissertation is the design thinking methodology⁴⁰ described by many scholars as “a way of thinking that balances both the exploration of new knowledge (innovation) and the exploitation of current knowledge (efficiency).”⁴¹ The origins of design thinking date back to the 1960s when a distinction was made between the “science of design” and the “natural sciences,” the former dealing with the analysis of existing conditions and the latter dealing with “the transformation of existing conditions into preferred ones.”⁴² The problems addressed within the field of design were viewed as “highly ambiguous and

⁴⁰ Brown, Tim, and Jocelyn Wyatt. "Design Thinking for Social Innovation." *Development Outreach* 12, no. 1 (2010): 29-43. doi:10.1596/1020-797x_12_1_29. The term design thinking came into being in a circumstantial way when David Kelley, the founder of Stanford University's Hasso Plattner Institute of Design, kept inserting the word “thinking” when trying to explain the design process as a practice.

⁴¹ Kimberly D. Elsbach and Ileana Stigliani, "Design Thinking and Organizational Culture: A Review and Framework for Future Research," *Journal of Management* 44, no. 6 (2018): 2299, doi:10.1177/0149206317744252.

⁴² Ibid., 2276.

presenting multiple plausible solutions” and the designer’s work as that of “organizing complexity and finding clarity in chaos through a process of patterned synthesis of aesthetic, cultural, and technology trends and consumer business needs.” This process of finding synthesis was termed abductive thinking involving “collecting, organizing, pruning, and filtering data in order to produce a potential solution.”⁴³ Congruent with the understanding that the end result is a *potential* solution and not the *only* solution or even the best one, Bill Burnett from Stanford University’s Center for Professional Development puts forth that embracing the design thinking methodology necessarily involves also embracing a theory of knowledge which accepts that we cannot know or predict the future and its needs.⁴⁴

Tim Brown and Jocelyn Wyatt conceptualize design thinking as a way of thinking that is characterized by “overlapping spaces rather than a sequence of orderly steps.” They state that the first of these three overlapping spaces is that of “inspiration” described as the “problem or opportunity that motivates the search for solutions.” In the case of this dissertation, the problem that motivated me was the unresolved dispute on the island of Cyprus. Brown and Wyatt further state that a deep understanding of the context is necessary for this space of inspiration to lead to innovative solutions, a way of working which they claim stands in sharp contrast to conventional ways of approaching problems. In cases where designers are not

⁴³ Ibid., 2297. They also make a note of the current trend of management consulting companies where they have been acquiring design firms and how these acquisitions help them implement design thinking in their practices. They note that there is an “increasing awareness in the corporate world at large, beyond the tech industry, of the value of design” to their organizations. Based on their analysis of empirical studies, they conclude, on p. 2274, that while “specific design thinking tools support the development of specific organizational cultures” the reverse is also true; certain work cultures support the implementation of the design thinking methodology.

⁴⁴ Stanford online, “Stanford Webinar - Design Thinking = Method, Not Magic,” YouTube, April 20, 2016, , accessed August 08, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vSuK2C89yjA>.

familiar with the environment, Brown and Wyatt point out that they need to become “embedded in the lives of the people they are designing for,” most effectively accomplished through “homestays and shadowing locals at their jobs and in their homes.”⁴⁵ Being from Cyprus myself and having lived with the Cyprus dispute my entire childhood and youth, I already had a visceral understanding of the dispute and life on the island in general which gave me a head start in my field work in Cyprus.

My dissertation developed within the second overlapping space which Brown and Wyatt term the space of “ideation,” and describe as the “process of generating, developing, and testing ideas.”⁴⁶ They state that it is within this second overlapping space of ideation that a “synthesis” is made by distilling what has been seen and researched into “insights that can lead to solutions or opportunities for change.” In the case of my dissertation this synthesis took place through the incorporation of the theoretical research and field work into a museological proposal; a process which I can describe as a hermeneutic cycle of constant re-making as theory and design informed each other both of which were further developed through this process. The third and final overlapping space is called “implementation” at the core of which is “prototyping, turning ideas into actual products and services that are then tested, iterated, and refined,”⁴⁷ in other words the phase through which the product enters people’s lives. Although this critical phase is beyond the scope of the dissertation, I

⁴⁵ Brown, Tim, and Jocelyn Wyatt. "Design Thinking for Social Innovation." *Development Outreach* 12, no. 1 (2010): 29-43. doi:10.1596/1020-797x_12_1_29.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

have illustrated, through some examples, what a museology of peacebuilding may begin to look and feel like in practice.

The design thinking methodology I employed as a working methodology in my dissertation is also viewed, in more general terms, “as a mechanism for addressing wicked problems and exploring possible futures” and has been employed as a means of resolving “economic and social challenges by governments in the UK, Denmark, Finland and the USA amongst others.”⁴⁸ Given that achieving peace is one of the most difficult challenges faced by humans, my proposal for a new field, the museology peacebuilding, which I put forth will contribute to peacebuilding in regions of conflict, is one such case where the design thinking methodology is used as a tool for coming up with innovative solutions to difficult world problems.⁴⁹ In my dissertation, I worked as a designer would, employing the design thinking methodology while embracing its primary emphasis on “empathy,” during which I explored the current political dispute on the island of Cyprus, the peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts to date, literature on museology, peacebuilding and heritage as well as their related practices, and have inferred from these the outlines of a new field, the museology of peacebuilding. As explained by Serrat, what is inferred through the methodology of design thinking is the “most likely or best explanations

⁴⁸ Catherine Docherty, "Perspectives on Design Thinking for Social Innovation," *The Design Journal* 20, no. 6 (2017): 720, doi:10.1080/14606925.2017.1372005.

⁴⁹ Authors Rim Razzouk and Valerie Shute note, in "What Is Design Thinking and Why Is It Important?" *Review of Educational Research* 82, no. 3 (2012): 331, doi:10.3102/0034654312457429, that the design thinking methodology it is also viewed, in itself, as a significant 21st century skill on a par with “systems thinking” and “teamwork skills.”

from accepted facts”⁵⁰ but not the *only* plausible one. Hence, my dissertation has ample opportunity for expansion and further iteration.

Employing the design thinking methodology involves a process of working that can be likened to an expanding spiral involving a cyclical process where it folds back unto itself while simultaneously also maintaining an overall direction towards which it gradually progresses. Given that clarity of communication is my priority in delineating the findings of my dissertation, instead of simulating these cognitive processes of the design thinking methodology, I structured my written work into two distinct parts, theory and practice, which I foresee will provide for a comprehensive and clear reading of my research and findings. Accordingly, in Part I, *Towards a Museology of Peacebuilding*, I outline the theoretical building blocks of the new discipline and practice and in Part II, *Putting the Museology of Peacebuilding into Practice*, I elaborate upon the application of the museology of peacebuilding.

Part I consists of three chapters. In Chapter 1, I give a brief overview of peacebuilding theories and explain the outlook towards these theories that I adopt in the dissertation. I examine past peacemaking and peacebuilding practices in Cyprus and suggest the adaptation of a particular peacebuilding stance on the island. Given that the practice of the museology of peacebuilding, as delineated in this dissertation, involves the use of the island’s histories and heritages for the purposes of peacebuilding, I examine the concepts of history and heritage and its related

⁵⁰ Olivier Serrat, "Design Thinking," *Knowledge Solutions*, 2017, 130, doi:10.1007/978-981-10-0983-9_18.

practices, and delineate my own understanding of these constructs within the context of the museology of peacebuilding.

In Chapter 2, I establish the outlines of a methodology for the museology of peacebuilding on the island of Cyprus. I examine the distanced communities of the island and establish that an all-encompassing peacebuilding initiative needs to be embedded within the daily lived environments of the islanders ensuring accessibility to all. I also examine the singular and opposing “historical” narratives of the Turkish North and Greek South and establish that a methodology grounded in local histories and heritages is the most effective way of diluting these grand and singular meta-narratives which I suggest are counterproductive to peacebuilding. Finally, I examine how each community constructs its “national” identity at the exclusion of the “other” and suggest a people-based methodology as a means of humanizing the “other.” Oral history becomes a significant part of my pragmatic proposal which I decide to name *The Collaborative Histories and Heritages Platform of Cyprus*, in short, the *CHHP of Cyprus*.

In Chapter 3, I conduct a historical survey of museology highlighting the paradigm shifts it experienced over its evolution. I examine the pragmatics and problematics of practicing education within a traditional museum environment and suggest, in so far as the museology of peacebuilding is concerned, that a revised framework of practice be employed in the new discipline and practice. Finally, I establish some theories of education as grounding theories for the museology of peacebuilding which enables the new field and practice to be described as *the discipline and practice of an empowering pedagogy that uses museological strategies to re-*

establish the individual's perception and relationship to reality to improve relations amongst estranged communities.

Part II of my dissertation, *Putting the Museology of Peacebuilding into Practice*, also consists of three chapters. In Chapter 4, I delineate the more specific context of Walled Nicosia where I propose to pilot the museology of peacebuilding. Towards this end, I give a broad and comprehensive historical account of Walled Nicosia. Subsequently, I outline the methodology to be followed in compiling the living memory of the islanders. Finally, I explain how the *CHHP of Cyprus* piloted for Walled Nicosia can be expanded as an island-wide endeavor.

In Chapter 5, I highlight the critical aspects involved in curating the compiled interviews such that they contribute to the overriding objective of peacebuilding. I explain the significance of what I call the *thematic cataloguing of interview excerpts* which not only enables effective engagement and searchability by the islanders but also enables their contents to be used for peace education. I also explain the various ways I foresee people engaging with the contents of the *CHHP of Cyprus*. Finally, I illustrate how the emerging theme-based stories, although local, make connections to concerns that are global in nature, hence constituting appropriate content material for the peace education component of the museology of peacebuilding.

In Chapter 6, I illustrate the two stories which I curate, compiled out of the interview excerpts that are more complete and specific in nature because they concern the specific neighborhood of Ayios Loukas and are, for this reason, more indicative of the kinds of histories and heritages enabled by the museology of peacebuilding as

envisioned in my dissertation. These two stories concern an event, the forced departure of Greek Cypriots from Ayios Loukas between 1956 and 1958, and a place, the Ayios Loukas Church. For these stories, I provide both transcribed interview excerpts as well as audio recordings through links to the OHMS viewer where I catalogued and indexed the interviews.⁵¹

In my dissertation, I conduct an investigation that starts from a broad theoretical base and progressively narrows down to the specifics of practice in the last chapters. It is an investigation that is broad yet specific, addressing many disciplines, theories and practices, the findings of which I summarize in the Conclusion Chapter of my dissertation.

⁵¹ Although I catalogued and indexed all my interviews using the OHMS viewer, I have not provided public access to these interviews in order to protect the privacy of my interviewees.



PART I

Towards a Museology of Peacebuilding

CHAPTER 1

PEACEBUILDING & HERITAGE, THEORIES & PRACTICES

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Introduction to Chapter 1

In this chapter, I give a brief overview of peacebuilding theories and explain the outlook I adopt in vis-à-vis these theories. Then, I examine past peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts in Cyprus and suggest the adaptation of a more specific peacebuilding stance on the island. Finally, given that the practice of the museology of peacebuilding, as defined in this dissertation, involves the use of the island's histories and heritages, I examine these concepts as well as their practices which relate to peacebuilding.

Overview of Peacebuilding Theories

There is no single definition for peacebuilding. Efforts to “craft a universally agreed definition” have yielded no conclusive results and although it is generally accepted that peacebuilding is “an endogenous process,” in most cases of conflict across the

world international actors have “come to play an important role.”⁵² Within the context of my dissertation, I adopt the definition for peacebuilding given by the *Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies of Notre Dame University*.⁵³ The Institute describes peacebuilding as “the development of constructive personal, group and political relationships across ethnic, religious, class, national and racial boundaries through non-violent ways.”⁵⁴ Described as such, peacebuilding becomes the enabling of communication between contested parties towards the improvement of their relationship and the attainment of lasting peace. Although this is the general description of peacebuilding with which most would concur, opinions regarding how to achieve it vary greatly depending upon the paradigm of peacebuilding adhered to.

J. Galtung is credited for inventing the concept of peacebuilding in 1976 in an article titled *Three realistic approaches to peace: peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding* where he explains the concept as “one component of a tripartite conflict resolution strategy.” In 1992, the term entered the mainstream after its appearance in the United Nations (UN) document *An Agenda for Peace*. In explaining the evolution of the dominant peacebuilding paradigm, Ryan states that intra-state conflicts across the world flared up in the aftermath of the Cold War upon which the UN started becoming involved in “sustained peacebuilding work” in these regions,⁵⁵ Cyprus being one of them. Through its involvement in peacekeeping, the

⁵² Necla Tschirgi, "Chapter 15 Securitization and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 197.

⁵³ University of Notre Dame, "What Is Peace Studies? // Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies // University of Notre Dame," Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, accessed May 31, 2019, <https://kroc.nd.edu/about-us/what-is-peace-studies/>.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Stephen Ryan, "Chapter 2 The Evolution of Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 26.

UN also became an institution which began to shape and define the dominant peacebuilding paradigm practiced. Ryan notes that it was the close association established between peacekeeping and peacebuilding at this very early stage in the development of the field that “helped form an impression that peacebuilding was something introduced by external actors into a violent conflict and that it was linked to the international deployment of military forces.”⁵⁶ This paradigm is nowadays contested by many scholars but remains nonetheless as the most dominant peacebuilding theory and practice, attested to by the fact that most of the peacebuilding initiatives in the world occur in the Global South but are designed, directed and funded by the Global North.⁵⁷ Termed the “liberal peace hypothesis” or paradigm, this approach to peacebuilding is thought to have emerged in the aftermath of the post-Cold War era when the non-violent overthrow of repressive regimes “created a mood of democratic optimism and a faith in the power of liberal policies to bring about peace.”⁵⁸ Ginty further characterizes this paradigm by a “trust in institutional fixes.”⁵⁹

It is nowadays widely acknowledged that the UN does not have a very good track-record in peacebuilding across the world. In an effort to ameliorate this, it established in 2005 the *UN Peacebuilding Commission*, the main function of which is to “promote best practice and improve the coordination of actors,” give advice to

⁵⁶ Ibid., 33.

⁵⁷ Roger Mac Ginty, "Introduction," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 3.

⁵⁸ Stephen Ryan, "Chapter 2 The Evolution of Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 27.

⁵⁹ Roger Mac Ginty, "Introduction," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 3.

governments and enhance “the attention and funding given to peacebuilding at the international level.” As a means of evaluating its five-year performance, the Commission published a report in 2010 titled *Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture* in which it concluded that there was the need for improvements to be made in “nearly all aspects of the Commission’s work.”⁶⁰ As noted by Steinberg, despite the fact that the field of peace studies, cynically also called “the peace-industry,” has grown tremendously and is supported by ample amounts of scholarly and practical work, “the situation on the ground remains quite grim.”⁶¹

Given the “dismal” peacebuilding “outcomes” on the ground, it is not surprising that the theory of peacebuilding is also fraught with uncertainties. Steinberg paints a rather grim picture, noting that no theory has so far proven to be “a reliable means of changing political relationships” and what remains as the most dependable avenue of practice is “conflict management based on deterrence and defense.”⁶² Citing a study done by Murthy in 2007, Ryan draws attention to the fact that half of the UN peacebuilding efforts in the past five years have resulted in failure;⁶³ a high rate considering the large amount of resources expended. In an even more pessimistic tone, Mac Ginty hints at the likely irrelevance of the theory of peacebuilding and

⁶⁰ Stephen Ryan, "Chapter 2 The Evolution of Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 30-31.

⁶¹ Gerald M. Steinberg, "Chapter 3 The Limits of Peacebuilding Theory," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 36.

⁶² Ibid., 37.

⁶³ Stephen Ryan, "Chapter 2 The Evolution of Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 30. Murthy’s study cited by Ryan is: Murthy, C.S.R (2007) “New Phase in UN Reforms: Establishment of the Peacebuilding Commission and Human Rights Council,” *International Studies* 44: 39-56.

argues that in cases when peacebuilding does happen, it often takes place as “a by-product or happy accident of other processes that are not directly related to peacebuilding.”⁶⁴ He also makes a note of the lack of “any single-transferable gold standard of peacebuilding asserting that “different techniques work in different circumstances at different times,” implying the need for a more context-specific approach to peacebuilding, citing cases where peacebuilding initiatives have even caused harm instead of doing good.⁶⁵

Although most scholars would agree on the general failure of the theory of peacebuilding in bringing about positive changes on the ground, they would nonetheless differ from each other in their level of optimism in the human capacity to come up with better theories and methodologies for the future. There are currently two major peacebuilding paradigms/theories that are practiced throughout the world along with a range of their combinations. Describing the dominant liberal peacebuilding paradigm, Steinberg notes that it derives from Kant’s model of *Perpetual Peace* (1795) which argues that Hobbes’s proclaimed state of nature characterized by “war of all against all” articulated in his *Leviathan* (1660) can be overcome by “the creation of stable democratic institutions” which are accompanied by a “political culture of pluralism and tolerance.”⁶⁶ Mac Ginty describes this peacebuilding theory as the problem-solving paradigm which adopts a “functionalist we can fix it” approach to problems of conflict by setting out to “develop systems

⁶⁴ Roger Mac Ginty, "Introduction," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 1.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁶ Gerald M. Steinberg, "Chapter 3 The Limits of Peacebuilding Theory," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 37.

and institutions” that will “mitigate” their impact and help divided communities cooperate with each other.⁶⁷ Pugh explains this dominant peacebuilding paradigm as the revision of the structures that have led to conflict in the first place involving the drawing up of frames of reference that not only “privilege efficient performance” but also “reflect the concerns, including economic concerns of major interests.” He claims that all of this leads to the “diminution of sovereignty”⁶⁸ which he puts forth is yet “another form of domination and colonialism.”⁶⁹

Brown makes a note of the sequential understanding of peacebuilding which developed as a result of the 1992 UN report which framed the endeavor as “post-conflict reconstruction after the steps of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and the military enterprise of peacekeeping.” She states that the consequence of such understanding has been the expectation that interventions needed to be directed from an “outside center” instead of from “the street, the market or the hamlet”⁷⁰ further solidifying the understanding that peacebuilding is a top-down intervention. As noted further by Ginty, within this liberal peacebuilding paradigm the endeavor appears as “something done” by outsiders to local people.⁷¹ Tschirgi looks at the development of the major peacebuilding paradigm from a disciplinary point of view and notes that the concept emerged in the 1990s as “a way to link development and

⁶⁷ Roger Mac Ginty, "Introduction," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 3.

⁶⁸ Michael Pugh, "Chapter 1 The Problem-Solving and Critical Paradigms," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 21.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 23.

⁷⁰ M. Anne Brown, "Chapter 10 Anthropology and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 133-134.

⁷¹ Roger Mac Ginty, "Introduction," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 3.

security – two fields of study and practice that had developed on separate tracks since the end of World War II;” leading to a construct which reinforced the interventionist top-down perception of the concept.⁷² While Steinberg notes that the liberal peacebuilding theory “has proven very illusive on the ground,”⁷³ Zaum points out that countries which were democratizing as well as those subject to the liberalization programs of International Financial Institutions and which were expected to be on a positive path towards peace based on the liberal peacebuilding paradigm, were in fact observed to be “prone to the outbreak of conflict.”⁷⁴

Leaving the liberal peacebuilding paradigm aside for the time being, Brewer points out that there are two types of peacebuilding processes and they are sequentially related to one another; the political peace processes which come before the social peace processes. He notes that the social peace processes which are described as “the task of societal healing” can only begin after “the political peace processes open up the space for dealing with the task of interpersonal compromise free from the sound of guns or the cut of machetes.”⁷⁵ This is an apt description of the current state of affairs in Cyprus, supporting also my assertion in the “Introduction” that the conjecture on the island is ripe for the execution of intense peacebuilding activities.

⁷² Necla Tschirgi, "Chapter 15 Securitization and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 197.

⁷³ Gerald M. Steinberg, "Chapter 3 The Limits of Peacebuilding Theory," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 37.

⁷⁴ Dominik Zaum, "Chapter 8 International Relations Theory and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 110.

⁷⁵ John Brewer, "Chapter 12 Sociology and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 164-165. On p. 162 Brewer describes the political peace processes as composed of such things as the negotiation process leading to some kind of accord, the putting into place of good governance structures, new constitutions and institutional reforms.

Brewer states that the social peace processes involve “the restoration of broken relationships, the development of a sense of community and shared responsibility for the future” and are dependent upon achieving “reconciliation, compromise, empathy, trust and forgiveness” amongst the contested communities.⁷⁶

As I will argue in Chapter 3, these social peace processes, as described by Brewer, are also within the purview of the field of museology, constituting thus an appropriate area of practice for the new field, the museology of peacebuilding. In fact, of the two major peacebuilding paradigms mentioned above, the second and less popular peacebuilding paradigm addresses these social peace processes. This peacebuilding paradigm is referred to as the social-psychological or critical peacebuilding paradigm and emerged at the end of the Cold-War.⁷⁷ It posits that the problem-solving paradigm is “merely engaged in superficial short-term fixes that fail to ask wider questions about power relations in society.”⁷⁸ The critical peacebuilding paradigm is “marked by resistance to power and exploitation” and the recognition that “intruders” are incapable of creating “stable identities or institutions with organic roots.” The focus within this paradigm is therefore with “local agency, resistance and liberation”⁷⁹ and the primary assumption is that “a common foundation based on shared human values” does indeed exist and it is possible, through the deployment of appropriate tools such as contact, dialogue, cross-cultural

⁷⁶ Ibid., 162.

⁷⁷ Gerald M. Steinberg, "Chapter 3 The Limits of Peacebuilding Theory," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 38.

⁷⁸ Roger Mac Ginty, "Introduction," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 3.

⁷⁹ Michael Pugh, "Chapter 1 The Problem-Solving and Critical Paradigms," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 23.

communication, forgiveness and reconciliation, to accomplish “mutual understanding and compromise” amongst contested communities.⁸⁰

Delineated thus as both a particular area of peacebuilding and a particular approach to peacebuilding, the critical peacebuilding paradigm, also referred to as the social psychological peacebuilding paradigm, is adopted in this dissertation as a general guiding philosophy of peacebuilding. One of the primary theories which support the critical peacebuilding paradigm is Gordon W. Allport’s contact hypothesis of 1954 where he asserted that “racial prejudice in the United States could be overcome” through “direct interpersonal and intergroup communications as well as shared experience.” Early applications of this hypothesis were carried out in “some aspects of US-Soviet negotiations during the Cold War, particularly after the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis brought the two superpowers to the brink of mutual nuclear destruction.” According to Allport, in order for this theory to be successful certain preconditions needed to be fulfilled. These were; “equal status between the contesting communities, shared objectives, ability to develop significant social relations and wider societal support.”⁸¹

Allport’s contact hypothesis became blended with other evolving theories of peacebuilding during later decades. Beginning in the 1960s, an Australian diplomat named John Burton, guided by the rational problem-solving approach and influenced

⁸⁰ Gerald M. Steinberg, "Chapter 3 The Limits of Peacebuilding Theory," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 37.

⁸¹ Ibid., 39.

by Maslow's theory of the hierarchy of needs⁸² asserted that conflict happened as a result of "conditions in which universal human needs, such as security, identity, or acceptance were absent." He argued that fulfilling these needs would automatically resolve the conflict. In 1999, Herbert Kelman, a social-psychologist at Harvard University combined Burton's theory with the contact hypothesis and claimed that it would be possible to resolve conflict through "the development of a transcendent identity for the two peoples that do not threaten the particularistic identity of each" and this could be done through the "group dynamics methodologies." As such, Kelman's theory suggested a kind of social engineering of identity which he asserted would come about through the "contact" of the contested communities with each other during which they would find the opportunity to "negotiate" their identities.⁸³ Under the *Program on International Conflict Analysis and Resolution* Kelman held workshops in regions of conflict across the world, including with people from Cyprus.⁸⁴

⁸² "Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs," Gale Encyclopedia of Nursing and Allied Health, 2019, accessed June 04, 2019, <https://www.encyclopedia.com/medicine/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/maslows-hierarchy-needs>. Maslow's hierarchy of needs is a theory of motivation and personality developed by the psychologist Abraham H. Maslow (1908-1970) which explains human behavior in terms of the basic requirement for survival and growth, with basic needs such food, water or oxygen at the bottom of the pyramid of needs, and higher needs such as self-actualization located at the top of pyramid. According to this theory the higher needs cannot be achieved unless the basic needs are addressed first.

⁸³ Gerald M. Steinberg, "Chapter 3 The Limits of Peacebuilding Theory," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 40.

⁸⁴ G. A., *personal communication*, January 16, 2019. Kenan Atakol, who was a member of parliament in the Turkish North at the time, was part of these workshops organized by Kelman for Cyprus, a number of which were held; one in Boston, one in Tel-Aviv and one in Jordan. G. A., his wife, also attended these workshops. She recalls Şefika Durduran (lawyer and wife of member of parliament Alpay Durduran) and Çetin Kürşat (prominent businessman) and İzzet İzcan on the Turkish side as well as Katie Clerides (daughter of ex-president of Cyprus Glafkos Clerides) and member of parliament Averof Neofytou (now head of the Democratic Rally Party) on the Greek side as being part of these workshops. The moderator of the workshops was a professor at Harvard by the name of Robert I. Rotberg, currently the Founding Director of the Intrastate Conflict Program, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. G. A. recounts that Prof. Rotberg would not express any opinion himself and would conduct the workshops by putting forth a general question about the conflict and letting people talk with each other about it, probing further when necessary by asking a general question such as "What do you think?" The participants would introduce themselves, talk with one another and sometimes get into arguments. Two graduate students of Prof. Rotberg would

In these workshops,⁸⁵ “current and former government officials, military commanders, top journalists, academics and other policy makers and molders of public opinion were brought together” to discuss perceived issues of conflict.⁸⁶ The assumption was that if the elite of the contested communities began talking with one another, this would produce a snowball effect and conditions would become ripe for the leaders of the contested sides to have official meetings with each other. There was also the assumption that the affinity developed towards the “other” at the level of the elite would trickle down and the whole community would develop similar improvements in perceptions. Steinberg recounts how this approach was put to practice amongst Palestinian and Israeli elites but that after twenty years of such efforts there was nothing to show on the ground in terms of positive outcome. He notes that peace efforts failed and extensive violence prevailed.⁸⁷

Whatever positive results may have been achieved through these workshops, although none were empirically proven, they rarely filtered down to the lower levels of society. Such contact workshops amongst the elite were henceforth seen as insufficient in affecting wide-scale social change in society, and were replaced, over

take notes. G. A., recounts that a dominant point of view expressed within these meetings, on both sides, described Turkish Cypriots as being closer in culture to Europe than Turkey. No evaluation or report of these meetings were sent to the attendants afterwards, neither were they contacted at a later date to find out what long-term impact these meetings had; which confirms Steinberg’s assertions that no methodologies have been devised to evaluate the long-term impact of these workshops.

⁸⁵ For a discussion of the impact of these workshops amongst other civil society initiatives in Cyprus see, Maria Hadjipavlou, "Chapter 11 The Contribution of Bicomunal Contacts in Building a Civil Society in Cyprus," in *Social Psychology of Group Identity and Social Conflict: Theory, Application, and Practice*, by Alice Hendrickson. Eagly, Reuben M. Baron, and V. Lee. Hamilton (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2010).

⁸⁶ Gerald M. Steinberg, "Chapter 3 The Limits of Peacebuilding Theory," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 40-41.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 43.

time, with people to people (P2P) programs which aimed “to promote wider societal transformations viewed as necessary for resolving religious, ethno-national and other forms of identity conflicts, in the form of unofficial diplomacy.”⁸⁸ P2P programs constitute the majority of current peacebuilding programs implemented worldwide as well as in Cyprus. However, as noted by Steinberg “despite the extent of such activities no concrete and measurable impact has been discerned.”

In the largest of such programs, organized by an NGO called Seeds of Peace (1993) and funded in concert with the Oslo agreements between the Israeli and Palestinian leadership, three-week summer camps were held for Israeli and Palestinian teenagers over a period of two decades where “campers were expected to discover how much they had to gain by building friendships.” These friendships were seen by the organization as “the seeds of a constructive future.” Steinberg notes nevertheless that as in the case of other similar programs “no methodology was applied to assess the results” with Seeds of Peace leaders declaring instead that they considered their program a success as long as each camper “made one friend from amongst the enemy.” The first generation of campers are now adults and Steinberg notes that there was no measurable impact these camps had on the conflict between Israel and Palestine. He notes that “even if thousands had undergone long-lasting attitudinal changes, these changes failed to influence millions or tens of millions of citizens on the two sides of the numerous conflicts.”⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 44-45.

Based on the above summarized general failure of “theoretical” approaches to peacebuilding, an individualized and context-specific approach is increasingly acknowledged as the way forward. Steinberg notes that advocates and enthusiasts of peacebuilding often “underestimate the fundamental differences between societies – particularly the behavioral and normative distinctions between liberal pluralistic democracies and groups dominated by an intolerant, ideological, nationalistic and religious framework.”⁹⁰ Furthering the argument of the pitfalls of not paying attention to context, Storschein draws attention to two failed NGO attempts in Hungary and Romania. She notes that in the two cases the local interactions amongst the communities concerned “were disrupted by international interventions that were intended to help”⁹¹ but which led, instead, to an emerging perception by locals that the international NGOs had come to “conspire against” their communities. She notes that these failed attempts illustrate how “well-intentioned moves can have unintended consequences” if what she calls the “local ecology” of a place is not understood in its entirety. She describes this local ecology as contexts “full of diffuse relations and incremental interactions, many of which will be initially invisible to international actors.”⁹² Anthropologist M. Anne Brown further supports the argument that a place-specific approach is necessary because “an awareness of culture and context is the recognition that the matrix of relationship and meaning within which people are operating is fundamental to working with them on significant political and social change.” She terms this the anthropological approach

⁹⁰ Ibid., 36.

⁹¹ Sherrill Storschein, "Chapter 21 Organic Versus Strategic Approaches to Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 283.

⁹² Ibid., 284.

to peacebuilding which not only takes “local realities and their interactions seriously” but also sees them as being of fundamental importance.⁹³

Delineating a Peacebuilding Stance in Cyprus

Peacebuilding in Cyprus

Eleftherios points out that within the context of Cyprus peacemaking has taken place mostly through “official track-one diplomacy that allows very little room for civil society to take its course from the bottom-up.”⁹⁴ Of the 41 peacemaking initiatives carried out between 1955 and 2010, 20 were initiated by the UN, 6 by the UK (5 of which are between 1955 and 1960 when Cyprus was still under British rule), 4 by the USA-UK jointly (all of which are before 1974), 1 by the USA (the Richard Holbrooke initiative in 1998), 1 by the UK-USA-CAN jointly, and 9 locally.⁹⁵ Of these initiatives, 15% failed, meaning they did not even materialize, 27% were rejected, meaning one or both sides rejected what was proposed, 27% ended in an impasse, meaning the process started but ended in a deadlock, 10% were inconclusive, meaning the process was interrupted for a variety of reasons, 13% were preventive, meaning the initiatives prevented further escalation of conflict, and finally only a meagre 8% ended in an agreement, meaning “some kind of an agreement to abide with either temporarily or permanently” had been reached.⁹⁶

⁹³ M. Anne Brown, "Chapter 10 Anthropology and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 138.

⁹⁴ Eleftherios A. Michael, "Peacemaking in Cyprus: 1955 - 2012," PhD diss., George Mason University, 2012.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 42.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 44-46.

It is now widely accepted that the past half a century of negotiations regarding the Cyprus dispute have failed as they have yielded no tangible results on the ground. The seemingly most promising moment during these negotiations came with the drafting of the Annan Plan in 2004, under the auspices of the Secretary General of the UN, Kofi Annan, during which an island-wide referendum on the plan was carried out which outlined a future joint federation between the Turkish Cypriots (TCs) and Greek Cypriots (GCs.) The TCs voted 65% in favor of the plan while the GCs voted 76% against it. Christou argues that “the Annan Plan did not provide sufficient incentives to the GCs to forgo the alternative of unilateral accession to the European Union” because accepting the Annan plan was *not* set as a precondition to join the EU.⁹⁷ Hadjipavlou, on the other hand, points to the pressure felt by the GCs during that time period to say “No” to the plan and states that “those who voted Yes in the Greek Cypriot community were suspect and labelled unpatriotic.” She continues to recount how some people, including herself, “were called before the House of Representatives Ethics Committee” and “accused of having been given money by the UNDP to promote the Yes vote.”⁹⁸

With respect to the sentiments within the Turkish Cypriot community, I remember personally the general feeling of euphoria at that time which was characterized by a feeling of hope that this would be a new beginning for the Turkish Cypriot community as legitimate members of the EU, followed by the lifting of all economic embargoes and a resulting improvement in their economy. Eleftherios states that

⁹⁷ Odysseas Chrsitou, "Chapter 7 Prospects of a Federal Settlement," in *Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution* by James Ker-Lindsay (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 60.

⁹⁸ Maria Hadjipavlou, "Chapter 11 A Gender Perspective," in *Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution* by James Ker-Lindsay (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 101.

between 2002 and 2004 “an unprecedented political platform formed in the TRNC that was comprised of many political parties in opposition to Denktaş.” Given also the backing of Ankara and Prime Minister Erdoğan who, at the time, had strong aspirations to join the EU, “a number of pro-peace rallies and demonstrations” were carried out on the island which translated into a Yes vote in the “ballot box” in the Turkish North.⁹⁹ Vamık Volkan, a renowned psychoanalyst who conducts work in regions of conflict across the world and especially Cyprus, puts forth that the TC community was in search of a new identity at that time because they were experiencing a crisis with their large-group identity. He further explains that the failure of the Annan plan led to the “re-traumatization” of the TC community as they experienced, once again, the helplessness and feeling of isolation they had experienced during the enclave period on the island between 1963 and 1974.¹⁰⁰

Although the 1977 and 1979 High Level Agreements established “bi-communality, political equality and bi-zonality as the founding pillars of an eventual federal settlement in Cyprus,” a poll conducted in 2010 revealed that 92% of GCs favored a unitary state and 90% of TCs favored two separate states¹⁰¹ pointing to the lack of consensus between political decisions taken at the top and general community sentiments. The GCs preferred a unitary state run by them because in such a case the TCs would be “granted minority rights” and the TCs preferred a “two-state solution”

⁹⁹ Eleftherios A. Michael, "Peacemaking in Cyprus: 1955 - 2012," PhD diss., George Mason University, 2012.

¹⁰⁰ Vamık Volkan, "Trauma, Identity and Search for a Solution in Cyprus," *Insight Turkey* 10, no. 4 (2008): 101.

¹⁰¹ Tözün Bahçeli and Sid Noel, "Chapter 5 Bizonal Federation Is Not Viable," in *Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution* by James Ker-Lindsay (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 45.

due to their sensitivity regarding issues of collective identity and political equality.¹⁰² Dodd describes the attempts to bridge the different demands of the GCs and TCs as seeking reconciliation amongst positions that are “theoretically irreconcilable;” what he describes as the demand of one side to be politically dominant compared to the demand of the other side to be politically equal.¹⁰³ He further describes the dispute as “a prime political problem of the modern world;” one centered around the major question of whether or not “an ethnic, religious or otherwise distinguishable majority of the populace within any country ... has the right to rule over all, including over a minority that wishes to rule itself.”¹⁰⁴ Framed as such, it is indeed possible that the positions of the TCs and GCs are irreconcilable. In fact, a recent survey carried out by the *Cyprus 2015 Initiative* indicates that the status quo situation on the island is “slowly gaining ground as the preferred solution to the conflict within both communities.”¹⁰⁵ In Adamides’s words, the status quo has become a “stalemate” that is “not particularly painful for either side.”¹⁰⁶

The rejection of the Annan plan by the GCs in 2004 seems to have been a turning point in the level of hope harbored by those eager for a solution to the Cyprus dispute. NGO’s who had campaigned hard in favor of the Annan plan on both sides of the divide were gravely disappointed and efforts towards peacebuilding slowed

¹⁰² Mustafa Ergün Olgun, "Chapter 24 One Final Chance for Federalism," in *Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution* by James Ker-Lindsay (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 211-212.

¹⁰³ C. H. Dodd, *Disaccord on Cyprus: The UN Plan and after* (Huntingdon: Eothen, 2004), 6.

¹⁰⁴ C. H. Dodd, *Storm Clouds over Cyprus: A Briefing* (Huntingdon: Eothen, 2002), 1.

¹⁰⁵ Odysseas Chrsitou, "Chapter 7 Prospects of a Federal Settlement," in *Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution* by James Ker-Lindsay (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 61.

¹⁰⁶ Constantinos Adamides, "Chapter 1 A Comfortable and Routine Conflict," in *Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution* by James Ker-Lindsay (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 7.

down considerably in the aftermath of that vote. When describing the different periods of peacemaking in Cyprus, Eleftherios marks the year 2004 as a critical turning point and the beginning of a new period in the negotiations; one he describes as the period of *Europeantism* characterized by South Cyprus's entry into the EU as the Republic of Cyprus, and North Cyprus's aspirations that one day it too will become part of the EU. He terms the first period of peacemaking on the island the "nationalistic" period between 1955 and 1959, characterized by the rise of EOKA and TMT whose allegiances were towards the motherlands of Greece and Turkey respectively. He characterizes the second period of peacemaking between 1960 and 1974 as the "ethnocentric" period because of the occurrence of intense civil strife between the two ethnic groups, and finally the period between 1974 and 2004 as the "sectarian" period because it was characterized by each side acting out of sectarian interests.¹⁰⁷ Eleftherios notes that the long period of negotiations between the two communities has both "exhausted the patience of the UN, mediators and other internationals" but it has, even more importantly, "drained the basin of hope among ordinary citizens in Cyprus who keep on hoping that this time around there will be a breakthrough," a course that has repeated itself 41 times.¹⁰⁸

While peacemaking efforts in Cyprus have been ongoing since the 1950s, peacebuilding efforts started in the early 1990s when activists and academics "began to find creative ways to start a dialogue on how they could support a solution to the

¹⁰⁷ Eleftherios A. Michael, "Peacemaking in Cyprus: 1955 - 2012," PhD diss., George Mason University, 2012, 14-15.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 28.

Cyprus question.”¹⁰⁹ Although both the *United Nations Development Program* (UNDP)¹¹⁰ and *United States Agency for International Development* (USAID) provided small-scale funding for bi-communal efforts as far back as the 1970s, the first concerted effort “to solicit and fund civil society initiatives” in Cyprus which brought the two communities together to address issues of common concern was the *Bi-communal Development Programme* (BDP) launched by UNDP and USAID in 1998. This was, for some time, the only means of supporting interaction between the two communities given that borders between the two communities were closed at that time. It was followed by the *Action for Cooperation and Trust Programme* (ACT),¹¹¹ launched in 2005, which funded 120 project involving 70,000 Cypriots in

¹⁰⁹ *Citizen Peacemaking in Cyprus, The Story of Co-operation and Trust across the Green Line*, report, United Nations Development Program (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2013), 10.

¹¹⁰ "UNDP in Cyprus," UNDP, accessed June 02, 2019, <http://www.cy.undp.org/content/cyprus/en/home.html>. It is noted on UNDP's website that in Cyprus it operates “through a Project Management Office largely funded by the European Union, in support of the ongoing peace and confidence building process. Through cultural heritage conservation projects, community engagement initiatives, support to the committee on missing persons, and large infrastructures and urban upgrading projects, UNDP implements initiatives that encourage dialogue and cooperation between the communities in Cyprus.”

¹¹¹ *Citizen Peacemaking in Cyprus, The Story of Co-operation and Trust across the Green Line*, report, United Nations Development Program (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2013), 10. It is also noted, on p.17, that various joint projects were carried out under the ACT programme; the Economic Interdependence project which “put in place mechanisms designed to close the gap between businesses in each community.” It is also noted, on p.20, that the re-connection in the late 1970's of the sewerage system in Nicosia laid the foundations for the Nicosia Master Plan, “a bi-communal structure which continues to strive to develop a common vision for the island's divided capital.” On p.22, it is noted that the ACT programme highlighted the benefits of co-operation within the environment field, highlighting in a poster of 2006 titled *Nature Without Boundaries*, the “potential areas of co-operation, such as the prevention of wildfires, biodiversity, and public health; all areas that some years later were addressed by the Environmental Technical Committee.” It is further noted that “civil society participation increased as a result of these efforts and took the form of hybrid projects in which technical leadership was provided by appropriately qualified experts, but where CSOs took charge of the ensuing public awareness campaigns. Environmental co-operation under the ACT programme demonstrated the necessity of public participation in environmental decision-making.” It is noted, on P.23, that “ACT's support eventually led to the formation of the Cyprus Environmental Stakeholder Forum (CESF), the first inter-communal advocacy network bringing together academics, journalists, civil society leaders and others to demonstrate the importance of an inter-communal vision to protect the island's share natural heritage. CESF became the first bi-communal group to address the Commission on Sustainable Development at the United Nations in New York in 2007.” It is noted, on pp. 25-26, that ACT also “put into place co-operation for the preservation of the cultural heritage of the island.” Heritage sites restored through support from UNDP-ACT between 2006-2012 includes a Grand Turkish Bath from 1571-1590, mosques, churches, museums etc. Through the Cultural Heritage Preservation Circle project, UNDP-ACT supported the work of GCs and TCs

bi-communal activities as well as projects which developed the skills and knowledge of 370 Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) between 2005 and 2008.¹¹² Starting in 2009, the projects supported by UNDP-ACT focused on increasing the capacity of civil society for peacebuilding and in 2013 they launched the *Crossroads for Civic Engagement project (ACT-CCE)* which intended to establish the “Cypriot inter-communal civil society sector” as a recognized partner in the official negotiations. The UNDP-ACT program closed in March 2016¹¹³ and as of June 2017, UNDP’s main partners for peacebuilding in Cyprus are the *Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage, Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus, Technical Committee on Crossings, Office of the Special Advisor to the Secretary-General (OSASG)* and *UNFICYP*.¹¹⁴

According to a report published by the UNDP in 2007, 74% of the GCs and 69% of the TCs credit bi-communal activities with “having helped the two communities come closer together.”¹¹⁵ Over the years, these efforts have contributed to the

committed to restoring a set of cherished cultural heritage sites, some of which date back to the 12th century. The ACT programme supported civil society peace-builders who wanted to make the debate on peace a part of the popular discourse across the island.

¹¹² Ibid., 12.

¹¹³ "Overview," UNDP in Cyprus, accessed June 04, 2019, <http://www.cy.undp.org/content/cyprus/en/home/ourwork/actionforcooperationandtrust/overview.htm>.

¹¹⁴ "UNDP in Cyprus," UNDP, accessed June 02, 2019, <http://www.cy.undp.org/content/cyprus/en/home.html>. The infrastructure related work carried out by UNDP includes the restoration of cultural heritage on both sides, in collaboration with the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage with 14.7 Million Euro already spent. 19.9 Million Euro has been spent towards the finding of the missing persons in Cyprus in collaboration with the Technical Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus (CMP), 2.1 Million Euro has been spent towards new crossings on the island in collaboration with the Technical Committee on Crossings and 8.1 Million Euro has been spent on the bi-communal waste water treatment plant.

¹¹⁵ *Citizen Peacemaking in Cyprus, The Story of Co-operation and Trust across the Green Line*, report, United Nations Development Program (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2013), 54. The survey of 2007 was a quantitative study conducted on the basis of households concerning the level of trust between the two communities in Cyprus.

growth and maturation of civil society organizations in Cyprus which have now become “proactive advocates of island-wide reconciliation” instead of mere facilitators of bi-communal communication. By 2013, there was “a relatively mature debate on the role of civil society ... something which 10 years previously would have been thought improbable.”¹¹⁶ The Buffer Zone at the Ledra crossing point has transformed into a “hive of peace-building activity” including the *Home For Co-operation* (H4C), the *Cyprus Community Media Centre* (CCMC)¹¹⁷ and the *EU Meeting Point*, all of which offer Cypriots a shared physical space where they can meet and collaborate on joint projects without actually crossing the border to the other side. Organizations housed within this space such as the CCMC, and the *Center for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development* (SEED) have contributed to the “creation of an inter-communal civil society peacebuilding sector on the island.”¹¹⁸

However, despite the great number of activities organized and the large amount of money expended, peacebuilding activities in Cyprus remain scattered with most

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 28. The report also notes, on p.45, that one of the major milestones was Cyprus’s first International Civil Society Fair: Open Voices-Active Citizens held in 2007 in the Çetinkaya football pitch in the UN buffer zone which attracted over 2,000 participants. It was hailed as the biggest bi-communal event on the island at that time. The fair’s slogan “where there’s a will there’s a way” expressed the aspirations of civil society activists who sought to reach out to their peers from the other community and find ways of raising the voices of citizens through civic participation and engagement. The UNDP-ACT program also launched a 1.8-million-dollar Civil Society Strengthening Programme (CSSP) implemented by a consortium led by the International Training and Research Center (INTRAC UK) in partnership with two Cypriots CSOs, the Management Center of the Mediterranean (MC-MED) and the NGO Support Center. This two-year programme engaged over 200 CSOs in a series of structured capacity building activities which focused on enhancing the effectiveness of participating NGOs.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 55. The CCMC (Cyprus Community Media Center) established in 2009 now has a space in the UN Buffer Zone and produces programmes which provide Cypriots with a neutral source of news and information on issues related to peace and reconciliation and other developments in the two communities. It also broadcasts MYCY radio – Cyprus’s first multilingual web radio funded by the European Commission representation in Cyprus.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 46.

activists unaware of the work being done by others.¹¹⁹ The *Mahallae Digital Platform*,¹²⁰ funded by UNDP-ACT, which developed as a result of the *Innovation for Peace and Development* project, intended to act as “an interactive space for peace and development practitioners from Cyprus, the Arab region and Europe” where ideas could be exchanged, “partnerships built and inter-regional dialogues supported on social cohesion and reconciliation.” Their civic mapping program consists of a database of peacebuilding and social cohesion projects undertaken in Cyprus so far, tagged on the basis of themes and goals. While the *Mahallae* platform appears to have the potential to fill an obvious need in the co-ordination of peacebuilding activities in Cyprus, the effectiveness and sustainability of this initiative is yet to be seen. Another promising tool, developed under the same funding body and project, is the SCORE index by SeeD¹²¹; “a statistical tool that can measure and monitor, over time, changes in the communities’ capacities for Social Cohesion and Reconciliation,” the methodology of which has been “validated at an international conference in Nicosia in 2012” but the application and effectiveness of which is also yet to be seen.¹²²

¹¹⁹ While there is no single umbrella under which these civil society initiatives are gathered, the NGO Support Center in the South functions as a central organization for all NGOs registered under the RoC, but not exclusively of peacebuilding initiatives, while the recent EU funded Civic Space, although still very new, plans to function as the counterpart organization in the North of the island.

¹²⁰ "Innovation for Peace and Development," UNDP in Cyprus, accessed June 02, 2019, http://www.cy.undp.org/content/cyprus/en/home/operations/projects/action_for_cooperation_and_trust/mahallae.html.

¹²¹ "Social Cohesion and Reconciliation (SCORE) Index," UNDP in Cyprus, , accessed June 02, 2019, http://www.cy.undp.org/content/cyprus/en/home/operations/projects/action_for_cooperation_and_trust/social-cohesion-and-reconciliation--score--index-.html. SeeD emerged from the advocacy project “Cyprus 2015” which used participatory polling as a tool to inform the policy debate regarding the Cyprus peace talks. With support from Interpeace and UNDP-ACT, the Center for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD) was created in 2012 as a Think Tank led by Cypriot peace researchers from both communities and the vehicle for developing the SCORE index.

¹²² Ibid.

Despite the plethora of peacebuilding activities carried out in Cyprus, these undertakings remain limited in time and scope with a start date and end date when funds run out or interest dwindles. Whatever their initial impact, there is no follow up on whether or not and to what extent these peacebuilding initiatives have been effective. Moreover, a large number of these activities have taken place and continue to take place within the Buffer Zone at the Ledra Crossing Point reflecting the growing tendency of peacebuilding events to target and attract the same limited people already involved in these endeavors; in the words of one activist, “the usual suspects” of peacebuilding activities in Cyprus. Limited in scope and scale, peacebuilding efforts in Cyprus have failed to reach the public at large, especially those sections of the population who hesitate to be involved in such activities for fear of being branded “traitors” by the more nationalistic sections of their community as well as the economically and socially more disadvantaged sections of society including the growing number of migrant populations on both sides of the divide. With failed peacemaking efforts and a fragmented and unsustainable peacebuilding infrastructure, the island of Cyprus and its communities remain distant and distrustful of each other and continue to be dominated by the larger narratives of their respective governing bodies.

Peace Education in Cyprus

While peace education in the form of inclusive education is the major and most effective tool for peacebuilding¹²³ its employment in regions of conflict is fraught with obstacles. Ironically, in these regions, education is most often used to

¹²³ Shelley McKeown, "Chapter 9 Social Psychology and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 125.

perpetuate existing conflict instead of diffusing it by focusing on the exclusive suffering of the nation,¹²⁴ and not of the joint suffering of all peoples. Johnson points out that in Northern Ireland, the very educational institutions that were meant to “prepare young people for success in the future” were, in fact, the very institutions that “tacitly reinforced longstanding sectarian attitudes.”¹²⁵ The situation in Cyprus is no different with schools on either side of the divide reinforcing divisive narratives that project the “other” community as the “enemy” that is not to be trusted.



Photograph: Buffer Zone at Ledra Crossing Point

(Photograph taken from "Multiple Views on the Past, Brighter Prospects for the Future: How AHDR's Work on Teaching History Helps to Bridge Divides among Communities in Cyprus," OSCE, accessed June 08, 2019, <https://www.osce.org/hcnm/275456>.)

Figure 5

¹²⁴ Yiannis Papadakis, *History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Schoolbooks on the "History of Cyprus"* (Oslo, Norway: International Peace Research Institute, 2008), 128.

¹²⁵ Laurie Shepherd Johnson, "Chapter Two Moving from Piecemeal to Systemic Approaches to Peace Education in Divided Societies: Comparative Efforts in Northern Ireland and Cyprus," in *Addressing Ethnic Conflict through Peace Education: International Perspectives* by Zvi Bekerman and Claire McGlynn (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 23.

The education systems of the TC and GC communities on the island have been separate as far back as the first arrival of the Turkish community on the island in 1571. During the period of Ottoman rule (1571-1878) each community had exclusive control over its own education; GC education was organized by the Church of Cyprus and TC education was organized by Muslim pious foundations like the *Selimiye* and *Ömeriye* mosques.¹²⁶ From the conquest of the island until the mid-nineteenth century, the Muslim population was educated in *medreses* which were part of larger religious institutions called *külliyes* - with each *külliyeye* including a mosque, sometimes a hospice (*khan*), bath (*hamam*) and other public buildings. After the mid-nineteenth century reforms in the Ottoman Empire a new type of school called the *rüşdiye* became prominent which encompassed an education “geared towards the needs of the modern world” and with an emphasis on topics such as mathematics, natural sciences and Turkish.¹²⁷ The first *rüşdiye* in Cyprus was built in Nicosia in 1862, near the *Selimiye* mosque and later formed the foundation of the *Turkish Lycée*,¹²⁸ a high school attended by many of the former TC residents of Ayios Lukas whom I interviewed as part of my case-study (for the listing and location on the map of the schools mentioned during the interviews, see Fig. 19 and Fig. 20 on p.270-271).

During the earlier part of Ottoman rule, GCs who sought an education usually went to the Catholic institutions of the West,¹²⁹ but from the seventeenth century onwards

¹²⁶ Theoharis Stavrides and Ioannis Theocharides "Chapter IV Nicosia under Ottoman Rule 1570 - 1878 - Part I," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Demetrios Michaelides (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 249.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 248-249.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 252.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 249.

they mostly went to the “great Orthodox centers of the East, especially Constantinople and Jerusalem.”¹³⁰ Archbishop Kiprianos, who was especially interested in education, was one of the key persons to establish Greek schools on the island. He founded a school in Nicosia in 1812, the deed of which expressed the need for and value of a Greek education. It stated that Cyprus suffered “a great drought of education and a lack of Greek letters, which are the only means by which to adorn the human mind and make a man worthy to be called a man.” The deed further stated that the finding of the school was “motivated by divine zeal ... in our homeland, in order to benefit our compatriots, as far as our means permit.”¹³¹ By the last decades of Ottoman rule, the school of Nicosia had a substantial library which was “frequently enriched by volumes sent from Greece.” The importance that GC leaders gave to education during this period is exemplified by the fact that two of the most significant prelates of that time, Archbishop Sophroniso and Kyprianos Oikonomides, were themselves teachers at the school in Nicosia.¹³² The finding of this school is significant because it is the precursor of the present day Pancyprian Gymnasium established in 1893 in the same location;¹³³ a school attended by some of the GCs I interviewed as part of my case-study in Ayios Loukas and a school which became an important center of protest against the British Colonial

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid., 253.

¹³² Ibid., 254.

¹³³ Ibid., 253. The events of 1821 interrupted the functioning of the school of Kyprianos but its founding would bear fruit several decades later, since it was the precursor for the Pancyprian Gymnasium (1893) which stands to this day on the same location ... in 1830 Archbishop Panaretos gathered an assembly of prelates and notables and decided to reinstitute the founding of schools similar to the school of Nicosia.

Government (BCG) during the turbulent 1950s (see Fig.19 and Fig. 20 for location of this school).

In 1880, during the first years of British rule, the total number of Turkish schools in Cyprus numbered 64 and the total number of Greek schools 76. The Turkish schools were concentrated in Nicosia with 22 of them located in the capital in 1883.¹³⁴ During the same time period (1878), there were only four Greek Cypriot schools in Nicosia; the Girls School, the Greek school, and the schools of Ayios Savvas and Ayios Ioannis. These GC schools were administered by a committee under Archbishop Sophroniso and were supported by contributions from ecclesiastical foundations and private individuals.¹³⁵ The disparity between the number of TC and GC schools in Nicosia is not surprising because during this time period, the capital Nicosia was the seat of the Ottoman government where most of its administrators lived. With the handover of the island to the British in 1878, this situation gradually changed as GCs began to have more prominence within the capital city. It was also during British rule that the “English School” was founded. This school was attended by both communities and accepted students based on a selective examination. The curriculum was taught in English except for the separate language and religion courses which were taught in the respective languages of each community.¹³⁶ The tradition of the “English School” continues to this day, on both sides of the divide,

¹³⁴ Ibid., 249.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 254-255. The information is based on a report of the first British Commissioner of Nicosia.

¹³⁶ Alexis Rappas, "Cyprus in the 1930s: The Roots of an Ongoing Conflict" (lecture, Koç University Talks, Koç University, Rumeli Feneri Campus, Istanbul, December 10, 2018). Rappas notes that there was an attempt by the British Government, in the 1930s, to change the education system on the island as part of socially engineering the identities of the islanders. He notes that their attempts did not succeed.

and it is still regarded as the school with the highest standard of education on the island and hence one which many islanders want to send their children to. Amongst the former residents of Ayios Loukas, a GC resident, the priest's daughter K., and two TC residents, A. and E., attended the English school during the 1950s. There are currently a few mixed schools in Cyprus, all of which are in the South and cater to a majority GC student body with a minority TC student body who crosses the border back and forth every day.

Papadakis describes the history education model on both sides of the divide as pursuing an "identification stance" where the narratives involve a single actor, the nation, which is "present from beginning to end as the story's protagonist which the students are called upon to identify in all its glory and suffering."¹³⁷ Using UNESCO's guidelines Papadakis analyzed the history textbooks used on either side of the divide and observed that in the GC textbooks "Cypriot Hellenism is the central actor of history from beginning to end" and the term Cypriots (Kyprioi) is used in all cases as being equivalent to Greeks (Ellines), establishing in this way, the notion that since the Mycenaean migration to Cyprus, the Greeks have been the only ethnic group on the island. Papadakis explains how, following this logic, the TCs or any other ethnic group for that matter, have no rightful place on the island.¹³⁸ To further reinforce the notion that Turks have no claim to Cyprus, is the assertion made in these textbooks that the TCs of Cyprus are "primarily descendants of Islamized

¹³⁷ Yiannis Papadakis, *History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Schoolbooks on the "History of Cyprus"* (Oslo, Norway: International Peace Research Institute, 2008), 129.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 132.

Greeks in Cyprus and that even the people initially brought over from Anatolia by the Ottoman authorities were themselves originally of Greek stock.”¹³⁹

To the extent that the Greek Cypriot textbooks present the island as historically “Greek” through a narrative of ethnicity covering both theirs and that of the TCs, the TC textbooks put forth a counter narrative which connects the island of Cyprus geographically, historically and economically to Turkey. The Ottoman period on the island is “glorified as a time of freedom and progress” during which the GCs were saved from Venetian cruelty,¹⁴⁰ justifying in this way the rightful claim of the benevolent Turks on the island. The narrative emphasizes the “barbaric onslaught” that the TC community was subjected to between 1963-1974, which they endured at the expense of great loss to life and property. A distinction is made in the textbooks between the term *Yunan* (Ioanian) which refers to the Greeks living in Greece and *Rum* used for the GCs, identifying them thus “implicitly” as “previous subjects of the Ottoman Empire, and therefore certainly different from Greeks.” The lack of identification of GCs with the Greeks of Greece serves the purpose of denying them any claim to a proper Greek identity “delegitimizing” in this way “their political demands for union with Greece.”¹⁴¹

Thus, the textbooks across the divide, not only delegitimize the ethnic and national identities of each community, in this way delegitimizing their community’s claims to the island, they also portray the “other” community as an undeserving group of

¹³⁹ Ibid., 34.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 135.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 136.

people. Referring to the content analysis of a primary-level Greek Cypriot school book, Papadakis points out that the book included “100 negative references to national others, the bulk of which refer to Turks, and only two negative references to the national self.”¹⁴² Such negative stereotyping of the “other” although most obviously counterproductive to peacebuilding is nonetheless common in the educational systems on both sides and constitutes one of the major “structural” obstacles to peacebuilding in Cyprus. Any kind of peace education needs to first of all address this problem of negative stereotyping and “reframe” each community’s “understanding of the other” as part of a “dramatic change” that needs to take place in the islanders’ “collective worldview.”¹⁴³ Although there were attempts made, on both sides of the divide, to reform their education systems along these lines, both communities failed to do so in practice as they came up against opposition from political actors whose existence and survival are based on the propagation of these polarized narratives.

In the South, “an education reform with a new curriculum was initiated in 2004” but not implemented due to “strong reactions from center and center-right circles” who asserted that “the proposed reform would deny Greek Cypriots their Greek identity.”¹⁴⁴ In the North, a major revision to the history textbooks was actually put into effect by the pro-solution *Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi* (CTP) political party who

¹⁴² Ibid., 134.

¹⁴³ Laurie Shepherd Johnson, "Chapter Two Moving from Piecemeal to Systemic Approaches to Peace Education in Divided Societies: Comparative Efforts in Northern Ireland and Cyprus," in *Addressing Ethnic Conflict through Peace Education: International Perspectives* by Zvi Bekerman and Claire McGlynn (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 21.

¹⁴⁴ Dilek Latif, "A Challenging Educational Reform: Politics of History Textbook Revision in North Cyprus," *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 49, no. 1 (2017): 5, doi:10.1080/03057925.2017.1369003.

had the ruling majority at the time and carried out these changes prior to and amidst the excitement of the potential acceptance of the Annan plan.¹⁴⁵ Even though the new history textbooks were used in all of the secondary schools in the North between 2004 and 2009, they were criticized by the more nationalistic sections of society for causing “erosion of the Turkish identity and national consciousness”¹⁴⁶ and once the center-right *Ulusal Birlik Partisi* (UBP) came into power in the aftermath of the 2009 elections, these books were *re-revised* to approximate their original versions.

On both sides of the divide, the criticisms brought to these revisions centered on fears that such revisions would lead to the lessening of ethnic or national identity.¹⁴⁷ Johnson notes that similar objections took place in Northern Ireland regarding the growth of integrated schools as a means of promoting peace. He notes that the implementation of these integrated schools in Northern Ireland was “hard won in the face of considerable resistance, not the least of which came from religious quarters,” the claim being that “educational integration sought to curtail expression of religion and threaten cultural identity.”¹⁴⁸ Writing about the eventual success of these schools he notes that the prospects of something similar happening in Cyprus are

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 14.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 5.

¹⁴⁷ Vamık Volkan, "Trauma, Identity and Search for a Solution in Cyprus," *Insight Turkey* 10, no. 4 (2008): 102. Volkan criticizes the revisions made in the textbooks of the Turkish North based on his observation that they amounted to the erasure of history hence preventing any therapeutic healing taking place. He mentions how the textbooks did not mention “the chronic massive TC trauma or even the Turkish military’s coming to the island in 1974, contained only one picture of the founder of modern Turkey Kemal Atatürk and did not even mention the first president of the TRNC, Rauf Denktaş.

¹⁴⁸ Laurie Shepherd Johnson, "Chapter Two Moving from Piecemeal to Systemic Approaches to Peace Education in Divided Societies: Comparative Efforts in Northern Ireland and Cyprus," in *Addressing Ethnic Conflict through Peace Education: International Perspectives* by Zvi Bekerman and Claire McGlynn (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 24.

“light years away” given the island’s “very real geopolitical boundaries.”¹⁴⁹ The difficulty of establishing such integrated schools is observable in the recently opened Montessori School in South Cyprus (2017) which is based on a philosophy of peace education, inclusion, humanism and ecology. Its director Evi Eftychiou indicates that they are eager to have more TCs attending their school but amongst their 17 registered students in 2017, only one was a TC and out of the 24 registered children this year (2018-2019), only two are TCs.¹⁵⁰ Crossing the border in the morning, during peak hours, can take time and families need additional insurance (cars) if they are to drive their children across the border themselves every day. Moreover, given that the economy in the North is weaker than in the South, coupled with the recent devaluation of the Turkish Lira against foreign currency, private schools in the South are becoming unaffordable for most families in the North. Thus, to the geopolitical boundaries mentioned by Johnson, we can add economic boundaries as well.

Despite the difficulties involved in planning and implementing a peace education program across the divide in Cyprus, there have been efforts since 2015, to “jointly” reshape the education systems on both sides of the divide to be more peace-promoting.¹⁵¹ The entity leading these efforts is the bi-communal *Technical*

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 25.

¹⁵⁰ Evi Eftychiou, "Montessori School in Cyprus," personal communication, September 20, 2018.

¹⁵¹ *Citizen Peacemaking in Cyprus, The Story of Co-operation and Trust across the Green Line*, report, United Nations Development Program (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2013), 14. The Technical Committee on Education is only one of eleven technical committees of Cyprus, all of them seen to be supplementing the official efforts to resolve the Cyprus conflict. The idea for these committees were initiated in the aftermath of a meeting of the Cypriot leaders with the UN Under-Secretary General Ibrahim Gambar on 8th July 2006 where they “agreed to measures to restart the peace talks which had ended with the rejection of the Annan Plan in 2004.” It was agreed that bi-communal technical committees should be established and their mandate should be to “seek consensus on specific areas ... in a particular field.” The agreement was implemented in 2008 and the committees were established in April of 2009 “followed by the re-establishment of the UN Good Offices Mission and the resumption of direct talks between the leaders.”

*Committee of Education*¹⁵² which is headed jointly by a TC and a GC educator. It has three items in its mandate; a literature review of the work carried out in peace education across the world so far, a list of educational activities to be carried out in Cyprus, and the establishment of a structure for education in a future federal Cyprus.

Significant as these efforts are, Meltem Onurkan, the TC head¹⁵³ of the Committee notes that the term “technical committee” is deceiving because in the context of Cyprus any changes to the education system have “political” implications which need the official approval of the respective governing bodies. Although the Committee has just successfully finished the first year of the “Imagine” project in peace education,¹⁵⁴ these efforts are likely to yield incremental results compared to any prospective sustained and all-encompassing change in the education systems of Cyprus across the divide. In so far as peace education is concerned, Johnson likens the current efforts in Cyprus “to the earliest cross-community contact goals of Northern Ireland’s Education for Mutual Understanding Initiative.”¹⁵⁵ Moreover, the fact that history education and curriculum development are *not* included in the

¹⁵² Meltem Onurkan, "Technical Committee on Education," interview by author, March 30, 2018. Onurkan recounts how the technical committee for education was established in the aftermath of protests carried out in November 2015, by a GC youth aged between 15 and 16 regarding the establishment of TRNC on the anniversary of its establishment, which was pointed out by them as proof that there was an “urgent” need to educate the youth to be more peace-oriented and less filled with hatred towards the other side. There is, as of yet, no published material on the work carried out by the committee nor is there a website for it.

¹⁵³ The other joint-head of the Technical Committee on Education, representing the South, is peace education scholar Michalinos Zembylas.

¹⁵⁴ Meltem Onurkan, "Technical Committee on Education," interview by author, March 30, 2018. The *Imagine* project is first executed separately in each community followed by joint training in the Buffer Zone by matching schools in the North with schools in the South. At the time of the interview, they had trained over 2000 children and youth from across the divide, a number that has since increased.

¹⁵⁵ Laurie Shepherd Johnson, "Chapter Two Moving from Piecemeal to Systemic Approaches to Peace Education in Divided Societies: Comparative Efforts in Northern Ireland and Cyprus," in *Addressing Ethnic Conflict through Peace Education: International Perspectives* by Zvi Bekerman and Claire McGlynn (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 26.

mandate of the Technical Committee on Education,¹⁵⁶ the most critical aspects of any peace education, is a strong indication that “national” politics has infused every aspect of life in Cyprus, even and *especially* its system and philosophy of education and efforts to put into place a peace education program on the island.

Making major changes towards an educational curriculum of peace in the schools of Cyprus seems very unlikely. These schools were always used as the political instruments of the governing bodies of either side, ready to be put to use across the divide, when needed and for the purpose of “creating nationalist subjects”¹⁵⁷ and they continue to function this way. This is an engrained structural condition on the island hard to change even if a political solution to the dispute was to be agreed to. As noted by Johnson, even in the unlikely case that a whole-scale educational effort in the form of “rights-based content and participatory processes” were to be implemented across the divide, it would not be sufficient in itself to educate for “sustained peace” unless the broader society and its systems are also engaged.¹⁵⁸

Delineating a Peacebuilding Stance in Cyprus

Peacebuilding in Cyprus is hampered by structural obstacles that exist at different levels. The island has experienced a history of failed peacemaking attempts and is

¹⁵⁶ Meltem Onurkan, "Technical Committee on Education," interview by author, March 30, 2018.

¹⁵⁷ Michalinos Zembylas and Hakan Karahasan, "Formal and Non-formal Reform Efforts of History Teaching in Cyprus: Openings and Closures for Dangerous Memories and Reconciliation Pedagogies," *History Education and Conflict Transformation*, 2017, 15, doi:10.1007/978-3-319-54681-0_13.

¹⁵⁸ Laurie Shepherd Johnson, "Chapter Two Moving from Piecemeal to Systemic Approaches to Peace Education in Divided Societies: Comparative Efforts in Northern Ireland and Cyprus," in *Addressing Ethnic Conflict through Peace Education: International Perspectives* by Zvi Bekerman and Claire McGlynn (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 21.

currently characterized by a variety of peacebuilding initiatives that remain, generally speaking, un-coordinated and unsustainable. Since state endorsement of an island-wide peacebuilding initiative is very unlikely on both sides of the divide, any peacebuilding initiative that sets out to be effective needs to be conceptualized as an initiative independent from state structures, institutions and funding schemes. This does not mean that the peacebuilding initiative should not be open to state support, collaboration and participation, but it does mean that any kind of support that has the risk of co-option by state mechanisms needs to be refused. State contribution of any kind cannot be conditional and needs to be based instead on the full endorsement of the peacebuilding initiative. Given the need to be independent from state structures, this peacebuilding initiative needs to also be a bottom-up endeavor engaging the public at large. This is the only way to ensure both adherence to the stated principles of the peacebuilding initiative as well as the sustainability of any peacebuilding initiative.

The analysis of peacemaking and peacebuilding in Cyprus conducted above can be summarized as a highly politicized and polarized contextual environment which infuses every aspect of life on the island, including its systems of education. This assessment suggests a stance towards peacebuilding that needs to be driven by “local agency, resistance and liberation”¹⁵⁹ which is the only means of breaking the above crystallized context. What is needed is a genuinely bottom-up, participative and independent peacebuilding initiative that is accessible to every islander across the spectrum of ideologies, ethnicities, religions, nationalities, social classes and cultures because this is the only means of bypassing the sectarian politics on the island. The

¹⁵⁹ Michael Pugh, "Chapter 1 The Problem-Solving and Critical Paradigms," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015).

peacebuilding stance to be taken on the island of Cyprus needs to reach out to all the islanders and attempt to move with them en-mass towards the creation of a more peaceful society across the divide.

Histories and Heritages

While the terms history and heritage are most often used interchangeably, Lowenthal points out that they mean different things. He describes history as “an inquiry into the past” and heritage as a “celebration of the past” with the purpose of “tailoring it to the present.” He argues that history is aligned with “truth” and “enlightened reality” whereas heritage is aligned with “faith” and “amazed inspiration.” History seeks “to convey a past consensually known open to inspection and proof” whereas heritage is a “designed past” which fixes the identity of a chosen individual or group in the present.¹⁶⁰ Harvey reinforces this notion of heritage as something *intentionally* made and states that we remember or forget as ways of keeping memories alive or not and for the purpose of “reinforcing a particular heritage construction.”¹⁶¹ Pearce likens the production of cultural heritage to a “battlefield” within which many cultural productions created at “different nesting scales,” clash with each other, at the end of which a particular value arises as the triumphant one.¹⁶² While the heritage field may nowadays appear to be such a battleground, often referred to also as the

¹⁶⁰ David Lowenthal, "Chapter 1 Heritage Ascendant," in *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, by David Lowenthal (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1-31.

¹⁶¹ David C. Harvey, "Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7, no. 4 (2001): doi:10.1080/13581650120105534.

¹⁶² Pearce, Susan. "The Construction and Analysis of the Cultural Heritage: Some Thoughts," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 4, no. 1 (1998): 1-9. doi:10.1080/13527259808722215.

heritage *industry*, the process of using the past to create notions of individual or group identity is not new to humans.¹⁶³

Its evolution into what Smith calls “a more pointed concern for what we now identify as heritage” coincides with the 19th century and the rise of nationalism during which there arose the need for “new devices to ensure or express social cohesion and identity.” This meant that the narratives which emerged during this time were framed in terms of the heritage of the “nation,” in the meantime obscuring or devaluing *other* forms of identity within the borders of the nation. National and racial discourses emerged during which concepts of identity, history and territory were merged in order “to establish a doctrine of blood and land.”¹⁶⁴ It is this doctrine of “blood and land” that is so pronounced in regions of conflict around the world, including Cyprus, as I will highlight in Chapter 2.

Intentionality is what distinguishes heritage from history. In Smith’s words, heritage becomes heritage when it is “subjected to the management and preservation/conservation process, not because it simply is.” In other words, we determine and identify “those things and places than can be given meaning and value as heritage” in what is ultimately a “constitutive cultural process.” What makes a collection of rocks Stonehenge, and therefore heritage with value and meaning, are “the present-day cultural processes and activities that are undertaken at and around them, and of which they become a part.”¹⁶⁵ Smith notes that the materiality of

¹⁶³ David C. Harvey, "Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7, no. 4 (2001): doi:10.1080/13581650120105534.

¹⁶⁴ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2010), 18.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

heritage is favored and prioritized in the West but posits that this materiality is useful in so far as it acts as “prop and prompt” for the meanings and values associated with it. These meanings in turn enable us to “engage with acts of remembering” and create ways in which we can begin “to understand and engage with the present.” For Smith, heritage is not so much “a thing” as it is a “cultural and social process” of meaning making.¹⁶⁶

Once viewed as a cultural and social process, heritage becomes a constantly changing and evolving phenomenon. Harvey writes about the continuously constructed nature of heritage as having no beginning or end and therefore no place to fixate it. He defines heritage as “a historical narrative of an endless succession of presents, a heritage of heritage that can have no terminal point.” He gives the example of Avebury in England and its many varied meanings in the last 300 years as an illustration of how this construction and reconstruction of meaning making takes place according to the specific objectives of dominant governing bodies.¹⁶⁷ Ashworth, Graham and Turnbridge confirm this purposive and evolving nature of heritage as “the use of the past as a cultural, political and economic resource for the present.”¹⁶⁸ This selective use of the past for a particular purpose in the present is a practice equivalent to the *curation* of the past for the purposes of the present, *re-*

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 2.

¹⁶⁷ David H. Harvey, "Chapter 1 The History of Heritage," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Routledge, 2016). There was a period during which Alexander Keiller turned Avebury into a purely Neolithic site by having all “other” traces of history removed from it. Medieval cottages, the Old Baptist Church on High Street and farm buildings in the adjoining yard were all destroyed, so that the site could be viewed as a purely Neolithic site; a desirable presentation in so far as the promotion of tourism on the site was concerned.

¹⁶⁸ Gregory J. Ashworth, Brian J. Graham, and J. E. Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies* (London: Pluto Press, 2007).

establishing our relationship to this past, and thus coinciding with the practice of museology as I will elaborate upon in Chapter 3. Therefore, the use of heritage, whether in a museum setting or not, as a means of meaning-making, clearly falls under the category of museological practices.

Given the above understanding of heritage as the curation of the past based on the needs of the present, the question arises as to whose needs are being addressed during this constitutive process. Harvey defines the history of heritage as the “history of power relations that have been formed and operate via the deployment of the heritage process”¹⁶⁹ thus pointing to heritage as an arena of power struggles between various bodies. Smith states that when the winner of this power struggle is the state itself, it enforces its own understanding of heritage in the form of what she calls the *authorized heritage discourse* characterized by the “grand narratives of nation and aesthetics” which are put together through a top-down process of meaning making which “bolsters and privileges expert and professional judgements and stewardship over the past.”¹⁷⁰ She puts forth that the vagueness, mysteriousness and hard-to-pin-downness of the past makes it possible to accord such privilege to experts such as archaeologists and historians who in turn become “legitimate spokespersons for the past.” An additional feature of the authorized heritage discourse is that it is seen as something “saved for future generations” which unfortunately also “disempowers” the present population from attempting to actively change it.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ David H. Harvey, "Chapter 1 The History of Heritage," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Routledge, 2016), 21.

¹⁷⁰ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2010), 42.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

The authorized heritage discourse has been criticized for excluding many sections of society including women, various ethnic and community groups, indigenous communities, working classes and labor history, to count a few.¹⁷² Within the authorized heritage discourse, heritage is defined *not* as an active process or experience but rather as “something visitors are led to, instructed about, but are then not invited to engage with more actively.”¹⁷³ Static and exclusionary in nature such authorized heritage discourses also exist in Cyprus, two distinct ones to be more specific, that are articulated by the North and South of Cyprus respectively and stand in sharp opposition to each other turning each authorized heritage discourse into a *contested* heritage discourse for the “other” community. Regardless of such contestations of heritage which are common in regions of conflict, Smith notes that all heritage is bound to be uncomfortable for someone because it has “a particular power to legitimize – or not – someone’s sense of place and thus their social and cultural memories.”¹⁷⁴ Put another way, as noted by Turnbridge and Ashworth, heritage is inherently “dissonant” or “contested” because “all heritage is someone’s heritage and therefore logically not someone else’s.”¹⁷⁵ In regions of conflict in particular, “the interpretation and representation of human suffering and past injustices can create significant dissonance or disagreement”¹⁷⁶ as is the case in

¹⁷² Ibid., 30.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 31.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 81.

¹⁷⁵ J. E. Tunbridge and G. J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester: J. Wiley, 1997), 21.

¹⁷⁶ Rana P.B: Singh, "Chapter 7 The Contestation of Heritage: The Enduring Importance of Religion," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* by Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Routledge, 2016), 127.

Cyprus where each side highlights its own suffering to the exclusion of the other community's suffering, which I elaborate upon in Chapter 2.

Within the context of a museology of peacebuilding that aims to bridge these contestations rather than reinforce them, I suggest that they be viewed instead as *different* heritages; that is to say as different ways in which each community has articulated its place on the island encompassing their values, collective memories, thoughts and emotions. Looking at the respective authorized heritage discourses of the estranged communities on the island through the perspective of *differences* as opposed to *contestations* means that the meanings and values that each community created over the years are respected and legitimized. There can be no other starting point for a museology of peacebuilding. Accepting and respecting what *is* constitutes the grounds for beginning to converse with each other about what *could be*. I argue that it is only through recognition of the current status quo that the estranged communities of the island will be encouraged to take the first steps necessary for beginning to communicate with one another. However, while I argue for initiating the museology of peacebuilding from a point of *acceptance* of the singular and opposing narratives, my vision for the future of Cyprus is one where these sharply contrasting authorized heritage discourses are diluted and modified in such a way that while maintaining their distinctiveness, they no longer pose a threat to the other side's identity and existence. The result would be a hybrid kind of heritage with some shared elements as well as some elements unique to each community. Needless to say, such a modification requires that wrongdoings on both sides of the divide are accepted.

Within the context of a museology of peacebuilding that sets out to dilute authorized heritage discourses, the making of new histories and heritages ought to necessarily be inclusive, soliciting the input and participation of all islanders. In this regard, the use of the terms “heritage” and “history” in the plural as *heritages* and *histories* is intentional because I view plurality as both an inevitable reality of our global world, and more importantly as “a form of resistance to hegemonic discourses.”¹⁷⁷ It is only by acknowledging and accommodating differences conceptualized within the construct of “plurality” that the making of new histories and heritages is possible. Heritage is a cultural and social process of meaning-making that is used for many purposes and one of its most productive uses is for social cohesion and peacebuilding. The spectrum of applications is wide and the cases diverse. What follows is an overview of them.

Heritage-based Peacebuilding Practices

Peace museums, peace parks, peace monuments, peace gardens, peace cities, peace bridges, peace bells, peace trains as well as peace trails are some of the more obvious uses of heritage for peacebuilding but there are also places designated as sites of conscience which are locations where atrocities were carried out in the past and have the objective of reminding humanity of the grave consequences of not achieving peace. Besides these, there are also museums which do not have peace in their title but work nevertheless within the related areas of social cohesion, inclusivity, women’s empowerment etc. as well as a host of other unique ways in which heritage is used for the accomplishment of positive social change in society.

¹⁷⁷ Gregory J. Ashworth, Brian J. Graham, and J. E. Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies* (London: Pluto Press, 2007).

Peace Museums & Networks of Museums

The peace museums movement took root during the charged period of the 1960s, especially in Japan, in the form of a response both to the atomic bombs dropped on Japan during WWII as well as “the nation’s reliance on nuclear power to meet its growing energy needs.”¹⁷⁸ The *International Network of Peace Museums* (INPM) was established in 1993 and acquired its current name, *The International Network of Museums for Peace* (INMP) in 2005 in an effort to broaden its membership. This enabled INMP to include, within its members, the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) which has a membership of around 250 from 65 countries.¹⁷⁹ Combined, these two networks, INPM and ICSC, serve as the broad category of museums for peace in the world.¹⁸⁰ A list of all the peace museums in the world indicate that the greatest concentration is found in Japan (68), followed by the USA (44) with significant numbers in Germany (16), Netherlands (12) and China (8).¹⁸¹ Peace museums are described as “repositories of the material culture of peace, including art, banners, and petitions, as well as of antiwar and social justice movements fostering nonviolence, disarmament and conflict resolution.” They share the common objective of “promoting an understanding of peace as an ongoing, significant part of human history.”¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ Seth Frankel, "Chapter 2 A Conversation with Seth Frankel: Designing Exhibitions for Peace," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* by Diana Walters, Daniel Laven, and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 17.

¹⁷⁹ "About Us," Sites of Conscience, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/who-we-are/about-us/>.

¹⁸⁰ Joyce Apsel, *Introducing Peace Museums* (London: Routledge, 2017), 4.

¹⁸¹ 作成者:, "List of Museums for Peace Worldwide," ASAP 安齋科学・平和事務所, , accessed June 02, 2019, <http://asap-anzai.com/2017/05/museums-for-peace-worldwide/>.

¹⁸² Joyce Apsel, *Introducing Peace Museums* (London: Routledge, 2017), 1.

Peace museums are often private and “face an ongoing struggle to keep afloat fiscally.” Contrarily, war and military museums which are common in every country are usually supported by government funds and continue to promote “popular government and just-war narratives.”¹⁸³ As noted further by Van den Dungen, monuments and museums dedicated to war and military are plenty whereas peace monuments and peace museums are relatively few, an occurrence which he claims “cannot but teach their citizens” that war is a given they should accept. He notes that these monuments also paint “a rather sanitized picture of war from which the human and social consequences are largely absent,” mis-representing in this way the social cost of war to humanity.¹⁸⁴

A brief look at the kinds of activities and projects carried out in peace museums indicates that they include traditional exhibitions such as the *Tehran Peace Museum*’s “Peace Postcard” exhibition which featured a collection of two hundred postcards, mostly from children, living in twenty different countries worldwide,¹⁸⁵ and less traditional activities such as a traveling exhibition organized by *The Community Peace Museums in Kenya* which “worked with grassroots communities to facilitate reconstruction of social relations destroyed by violence” through workshops held in schools and villages.¹⁸⁶ Workshops or talking sessions involved

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Peter Van Den Dungen, "Chapter 1 The Heritage of Peace: The Importance of Peace Museums for the Development of a Culture of Peace," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* by Diana Walters, Daniel Laven, and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 11.

¹⁸⁵ Joyce Apsel, *Introducing Peace Museums* (London: Routledge, 2017), 8.

¹⁸⁶ Timothy Gachanga, "Reconstructing Social Relations through Community Peace Museums, Kenya," in *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures: Papers Based on the 7th Conference of the International Network of Museums for Peace, Barcelona, 2011: "The Role of Museums in the Transformation of a Culture of War and Violence to a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence* (The Hague: International Network of Museums for Peace, 2012), 26.

elders of the former Mau Mau veterans and Colonial Home Guards, factions involved in atrocities against each other in 1952 at the height of the independence struggle in Kenya, during which they “shared their experience of the massacre” and “impressed upon the people the potential for more wars if they do not keep the peace.”¹⁸⁷ The *Community Peace Museums of Kenya* are privately funded and initiated by a Kenyan ethnographer Dr. Sultan Somjee as “a material culture project sponsored by the Mennonite Central Committee of Kenya.” The objectives are to “expose African peace heritage” and “facilitate community access to resources and management of traditional peace materials.”¹⁸⁸ Gachanga notes, in reference to the task of the *Community Peace Museums of Kenya*, that “what community peace museums are doing is creating a forum for contacts between communities to dialogue, assess their differences and reflect upon their relations and construct a roadmap for conflict resolution and future collaboration.”¹⁸⁹

Besides individual museums working to bring about positive social change, there are also *networks* of museums that are organized for the purpose of increasing impact through collaboration. One such significant network is the Balkan Museum Network (BMN), the seeds of which were planted by work done in the Balkans in 1996 by the Cultural Heritage without Borders (CHwB) NGO in Sweden. CHwB, along with

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 28.

¹⁸⁸ Timothy Gachanga, "Chapter 11 Transforming Conflict through Peace Cultures," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* by Diana Walters, Daniel Laven, and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 127.

¹⁸⁹ Timothy Gachanga, "Reconstructing Social Relations through Community Peace Museums, Kenya," in *Museums for Peace: Transforming Cultures: Papers Based on the 7th Conference of the International Network of Museums for Peace, Barcelona, 2011: "The Role of Museums in the Transformation of a Culture of War and Violence to a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence* (The Hague: International Network of Museums for Peace, 2012), 34-35.

other institutions, was instrumental in the reconstruction of the national museums of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 2006, it established the Western Balkan Regional Network as a pilot initiative, which drew eleven museums from six Balkan countries as members.¹⁹⁰ From this initiative, grew the idea of the larger BMN which was officially launched in Tirana in 2014. By the end of 2015, it grew to over 40 institutions including large national museums, small historic houses, as well as other heritage institutions and NGOs.¹⁹¹ Joint conferences labelled MEET SEE DO are held every year by the BMN, the objectives of which are to “help museums improve their conditions, attitudes and approaches” and work collaboratively on peacebuilding processes. Cvjetićanin and Vežić who were involved in setting up the BMN note that the network maintains a commitment to “peace and reconciliation through cross-border cooperation” and that the development of trust as well as respect for diversity have been prerequisites in establishing and sustaining this network.¹⁹²

The Federation of International Human Rights Museums (FIHRM) is another network which is very active in promoting human rights and the notion of museums for social change. It was established in 2010 through the coordination of the National Museums Liverpool’s International Slavery Museum and is distinguished by its mission to “engage with sensitive and controversial human rights themes, such as transatlantic slavery, the Holocaust, other instances of genocide and the plight of

¹⁹⁰ Aida Vežić and Tatjana Cvjetićanin "Chapter 8 Museum, Peace and Reconciliation: The Impact of the Balkan Museum Network," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding*, by Diana Walters, Daniel Laven, and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 79.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 84.

¹⁹² Ibid., 89.

indigenous peoples.” The major activity of the FIHRM is a conference held every year during which museums are discussed as agents of social change under a variety of sub-topics.¹⁹³

International Coalition of Sites of Conscience

Yet another network of institutions working for peacebuilding is the *International Coalition of Sites of Conscience* (ICSC), mentioned earlier and founded in 1999, which assert that “erasing the past can prevent new generations from learning critical lessons and destroy opportunities to build a peaceful future.” The organization states that sites of conscience can be a historic site, place-based museum, or memorial which not only “prevent this erasure from happening,” but also “provide safe spaces to remember and preserve even the most traumatic memories,” enabling visitors to make “connections between the past and present human rights issues.” All sites of conscience are “united by their common commitment to connect past to present and memory to action.” The activities of these sites are equally diverse, ranging from a project where police officers from the contested sides of the dispute in Northern Ireland “tell their stories in an oral history project designed to foster trust and understanding among the two factions,” to a travelling exhibition through which thousands of children are educated about the civil war in Sierra Leone (1991-2002) compensating for the hesitation of their parents to discuss war because they fear this could cause old wounds to resurface.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ FIHRM Federation of International Human Rights Museums, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://www.fihrm.org/home/>.

¹⁹⁴ "About Us," Sites of Conscience, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/who-we-are/about-us/>.

Peace Parks & International Cities of Peace

Peace Parks are a special case of the use of heritage for peacebuilding because the natural environment is also involved. The philosophy of this initiative is that a balance in our relationship to natural heritage, between what we give to it and take back from it, constitutes the foundation for a just and sustainable future. The Peace Parks Foundation was founded by HRH Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, Nelson Mandela and Dr. Anton Rupert with the objective of establishing peace parks or trans-frontier conservation areas (TFCAs) in southern Africa which would be managed “with their surrounding communities” for the purposes of creating “sustainable, national and regional benefit flows.” Nelson Mandela explains how these parks contribute to peace by claiming that if various countries across boundaries work together, this collaboration will unite those countries and render their boundaries unimportant.¹⁹⁵ The significance of the TFCAs lies not only in the tangible benefits they provide for the communities involved but in the processes of collaboration across boundaries that are necessary for their establishment and maintenance, emphasizing in this way the positive value brought through collaboration for the better good of all, seen by many peacebuilding scholars as a critical component of effective peacebuilding.

Another coalition is the International Cities of Peace initiative (ICP), the mission of which is to “foster peace as a consensus value” around the world in those cities nominated as cities of peace. It is conceptualized in terms of the concrete projects accomplished on the ground such as building schools and health clinics, teaching

¹⁹⁵ "Our Journey," Peace Parks Foundation, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://www.peaceparks.org/about/our-journey/>.

non-violence, and taking care of orphans, those at risk, including refugees, and those affected by war, poverty and hunger. Its founding philosophy is that “peacebuilding is more effective at the community level where needs are known and solutions come from collaboration between all sectors of society.” Seen as part of a “global cities of peace movement” it is based on the bottom-up efforts of the community to make peace happen. The goal of the ICP network¹⁹⁶ is to “encourage, document and provide resources and information for leaders and organizations working to make peace a consensus value” in cities of the world.¹⁹⁷

Peace Trails

A similar initiative but with a historical component are peace trails which are routes for walking in the city that “draw awareness to peace matters” by highlighting those places and events in the city that are “linked to peace figures and histories.”¹⁹⁸ An initiative of the European Union Lifelong Learning Program, these peace trails currently exist in seven European cities; Berlin, Budapest, Manchester, Paris, the

¹⁹⁶A related initiative to the ICP is the slow city or *cittaslow* movement, As noted in the official website of the *cittaslow* movement, "Welcome to Cittaslow International | Cittaslow International," Welcome to Cittaslow International | Cittaslow International, , accessed June 02, 2019, <http://www.cittaslow.org/>., this movement's objective is to encourage and affect a slower pace of life in cities where nature, food, the environment and people are more fully appreciated. The *cittaslow* movement was begun by Paolo Saturnini, past Mayor of the town of Greve in Chianti, Tuscany, and derives from a vision for an improved quality of life. The main goal is to enlarge the philosophy of slow food, applying the concepts of eco gastronomy as part of the practice of everyday life. Living in and managing a slow city is akin to a particular slow life-style which stands in opposition to the way of life in the global cities of today. As the *cittaslow* manifesto explains, “we are looking for towns where men are still curious of the old times, towns rich of theatres, squares, cafes, workshops, restaurants and spiritual places, towns with untouched landscapes and charming craftsman where people are still able to recognize the slow course of the seasons and their genuine products respecting tastes, health and spontaneous customs.” There are currently 252 slow cities in 30 countries around the world, including 3 in Cyprus, all of which are in the North. They are the towns of Lefke, Yeniboğaziçi and Mehmetçik.

¹⁹⁷ "About," International Cities of Peace, accessed June 02, 2019, <http://www.internationalcitiesofpeace.org/about/>.

¹⁹⁸ Joyce Apsel, *Introducing Peace Museums* (London: Routledge, 2017), 8.

Hague, Torino and Vienna, with specified monuments, buildings and locations which “disclose stories about people and activities with rich engagement for human rights, peace and democracy” that either took place at these locations in the past or continues to take place at them today. Peace trails highlight people who in “different moments of history have had the courage to stand up and become engaged against poverty, inequality, discrimination and war.”¹⁹⁹

Heritage Sites

Besides the purposeful establishment of institutions or networks that strive to contribute to peacebuilding, there are also practices of the use of individual historic heritage sites or buildings for peacebuilding purposes. One such example involves the use of an old bath and synagogue in the historic city of Nablus (HCN) in Palestine, a city that dates back to 3000 BC and has been “rebuilt several times on the ruins of Canaanite, Roman, Crusader, Mongol, Mameluke and Ottoman constructions.” There is a dispute in the HCN between the Samaritans and the Jews which dates back to the 5th century BC and concerns the true religion of the ancient Israelites and the location of their holy temple. The Samaritans believe that Yosha’ Bin Noun built the first temple on Mount Gerizim while the Jews believe it was built in Jerusalem. Over the years, the Samaritans maintained their distinct religious beliefs and cultural practices but shared local habits, accent and dress with their Muslim and Christian neighbors in the city of Nablus.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ "Peace Trail Berlin," Discover peace, October 24, 2013, accessed June 02, 2019, <http://berlin.discoverpeace.eu/map>.

²⁰⁰ Feras Hammami and Daniel Laven, "Chapter 12 Rethinking Heritage from Peace: Reflections from the Palestinian-Israeli Context," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* by Diana Walters, Daniel Laven, and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 145.

In 1954, the state of Israel built a Samaritan Quarter on the outskirts of Holon and asked the Samaritans to move there for security reasons. Very few Samaritans moved there and they asked King Hussein bin Talal of Jordan for permission to live in what they considered their holy place; Mount Gerizim. The King donated this land to them and they moved to Mount Gerizim. When the first Intifada broke out in 1987, Israel made the security of the Samaritans within the HCN conditional upon their resettlement on Mount Gerizim as a *whole* community, upon which all of them left the historic city and moved up the mountain. Over time, “legitimized by the Israeli discourse of security and risk, the Samaritan community was transformed” into a “patrolled and gated community” which isolated the community from the HCN with which they had strong historic ties.²⁰¹

There are recent efforts, in the form of the use of heritage left behind by the Samaritans in the HCN, to re-establish the significance of this community within the history of the city. One of the 11 baths built by the Samaritans, currently owned by a non-Samaritan family, has been made available for use as a multicultural space where locals, including the Samaritans and tourists “meet and talk openly about all kinds of life issues, including the politics of the Palestinian-Israeli problem.” Another building used for similar purposes is a Samaritan synagogue destroyed by an earthquake in 1927 which has been put to use as a place for cultural activities including dance and painting, and with a view to “spreading meanings of co-existence among the three religions.” This latter case was an initiative of the Samaritan community carried out through collaboration with civil society

²⁰¹ Ibid.

organizations, the municipality of Nablus and the University of Al-Najah.²⁰² Such gestures of valuing the heritage of the “other” by taking care of it and putting it to uses which promote mutual understanding is a way of paying respect to the “other” community, a significant starting point for any peacebuilding initiative, as mentioned earlier in this chapter but in this case in reference to their *material* heritage.

The work carried out in Cyprus by the bi-communal *Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage* works on similar assumptions; that valuing and taking care of the “other’s” heritage, especially its religious heritage, is an effective way of paying respect to that community. Funded by the UNDP and EU, the work of the *Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage* is seen as one form of confidence building measure between the estranged communities on the island. Churches left behind in the North and mosques left behind in the South are being restored by this committee that is composed of both Turkish and Greek Cypriots working together. In my personal communication with Ali Tuncay, co-director of the committee from the North, he told me that their work progressed well because they were able to remain outside politics, concentrating on the monuments, which in turn enabled them to establish good rapport with their Greek Cypriot counterparts. Many monuments on both sides of the divide have been restored to date since the founding of the committee in 2008, which is widely regarded as a successful case of collaboration between the North and South.²⁰³

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ali Tuncay, "Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage," interview by author, January 3, 2017. For a detailed account of the work of the Committee see UNDP, *The Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage in Cyprus*, report, Partnership for the Future, United Nations Development Program (2015).

The work of the Technical Committee is based on the principle of reciprocity but as Susan Balderstone points out, reciprocal action does not always mean that the consequences of this action in each community is also reciprocal. She notes that the Greek Orthodox Church is a historic institution, which amassed great power and significance over the years and still plays a major role in the life and culture of Greek Cypriots who “continue to celebrate religious festivals and saints’ days throughout the year” (the Ayios Loukas fair which brought the community together was in celebration of the name day of St. Loukas held on October 18th every year). The Greek Cypriot identity is “expressed physically in its churches and monasteries” as well as through its language and the Orthodox Church, while the Turkish Cypriots are influenced to a great extent by the secular movement in Turkey and embrace “the separation of state and religion” which Atatürk put into force after the first world war.²⁰⁴ Although also celebrating their own religious days, generally speaking, religion per se and religious institutions as such do not have as much significance in the lives of TCs as they do in the lives of GCs. Therefore, although seemingly operating on the principle of equality, the work of the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage may not be operating on the principle of reciprocity when the values of each community are more carefully examined.

The values communities assign to heritage also go beyond the preservation of their materiality, involving in many cases their use as well. One such example pointed out by Bladerstone in the North is the St. Barnabas Monastery, an 18th century monastery built over a 5th century church that commemorates the site of the tomb of the Apostle

²⁰⁴ Susan Balderstone, "Chapter 14 Cultural Heritage and Human Rights in Divided Cyprus," in *Cultural Diversity, Heritage and Human Rights: Intersections in Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2010), 229-230.

Barnabas who is believed to have established Christianity on the island in the first century A.D., and is thus viewed as the founder of the Church of Cyprus. The monastery is “carefully conserved as an icon museum, with archaeological finds displayed in the former monks’ rooms around the courtyard.” Bladerstone suggests that the place is well done as a tourist site but “for the Greek Cypriot pilgrims there is no sense of the venerability of the place.” It was the discovery of relics in 478 A.D., believed to be those of St. Barnabas, which convinced Emperor Zeno to award the Church of Cyprus its autocephalous status as an Apostolic Foundation as well as to finance the building of the church. Bladerstone points out that “the archaeological remains of the eastern section of Zeno’s 5th century basilica project lie beyond the apse of the existing church and contain the tomb intended for the relics of St. Barnabas,” but is an area that is currently “neither interpreted nor accessible to pilgrims or other visitors and is overgrown with destructive vegetation.”²⁰⁵ Hence, while the more intact 18th century monastery is preserved for touristic purposes and contains significant icons, the more meaningful 5th century archaeological site, in so far as the Greek Cypriot Orthodox Christians in Cyprus are concerned, remains unaddressed and unpreserved.

Using Heritage for Peacebuilding

The broad range of examples covered above involving the use of heritage for peacebuilding purposes highlights that they converge in their objectives of bringing estranged communities closer to one another. In practices involving the use of heritage for peacebuilding, heritage, in whatever form it may come, becomes the means through which to achieve this goal of the coalescing of people. In this

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 235.

respect, any initiative that uses heritage for these ends, needs to start from a point of respect and deep understanding of what the concerned heritage means for the various communities involved. Initiatives lacking this sincerity and understanding are bound to be either unsuccessful or ineffective. A significant risk that these types of “heritage” initiatives embody is that they face the danger of being co-opted by the agendas of larger political forces at work in a society. One such recent example is the Holocaust Museum in Budapest Hungary, that has still not opened because of issues surrounding its permanent exhibition. A CNN report states that there is “growing unease amongst some Hungarian Jews and international scholars that the right-wing government – led by strongman Prime Minister Viktor Orban – is whitewashing the country’s role in the Holocaust.”²⁰⁶ When such denial of wrongdoings accompanies heritage projects that *claim* to have the objective of peacebuilding, these projects become yet another instance of the authorized heritage discourse at work.

The use of heritage for peacebuilding purposes requires, above all, sincerity and adherence to the basic tenets of peacebuilding which encompass “just” peace involving notions of justice, as highlighted in the beginning of this chapter. The need for a deep understanding of the heritages of the estranged communities, and thus of a contextual approach to peacebuilding resurfaces as the most effective stance to take within the context of peacebuilding in Cyprus. Towards this end, in Chapter 2, I examine in detail the meanings that each community has constructed for itself

²⁰⁶ McKenzie, Sheena. "This Holocaust Museum Cost Millions and Still Hasn't Opened. But That's Not What Worries Historians." Online posting. November 29, 2018. CNN World. <https://edition.cnn.com/interactive/2018/11/world/holocaust-museum-hungary-cnnphotos/>.

regarding its heritage and identity and derive from this context a methodology for peacebuilding on the island.



CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGIES OF PEACEBUILDING

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Introduction to Chapter 2

In this chapter, I establish a methodology for the museology of peacebuilding on the island of Cyprus. First, I examine the distanced communities of the island and establish that an all-encompassing peacebuilding initiative needs to be embedded within the daily environments of the islanders, ensuring accessibility to all. Next, I examine the singular and opposing “historical” narratives of the Turkish North and Greek South and establish that a methodology grounded in local histories and heritages is the most effective way of diluting the meta narratives of Cyprus which are counterproductive to peacebuilding. The local collaborative methodology I propose implicates place as being of primary significance and makes the methodology I propose a place-based one as well. Thereafter, I examine how each community constructs its “national” identity at the exclusion of the “other” and suggest a people-based methodology as a means of humanizing the “other.” Oral history becomes a significant part of my proposal which I henceforth call the *Collaborative Histories and Heritages Platform of Cyprus*, in short, the *CHHP of Cyprus*.

Distanced Communities of Cyprus

Although many different peoples lived in and ruled Cyprus, the two major communities currently inhabiting the island are the Turkish Cypriots (TCs) and Greek Cypriots (GCs) with the conflict between them commonly referred to as the *Cyprus problem, dispute or issue*. Other minorities who have been living on the island for a long time include the Maronites and Armenians whose combined population is believed to be around a couple of thousand. The Maronites are an Arabic-speaking Christian population while the Armenians speak Armenian but both communities are bi-lingual and speak either Greek or Turkish as their second language.²⁰⁷ Since the physical segregation of the TCs and GCs in the aftermath of the 1974 war, both sides have received an additional influx of refugees from other countries. A large number of people from Turkey settled in the North of the island after the 1974 war and many of them are now citizens of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). According to the 2011 census report of the TRNC, the total number of TRNC citizens living on the island is 190,494 (including those with double citizenship), the total number of Turkish Republic (TR) citizens living on the island is 80,550, and the total number of British citizens living on the island is 3,691. Other nationalities total around 10,000 and include people from Türkmenistan, Nigeria, Iran, Pakistan, Bulgaria and Azerbaijan.²⁰⁸ The large student population attending the universities in the North of the island is not included in these figures and numbers for the 2016-2017 academic year suggest there are 52,135 students

²⁰⁷ David Wathen Stather Hunt, Herman W. Goult, and John S. Bowman, "Cyprus," Encyclopædia Britannica, May 28, 2019, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cyprus#ref33842>.

²⁰⁸ *Tablo 5 İlçe, Cinsiyet Ve Tabiyete Göre Sürekli İkamet Eden Nüfus 2011*. Report. Devlet Planlama Örgütü, KKTC.

from Turkey and 27,538 students from countries other than Turkey.²⁰⁹ The statistics above indicate a significant change and trend in the demography of the island in the North, with local TCs now constituting a much smaller percentage of the total population compared to the period before the 1974 war; a situation most commonly referred to as the “problem of the settlers”²¹⁰ by the Greek Cypriot government in reference to the presence of a large resident Turkish population from Turkey living in the North of the island.

In the South of the island, the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) 2011 Census Report indicates a total of 840,407 people living on the island with 79.4% identified as Cypriots and 20.3% identified as non-Cypriots. Of the 170,383 people identified as non-Cypriots, 29,321 are identified as Greek nationals, 24,046 as UK nationals, 23,706 as Romanian nationals and the remaining in descending order include nationals from Bulgaria, Philippines, Russia, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Syria, India, Poland and Ukraine. A similar trend of a decrease in the percentage of local Cypriots is also observed in the South, although to a lesser extent, with the percentage of non-Cypriots up from 9.4% in the 2001 RoC census report to 20.3% in the 2011 RoC census report, a significant increase over a period of ten years.²¹¹ Despite the demographic trend on the island towards the influx of refugees from other countries and a shift towards a decrease in the ratio of locals, the current

²⁰⁹ "2016-2017 Öğretim Yılında KKTC Üniversitelerinde Eğitim Ve Öğretim Gören Öğrenci Sayıları," Ana Sayfa, accessed June 02, 2019, <http://www.mebnet.net/?q=content/2016-2017-ogretim-yilinda-kktc-universitelerinde-egitim-ve-ogretim-goren-ogrenci-sayilari>.

²¹⁰ For a detailed elucidation of the “settler” problem, as seen through the perspective of the RoC, see discussion on Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Illegal Demographic Changes, accessed June 04, 2019, http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2016.nsf/mfa15_en/mfa15_en?OpenDocument&print.

²¹¹ *Census of Population 2011 - Main Results*, report, Republic of Cyprus. See Appendix 1 for the TRNC and RoC 2011 Census of Population Records and the Student Population Record for the TRNC.

political dispute on the island is between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities who have shared the island as their homeland for the past half a millennium. The GCs are “a mixture of aboriginal inhabitants and immigrants from the Peloponnese who colonized Cyprus starting about 1200 BC and assimilated subsequent settlers up to the 16th century.” The TCs, on the other hand, are “descendants of the soldiers of the Ottoman army that conquered the island in 1571 and immigrants from Anatolia brought in by the sultan’s government.”²¹² For the past 447 years, the island has been home to both communities who speak different languages and practice different religions; the TCs speak Turkish and practice Islam and the GCs speak Greek and practice the Orthodox Christian religion, to varying degrees of orthodoxy.

For the approximately first 400 years of their shared existence in Cyprus, under the rule of the Ottoman Empire (1571-1878), the TCs and GCs lived in separate as well as mixed villages.²¹³ The only event during the period of Ottoman rule “discussed in the context of *intercommunal tension* is the rounding up and execution of Greek Orthodox elites on the island” in 1821. The Ottoman administration was nervous about the revolution in Greece spreading to Cyprus and “acted swiftly to curtail any uprising within the Greek Cypriot population.”²¹⁴ Over the course of the twentieth

²¹² Goult, Herman W., David Wathen Stather Hunt, and John S. Bowman. "Cyprus." Encyclopædia Britannica. May 28, 2019. Accessed June 02, 2019. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cyprus#ref33843>.

²¹³ Vangelis Calotychos, *Cyprus and Its People: Nation, Identity, and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1955-1997* ;(Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998), 5. Calotychos cites the decrease in the number of mixed villages and notes that in 1891 there were 346 listed mixed villages, which decreased to 252 in 1931. In his PhD dissertation, John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, he also establishes, through census of population records, that there was a steady decline in the number of mixed villages on the island during British rule (1878-1960).

²¹⁴ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 152-153.

century however, during the period of British rule (1878-1960), a gradual rise of Greek nationalism developed on the island and was followed by Turkish nationalism. These nationalist movements, characterized by allegiance and emotional attachment to the respective “motherlands” of Greece and Turkey, led to a demand within the Greek Cypriot community for *enosis*, meaning *union of Cyprus with Greece*, and a later demand within the Turkish Cypriot community for *taksim*, meaning *physical partition of the island between the two communities*.²¹⁵ Under pressure from both communities, but to a larger extent from the Greek Cypriot community, the British Colonial Government (BCG) left the island in 1960 to the newly established Republic of Cyprus (RoC) composed of both GCs and TCs. The RoC dissolved in 1963,²¹⁶ which led to the intensification of civil strife amongst the two communities²¹⁷ that had been slowly brewing during the decades prior to this. A very large portion of the TCs²¹⁸ tried to protect themselves by taking refuge in “tiny fortified enclaves,” 39 in total, which made up around 3-4% of the land of Cyprus, the chief one of which was in Nicosia.²¹⁹ The escalation of violence on the island in 1963 led to the arrival of the United Nations Peace Keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) in 1964 and the creation of the “Green Line” within the walled capital

²¹⁵ Papadakis, "Narrative, Memory and History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Schoolbooks on the “History of Cyprus”, *History and Memory* 20, no. 2 (2008): 130-131, doi:10.2979/his.2008.20.2.128.

²¹⁶ As part of the establishment of the RoC, the United Kingdom established two sovereign bases in Cyprus, which it retains to this day; the Akhrotiri and Dhikelia bases.

²¹⁷ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 140.

²¹⁸ Papadakis, "Narrative, Memory and History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Schoolbooks on the “History of Cyprus”, *History and Memory* 20, no. 2 (2008): 130-131, doi:10.2979/his.2008.20.2.128. Papadakis cites the ratio of enclavement within the Turkish Cypriot population as around one fifth of the population.

²¹⁹ C. H. Dodd, *Storm Clouds over Cyprus: A Briefing* (Huntingdon: Eothen, 2002), 7,15. Dodd notes that the percentage of TCs who took refuge in enclaves was around 60% with the remaining 40% living under the Republic of Cyprus but with clear allegiance to the Turkish Cypriot administration.

city of Nicosia. This divided the old city approximately into half; a Turkish North and a Greek South. The case-study I highlight in this dissertation has been delineated for the Ayios Loukas quarter of the walled city of Nicosia in its Northern half.

In 1974, with the support of the Greek military junta, “a small group of right-wing extremists calling itself EOKA B, staged a coup against the island’s president, Archbishop Makarios, in order to bring about union with Greece.” This attempted coup led to a military landing by Turkey²²⁰ which resulted in the physical division of the island into a Turkish North and a Greek South. GCs living in the North of the island at the time migrated to the South and likewise TCs living in the South of the island migrated to the North.²²¹ Since 1974, the two communities have been living in separate quarters of the island with the border region between them called alternatively the Buffer Zone, Green Line or Dead Zone, as mentioned previously.²²² This zone administered by UNFICYP also divides the capital city of Nicosia into two parts making it the last divided capital of Europe. In 1983, the Turkish Cypriot authorities “unilaterally declared the establishment of their own state in Northern Cyprus, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC),” which has so far not been recognized by any nation other than Turkey.²²³ In the meantime, the GCs have

²²⁰ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 18.

²²¹ Yiannis Papadakis, *History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Schoolbooks on the "History of Cyprus"* (Oslo, Norway: International Peace Research Institute, 2008), 130-131.

²²² *Citizen Peacemaking in Cyprus, The Story of Co-operation and Trust across the Green Line*, report, United Nations Development Program (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2013), 21-22.

²²³ Yiannis Papadakis, "Narrative, Memory and History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Schoolbooks on the "History of Cyprus", *History and Memory* 20, no. 2 (2008): 130-131, doi:10.2979/his.2008.20.2.128.

“managed to internationalize the dispute and receive worldwide recognition” while the TCs, given the lack of international legitimacy and recognition coupled with “the imposition of severe economic and travel embargos,” have become isolated from the rest of the world and dependent on Turkey for their survival.²²⁴

Both communities have also become isolated from one another because for almost 30 years between 1974 and 2003 they were not allowed to cross the border to the “other” side except with special permission from the UN. In 2003, the “Ledra” checkpoint was opened for civilian crossing and since then more crossing points have been added.²²⁵ When the first crossing was opened in 2003, there was great excitement as people rushed to the borders to visit the homes they had left behind in 1974. Within two weeks of the opening of the Ledra crossing, “more than 200,000 people – a quarter of Cyprus’s population at the time – had traversed the Green Line without incident, quelling fears that violence would resurface in the absence of border restrictions.”²²⁶ Since then however, the excitement has died down and people in both communities generally keep to their “own” side of the border, crossing the divide only for an occasional outing or as needed.

²²⁴ Husam Mohamad, "Chapter 22 Historical Legacies of the Dispute," in *Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution* by James Ker-Lindsay (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 194.

²²⁵ "About the Buffer Zone," UNFICYP, January 19, 2018, accessed June 04, 2019, <https://unficy.org/about-buffer-zone>. The Lokmacı crossing point in the center of the city has been in existence since 1958 but the remaining checkpoints were established since the re-opening of the Lokmacı crossing point in 2003. Since then, additional crossing points have opened up between the north and south: two in the British Sovereign Base Area at Pergamos and Strovilia, two in Nicosia at Ayios Demetios/Metehan, Ledra Palace, one west of Nicosia toward the Troodos Mountains, at Astromeritis/Zodhia, and one on the western end of the island at Pyrgos Limnitis/Yeşilirmak. There are plans to open another checkpoint in Derinia but these plans have not yet been realized.

²²⁶ Eugene Chausovsky, "Crossing the Lines in Cyprus," Stratfor, October 16, 2016, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/crossing-lines-cyprus>.

The almost fifty years of physical separation between the two communities has increased the rift between them since during this time period they have had little direct communication and interaction with each other. The language gap has also widened as the generation growing up after 1974 does not speak or understand the language of the other as their parents and grandparents did. A recent report published by the UNDP indicates that “the level of trust between the two communities remains low.”²²⁷ The self-containment of life in both the North and South gives people little reason or motivation to visit the other side unless they have to or really want to. In a survey conducted in 2007, four years after the opening of the borders, it was revealed that “the cross-border euphoria and interest had dwindled.” The same study noted that people “had gone, seen, observed; and although it had altered some of the primary and preconceived images” they had of each other, “they would not cross the border unless there were substantive reasons to do so.”²²⁸ When asked the reasons for why people did not cross, GCs reported not crossing primarily “out of principle,” i.e. the requirement to show their id card within

²²⁷ *Citizen Peacemaking in Cyprus, The Story of Co-operation and Trust across the Green Line*, report, United Nations Development Program (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2013), 52. This UNDP report states that surveys indicate that “only 17% of Greek Cypriots have personal contact with Turkish Cypriots while 32% of Turkish Cypriots have personal contact with Greek Cypriots.” Referring to the *Cyprus 2015 Report*, Yiannis Papadakis notes, in Yiannis Papadakis, “Chapter 25 Chronicle of a Failure Foretold?” in *Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution* by James Ker-Lindsay (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 224-225, that 73% of Greek Cypriots said they would not return under a Turkish Cypriot administration. Young Greek Cypriots are the most negative group when it comes to returning even under Greek Cypriot administration. The same group also appears as the most negative to any notion of reunification. Papadakis also notes that other surveys confirm the general lack of willingness to live together. The majority of both GCs and TCs, for example, continue to disapprove of mixed marriages for their children/siblings and reject the possibility that they may have a boss from the other community.

²²⁸ Dilek Latif and Ari Sitas, “The Potential for Reconciliation, Forgiveness, and Social Transformation,” *Beyond a Divided Cyprus*: 64, doi:10.1057/9781137100801.0016. This was a study conducted with a total of 170 Turkish and Greek Cypriots from a representative social stratum of the population. The study revealed that out of the people surveyed, 20.1% had not crossed at all, 23.9% had crossed less than 5 times and 56% had crossed more than 5 times. Crossing the border was also “ethnically differentiated” with only 4.7% of the Turkish Cypriots surveyed having not crossed at all versus 34.9% of the Greek Cypriots having not crossed at all.

their own country, whereas TCs indicated a “lack of interest.”²²⁹ An interesting finding of the same study revealed that crossing the border did not translate directly into “meaningful encounters with the other” with 39.1% of those who crossed stating they had no encounter at all, 39.8% stating they had limited encounter and only 21.1% stating they had a strong sense of encounter.²³⁰ These statistics confirm the general widening of the divide between the two communities, the lack of meaningful encounters between them as well as the general lack of willingness to interact with and get to know each other better.²³¹ The physical and psychological distance between the TC and GC communities are major obstacles to peacebuilding in Cyprus because bringing the two communities together is the prerequisite for any peacebuilding effort to even begin.

Moreover, given the increasingly global make-up of the island population, the apparent need for peacebuilding on the island amongst its disputed communities can and should be extended to encompass *all* its peoples including the many different nationals that have currently made Cyprus their home. Reaching out to all sections of a society, especially its growing migrant populations, is a prerequisite of effective peacebuilding. There are countless examples across the world of the presence of migrant communities leading to social unrest and tension in local communities. The

²²⁹ Ibid., 23.

²³⁰ Ibid., 14.

²³¹ Bernadette Lynch, "Chapter 10 Disturbing the Peace: Museums, Democracy and Conflict Avoidance," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* by Diana Walters, Daniel Laven, and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 116. Lynch notes that this kind of segregation in the aftermath of conflict is common and research conducted in Northern Ireland indicated that segregation between Protestant and Catholics have increased. 68% of people between the ages of 18 and 25 “had never had a meaningful conversation with anyone from the other community” and “in all age groups six out of 10 said they had been victims of verbal or physical abuse since the first ceasefire of 1994, and the same number believed that community relations had worsened during the same period.”

small size of Cyprus and its susceptibility to outside influences means that this kind of unrest is all the more likely at a future point in time.²³² Although the contestation on the island is primarily between its Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities, peacebuilding in Cyprus needs to be conceptualized such that it is inclusive of the “other” growing minority communities on the island who are, or at least have the potential of being viewed as “others” as well, if not now, at some point in the future.

If full-scale participation of all the communities in Cyprus is the goal of peacebuilding, it follows that given the current physical segregation of the two communities, the influx of refugees, as well as the general lack of willingness of the islanders to cross the border, any peacebuilding methodology needs to ensure the accessibility of all islanders enabling their participation in a natural way and as a matter of their daily lives. Achieving such full-scale and easy engagement can be made possible through what I call an *embedded methodology* where the museological peacebuilding intervention is physically inserted within the lived environments of people. Embedding the intervention within the daily lives of people ensures easy accessibility. As noted by Harris, peacebuilding should be understood as a process that “concerns the whole of society, not just the political elite”²³³ and such embeddedness within the daily environments of people achieves this kind of accessibility and involvement for the entire society.

²³² There is currently an observable reaction amongst a faction of the TCs to the culture of those settled from Turkey, mostly from the lower social and economic classes in the south-eastern provinces of Turkey. The perceived greatness in the difference between the cultures of the local TCs and those of these migrant communities has made some TCs reactionary to the potential influence of this “other” culture dominating their own culture which is significantly more liberal and which they perceive to be closer to that of Europe. This group of islanders fears that their unique culture may soon disappear altogether due to this outside influence.

²³³ Yeshim Harris, "Chapter 12 Civil Society Can Reinvigorate the Peace Process," in *Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution* by James Ker-Lindsay (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016).

In her visit to Israel after the Second Intifada in 2001, museologist Elaine Heumann Gurian asked which spaces in the city were shared spaces used by all groups, Ashkenazi Jews, Sephardic Jews, Russian and Ethiopian Jews, Arabs, both Israeli citizens and Palestinians. She was told that the zoo was the only space left which was used by all. Citing this lack of shared public space as a common occurrence in most regions of conflict, she argues that more public spaces need to exist in these regions where strangers can meet each other. She puts forth that studies confirm that “seeing each other more often increases the chances that familiar strangers will become socially connected.”²³⁴ The embedded methodology I propose, turns all spaces on the island into public spaces, albeit in a virtual way, but with a vision that once people begin to engage with the intervention, the result will be the gradual evolution of these daily spaces into public spaces used by and accessible to all physically as well.

As noted by Ginty, it is “difficult to imagine how communities can constructively engage with one another if they do not feel secure enough to do so.”²³⁵ Moreover, given that the estranged communities on the island feel most secure on their “own” side of the divide where their own community lives, where the rules of their own government are applied and their own language spoken, embedding the museology of peacebuilding within their daily environments provides them with the safest possible physical environment to begin engaging with its contents. It also allows them to live with the intervention over extended periods of time enabling

²³⁴ Elaine Heumann Gurian, "Chapter 3 Public Spaces for Strangers: The Foundation for Peacebuilding and Implications for Heritage Institutions," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* by Diana Walters, Daniel Laven, and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 28.

²³⁵ Roger Mac Ginty, "Introduction," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 5.

engagement wherever and whenever people are ready; a critical requirement for the effective practice of the museology of peacebuilding as I will elaborate upon in Chapter 3.



Photograph: Walled Nicosia, Imagining an Embedded Intervention

(Photograph taken by Author)

Figure 6

Singular Narratives of Cyprus

In this section, I examine the singular narratives of Cyprus and specifically their “historical” narratives as put forth by the respective official government websites of each side. I choose to examine these government narratives because they exemplify the extreme point in the meta narratives of each side, and hence most clearly reveal how such narratives are counterproductive to peacebuilding. The Greek Cypriot government’s, in other words the Republic of Cyprus’s official website (GCgow) ²³⁶ begins with the narrative of an earlier period of peaceful co-existence on the island stating that “the Cypriots, Greeks and Turks alike had for centuries co-existed peacefully in mixed villages, towns and places of work.” The narrative locates the beginning of the Cyprus problem in the early years after WWII describing it as the “universal demand for self-determination and the ensuing crisis of the colonial system” locating the dispute within the framework of a legitimate universal right to self-determination of the people of Cyprus for freedom from British colonial regime.

In contrast, the Turkish Cypriot government’s, in other words the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’ official website (TCgow)²³⁷ locates the source of the dispute as far back as the Greek War of Independence, to the year 1821, which is said to have given rise to Greek nationalism amongst the GCs on the island paving the way for their ideal of “*enosis*” (unification of Cyprus with Greece). The primary omission in the GCgow is that what is presented as the “national” demand for self-determination stands for the “*Greek Cypriot*” demand for *unification* of the island with Greece,

²³⁶ "Historical Review," Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Historical Review, accessed June 02, 2019, http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2016.nsf/mfa08_en/mfa08_en?OpenDocument.

²³⁷ "Historical Background," Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://mfa.gov.ct.tr/cyprus-negotiation-process/historical-background/>.

which the remaining 18% of the population composed of TCs were fiercely opposed to. Likewise, what is omitted from the TCgow is that during the time period that the GCs strove for *enosis*, there was a counter struggle amongst the TCs for the physical partition of the island, or “*taksim*.”²³⁸

Omissions continue in both narratives in so far as the militant struggles on either side are concerned. On the GCgow there is no mention at all of the militant struggles carried out by the *Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston* (EOKA) between 1955-1959,²³⁹ and in a not surprising reciprocity, the TCgow makes no mention of the militant struggles carried out by the *Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı* (TMT) between 1958-1964.²⁴⁰ These gaps in the official “historical” narratives of each side are nonetheless filled in by the other. The TCgow highlights EOKA as the “terrorist organization” and culprit of the troubles on the island “founded with the aim of advancing enosis through armed struggle.” It points out that EOKA carried out attacks not only towards the British but also towards the TCs.²⁴¹ Likewise, the GCgow portrays TMT and its predecessor organization *Volkan* as “clandestine organizations” that officers from Turkey helped establish “for the purpose of fighting the national liberation movement in Cyprus,” presenting EOKA’s militant struggle as

²³⁸ “Ya Taksim Ya Ölüm” (Partition or Death) was one of the most popular slogans amongst the TCs during this time period.

²³⁹ EOKA stands for *Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston* (1955-1959) the militant organization that carried out the militant struggle to free the country from colonial rule and unite Cyprus with Greece, an organization that was active between 1955 and 1959.

²⁴⁰ TMT stands for *Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı* (1958-1964) the secret militant organization that was first established to fight EOKA. Its members declared soldiers (*mücahit*) during the period of civil strife on the island (1963-1974), eventually becoming incorporated, in 1976, into the official Turkish Cypriot armed forces (Kıbrıs Türk Güvenlik Komutanlığı).

²⁴¹ "Historical Background," Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://mfa.gov.ct.tr/cyprus-negotiation-process/historical-background/>.

a legitimate one for “liberation” without mentioning its name and TMT’s opposition to it as an illegitimate one.²⁴² The militant struggles of each community, silenced in their own official “historical” narratives, are thus explained by the “other” side as the very epitome of oppression and aggression.

The only apparent intersecting point in the two official narratives is the portrayal of the establishment of the RoC in 1960 as a “compromise solution,” but even then, the reasons stated for the failure of the RoC three years after its establishment are very different. In the GCgow, the RoC is said to have been a compromise solution because it represented “limited independence” for the island; i.e. the government was to be ruled not according to a democratic majority but according to the ratio of the two major ethnic populations on the island and each community would have separate municipalities. Additionally, the TC community was to maintain a veto right over government decisions. The GCgow posits that the RoC did not last because “the Turkish Cypriot leadership made full use of their constitutional privileges to block the decisions of the government and render the administration of the young Republic difficult and inefficient.” The narrative states that such blocking was intentional and represented the “ulterior motives” of the TCs for partition. The amendments to the constitution proposed by President Makarios (1960-1977)²⁴³ known as the Thirteen Points, are said to have “aimed toward removing certain causes of friction between

²⁴² "Historical Review," Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Historical Review, accessed June 02, 2019, http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2016.nsf/mfa08_en/mfa08_en?OpenDocument.

²⁴³ Makarios III, Michael Christodolou Mouskos (1913-1977) served as the Archbishop and Primate of the autocephalous Church of Cyprus (1950-1977) and as the first president of Cyprus (1960-1977).

the two communities and obstacles to the smooth functioning and development of the state.”²⁴⁴

In stark contrast to this narrative, the TCgow puts the blame for the dissolution of the RoC entirely on the GCs. It recounts that the GCs “forcibly seized the partnership Republic of Cyprus” by “ejecting all Turkish Cypriots from state organs and unilaterally amending the fundamental articles of the Constitution” in order to achieve their ultimate aim of enosis. The amendments proposed by Makarios are said to have had the intention of putting into action the *Akritis Plan* which is explained as the “deliberate campaign for changing the state of affairs created by the Constitution” for the purpose of realizing enosis. More specifically, the amendments are said to have been put into effect in order to “usurp the rights of Turkish Cypriots and degrade their equal co-founder status to that of a minority on the island.”²⁴⁵ Each government website puts the blame for the dissolution of the RoC entirely on the other side strengthening their narrative of an innocent and benevolent subject community struggling against a guilty and malicious enemy.

The TCgow and GCgow continue to tell different narratives relating to the period of intense civil strife on the island between 1963 and 1974. While the TCgow states that it was the disagreements over the amendments that led to the tragic events of 1963 during which “many Turkish Cypriot civilians lost their lives,”²⁴⁶ the GCgow

²⁴⁴ "Historical Review," Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Historical Review, accessed June 02, 2019, http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2016.nsf/mfa08_en/mfa08_en?OpenDocument.

²⁴⁵ "Historical Background," Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://mfa.gov.ct.tr/cyprus-negotiation-process/historical-background/>.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

puts forth that tensions rose and eventually led to civil strife because “police cars used by Turkish Cypriot policemen suspected of engaging in the distribution of weapons refused to submit to government inspection.”²⁴⁷ The TCgow asserts that it was the “inter-communal havoc” and lack of safe living conditions which forced the TC community to “live in small and confined enclaves corresponding to only 3% of the territory” of the island.²⁴⁸ In contrast, the GCgow explains the enclavement of the TC community as primarily “due to the efforts of their nationalist leadership to enforce a de-facto partition of the island.”²⁴⁹

The TCgow recounts that the TC community “established administrative mechanisms” within the enclaves in order to regulate their day-to-day affairs, establishing towards this end the Cyprus Turkish Administration on 21 December 1971. The “military intervention of Turkey on July 20th 1974” is cited as a direct consequence of the “coup d’état to achieve enosis” which had been carried out five days earlier, on July 15th 1974. It is also stated that the military intervention was in accordance with Article IV of the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960²⁵⁰ which had been signed between Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom for the purpose of “removing the threat of further violence and even greater loss on the island.”²⁵¹

While the TCgow portrays the coup as a joint Greek and Greek Cypriot effort, the

²⁴⁷ "Historical Review," Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Historical Review, accessed June 02, 2019, http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2016.nsf/mfa08_en/mfa08_en?OpenDocument.

²⁴⁸ "Historical Background," Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://mfa.gov.ct.tr/cyprus-negotiation-process/historical-background/>.

²⁴⁹ "Historical Review," Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Historical Review, accessed June 02, 2019, http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2016.nsf/mfa08_en/mfa08_en?OpenDocument.

²⁵⁰ The Treaty of Guarantee was signed on August 16th 1960.

²⁵¹ "Historical Background," Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://mfa.gov.ct.tr/cyprus-negotiation-process/historical-background/>.

GCgow frames it as an “outside” disruption perpetrated against the elected government of President Makarios by the “Athens” military junta, omitting any mention of the local “EOKA B”²⁵² involvement in the coup. The GCgow puts forth that the coup d’état gave Turkey “the pretext to impose its partitionist plans” whereby it carried out a “full scale invasion against Cyprus.”²⁵³ The 1974 war is depicted as an “invasion” in the GCgow versus a “peace operation” in the TCgow.

Turkey is portrayed as the “savior” of the TCs in the TCgow while in the GCgow it is portrayed as an “invading military force” who took the first chance it was given to carry out its partitionist aims. While the GCgow dismisses the suffering endured by the TCs during the enclave period between 1963 and 1974, the TCgow similarly fails to make any mention of the grave consequences and suffering endured by the GCs during the 1974 war. Finally, in the TCgow, the establishment of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) is presented as the manifestation of the demand for a “just and durable solution” based on the “equality” of the two communities, while the GCgow presents this as “the most striking evidence of the Turkish side’s unwillingness to work for a solution in line with UN policy.”²⁵⁴ The overall impression one acquires from the narrative in the GCgow is that of an expansionist Turkish government which, with the encouragement and support it received from the oppressive BCG, influenced and coerced the TCs on the island into

²⁵² EOKA B (1971-1974) was a Greek Cypriot paramilitary organization founded by General Georgios Grivas (Digenis) in order to achieve enosis.

²⁵³ "Historical Review," Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Historical Review, accessed June 02, 2019, http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2016.nsf/mfa08_en/mfa08_en?OpenDocument.

²⁵⁴ "Historical Review," Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Historical Review, accessed June 02, 2019, http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2016.nsf/mfa08_en/mfa08_en?OpenDocument and "Historical Background," Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://mfa.gov.ct.tr/cyprus-negotiation-process/historical-background/>.

the idea of partition and carried out a deliberate plan to achieve this which they did through the “invasion” of the island of Cyprus in 1974 and its partition into the Turkish North and the Greek South. The overall impression one acquires from the narrative in the TCgow, on the other hand, is that of a Greek Cypriot majority who had a strong and historical desire to unite the island with Greece and carried out atrocities against the weaker and outnumbered Turkish Cypriot community towards the fulfillment of their objective, causing this small community great suffering and pain which they nonetheless endured until the legal and justifiable military “intervention” of Turkey saved them from final extinction, preventing in this way the Greek Cypriot ideal of enosis from being realized.

The construction of these singular and opposing “historical” narratives is made possible through the calculated exclusion of some facts as well as the amplification of others for the purpose of creating stories which portray the subject community as the victim and the enemy community as the villain²⁵⁵ exemplifying a book-case example of national heritage making: the subject community is right and the enemy community is wrong, the subject community is benevolent and the enemy community is malicious. In his seminal essay on nationalism, Anderson points out how selective memory and forgetting are “essential elements of the historicity of a nation and its efforts to achieve homogeneity and continuity.”²⁵⁶ However, this

²⁵⁵ "Historical Review," Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Historical Review, accessed June 02, 2019, http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2016.nsf/mfa08_en/mfa08_en?OpenDocument. More specifically, in the GCgow the villain is both the British Colonial Regime and the Turkish government who are said to have jointly “sought conflict with the Greeks as the strategy for partition.” The British are portrayed as cunning rulers who “exploited the Turkish factor and encouraged the intervention of Ankara” while the Turkish government is blamed for adopting the policy of partition and turning the Turkish Cypriot nationalist leadership on the island into an “instrument for the implementation” of their policy.

²⁵⁶ Michalinos Zembylas and Hakan Karahasan, "Formal and Non-formal Reform Efforts of History Teaching in Cyprus: Openings and Closures for Dangerous Memories and Reconciliation Pedagogies," *History Education and Conflict Transformation*, 2017, 15, doi:10.1007/978-3-319-

homogeneity is most often achieved at the expense of demonizing the “other” into an entity that can never be trusted. Thus formed, perhaps out of comparatively more naive motives of achieving solidarity during times of trouble, these narratives become leverages in the negotiations conducted between the two sides whereby any alteration in them, even slightly, comes to mean accepting some blame for the current situation, which in turn, means the weakening of that side’s position in the negotiations. Any “just” settlement would imply the “guilty” side paying the higher price for its resolution. Therefore, it is not surprising, as pointed out by Bryant and Papadakis, that having thus become “engaged” within the dispute, these official “historical” narratives become “resistant to questioning and change.”²⁵⁷

The singular approach adopted in narrating the “histories” of the island is repeated in interpreting the material heritage of the island; either through downplaying or being uninformed of the heritage that is significant to the “other” community. The Turkish North prioritizes the cultural artifacts left over from the period of Ottoman rule (1571-1878) accompanied by claims to the “Turkishness” of the island while the Greek South prioritizes the cultural artifacts left over from the period of Byzantine rule (395 - 1192) accompanied by similar claims to the “Greekness” and Christian Orthodox nature of the island.²⁵⁸ As in the use of history, both sides use the material

54681-0_13. Zembylas and Karahasan point out that Anderson describes in his seminal study on nationalism (1983/1991) that “selective memory and forgetting are essential elements of the historicity of a nation and its efforts to achieve homogeneity and continuity.”

²⁵⁷ Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis, *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 2.

²⁵⁸ The general feeling amongst TCs is that religion is a more significant part of the Greek Cypriot community’s group identity compared to the significance of Islam as part of the Turkish Cypriot community’s group identity – although I know of no scholarly study which would qualify this sentiment.

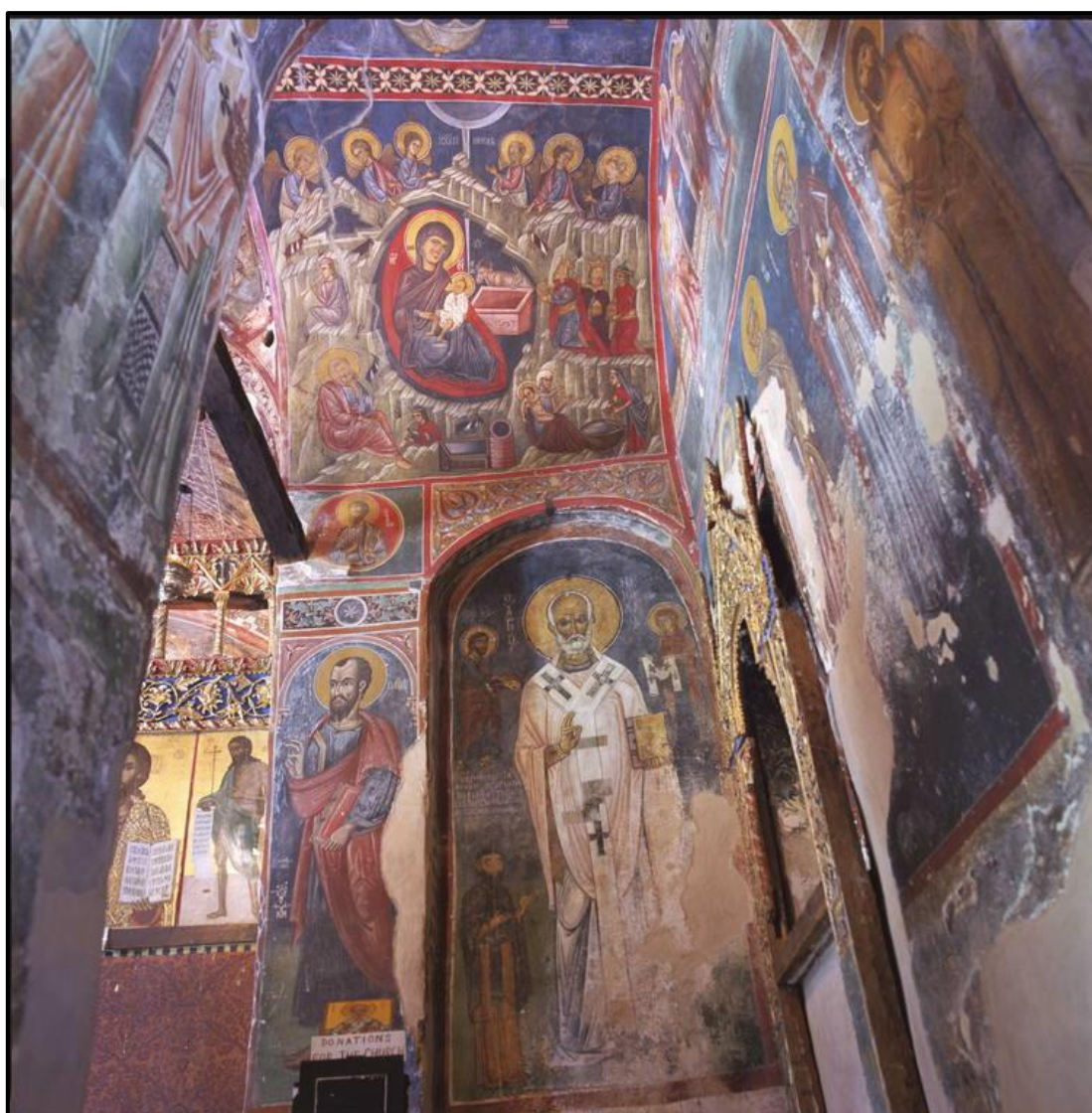
heritage of the island for legitimizing their own community as the rightful owners and appropriate representatives of an “authentic” Cyprus.

The ongoing political dispute on the island which foregrounds the RoC as the official representative of Cyprus to the exclusion of the North adds an additional asymmetry to the heritage field. The RoC has the sole authority to apply to UNESCO to nominate a site as world heritage and so far, no Ottoman period heritage site nor any other site currently located in the Turkish North has been nominated for world heritage status. All world heritage sites in Cyprus are located in the South and belong to the Byzantine era or the period before that. The first site nominated for world heritage was the town of Paphos (1980) which dates back to the Neolithic period with layers of artifacts from later periods, the second site consists of the Painted Churches in the Troodos Region (1985, 2001) dating from the Byzantine era and the last site is the one already mentioned in the introduction, the Neolithic settlement of Khirokitia (1998).

Of the eleven sites in Cyprus on the tentative list for world heritage status, the last one nominated in 2016 is the Hala Sultan Tekke and the Larnaka Salt Lake Complex. If UNESCO grants this world heritage status it will be the first one with material heritage from the Ottoman period on the island to acquire world heritage status; but this site is also located in the South.²⁵⁹ Moreover, the RoC’s Department of Antiquities forbids all excavations in the North as it deems them “illegal” and “condemns journals or meetings that present research on northern sites.” This strict

²⁵⁹ UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Cyprus," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed June 02, 2019, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/cy>.

stance is problematic, as noted by archaeologist Müge Şevketoğlu who has been excavating a 10,000 year-old settlement at Akanthou in the Turkish North, because there are still-uncovered prehistoric settlements in the North that face the “very real risk of being consigned to oblivion.”²⁶⁰ The force of politics is so strong in Cyprus that, as mentioned before, it infuses every area of life and activity on the island, including its material heritage that dates from thousands of years ago.



Photograph: Painted Church in Troodos Mountains

(Photograph taken from UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Painted Churches in the Troodos Region," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, , accessed July 11, 2019, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/351>.)

Figure 7

²⁶⁰ "Ancient Sites in North "at Risk", October 8, 2017, Cyprus Mail, <https://cyprus-mail.com/2017/10/08/ancient-sites-north-risk/>.

Despite its problems, the island of Cyprus remains one of the few regions in the world that is “so restricted in size yet endowed with such a variety and density of architectural monuments” that it is “one of the world’s most fascinating places for lovers of architecture.”²⁶¹ It is this diversity, not only in its material heritage but also in the mix of cultures that have inhabited and currently inhabit the island, that make it all the more pressing that a culture which appreciates and cherishes this diversity be established on the island. Unfortunately, the current culture in Cyprus is not characterized by an appreciation for such diversity nor is it conducive to the acknowledgement of wrongdoings and the inculcation of “reconciliation, compromise, empathy, trust and forgiveness”²⁶² which are the building blocks of peacebuilding. Whether or not these singular “historical” and “heritage” narratives of each side have served any constructive purpose throughout the history of the island is not a question I can answer within the scope of this PhD. However, I can confidently say that these narratives do indeed have consequences at this point in time and they are counterproductive to peacebuilding.

Mark Howard Ross terms what I have hitherto described as “historical” narratives the “collective memories” of communities and describes them as “emotionally salient events and persons in the past that have particular relevance to how a group understands itself and the challenges it faces in the present and future.”²⁶³ He notes that these narratives are “infused with strong emotions communicating far more than

²⁶¹ Allan Langdale, *In a Contested Realm: An Illustrated Guide to the Archaeology and Historical Architecture of Northern Cyprus* (Kilkerran, Scotland: Grimsay Press, 2012), 2, 7.

²⁶² John Brewer, "Chapter 12 Sociology and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* (London: Routledge, 2015), 162.

²⁶³ Marc Howard Ross, "Chapter 7 The Politics of Memory and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 92.

historical facts.”²⁶⁴ With respect to how these collective memories affect future actions taken by individuals and communities Ross asserts that it is “unlikely that there is one simple pattern of linkage” but in their emphasis and framing of “particular perspectives and the privileging of certain versions of the past while playing down or ignoring others,” these kinds of narratives do indeed “render some behaviors more plausible than others.”²⁶⁵ I put forth that in their singularity and lack of recognition for the joint suffering of all Cypriots, the official “historical” narratives of the North and South of Cyprus in fact increase the animosity and mistrust each community harbors towards each other, contributing in this way to the perpetuation of perceptions and behaviors that make the islanders more likely to be involved in violence towards the “other” community in the absence of peacekeeping forces on the island. What is urgently needed is a revised way of recounting these contested pasts such that it becomes apparent that good and evil as well as villain and victim are not owned exclusively by one community but exist on both sides of the divide to varying degrees during different periods in the island’s history.

A past history of villains and victims, good and evil, cannot be fertile ground on which to build peace; such a ground can only breed and sustain further animosity and violence. As noted by scholars within the field of peacebuilding, if divided societies “are to come together and start a process of healing, there needs to be strategies in place that allow individuals and groups to negotiate past grievances, and to reflect upon how their memories and emotions force the past into the politics of the

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 96.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

present.”²⁶⁶ The singular and opposing narratives on each side of the divide that are perpetuated by the North and South indicate that this is indeed happening in Cyprus. The memories and emotions of people from the past are being forced into the politics of the present creating a perpetual cycle of mistrust and animosity.

Heritage making, as noted by Lowenthal, is at best “a creative way of establishing a sense of belonging, telling ourselves who we are, where we come from and where we belong” and at its worst it is “doctrinaire,” constructed in such a way that “we are expected to accept it in order to belong to a family, community, race or nation.”²⁶⁷ It is clear that this latter doctrinaire making of heritage has been widely practiced in Cyprus and it is also clear that members of each community feel an obligation to accept them as a prerequisite of belonging to that community. As long as these kinds of singular and opposing narratives remain dominant on the island of Cyprus, the rift between the two communities will also remain.²⁶⁸ Without conversation and

²⁶⁶ Roland Bleiker and Emma Hutchison "Chapter 6 Reconciliation," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding*, by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 86.

²⁶⁷ David Lowenthal, "Chapter 1 Heritage Ascendant," in *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, by David Lowenthal (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1-31.

²⁶⁸ Papadakis, "Narrative, Memory and History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Schoolbooks on the “History of Cyprus”," *History and Memory* 20, no. 2 (2008): 129-130, doi:10.2979/his.2008.20.2.128. Papadakis notes that most authors who write about the Cyprus dispute and wish to maintain objectivity seem to always make a disclaimer that they “really” are trying to be objective. He notes that this pressure, experienced by those inquiring into the Cyprus dispute, is most likely also influenced by the fact that “the island’s history was written mostly during periods of intense violence by Greek Cypriot, Turkish Cypriot, Greek, Turkish or British authors most of whom implicitly or explicitly, used history for the legitimization of their side’s political objectives and the rejection of others.” Describing the difficulty experienced by those embarking upon an inquiry into the Cyprus dispute, Papadakis states that “discussing the history of Cyprus is akin to stepping into a political and academic minefield.” Clement Dodd, a prominent scholar in the Cyprus dispute, in his book, C. H. Dodd, *Disaccord on Cyprus: The UN Plan and after* (Huntingdon: Eothen, 2004), starts it with a disclaimer stating that “writing about the Cyprus conflict easily lays one open to accusations of sympathy with one side or the other” adding up front his own opinion about the dispute that even though his “sympathies go to both sides” who have “suffered greatly,” in his considered view “the Turkish Cypriots have suffered more.” Hugo Gobbi, Head of UNFICYP mission in Cyprus (1980 – 1984) notes in the introduction to his book, Hugo J. Gobbi, *Rethinking Cyprus* (Tel Aviv: Aurora, 1993), that one is presented with a dilemma when writing about Cyprus because “evil” is “at one side or other of the present dividing line according to how we look at the issue.”

dialogue between the estranged communities it is also likely that present animosities, hatred and mistrust between the two communities will remain unchanged and perhaps even intensify.²⁶⁹

Scholar and practitioner of peacebuilding John Lederach argues, based on many years of practice on the ground, that there is not a specific recipe for strategic peacebuilding but if there is one, “it has to do with a strategic who and a strategic what.”²⁷⁰ Given the current state of calm on the island and the opportunity for whole-scale peacebuilding, the strategic “who” needs to be the whole population of the island, although the younger generation who will carry the island into the future is undoubtedly of more significance. With respect to the strategic “what,” I put forth that it involves the diluting of the dominant singular and opposing narratives explained above and their replacement with diverse narratives that better reflect the past of the island. The singular official “historical” narratives of the North and South stand as significant obstacles to peacemaking and peacebuilding on the island. They constitute an impervious wall, a psychological barrier as such, preventing the islanders from not only reaching a “just” settlement but also communicating with each other about their contested past. Establishing constructive relationships amongst the estranged communities cannot even begin if they cannot start conversing with each other.

²⁶⁹ Jan Asmussen, "Chapter 4 Escaping the Tyranny of History," in *Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution* by James Ker-Lindsay (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 37.

²⁷⁰ John Lederach, "From Conflict Resolution to Strategic Peacebuilding," YouTube, March 25, 2011, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LwsThUncRxE>.

A Local, Place-based Participative Methodology

It is therefore one of the objectives of the museology of peacebuilding to puncture holes in these impervious walls, allowing seepage to take place through them. The puncturing of holes in these walls will mean that the singular narratives have been challenged, diversified, diluted and/or replaced, and the existence of seepage across these walls means that conversation has begun between the two communities regarding their contested past. In line with the peacebuilding stance established in Chapter 1, I suggest that the puncturing of holes within the singular narratives of each side take place through a bottom-up collaborative effort by all the islanders across the divide. Montville suggests that in order for healing and reconciliation to take place there needs to be a “process of transactional contrition and forgiveness between aggressors and victims” which necessarily involves “joint analysis of the history of the conflict, recognition of injustices and resulting historical wounds, and acceptance of moral responsibility where due.”²⁷¹

The museological peacebuilding intervention I propose, the *Collaborative Histories and Heritages Platform of Cyprus (CHHP of Cyprus)*, is imagined as a digital platform which will enable such analysis, forgiveness and recognition to take place. Lowenthal describes the act of heritage making in our times as a distinctly “self-conscious one” and Harvey states that there has recently been a shift towards using heritage for education and social cohesion. The *CHHP of Cyprus* is imagined as a platform where the collaboratively created histories and heritages of the island will

²⁷¹ Gerald M. Steinberg, "Chapter 3 The Limits of Peacebuilding Theory," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by James Ker-Lindsay (London: Routledge, 2015), 46. Steinberg makes reference to Montville, in Joseph V. Montville, "The Healing Function in Political Conflict Resolution," in *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application*, by Dennis J. D. Sandole, Herbert C. Kelman, and Hugo Van Der Merwe (Manchester: Manchester University, 1996), in pointing out the significance of understanding history and accepting past injustices.

be used for educational and social cohesion purposes. I imagine the *CHHP of Cyprus* to be an island-wide digital platform where new histories and heritages will be collaboratively created. These new histories and heritages have the potential to bring the estranged communities of the island together, both through their making as well as through the sustained engagement of the islanders. Harvey notes that paralleling the change in the use of heritage for social cohesion there has been a “decreasing appeal to the nation as the foremost container of identity” and a move towards the uncovering of local and even personal heritages, what he refers to as “small heritages.”²⁷² While Ross notes that “once the past is enshrined in certain ways, it is hard but not impossible” to change,²⁷³ Harvey claims that a focus on small heritages instead of big ones helps us to view heritage more holistically.²⁷⁴ I propose that the *CHHP of Cyprus* focuses on the local histories and heritages of the island, the small heritages, which through their specificity but more importantly their diversity, will help dilute the singular narratives of the island.

The process through which to transition towards hybrid narratives is not to attack the singular narratives directly as this may alienate both communities who themselves own and perpetuate these narratives, but to develop instead a *local* methodology which bypasses the big narratives by focusing on the “small histories” and “small heritages” of individual neighborhoods, streets and households. Aligned also with the notion of “hidden histories” referred to in the literature as the re-presentation, re-

²⁷² David H. Harvey, "Chapter 1 The History of Heritage," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* by Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Routledge, 2016), 21.

²⁷³ Marc Howard Ross, "Chapter 7 The Politics of Memory and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 93.

²⁷⁴ David H. Harvey, "Chapter 1 The History of Heritage," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* by Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Routledge, 2016), 21.

claiming, mining or re-addressing of history,²⁷⁵ a focus on local histories and heritages necessarily means that place becomes significant in the inquiry. In other words, once we begin to look at histories and heritages at the scale of local neighborhoods, streets and buildings, “places” begin to acquire a significance of their own as they start to be associated with significant events and memories. A focus on small histories and heritages suggests therefore that the methodology employed is not only local, but “place-based” as well.

The contextual analysis of Cyprus conducted thus far revealed that given the present physical and psychological distance between the two communities and the dim chances of having meaningful encounters amongst them, any peacebuilding effort that aims to reach the public at large has to employ an embedded methodology where the museological intervention is inserted within the daily lived environments of the islanders. It also revealed that the strategic “what” of peacebuilding in Cyprus involves the creation of new and diverse hybrid narratives that can replace the singular ones perpetuated by the governing bodies on each side of the divide. The local, place-based methodology thus outlined, will create new histories and heritages of Cyprus that are more credible because they will involve real places and people and will therefore be less abstract and more concrete.

In the next section of this chapter, I examine the manner in which each community has constructed a large-group identity for itself which suggests an *additional* people-based methodological attribute for the museology of peacebuilding.

²⁷⁵ Diana Walters, "Chapter 4 Can Museums Build Peace? The Role of Museums in Peacebuilding and Internationalism," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* by Diana Walters, Daniel Laven, and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 44.

Exclusive identities of Cyprus; Delegitimizing the “Other”

In this section, I illustrate how the two communities form their large group identities at the exclusion of the other community through an analysis of their national struggle museums. I chose to look at these museums because similar to the official “historical” narratives on the government websites, they represent the extreme end of national identity construction at the exclusion of the “other,” hence constituting an appropriate case-study for highlighting the ways in which such national identity construction is counterproductive to peacebuilding. While the official government websites of the Turkish North and Greek South omit the militant struggles carried out by each community and focus instead on the chain of events which led to the current situation on the island, the museums dedicated to the national struggles of each community are *especially* focused on these militant struggles for freedom. They glorify members of their community who fought for the cause, TMT members in the North and EOKA members in the South, all the while demonizing the “other” community as a whole.

Both museums are free of charge and focus on the period of national struggle most significant for their community. For the Greek Cypriot National Struggle Museum (GCnsm) this period covers the establishment of EOKA in 1955 until its dissolution in 1959 whereas for the Turkish Cypriot National Struggle Museum (TCnsm) this period focuses on the enclavement of their community between 1963 and 1974.²⁷⁶ In the GCnsm, the militant struggle carried out by EOKA is cited as the reason the British Colonial Government (BCG) eventually left the island giving way to the

²⁷⁶ I visited the National Struggle Museum in North Cyprus on January 22nd, 2018 and the National Struggle Museum in South Cyprus on January 26th, 2018.

establishment of the independent RoC, whereas in the TCnsm, the militant struggle carried out by TMT is cited as the main reason the ideal of enosis was prevented from being realized, allowing the TCs their freedom from Greek Cypriot oppression and domination. Both museums tell the story of a heroic militant struggle for “freedom” but in the GSnsm this freedom is from the oppressive BCG while in the TCnsm this freedom is from the oppressive Greek Cypriot regime.

In the GCnsm, there is a temporary exhibition before the main exhibition which is called “Invincible Souls at Pyla Detention Camp,” recounting the life of EOKA prisoners detained at Pyla by the BCG through the photographic archive of the detainee Renos Lyssiotis.²⁷⁷ If the visitor decides to skip the temporary exhibition

²⁷⁷ The detention camp at Pyla is presented as “one of seven detention/concentration camps” that “were set up and put into operation” by the BCG; testimony of the “many harsh and repressive measures” taken in order to “stifle the liberation movement as expressed by the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA).” It is stated that during the EOKA struggle between 1955 & 1959 “approximately 3,600 people of every age were detained without trial for an unspecified length of time;” people whom the BCG suspected of belonging to an “illegal organization with the intent to overthrow, by acts of violence, the government of Cyprus.” The narrative also states that “the functioning of these camps was terminated” a few days after the signing of the Zurich-London Agreements which led to the establishment of the independent Republic of Cyprus (RoC). The quotes in the temporary exhibition of the National Struggle Museum in the RoC are taken from a book titled *The Diary of D.P. 743* by Renos Lyssiotis and highlight the “invincible souls” of the detainees; i.e. their love of God and country as expressed in their daily lives. One quote for example is listed under the title “national holidays” and describes the morning of the 28th of October: “The sun has just risen; the blue and white Greek flags have been raised and flutter proudly. The detainees stand to attention and salute the flags. The symbol of freedom unfolds, flying in the face of prohibition that no foreign flag shall fly above English territory.” The quote continues later on, in defiance of the British Colonial Regime and its restrictions: “Look at us English. We are the unconquered slaves, the proud captives of the camps ...”. The exhibition has photographs depicting daily life at the camp, religious books of the detainees, a hand-painted Greek flag, detention orders and visiting cards. One section is dedicated to the story of an EOKA member by the name of Savvas Achilleos, who is said to have been initiated into the organization in 1954, enlisting in the guerilla group “Ouranos” (sky) beside Markos Drakos and the Leader Dighenis in 1956 while in hiding from the British regime. It is recounted how he later disguised himself as a monk during his duties involving the distribution of correspondence to EOKA members and even after being captured he “continued to wear his monk’s disguise” only to decide once the struggles ended in 1959 that he would “take the holy orders.” In 1959, he was ordained Deacon and by the time he died in Greece in 2016 he had “attained the office of Archimandrite.” In a similar emphasis on the importance of religion for the detainees a wall panel titled “religious life” recounts how the detainees were forbidden from gathering and practicing their religion on the grounds that “such gatherings were used for subversive purposes” but that later on, they were given a room for such religious ceremonies and despite its shortcomings, they enjoyed being able to gather and pray.

and move on to the main exhibition s/he is greeted with a text panel titled “Cyprus” which highlights the indisputable “Greek” character of the island, stating that “Hellenization” began with the advent of the Myceneans in the 14th century BC” and that “despite the many foreign dominations of the island,” its “national” character has been preserved. The text begins by stating that “Cyprus has been a Greek island for about four thousand years” and “has always had close ties with the rest of the Greek world.” It is stated that “a common destiny bound the island to the rest of the Greek world from earliest historic times to the period of Turkish despotism.” The struggle for national freedom is equated with the struggles of the Greek people elsewhere from foreign domination, specifically Greece’s independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1821, during which it is recounted that Cyprus too shared in the sacrifices as its clergy and prominent laymen were “hanged or massacred by the Turkish rulers of the island.”²⁷⁸

Despite the islands in the Aegean being liberated “from the Turkish yoke” it is lamented that “Cyprus alone was left out and continued to remain under British occupation.” It is recounted that since the take-over of the political administration of the island by the BCG in 1878, Cyprus has been making demands to be united “with her free motherland Greece” through delegations, memoranda and discussions in the

²⁷⁸ National Struggle Museum, Republic of Cyprus, Personal Visit, January 26th, 2018.

Legislative Council.²⁷⁹ After domination by the BCG, it is relayed that Cypriots²⁸⁰ fought at the side of their new rulers “in the hope that Britain would respect their aspirations for political union with Greece (enosis)” but since this was not forthcoming, the Cypriots “took the matter in their own hands and held a referendum in which 78% of the population voted in favor of union with Greece, the rest being Turks (18%) and foreign nationals (4%).” It is further relayed that, given the BCG’s refusal to allow GCs to realize enosis, “the Cypriots organized a clandestine liberation movement with the name of EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters), an organization headed in the military sector by Colonel Georgios Grivas Digenis, a former officer in the Greek army, and by Archbishop Makarios in the political sector.” It is recounted that this “heroic struggle” lasted for four years and the “liberation movement came to an end with the much-disputed London and Zurich agreements” which established the foundation for the independent RoC. The GCnsm justifies “unification with Greece”²⁸¹ and EOKA’s militant struggle to realize this ideal on the grounds of the “historically Greek” character of the island and the results

²⁷⁹ It is recounted how, during WWI, in 1915, Cyprus had been offered to the Greek Government with the expectation that it would abandon its neutrality “in favor of the Allies in the course of that war.” It is further stated that despite the fact that Greece indeed abandoned her neutrality and was left to “fight alone in a protracted war that caused her ruin, Britain’s offer of the Island to Greece was withdrawn” And after WWII, the rulers of Great Britain “refused to abide by their own declarations and promises.” At this point, it is stated that the Ethnarchy, “seeing the principle of morality and justice being trampled upon by those who proclaimed in time of war,” decided to “make the national question of the Island an international question” asking Great Britain to “honor her declarations and recognize her obligation to liberate Cyprus from a bondage imposed upon her by a treaty with a third party.” The Ethnarchy asked for a plebiscite to prove the wishes of the Cypriot people which Great Britain refused, upon which it carried out its own plebiscite where “95.7% of the Greek population voted for Union, constituting over 80% of the whole population of the island.”

²⁸⁰ In the National Struggle Museum in the South, the term “Cypriots” is used to refer to the “Greek Cypriots” *only* while the term “Turks” is used to refer to the Turkish Cypriots.

²⁸¹ The expression used in the National Struggle Museum in the South to refer to the ideal of enosis is “unification with Greece.”

of the 1950 referendum where the majority of the population voted for “union with Greece.”²⁸²

After this introductory panel, the GCnsm narrative continues with “The Plebiscite of the Cyprus People” and the quotation, in full, of the statement made by the Archbishopric of Nicosia on January 15th 1950. The results of the plebiscite are said to be the “most unmistakable indication of the genuineness of the claim of the Cyprus people for the union of the island with her motherland Greece.” The Archbishop’s statement ends with the proclamation that “the Ethnarchy having this as their most powerful weapon, besides others already at their disposal, will proceed with determination towards the attainment of the solution of the Cyprus question by the immediate realization of the sole claim of the Cyprus people, the union of Cyprus with her motherland Greece, proclaimed by them in the most emphatic manner by the plebiscite of the 15th of January.” Accompanying this section are photographs of ceremonies in Athens and other events in the aftermath of the plebiscite as well as large photographs of the two EOKA leaders, Lieutenant General Georgios Grivas – Digenis, the “military leader,” and Archbishop Makarios III, the “religious and political leader” accompanied by a brief synopsis of their role in the struggle.²⁸³

While the narrative in the GCnsm begins with the “Hellenization of the island” in the 14th century BC, the narrative in the TCnsm begins in 1571, the year of the capture of the island by the Ottoman Empire during which “80,000 martyrs” sacrificed their lives. The narrative continues with the establishment of TMT in 1958, introduced as

²⁸² National Struggle Museum, Republic of Cyprus, Personal Visit, January 26th, 2018.

²⁸³ Ibid.

an organization established for the purpose of resisting EOKA described as “a terrorist organization established on April 1st 1955 with an aim to exterminate Turkish Cypriots living on the island and annex Cyprus to Greece.” TMT is described as a joint Turkish and Turkish Cypriot organization with photographs of its three Turkish Cypriot founding members and two Turkish founding members displayed²⁸⁴ on the wall along with the original oath²⁸⁵ of the organization. This oath asks uninitiated members to swear to protect the Turkish Cypriots from any danger regarding their lifestyle, freedom, life and property regardless of where the danger comes from. It also asks them to swear to carry out any order whatsoever given to them and keep their actions a secret, acknowledging always that non-compliance with this oath will result in their death.²⁸⁶ In this section, the TMT emblems of the various cities on the island are displayed as well as the primitive weapons used by the organization such as hunting guns and guns made out of water pipes meant to highlight the lack of resources the organization had during this time period.²⁸⁷

Back in the GCnsm, in the section that includes the declaration by Digenis, on April 1st 1955 announcing the “beginning of the liberation struggle” is also the oath that EOKA members needed to take. Some words in the original announcement of Digenis as well as the oath taken by EOKA are written in capital letters which I

²⁸⁴ The Turkish Cypriot founding members are Osman Örek, Dr. Fazıl Küçük and Rauf Raif Denktaş. Its Turkish founding members are high ranking military personnel, Daniş Karabelen and Ali Rıza Vuruşkan.

²⁸⁵ See Appendix 1 for the original oath of TMT & EOKA.

²⁸⁶ I observed, in the interviews I carried out with ex-members of TMT, that a very large majority of them are still uncomfortable talking about their actions during this time period yet they also exhibit notable signs of wanting to do so as a way of coming to terms with their own past and this time period.

²⁸⁷ National Struggle Museum, TRNC. Personal Visit, January 22nd 2018.

maintain here while referencing them.²⁸⁸ Digenis announces the beginning of the “STRUGGLE TO THROW OFF THE ENGLISH YOKE” proclaiming the outcome to be “DEATH OR VICTORY.” Addressing “BROTHER CYPRIOTS,” he states that “all those who glorified Greek history in preserving their freedom” are looking to us and are aware of the fact that “liberation from the yoke of the ruler is always won through BLOODSHED.”²⁸⁹ Calling international diplomacy “UNJUST and COWARDLY” Digenis calls upon Cypriots to claim this well-deserved freedom through their “own HANDS” and “own BLOOD.” The final paragraph addresses the “DIPLOMATS OF THE WORLD” and declares that it is a shame that in the twentieth century “people should have to shed blood for freedom.” The final paragraph also addresses “GREEKS” who are called upon, wherever they may be, to move “FORWARD ALL TOGETHER FOR THE FREEDOM OF OUR CYPRUS.”²⁹⁰

The next section in the GCnsm concerns the sacrifices and deaths of EOKA members mostly in the hands of the British, as well as the efforts of the British to suppress EOKA. The only incident within the museum where TCs are blamed for the death of GCs is the incident at the Gönyeli quarter of Nicosia which took place on the 12th of June 1958 and is covered in great detail with plenty of documentation intended to illustrate and prove that the incident was a plot of the BCG which orchestrated events and staged a scenario where TCs ended up killing GCs whom

²⁸⁸ I have maintained the capital letters used in the original text at the museum because they are integral to the message being conveyed.

²⁸⁹ Amongst those who glorified Greek history and watching from above are the warriors Marathon and Salamis, the 300 of Leonidas, fighters of the “epic Albanian war,” as well as the fighters of the war of independence in 1821.

²⁹⁰ National Struggle Museum, Republic of Cyprus, Personal Visit, January 26th, 2018.

they believed were about to attack them. It is stated that the incident took place “at the height of intercommunal clashes, which were being secretly encouraged by the British.” It is stated that British soldiers took 30 Greek Cypriots to a location outside Gönyeli “where they were forced to get out of the bus ... and ordered to return to their village Kontemenos, on foot.” Turks from Gönyeli were “appropriately informed beforehand by the British” and “were waiting in ambush and massacred eight of the Greek Cypriots.” The BCG is portrayed in this incident as a provocateur on the island pitting the two communities against each other and dividing them.²⁹¹

Back in the TCnsm, following the introductory section of the Ottoman conquest of the island and the establishment of TMT, the narrative goes back in time to recount the story of why TMT was established. The efforts of the TCs in fighting enosis are said to have begun shortly after the beginning of British rule on the island in 1878. The year 1931 is cited as the year during which the BCG suppressed the “Greek terrorist campaign for enosis,” only to change its mind in 1941 by “opening the door to enosis” through the offer of Cyprus to Greece in return for military action in Bulgaria. The year 1942 is cited as the establishment of the first Turkish Cypriot political party KATAK²⁹² “against the British colonialists and enosis” and 1945 as the year during which the “Greek leaders intensified their enosis campaign” in response to which the TCs established in 1949 the “Cyprus National Turkish Unity” party in order “to secure their existence.” It is stated that the Greek Orthodox Church had a leadership role in gathering support for enosis, and as proof of this,

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² KATAK stands for Kıbrıs Adası Türk Azınlığı Kurumu, which translates as The Island of Cyprus Turkish Minority Association.

they include in full, a statement made by Archbishop Makarios on October 20th 1950, where he states that he will “never give up on the idea of the annexation of Cyprus to Motherland Greece.”²⁹³

It is recounted that during the period between 1953-54 Greece sent the Greek army officer Grivas to the island to make plans for the realization of enosis and the establishment of “the terrorist organization EOKA to rid Cyprus of the British and Turks.” A quotation from EOKA is displayed, where they proclaim that “firstly, we shall make the British leave the island” and “then, we shall eliminate the Turks.”

This statement is displayed as proof of the Greek Cypriot aim of the “annexation” of the island to Greece *as well as* the elimination of all TCs on the island. The section continues with the recounting of the establishment of Volkan²⁹⁴ in 1956, followed by TMT in 1957-1958. The overall narrative in this section is one which portrays the beginning of the Turkish Cypriot military struggle as one which became inevitable since it was the only means of preventing EOKA’s ideal of enosis and their own extermination as a community. This section of the museum includes photographs of TCs killed by EOKA members, photographs of TMT members in action or posing in groups as well as demonstrations carried out by TCs on the island and in London protesting against the BCG.²⁹⁵

²⁹³ National Struggle Museum, TRNC. Personal Visit, January 22nd 2018.

²⁹⁴ Volkan (1956) is the underground militant organization established prior to the establishment of TMT (1958) and seen as the precursor to it.

²⁹⁵ National Struggle Museum, TRNC. Personal Visit, January 22nd 2018.

The next section in the TCnsm is the most detailed and has the large title “1963 The Bloody Noel” written in red against a blue background. It covers the suffering of the TCs in the hands of the GCs during the decade of the 60s and accounts for the crimes committed against them on specific dates including those on December the 21st, December 22nd, December 23rd, December 24th and December 25th under the heading “An armed EOKA group of 20 thousand acts to realize the enosis plan ... The Greek side applies the Akritas Plan.”²⁹⁶ The narrative points, in this way, to the specific date of December 21st 1963 as the day the Akritas Plan was put into action. The events listed include the killing of civilians in the Turkish Tahtakale quarter of Nicosia followed by their mass exodus across the Green Line to the north, the murder of the legendary football player Salahi Şevket, the killing of civilians in the Kumsal quarter of Nicosia, the killing of the Turkish doctor’s wife and three children in the bathtub of their home in Kumsal, the ambush of the Küçük Kaymaklı quarter of Nicosia where hundreds of Turks were taken hostage, the killing of Turkish people in Larnaka, the attack on the villages of Denya, Ayvasıl, and Shillura, with 21 Turks mass murdered in Ayvasıl as well as the forcing of all Turkish officials and Members of Parliament out of the RoC.²⁹⁷ The visuals which accompany this section include photographs of TCs fleeing their homes en-masse and later in refugee camps, lists of significant people who lost their lives and original correspondence between TMT members pertaining to the struggle that took place during this time period.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁶ The Akritas Plan is described in the exhibition, at another location, as the “plan designed to exterminate the Turks in Cyprus and justify the Greek propaganda against Turks in the eye of the world.”

²⁹⁷ The events following these are listed as the establishment of the Turkish Cypriot Forces Regiment base in Gönyeli and Ortaköy, the carrying out of warning flights by Turkey, and finally the airing of the first “Müjahiddin” radio under the name of “bayrak” (which means flag).

²⁹⁸ National Struggle Museum, TRNC. Personal Visit, January 22nd 2018.

Next in the timeline is August 1964, eight months after “Bloody Noel,” where it is recounted that 500 Turkish Cypriot university students secretly travelled from Turkey to Erenköy (Kokkina), a Turkish enclave town on the northern shore of Cyprus, where they defended it against the Greek National Guard of more than 4,000. It is also recounted, based on a United Nations document, cited in full, that within the eight-month period between “Bloody Noel” and the “Erenköy Battle,” 364 Turks had been killed, property in 109 settlements destroyed, 25 thousand people forced to migrate and 23 thousand people left jobless. The intention, it appears, is to make apparent, through specific dates, places and numbers the tragedy that fell upon the TCs during this time period lasting until 1974.²⁹⁹

Back in the GCnsm, after a section which displays bodies of dead EOKA members, the narrative is picked up with a quotation, in full, this time of the Academy of Athens, dated August 18th 1954, asking the international academe for their “attention on the question of Cyprus which, viewed from the historical and social side, presents a world-wide interest.” The plea starts with the same introduction to Cyprus as a “Greek island since the most remote pre-Christian times until now, inhabited by a people who are Greek by 85%, speak the Greek language, practice the Greek Orthodox religion and have a pure, national Greek consciousness.” The statement refers to the “principle of the self-determination of peoples” stating how the people of Cyprus demand “to be united with motherland Greece.” It states that Great Britain is refusing the people of Cyprus this right, in contradiction to the “principles about liberty and self-determination of peoples, instituted by the United Nations” and is instead applying “cruel despotic measures” suffocating “the Cypriotes’ national

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

feeling” reminiscent of the “medieval dark periods.” It states that it is unfair for the Cypriote people to be kept under “illiberal colonial status” and “remain condemned in an eternal slavery.” The Academe declares that it “protests before the Academies of the free world against the oppression exercised by a friendly and allied country upon the most Hellenic island, invokes the sister Academies to assist in disapproving unanimously such an illiberal and anachronistic policy” and asks for their help in the “liberation of Cyprus.” The next and final section in the GCnsm is likely to have the most impact on the visitor. It consists of photographs of EOKA fighters who were executed by the British, within a setting which alludes to the way they were executed; with three ropes dangling from the ceiling. A candle burns in front of each photograph of an executed EOKA member below which there are letters which they sent to their families prior to their execution.³⁰⁰

Back in the TCnsm, after the section on Erenköy, the narrative continues with the year 1967 during which efforts for enosis are said to have intensified due to the military junta take-over in Greece on April 21st 1967. Archbishop Makarios, the president of the RoC, is said to have secretly imported 20 thousand soldiers from Greece that same year. It is recounted that on November 15th 1967, “Greeks started to attack the towns of Boğaziçi and Geçitkale with canons, mortars and rockets,” as a result of which 24 Turkish Cypriots were killed and the *imam* of the village set on fire.³⁰¹ After recounting these events, the Greek Cypriot struggle for enosis is

³⁰⁰ National Struggle Museum, Republic of Cyprus, Personal Visit, January 26th, 2018.

³⁰¹ This was also the year that the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf R. Denktaş was arrested while trying to get back into Cyprus as he had been banned in 1964, by Makarios, from entering the island. Oswald notes, in John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 20, that when violence erupted in 1963-1964 “Denktash was banned from the island and moved to Turkey” but he returned in 1967 and Grivas ordered the attack on the enclave of Kophinou in retaliation for this, which he notes “nearly brought about a Turkish invasion on the island.”

located within the larger ideal called the “Megali Idea,” described as the idea suggested by the Greek poet Rigars Ferrors between 1791 and 1796 which encompassed the “recreation of the Great Byzantine Empire” including the annexation of Macedonia, Thessaloniki and Western Thrace, the islands of the Aegean Sea including Bozcaada (Tenedos), Crete, Cyprus, Eastern Anatolia, the island of İmralı, recreation of the Pontus Greek State and finally the “invasion of İstanbul and strengthening of the East Roman Empire.” It is stated that the Orthodox Church was responsible for keeping alive and implementing the Megali Idea in Cyprus. The final section of the TCnsm concerns the 1974 war and ends similar to the narrative in the GCnsm, with the names of the people who died during the struggle for freedom between 1963 and 1974 displayed on a wall.³⁰²



Photographs: The National Struggle Museum, TRNC

Left: A newspaper clipping which reads “88 more innocent Turks have been butchered. A Swedish soldier says; I have not witnessed such violence in the world.” (photo by author)

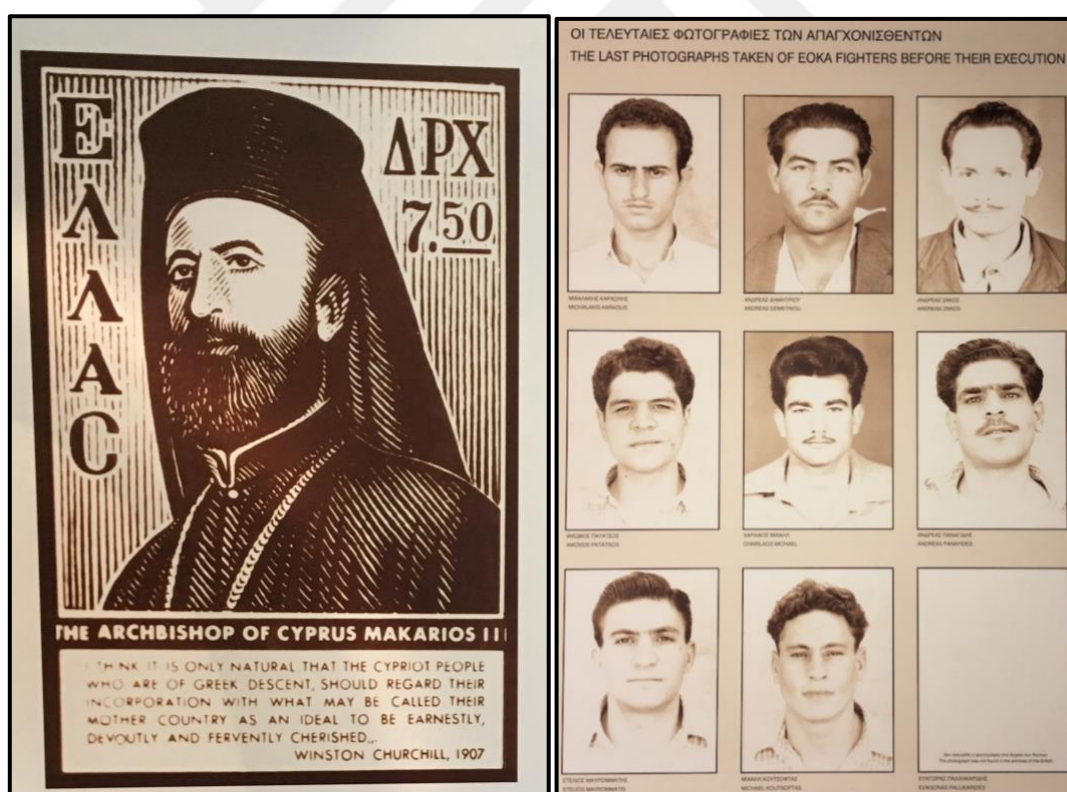
Right: The wall panel in the last section of the museum notes on the top “unutmayacağız” (we will not forget) and has the names of more than 2000 people who lost their lives during the troubles, framed by a Turkish and a TRNC flag (photo by author).

Figure 8

The objective of the narratives in both museums seems to be the strengthening of the subject community’s “national” identity through documentation of that community’s heroic struggle for freedom against an oppressive “other.” While in the TCnsm that

³⁰² More than 2000 names are included on this panel.

oppressive “other” is clearly the GCs with some reference to the oppression of the BCG, in the GCnsm that oppressive “other” is clearly the BCG with mention of “Turks” as the historical enemy and oppressor of the “Greeks” throughout history. While I do not assume that all of the people within the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities wholeheartedly endorse the “national identity” established for each community at the exclusion of the national identity of the “other,” I do posit that these narratives, as expressed in the National Struggle Museums in the North and South, have varying degrees of significance for the personal and collective identities of the islanders. Their elaboration serves to illustrate their divisive nature which is counterproductive to peacebuilding. In the next section, I delineate a methodology for addressing these divisive narratives.



Photographs: The National Struggle Museum, RoC

Left: The Archbishop of Cyprus Makrios III shown as the leader of the liberation struggle in the last section of the museum with a list of quotes from world leaders supporting the “just” cause of the Cypriots. The quote shown in this frame is by Winston Churchill (1907) and reads “I think it is only natural that the Cypriot people who are of Greek descent should regard their incorporation with what may be called their mother country as an ideal to be earnestly, devoutly and fervently cherished...” (photo by author).

Right: These are the photographs of EOKA fighters displayed at the end of the museum indicated as being taken before their execution by the British (photo by author).

Figure 9

A People-based Methodology; Humanizing the “Other”

Significance of “National” Identities

What is most significant about the above narratives is that “national” and group identity and solidarity are established at the expense of diminishing the “other” group’s identity. It is an absolutist, fixed and singular approach where the nation is treated as an entity with a character fixed throughout time, either good or bad but never embodying aspects of both. There is, in other words, no room for making errors as a “nation.” As such it is an incomplete narrative, a black and white story with no tones of grey. No person in the “other” nation who exhibits humane qualities or does good deeds is mentioned and all people belonging to this “other” nation are not only negatively stereotyped but they are also imbued with almost inhuman characteristics.

I call this type of identity construction an “exclusive” one because it excludes, through the process of delegitimization, the “other” community’s right to exist as human beings with dignity. In other words, both narratives are founded “on the principle of mutual non-recognition”³⁰³ disregarding altogether the other’s claims. This non-recognition and ignoring of the “other” has been facilitated in part by ethnic nationalism which developed on the island amongst both communities stressing their allegiance to the “motherland” of Turkey and Greece through their “common history, decent, language, culture and religion”³⁰⁴ laying in this way

³⁰³ *Citizen Peacemaking in Cyprus, The Story of Co-operation and Trust across the Green Line*, report, United Nations Development Program (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2013), 52.

³⁰⁴ Yiannis Papadakis, *History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Schoolbooks on the “History of Cyprus”* (Oslo, Norway: International Peace Research Institute, 2008), 131.

exclusive claim to the island. While these nationalisms may have served to create strong bonds amongst members of each community, this has been at the expense of seeing the “other” community as an outsider. Peace education scholar Noddings notes that the result of such exclusive “allegiance” to the nation which is couched within the positive term of “patriotism” often leads to and promotes “hatred, enmity, and enormous sacrifices of life and property.”³⁰⁵ Papadakis further reinforces this point by stating that the prevalence of this approach to politics emphasizes feelings of fear, anger and hatred against the other and leads to the “reconstitution of antagonistic and belligerent conceptions of identity and community.”³⁰⁶

Psychoanalyst and scholar on conflict resolution Vamık Volkan states that for many decades the ethnic nationalisms on the island were indeed viewed as a barrier to a united Cyprus and it was the official and unofficial policy of the US and Europe to create of a new large-group identity called “Cypriot,” thus minimizing the ethnic identities on the island.³⁰⁷ The contact group meetings organized amongst the elite of Cyprus mentioned in Chapter 1 intended such social engineering of a “new” common large group identity shared by both communities. Many NGO’s on the island worked in support of this policy with the perception that if the divided populations were linked together by a newly constructed identity, defined as “Cypriot,” they would more easily be integrated making it even possible that the

³⁰⁵ Nel Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 51.

³⁰⁶ Emma Hutchison and Roland Bleiker, "Chapter 6 Reconciliation," in in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding*, by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 86.

³⁰⁷ Vamık Volkan, "Trauma, Identity and Search for a Solution in Cyprus," *Insight Turkey* 10, no. 4 (2008).

minority group of TCs would become assimilated by the GCs.³⁰⁸ While some islanders on both sides of the divide still support the creation of a common identity as the way forward and the foundation for any settlement, there are also scholars who are critical of this idea.

Kitromilides describes this stance as unrealistic, in so far as it applies to the Greek Cypriot community, because it “understands nothing” of the “moral, cultural and intellectual traditions and values of the island society” and demonizes Greek nationalism and the Church “as the main culprit of Cyprus’s troubles.”³⁰⁹ Yiannis Papadakis verifies this statement, not by ideologically supporting the continuation of the status quo identity stance on the Greek Cypriot side, but by explaining the practical impossibility of creating such a common group identity. He points out that the GCs view TCs as outsiders, “a strong indication” in his opinion that “a common civic consciousness upon which the reunification of Cyprus could be based” simply does not exist on the island.³¹⁰ He suggests instead an understanding of identity that is “internally diverse, historically changing and a result of political choice, rather than homogeneous, unchanging and historically determined.”³¹¹

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 102.

³⁰⁹ Paschalis Kitromilides, "Chapter 17 Preconditions and Expectations of a Solution," in *Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution* by James Ker-Lindsay (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 155.

³¹⁰ Yiannis Papadakis, "Chapter 25 Chronicle of a Failure Foretold?" in *Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution* by James Ker-Lindsay (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 223.

³¹¹ Papadakis, "Narrative, Memory and History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Schoolbooks on the “History of Cyprus”," *History and Memory* 20, no. 2 (2008): 144, doi:10.2979/his.2008.20.2.128.

Bringing the same kind of criticism to the social engineering of a new common large group identity for the islanders is Volkan who takes a historical perspective and notes that “historically speaking there has never been a Cypriot ethnicity or nationality.”³¹² Finally, peacebuilding scholar John Lederach states that while the need for humanizing the “other” is apparent in regions of conflict, “insights of traditional wisdom” indicate that the survival of a community has historically been facilitated by “collective memory.”³¹³ Hutchison and Bleiker further point out that “practices of representing trauma and its emotions – whether they are fear and anger, guilt and remorse – inevitably become sources of identity” and they “often define communities in a divisive way, creating a sense of safety and unity in juxtaposition to a hostile and threatening outside.”³¹⁴ While these assertions of the unrealistic nature of creating a new group identity as well as the historical need for separate group identities does not mean, in any way, that the singular narratives of each side should be reinforced and supported, it does mean that these narratives warrant consideration and acknowledgement and need to be taken as *valid* for each community in any peacebuilding effort.

Addressing “National” Identities through Education

We may therefore conjecture that there is a dilemma on the island regarding the historical usefulness of the singular narratives and exclusive identities of each community on the one hand versus the need for these identities to change as a

³¹² Vamık Volkan, "Trauma, Identity and Search for a Solution in Cyprus," *Insight Turkey* 10, no. 4 (2008): 103.

³¹³ John Paul Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 148.

³¹⁴ Emma Hutchison and Roland Bleiker, "Chapter 6 Reconciliation," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding*, by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 86.

prerequisite to peacebuilding. A plausible and workable starting point is not to denounce and negate the validity of these narratives and attempt to socially engineer another type in their place, but, as noted by Kitromilides, it is to re-educate Cypriot society such that they learn “to live with pluralism and to handle with maturity the multiple identities that make up their social reality and symbolic environment.”

Kitromilides puts forth that once the islanders learn to “handle these multiple identities” they will also “learn to engage in mutual recognition and this will breed respect for each other as fellow citizens.” He states that such understanding and openness would create a culture of reunification as opposed to one of division, which he describes in more concrete terms as a culture of “ideological generosity;” one which he claims will constitute the “necessary domestic substratum for a solution.”³¹⁵

As an alternative to Kitromilides’s general suggestion of encouraging a culture of ideological generosity, Hutchison and Bleiker suggest “articulating identity and notions of community in less disparaging ways”³¹⁶ by “drawing out” and “working through the collective, politicized forms of emotion that may unknowingly constitute animosity and divisive political relations.” They point out that emotions need to be seen as “both part of the social fabric and as forms of knowledge and judgement” that need to be worked through³¹⁷ instead of ignored. What they suggest by “working through” these emotions is reminiscent of the development of a form of

³¹⁵ Paschalis Kitromilides, "Chapter 17 Preconditions and Expectations of a Solution," in *Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution* by James Ker-Lindsay (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 156-157.

³¹⁶ Emma Hutchison and Roland Bleiker, "Chapter 6 Reconciliation," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding*, by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 86.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 87.

self-awareness in general, of the kind espoused in Freire's theory of a liberating education,³¹⁸ as I will cover in more detail in Chapter 3. Hutchison and Bleiker's suggestions are concrete and helpful since they acknowledge that some aspects of large group identities are divisive in nature and simply need to be altered.

A culture of ideological generosity, of the kind articulated by Kitromilides, which encompasses the "values of fairness, justice and respect for the rights and needs of its members as autonomous individuals"³¹⁹ would most certainly contribute to peacebuilding in Cyprus. As noted by Noddings, "many of us today would like to find a way to move toward a more universal sense of citizenship, to shape our patriotism toward an acceptance of global needs and contributions." Towards this end, she asks whether or not it might be possible to develop a "cosmopolitan form of patriotism."³²⁰ Noddings' pleas for establishing more universal forms of identities echo the sentiments of UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education (GCE) initiative launched in 2014 which suggests that an internationally recognized education is an imperative of the post-modern global world and one of the organization's key objectives for the next eight years (2014-2022). It highlights in its report, the "conceptual shift" that needs to take place in education from "the development of knowledge and cognitive skills to the building of values, soft skills and attitudes"

³¹⁸ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Penguin Education, 1972).

³¹⁹ Paschalis Kitromilides, "Chapter 17 Preconditions and Expectations of a Solution," in *Resolving Cyprus: New Approaches to Conflict Resolution* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016).

³²⁰ Nel Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 52.

which will “facilitate international cooperation and promote social transformation.”³²¹

The report recognizes that, given the heterogenous nature of most societies whose members exhibit major differences in their understanding of identity, heritage, and history, this kind of global citizenship education is difficult to articulate and even more difficult to put to practice. This difficulty is akin to the specific dilemma stated above; of the significance of the “national” narratives versus their need to be diversified and changed as a prerequisite for peacebuilding. UNESCO describes this dilemma in more general terms as “the need to promote universality while respecting singularity.”³²² Despite the difficulties posed by such an education, it remains an imperative in regions of conflict such as Cyprus, because not endorsing such universal values that bring people together means that narratives that push them apart will prevail instead.

Two peace education scholars, a Greek Cypriot Zembylas and a Turkish Cypriot Karahasan, express the significance of dispelling negative stereotypes in a joint article where they describe their own indoctrination in the schools they attended in Cyprus. Karahasan recalls how they learned in school that Greeks had “showed no gratitude at all” for the religious freedoms granted to them by the Ottoman rulers who had saved them from the oppression they experienced under Venetian rule, to the extent that the GCs of Cyprus were forced to convert to Catholicism. Karahasan

³²¹ Qian Tang, *Global Citizenship Education: Preparing Learners for the Challenges of the 21st Century* (Paris: UNESCO, 2014).

³²² Ibid.

states that they were “constantly reminded” of how much they had suffered as a community as they were “systematically attacked and killed” because of the Greek Cypriot objective of uniting the island with Greece. He notes that the official slogan “unutmayacağız” (we will not forget) was used to refer to “the martyrs who had given up their lives fighting against the GCs” and he remembers how this slogan united the Turkish Cypriot community “as a nation *against* the GCs.” The primary lesson he recalls learning from this narrative was that “Greeks were never to be trusted.”³²³ Describing the transformation of his ideas he states that “although I always felt that GCs were human beings and not monsters, a lived experience with someone was actually necessary in order to help me see things differently.”³²⁴

Similarly, Zembylas remembers that one of the first childhood paintings he drew “depicted the Turkish planes bombing Cyprus and the Turks as monster-like animals who wanted to eat us.” He states how the painting “was put on display on a board and everyone reiterated how evil and barbarian the Turks were.” He describes how as kids they used to “memorize all the heroes of the Greek revolution in 1821” and how in their childhood games each one would pick a revolutionary hero and try to be him or her. He recounts how the theme Den Xecho (never forget) became prominent in their school life after 1974 where “pictures of Kyrenia, Bellapais and Famagusta (our “occupied places”) would decorate all classrooms” the goal being “to acquire knowledge so that we would never forget these places and care enough so

³²³ Michalinos Zembylas and Hakan Karahasan, "Formal and Non-formal Reform Efforts of History Teaching in Cyprus: Openings and Closures for Dangerous Memories and Reconciliation Pedagogies," *History Education and Conflict Transformation*, 2017, 17, doi:10.1007/978-3-319-54681-0_13.

³²⁴ Ibid., 18.

that one day we would be ready to fight for them, if necessary.” The Den Xecho campaign focused mainly on “the remembrance of the Turkish invasion, the thousands of refugees, the missing, the enclaved, the violation of human rights, and the destruction of ancient Greek archaeological places.” Zembylas states that he remembers being encouraged by his teachers to “write letters to the missing persons (six years after 1974) telling them how much we loved them and prayed for their return.”³²⁵

Another peace education scholar, Maria Hadjipavlou who has been involved in peacebuilding work for decades, notes that her students admitted, upon meeting TCs, that what they had been taught in school had given them “limited and selective information compared to the richness of experiences and personal stories” which the “others” embodied, which they became aware of once they met them.³²⁶ The personal narratives of these peace education scholars are familiar to anyone who has grown up in Cyprus, including myself. What they reveal is how the “other” becomes objectified within the education systems on both sides. Parallels can be drawn yet again with Freire’s conceptualization of a society characterized by a state of oppression. Explaining this type of society, Freire argues that “the oppressor consciousness tends to transform everything surrounding it into an object of its domination” by in-animating “everything and everyone it encounters”³²⁷ which

³²⁵ Ibid., 20. Zembylas recounts that “on one of the few occasions when the issue arose of who the TCs were, I (he) stood up in front of the class and repeated full of pride what I (he) had been taught in Katichitiko (religious school): the TCs used to be Christians who became Muslims to avoid taxation during the Ottoman rule.”

³²⁶ *Citizen Peacemaking in Cyprus, The Story of Co-operation and Trust across the Green Line*, report, United Nations Development Program (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2013), 8.

³²⁷ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Place of Publication Not Identified: Penguin Education, 1972), 41.

includes “the earth, property, production, the creations of people, people themselves as well as time.”³²⁸ In the case of Cyprus, each side objectifies the “other,” thus in-animating the “other” into a non-human entity.

This state of objectifying the “other,” achieved through indoctrinating young minds, prevents questioning these narratives. Usually, it is only until and when horizons are broadened through other forms of more progressive education that people begin to question their previous assumptions. Freire’s liberating education is a progressive education of the kind that would broaden the horizons of people as it sets out to re-animate and hence re-humanize the “other” by conducting a deep inquiry into the “reality” of life.³²⁹

Incorporating the People-Based Methodology

The re-animation and re-humanization of people involves recognizing them as humans who have biases, make mistakes, become victims, victimizers and so on. We, as humans, can be many things at the same time at different times in our lives and we are most assuredly not perfect and good all the time. The stance to be taken in this inquiry, as mentioned previously, is a point of departure imbued with a sense of humility and acceptance of our imperfection. The most powerful means through which we can perceive our humanity is through the candid personal stories of the islanders. When those stories include remorse and regret they are all the more powerful as reminders of our imperfection because they reveal our frailties and

³²⁸ Ibid., 40.

³²⁹ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Place of Publication Not Identified: Penguin Education, 1972), 41.

inclinations to be mis-directed and mis-guided. It is for this reason that I propose, as another indispensable methodology for the museology of peacebuilding, a *people-based approach* which I define as one which makes the most use of people's personal stories in the remaking of new and diverse narratives on the island.

Oral history is amongst the methodologies that I use and constitutes the backbone of the people-based methodology. A people-based methodology which uses oral history lets people express themselves as they are, while revealing traces of their own objectification as well as objectifying tendencies. People exhibit varying degrees of candor as I have come to observe in the interviews I conducted with them. All islanders have traces of objectifying tendencies; this is not a weakness of the oral history methodology, but its strength. Freire asserts that opinions and feelings of people count not only for what they reveal about their condition but also as a means of their participation in the naming of reality. Freire argues that it is through giving people the chance for expression that "each individual wins back the right to say his or her own word, to name the world."³³⁰ Subjectivity, not objectivity, is the basis of his pedagogy where he clearly puts forth that "to deny the importance of subjectivity in the process of transforming the world and history is naive and simplistic" because it would mean admitting "a world without people." His notion of a liberating education is grounded in the "historicity" of people and starts from a point of recognition that subjectivity is the foundation of this historicity.³³¹ The individual voices of the islanders are significant for what they reveal about their "universe" both at a personal level as well as at the level of their individual communities.

³³⁰ Ibid., 14.

³³¹ Ibid., 65.

A people-based methodology when combined with a place-based methodology has great potential to be effective in Cyprus because a large percentage of the islanders, both Turkish and Greek Cypriots, have at some point in their lives become refugees.³³² The memories associated with their previous lives are embedded within the physical environments left behind, in most cases, across the geographic divide. A people and place-referenced approach to histories and heritages means that these ex-refugees will be given the opportunity to become, once again, part of the histories and heritages of their former places of habitation. It will give them the opportunity to become re-connected with both the places and the people they left behind. The involvement of former residents in the creation of the histories and heritages of their former places of inhabitation also puts them into contact with the *present* life and people inhabiting these places.

The local, place-based methodology employed will make histories and heritages specific, tangible, imaginable and credible because they will make reference to the physical landscapes and people of the island that are familiar to all, and the people-based methodology will re-animate and re-humanize members of the “other” community. Employing the local, place and people-based methodology, the *CHHP of Cyprus* will thus become a *tool* which enables the estranged and disparate communities of the island to re-connect with each other through their joint humanity. Unlikely encounters are enabled during this process of creating new histories and heritages for the island of Cyprus as former residents re-connect with each other as

³³² C. H. Dodd, *Disaccord on Cyprus: The UN Plan and after* (Huntingdon: Eothen, 2004), 4. Dodd states that there was an estimated 182,000 GCs displaced who moved to the South by midsummer. It took longer for the TCs to move to the North as they faced opposition in the South but by the end of the Population Exchange Agreement of 1975, the estimated number of TCs who moved to the North were 42,000.

well as with the present residents of their previous places of habitation. Place and people become common denominators through which people coalesce and begin to re-establish relationships.

Many events unfolded across the island of Cyprus during the turbulent decades of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, in villages as well as cities, most of which remain either undocumented or not fully documented, and the older generation of Cypriots who have lived through this time period have a lot to say about them, as I have come to observe in the interviews I conducted with them. Some of these former residents are fast approaching the end of their lives while others have already passed away.³³³ What this means is that soon enough, the opportunity to record the local and small histories and heritages of the island through their eyewitness accounts and voices, in the collaborative fashion envisioned and necessitated by the above outlined methodology, will be lost altogether. There is therefore a sense of urgency to the task at hand. Recording the recent past of Cyprus as it manifested itself in the nooks and crannies of the multi-faceted complex spaces of the island will reveal the small histories and heritages of the island with the potential to dissolve, over time, the singular narratives that currently dominate the psyche of the islanders. The process through which the islanders make these new histories and heritages will reveal their subjective universe, their historicity, and lead to a deeper understanding of the complex realities of the dispute and their own roles within it.

³³³ I had planned to interview A. Al's mother, in her 90s, who grew up in Ayios Loukas and still lived there, but I was unable to fit her into my schedule on one of my visits. On my next visit, she had already passed away. Additionally, Ü. B., T. H. and Jale Beha whom I interviewed, passed away while I was writing my dissertation.

It is only through such open and candid confrontation with history that we can begin to have any real understanding of the past. In fact, this is precisely what Volkan says as he analyzes the situation on the island from a psychoanalytical point of view and states that both communities on the island experienced “traumas,” and the “therapeutic way of dealing with previous generations’ massive social traumas is not to deny or repress what happened to the ancestors, but to be aware of the history.”³³⁴ Therefore, it is also significant, from the point of view of overcoming the social traumas of the past, that a more sincere confrontation with history be carried out on an island-wide scale. Volkan further posits that “there could be no solution on the island without understanding and addressing the traumas of both communities.” The *CHHP of Cyprus* is envisioned as an island-wide digital platform for the creation of new histories and heritages for Cyprus that can act as a vehicle for healing by moving the islanders forward towards a more peaceful future.

In the next chapter, Chapter 3, I examine the disciplines of museology and education with respect to their theories and practices, concluding in this way Part I of the dissertation which outlines the building blocks of the new discipline and practice which I call the museology of peacebuilding.

³³⁴ Vamik Volkan, "Trauma, Identity and Search for a Solution in Cyprus," *Insight Turkey* 10, no. 4 (2008): 95. Insight Turkey. Volkan states that “for the Cypriot Turks, their massive trauma started in 1963-1964 when they were forced to live in subhuman conditions in enclaves geographically limited to three percent of the island for eleven years” and for the Cypriot Greeks this trauma involved “what happened during the summer of 1974” which “obviously traumatized the Cypriot Greeks too on a massive scale.”

CHAPTER 3

MUSEOLOGY & EDUCATION, THEORIES & PRACTICES

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Introduction to Chapter 3

In the previous chapter, Chapter 2, I indicated that education is the key to altering the divisive official narratives on the island. In this chapter, I conduct a historical survey of museology which highlights the paradigm shifts experienced over the evolution of museums and I locate the museology of peacebuilding within this historical development. Then, I examine the pragmatics and problematics of practicing education within a traditional museum environment and suggest, in so far as the new discipline and practice of the museology of peacebuilding is concerned, that a revised framework of practice be employed. Finally, I assess some theories of education to determine their relevance for the museology of peacebuilding and propose that the new discipline and practice be conceptualized as an *empowering educative community practice* that facilitates the islanders becoming aware of the complexity of the contestation on the island as well as their role within it.

An Enabling Paradigm Shift in Museology

Adopting Teather's description, De La Rocha defines museology as the answer to the question of "why a group or community starts to be interested in particular types of artefacts, for what purpose and according to which interpretive paradigm or process

of cultural transmission.”³³⁵ Similar to Teather’s description, Peter Vergo sees museology as the “inquiry into the political, ideological and aesthetic dimension of collections and display.”³³⁶ Both definitions express museology as the study of the choices cultures make, during different time periods, in their selection and display of artifacts as a means of better understanding, communicating, representing and/or constructing reality. Implicit in these definitions is the changing objectives of museology, dependent upon time and place, as cultures make conscious choices to display artifacts for particular purposes and to impart specific messages. The current inquiry into a specific type of museology, the museology of peacebuilding, is reflective not only of the contemporary need to find more effective tools for peacebuilding but also of the recognition of the potential contribution that the field of museology can make to peacebuilding.

The museal and museology are concepts that, although used widely today, were not articulated as such in the late 18th and early 19th century when museums became established as public institutions. The meanings they have today arose as a result of the historical development of the field and the paradigm shifts experienced over the course of the past two hundred years. The International Council of Museums (ICOM) has published *Key Concepts of Museology* (2009) where significant terms used within the field are explained in detail.³³⁷ This provides a useful framework for understanding the paradigm shifts museology has gone through during its

³³⁵ Raymond De La Rocha Mille, *Museums without Walls: The Museology of Georges Henri Riviere*, PhD diss., City University of London, 2011.

³³⁶ Peter Vergo, *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013).

³³⁷ André Desvallées and François Mairesse, *Key Concepts of Museology* (Kopie: Armand Colin, 2010).

development. ICOM states that the term most widely encompassing the museum world or museum studies³³⁸ is *museal*, described as “a specific relation to reality,” a disciplinary area “alongside politics and on the same level as social life, religion, demographics, economics and so on.” According to this explanation, the museal denotes a “theoretical field of reference,” large in scope, within which the institution of the museum becomes only one example. Clarifying further what is meant by “a specific relation to reality,” ICOM states that the relation to reality of the museal field has two distinguishing features. The first involves sensory display, setting it apart from the textual, and the second involves marginalization of reality because the museal creates a “separate space for sensory display ... at the margin of all reality.”³³⁹

With respect to the term museology and “its derivative museological, accepted in its wider sense in the 1950s,” ICOM states that it currently has “five clearly distinct meanings” with the one preferred by ICOM, which I use in this dissertation, defined as a discipline and practice which comprises “all efforts at theorization and critical thinking about the museal field.” This theorization and critical thinking can take place in two different directions. The first direction is with respect to the “main functions inherent to the field, i.e. documentation, collection, display, safeguarding, research and communication,”³⁴⁰ an area of the museal field also called museography

³³⁸ The term “museum studies” is more widely used in the English-speaking world but I prefer the term museology which is more widely used in the French speaking world because the concept of “new museology” constitutes the starting point of the dissertation and is more closely related to the latter term.

³³⁹ André Desvallées and François Mairesse, *Key Concepts of Museology* (Kopie: Armand Colin, 2010), 49.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 56.

concerning the “practical or applied aspect of museology.” The second direction concerns “the different branches of knowledge which examine museology.”³⁴¹ In this dissertation, I include both facets of museology. Given that the term “museal” is rarely used within current literature, I henceforth use the term museology in place of the “museal field” to refer to this most encompassing meaning of the term used to refer to the discipline.

Museums, as we generally know them today, became established as public institutions at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century and their defining characteristics remained relatively unchanged until the middle of the 20th century when the field underwent a period of intense experimentation. The story of how the first public museums came into being indicates that their much praised “public” nature was imposed upon them rather than a characteristic that was innate to their nature. Historian Carol Duncan argues that the idea of the public museum was created to exercise power over people while it redefined what art meant and what it meant to be a civilized person. She traces the inception of the public museum, the Louvre being its most well-known prototype, back to the princely art galleries of Europe illustrating how the objects on display in these galleries changed meaning from being symbols of the “splendor, legitimacy, or wisdom”³⁴² of the rule of the prince, to being “public” property and symbols of the “heritage and pride of the whole nation,”³⁴³ in this way becoming tools in establishing a relationship between

³⁴¹ Ibid., 52.

³⁴² Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 2001), 22.

³⁴³ Ibid., 27.

the citizen and the state.³⁴⁴ Gradually, there came to be less concern with the merits of individual artists and more emphasis on the “progress” which their art represented with specific pieces selected for a canon that showed how far a people or nation had “evolved toward civilization in general.” The re-arrangement of works of art according to schools allowed museums to “acknowledge and promote the growth of state power and national identity.”³⁴⁵ Through such displays, the museum presented itself to the public as “the keeper of the nation’s spiritual life and guardian of the most evolved and civilized culture of which the human spirit is capable,” establishing in this way its control over citizens as the authority which described what it meant to be a civilized person. Duncan states that it is through this “art historical approach” developed by public museums that works of art came to embody “a new cultural-historical importance and a new cognitive value.”³⁴⁶

While implicating the public museum in purposefully establishing and perpetuating certain “norms” of knowledge and values as a means of controlling its citizens, Duncan paints a rather bleak vision of the museum as a controlling rather than liberating kind of institution. In contrast, Eileen-Hooper Greenhill takes on a more neutral position through an anthropological perspective that views the shifting knowledge structures of museums as representative of the general knowledge structures of their particular times. She posits that what many currently view to be “wrong” museum practices of the past need to be looked at through the knowledge structures of their own time. If researchers of the future, do what we are currently

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 24.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 26.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 25.

doing; that is to say evaluate current museum practices through *their* contemporary canons of truth, they are also likely to see our practices as wrong, just like we have viewed former museum practices as wrong.³⁴⁷ She makes explicit reference to Foucault's ideas, namely his notion of the "episteme,"³⁴⁸ as a way of explaining the corresponding shifts in the knowledge structures of museums. Using Foucault's ideas as a theoretical framework, Hooper-Greenhill provides the reader with a deeper understanding of museums as social, economic and political institutions embedded within the realities of their own time, presenting in this way a less judgmental assessment of them.

Looking back at how the first *public* museums of Europe such as the British Museum and the Louvre came into existence, we are struck by the *private* nature of their beginnings. Sir Hans Sloane, for example, who lived at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century amassed a great collection as a result of his fascination with the natural world. As a child, he was attracted by the plants and wildlife in his environment and "explored the uninhabited islands off the Irish Coast."³⁴⁹ He became a medical doctor and an "early example of the learned traveler who carefully examined the geography and history of a region, the flora and fauna, and the inhabitants with their customs and trade."³⁵⁰ He travelled to Jamaica with the Duke

³⁴⁷ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2015).

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 9. Episteme is described by Foucault as the large-scale congruence in intellectual activity during certain periods. Foucault sees reason and truth to be relative rather than absolute and dependent on historical, social and cultural contexts. Hooper-Greenhill explains how Foucault demonstrates that "what we take to be rational, the bearer of truth, is rooted in domination and subjugation, and is constituted by the relationship of forces and powers".

³⁴⁹ Edward P. Alexander, *Museum Masters: Their Museums and Their Influence* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), 23-24.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 22.

of Albermale despite the dangers such a journey posed at the time and returned with “some eight hundred plants, most of them previously unknown, either live or mounted as herbarium specimens.”³⁵¹ Through a bill passed by parliament on June 7, 1753, the British Museum was established to house Sir Hans Sloan’s and two other collections belonging to Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, and Robert and Edward Harley.³⁵²

The Louvre, in Paris, was also built to house a private collection that already existed and had been put together by Baron Dominique Vivant Denon and General Napoleon Bonaparte. Denon, who lived in an era of France’s colonial expansion had a close working relationship with General Napoleon Bonaparte and although the former’s passion lay in drawing, engraving and painting, he was also a politically savvy person with important diplomatic posts. He travelled widely, including to excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum as well as to Rome and Greece. In Naples, he started to collect seriously art works as well as other artifacts such as vases, medals and figurines.³⁵³ In the meantime, General Bonaparte started taking him along in his military campaigns in order to select the best art work and cultural artifacts from these regions. Napoleon was also making provisions through truces and treaties, for the “legal” transfer of these artifacts to France, in this way “systematizing” the “official looting of art and cultural treasures of other places.”³⁵⁴

³⁵¹ Ibid. Alexander notes how the 337 volumes in the Department of Botany at the British Museum today probably constitute the most extensive single series of botanical collections made in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

³⁵² Ibid., 36.

³⁵³ Ibid., 83.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 89.

Denon eventually became the “official collector of the empire” travelling with Napoleon on his campaigns in order “to seek out the best art works and secure them on the spot, while conditions were chaotic and before their owner could hide them or send them away.” In 1806, Denon participated in Napoleon’s North German campaigns where the princely galleries of Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Berlin and Postdam were looted. Nearly a thousand paintings were taken during this campaign, including many works by Rembrandt, Dürer, Holbein, and Cranach.³⁵⁵ These art works, along with the artifacts amassed by Denon and Napoleon during military campaigns, constituted the foundation for the collections of the Louvre. Napoleon later appointed Denon the Director General of the Musée Central at the Louvre, where he was in charge of the Louvre and all other museums in France.³⁵⁶

It is ironic, that once established, even after Louis XVIII came back to power and some French intellectuals strongly opposed to keeping the artefacts which had been appropriated from other cultures by force “the Louvre had become a precious symbol of French national glory” and it was now an institution that “could not be dropped.”³⁵⁷ The British museum was likewise a symbol of national glory even though both of these museums’ collections were composed of specimens/artifacts gathered from lands beyond the limits of their respective Empires. That they were framed as “public” institutions is an indication, not of their innate nature as institutions in the service of the public, but of their appropriation by the state as an

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 91.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 105.

apparatus for nation-building. The national struggle museums in Cyprus analyzed in Chapter 2 are prime examples of such museums in the service of the state and for the purpose of nation building. Once the major public museums of Europe, such as the British and Louvre became established, Western culture came to perceive them as representatives of the prototypical public museum; with general implications for what museums ought to look like, the types of collections they should have and the purposes they should serve.

Viewed through this historical perspective, it is not surprising that collections came to be seen as indispensable components of museums. A museum without a collection was simply unimaginable. Even today, there are scholars who believe that a museum without a collection cannot be classified as a museum. Stephen Williams, for example, is one of these and he compares museums to libraries stating that just as we cannot imagine a library without books, we should not call an institution without objects a museum.³⁵⁸ Another clear indicator of the significance still attributed to collections is the perception that it is natural for a museum to accession a collection while it is cause for suspicion if and when the same museum decides to deaccession.³⁵⁹

Nevertheless, as early as the end of the 19th century, some innovative museum directors began to express dissatisfaction with the state of these public museums, which, in turn, paved the way for the concept of new museology to emerge many

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 16.

³⁵⁹ Marilena Vecco and Michele Piazzai, "Deaccessioning of Museum Collections: What Do We Know and Where Do We Stand in Europe?" *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 16, no. 2 (2015): doi:10.1016/j.culher.2014.03.007.

decades later. The nature of their dissatisfaction was varied but centered on making museums more relevant to the general public who had hitherto remained mostly outside the museum scene. These innovators wanted the museum to have a more meaningful presence in society and be better adapted to its particular needs; in other words, they wanted the museum to be public in a more sincere way serving the *actual* needs of the general populace. This paradigmatic shift in the thinking about the functions of museums may seem logical to us today but it was a major shift at the time embodying a self-conscious reflection about what the institution of the museum ought to be and what purpose it ought to serve. The museum was no longer seen as a fixed institution, but rather as a flexible one that could be deliberately re-shaped to fulfill the particular needs of its time.

One of these museum innovators was Artur Hazelius, the Swedish son of an army officer, who is known to have been greatly influenced by his father who himself was an admirer of the moral and religious beauty of Swedish peasant life. Artur used to take long hikes into the countryside as a young student, and during these walks he would frequently come across the folk traditions of Sweden for which he developed a growing interest.³⁶⁰ In fact, his doctoral dissertation defended in 1860, was on the *Hávamál*, a collection of early Norse Eddic aphorisms. A trip he took in 1872 to Dalarna, a lake-filled province in Sweden, became a turning point in his career where he became aware of the fact that the natural beauty and rich cultural life of Sweden was fast disappearing due to rapid industrialization taking place in his country. He decided to start collecting artefacts from Swedish folk life including old costumes,

³⁶⁰ Edward P. Alexander, *Museum Masters: Their Museums and Their Influence* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), 242

furniture, furnishings, tools, paintings, music, dances and sayings of the folk. His hope was that exposure to these artefacts would induce in the Swedish people a love for their country which he described as “sound patriotism.” The house of the Hazelius family soon became filled with “old domestic implements and tools, chests and boxes of other materials piled high.”³⁶¹

He opened his holdings to the public in 1873, under the name of the Museum of Scandinavian Ethnography, and further inspired by the vernacular architecture he saw at the World Fair in Paris in 1878, he planned for and established an outdoor section for his folk museum in 1891 on Djurgården Island in a place called Skansen. This museum was to become known as the world’s first “open air” museum. Skansen encompassed everything within the cultural landscape of Sweden including its vernacular architecture, livestock and even intangible heritage such as folk songs, dances and sayings. At Skansen, people were dressed in costumes of the past performing acts of the past. Hazelius had created a re-enactment of the past on a new type of stage. He wanted people to experience first-hand the rich heritage of Sweden, which he hoped would lead to patriotic feelings of pride for their homeland. Indeed, Skansen became a very popular site and was attended heavily by family groups with children. It instigated the revival of national and community pride, leading to the establishment of many other regional and folk museums which became “lively community centers” where “young people learned old fiddle tunes, folk dances, funny stories, jokes and rhymes.”³⁶²

³⁶¹ Ibid., 243. Hazelius described sound patriotism as “broad-based, tolerant, humanistic and suited to modern civilization.”

³⁶² Ibid., 262.

Skansen was indeed a revolutionary innovation in the concept of museums, expanding the discipline of museology to include popular education as one of its primary goals, practiced for the first time, in a newly conceived outdoor museum environment; “here were exhibitions that the common person could enjoy, with none of the forbidding elitism and hands-off attitude associated with so many museums,” where serious concepts of education and patriotism were taught in an entertaining fashion with “the air of the picnic.”³⁶³

Across the Atlantic in the United States, a similarly passionate individual, a Scotsman by the name of John Muir had fallen in love with the natural beauty of the United States of America and more specifically the Yosemite Valley which he wrote about and lobbied for its protection, inspiring thousands of Americans to protect this and other similar landscapes. The National Act of American Antiquities enacted in 1906³⁶⁴ became a significant turning point in the National Parks Movement in the United States which gave the President of the USA unilateral authority to declare any place a “national” monument. This legal instrument was used very effectively by President Theodore Roosevelt Jr. during the beginning of the twentieth century and his cousin President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the midst of the depression in the 1930’s to add great tracts of land, monuments and even towns (e.g. Williamsburg) to the inventory of the National Parks. What had begun as a movement to save the majestic landscape of the USA had evolved into a mission to preserve the various

³⁶³ Ibid., 253.

³⁶⁴ "American Antiquities Act of 1906," National Parks Service, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/legal/american-antiquities-act-of-1906.htm>.

heritages of the country encompassing even its animal life such as the wild wolf which came to be seen as worthy of preservation for future generations.³⁶⁵

The National Parks Movement as well as the open-air museum at Skansen were significant turning points in the history of the discipline of museology which expanded the understanding of what was deemed worthy of protection and preservation. In some respects, this newly developed awareness of the intrinsic worth of our natural as well as cultural environment laid the foundations for the environmental movement of the late 1960s and 1970s and the subsequent 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage.³⁶⁶ The European conservation and American preservation movements also evolved during this time during which there was an emphasis on the “grand, great and good” in order to remind the public of the “values and sensibilities that should be saved or preserved as the representation of patriotic American and European national identities.”³⁶⁷ This prevailing notion of heritage as consisting of the monumental is confirmed by the current World Heritage List, which is dominated by “cathedrals and grand buildings of state.”³⁶⁸

³⁶⁵ *National Parks: America's Best Idea*, dir. Ken Burns and Dayton Duncan, 2009.

³⁶⁶ "Global Heritage Fund," Global Heritage Fund, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://globalheritagefund.org/>. The 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage which was a “unique international treaty that linked for the first time the concepts of nature conservation and preservation of cultural properties.” In this convention heritage was put forth as “a source of identity and dignity for local communities, a wellspring of knowledge and strength to be shared.” Laurajane Smith notes, in Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2010), 27, that the 1972 Convention was the moment of the “institutionalization of the heritage discourse” a moment where an international agenda for the protection and conservation of sites of universal significance was established. Through the convention, heritage became an “international issue.”

³⁶⁷ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2010), 23.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

One of the most significant museum innovators who expanded the perception of what kinds of artifacts were worthy of protection and display, albeit in the reverse direction towards the mundane, was John Cotton Dana, a librarian by training, who later became the director of the Newark Museum established in 1909. He became one of the most eloquent and ardent critics of the prototypical public museum³⁶⁹ frequently criticizing museums in the United States for imitating their counterparts in Europe, such as the Louvre and the British, museums which he claimed did not serve the needs of the general public. He criticized the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in particular, for all the money it spent on acquisitions and maintenance of objects, and claimed that such institutions only acted as storehouses of “rare and costly classical and European art” with academic scholars and the social elite as their main target audience, not the general public. He asserted that museums should instead cater to the needs of its immediate community, the general public, and he used the analogy of the department store to illustrate his point. He praised department stores for being open to all, at all hours, centrally located, giving information freely and classifying their collections according to the knowledge and needs of their patrons. The first exhibition he organized at the Newark Museum was titled “Nothing Takes the Place of Leather” which demonstrated how leather was worked in its various stages from raw material to final product. This was a theme directly relevant to the population of the city of Newark, 70% of whom were immigrants from Europe mostly employed in the factories located in and around the city.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁹ Samuel M. Miller, "John Cotton Dana and the Newark Museum," *Newark Museum Quarterly* 30, no. 2/3 (Spring 1979): 3.

³⁷⁰ Barbara Lipton, "John Cotton Dana and the Newark Museum," *Newark Museum Quarterly* 30, no. 2/3 (April 1979):

John Cotton Dana claimed that relevance was the key to the success of a museum and whatever was exhibited needed to be relevant to the lives of the people living within that region. He argued that it was unrealistic to expect people to be interested in expensive European art when it had no relevance to their daily lives and struggles. The shift in the orientation of museums to address the more familiar and therefore relevant heritage and topics of a community, led to a proliferation of local or regional museums, primarily in Europe in the middle of the 20th century. The “musées de terroir” in France, meaning territory museums, “dealt with the development of civilization in a very restricted region,”³⁷¹ and the “heimatmuseums” in Germany meaning homeland museums, became the most prevalent of these local museum types. Some of these new museum types were theme-based such as the “ceramic museums at Faenza and Sèvres, or the museum of silk at Lyon.”³⁷² Theme-based museums continue to be built today, the Museum of Rock-and-Roll in Ohio, USA, the Museum of Route 66 located in various states in the USA,³⁷³ and the Museum of Innocence in Istanbul based on the book by Orhan Pamuk with the same title, being just a few examples.

Whether regional or theme-based, these smaller local museums were reflections of the belief in being able to more comprehensively understand and represent a given place or topic when the size was smaller. Pessler stated that “the smaller the area covered and the more varied the display, the more coherent” the general impression

³⁷¹ Wilhelm Pessler, "Heimatmuseen of Germany*," *Museum International* 4, no. 2 (1951): 98, doi:10.1111/j.1468-0033.1951.tb00148.x.

³⁷² "Introduction Local and Regional Museums," *Museum* IV, no. 2 (1951), 80.

³⁷³ Route 66 served the states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri and Illinois and separate Route 66 museums exist in these states to commemorate the history of this highway.

of the museum.³⁷⁴ A 1951 issue of the *Museum* journal asserted that these local and regional museums had an advantage over larger national ones in conducting scientific and educational activities because of their “relatively narrow and well-defined scope” as well as their direct association with the “natural features of a given locality or with the community of people inhabiting it.”³⁷⁵

By the middle of the 20th century, the paradigm shifts experienced within museology had moved it progressively closer to the general interests and immediate surroundings of people. The field had become more directly related to human beings, their needs and aspirations as well as the places in which they lived. Museology had become, as such, a more humanistic discipline, directly related to human concerns or needs. The 1960s and 1970s were decades of large social movements including the civil rights movement in the USA as well as the environmental protection movement. The discipline of museology responded to these movements and experienced yet another shift where it became even more embedded within the immediate lives of people. One of the most striking examples of this is the Anacostia Museum established in an inner-city neighborhood in Washington D.C. in 1967. Considered the first “neighborhood museum” in the world, its first director John Kinard stated how the demographics of US cities had by that time changed and existing museums had found themselves surrounded by “divergent groups and discordant sounds.” Inner cities were characterized by spiritual and physical decadence. The civil rights movement was at its peak, students were protesting against the Vietnam War and Martin Luther King Jr. had just been

³⁷⁴ Wilhelm Pessler, "Heimatismuseen of Germany," *Museum International* 4, no. 2 (1951): 99, doi:10.1111/j.1468-0033.1951.tb00148.x.

³⁷⁵ "Introduction Local and Regional Museums," *Museum* IV, no. 2 (1951), 80.

assassinated. In Kinard's words, there was a "counter culture movement" taking place and institutions were trying to incorporate these sentiments into their practices.³⁷⁶

Kinard was greatly influenced by the thinking of previous museum directors and museologists such as John Cotton Dana and Pierre Mayrand. He reiterated what these museologists claimed: that "museums must be of use" and if they intend to meet the needs of their community, they "must meet them on their own terms and in their own neighborhoods and offer them the range of learning opportunities that are made possible through a wise use of the museum's energies and fiscal resources."³⁷⁷ Echoing Dana's criticism of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Kinard stated that displaying "relics of the past," as most traditional museums do, "does not allow these museums to connect with their communities because it does not relate to their pressing needs." The Anacostia Museum was established with the financial and technical support of the Smithsonian Institute which at the time was under the directorship of S. Dillon Ripley. It was set up in an old but restored theatre house, and with an already present and eager local black community group called the *Greater Anacostia Peoples Inc.* to run it. The Anacostia museum had no permanent collections and only organized temporary exhibitions which addressed the pressing social concerns of the community. One of its early and successful exhibitions, *The Rat: Man's Invited Affliction*, mounted in 1969, was "successful not only in raising awareness regarding a social and environment problem in the neighborhood but also

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 52.

³⁷⁷ John R. Kinard, "The Neighborhood Museum as a Catalyst for Social Change," *Museum International* 37, no. 4 (1985): 221, doi:10.1111/j.1468-0033.1985.tb00592.x.

offered valuable information and solution to the problem of rodent control.”³⁷⁸ The paradigm shift that took place within the discipline of museology with the establishment of the Anacostia Museum was twofold; firstly, museology no longer depended on collections to fulfill its function; secondly, its purpose could include as wide and ambitious an objective as the social and economic development of a region or neighborhood.

Another museum type which emerged during the same period as the Anacostia was the social or integrated museum in the Latin American continent. The promotion of these museums became part of the resolution passed in the Roundtable organized by UNESCO and ICOM in Santiago, Chile in 1972. The purpose of the meeting was to bring together specialists from different fields in order to address the specific problems of Latin America and the museum’s potential role, as an institution, in addressing these problems. The message of the meetings was that museums needed to be concerned not only with the heritage of the past but also with the development of the region. The focus was the future more than the present and museums were charged with raising public awareness concerning the current problems of Latin America with a view to finding solutions to them. It was put forth that once the community was made aware of the problems being faced, it would be equipped with the tools necessary to address these problems itself. These integrated or social museums were described as museums which were not only integrated with society and the environment but with other organizations which also served the needs of the community and intended to improve its overall condition.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Gtete Mostny Glaser, "Introduction," *Museum International* 25, no. 3 (1973): 128, doi:10.1111/j.1468-0033.1973.tb01789.x.

Mario E. Teruggi stated that the Round Table was an eye-opener for museologists, who, until then, had been promoting museums amongst themselves and were cut off from other disciplines which were performing vital tasks in the modern world. It was, as such, a significant call for collaboration amongst disciplines for the purpose of the positive development of Latin America as a region. Teruggi claimed that the Roundtable changed the “raison d’être of the museum,” and instead of an institution solely interpreting the past, it was revised drastically and asked to become instead “an expert on the present and forecaster of the future.” He added that this responsibility museums became tasked with was to be accomplished through collaboration, dialogue and communication with other disciplines as well as the public itself. With the idea of the integrated or social museum, the museum was placed in a central position in society, envisioned to be acting as a link amongst people as well as disciplines, with everyone involved working collaboratively towards the shared goal of bettering a place or country.³⁸⁰ The paradigm shift that took place with the idea of the social and integrated museums was significant indeed. The discipline of museology encompassed henceforth the social and economic development of a region and was seen as a significant field that could establish connections between various disciplinary fields working towards shared objectives.

Another museum innovation similar to the social or integrated museum but with the natural environment as a significant component was the ecomuseum, which originated in France in the late 1970s. The ecomuseum model suggested that if people were made aware of the distinctiveness of both the natural and cultural value

³⁸⁰ Mario E. Teruggi, "The round Table of Santiago (Chile)," *Museum International* 25, no. 3 (1973): 129-133, doi:10.1111/j.1468-0033.1973.tb01790.x.

of their immediate surroundings, they would begin to feel a sense of pride in it and be inspired and equipped not only to safeguard it but also to determine the most appropriate path for its future development. It was, as such, very similar to the social/integrated museum ideal where the community needed to be made aware of their surroundings as well as themselves first, before they could determine a positive path of development for their community and surroundings. Within the ecomuseum model, the education of the community started as a top-down initiative but evolved, over time, to empower the community such that they eventually took over the management of the ecomuseum. Davis summarizes this eventual goal by stating that within the ecomuseum model “the local population must have primary and ultimate responsibility for their museum: the people are the curators.”³⁸¹ Both social/integrated and ecomuseum models envisioned positive development to be taking place as a result of the empowerment of their communities through awareness raising both about themselves as well as their environments; a trend which is likely to have crystallized as a result of the dominance of the theme of “sustainable development” in the west during that particular time period in the 1970s. With these last innovations, the “museum” had become an open-ended and flexible institution that could be re-shaped for whatever particular purpose seemed most appropriate for a given place during a given time period. As noted by Hugh de Varine, one of the two founders of the ecomuseum idea, this new museum type was

³⁸¹ Peter Davis, *Ecomuseums: A Sense of Place* (London: Continuum, 2011). The fluid nature of the ecomuseum makes it also the most difficult to write about. Hugh de Varine who invented the term in 1971 at the height of the environmental movement and right before an ICOM meeting in Paris as a way of indicating the link between the concept and the prevalent environmental concerns of its time, admitted in 1996, some 25 years later, that the idea may have been stretched too far. He stated that “too many people have used that word for too many things.” The ecomuseum idea was generated by museologists immersed within the international museum community at the highest level; George Henri Riviere being the 1st director of ICOM and Hugh de Varine its second director for the period between 1948 and 1976 which explains its strong intellectual and idealistic nature.

“in some cases an interpretation center, in others an instrument for development, elsewhere a park or makeshift museum, yet elsewhere a center for ethnographic conservation or for the conservation of heritage.”³⁸² George Henri Rivière, its other founder, described the ecomuseum as “at once a laboratory, a conservation center as well as a school.”³⁸³ A later proponent of the movement, Peter Davis, echoed the sentiments of the founders but embedded the ecomuseum ideal into the prevalent environmental ethos of its time describing it as a “community-led heritage or museum project that supports sustainable development.”³⁸⁴

Canadian museologist, Pierre Mayrand, described the establishment of an ecomuseum through a process he called the “creativity triangle” which ended with the eventual goal of self-governance. His model began with the pre-museology stage involving awareness and identity building through provocation, meetings, identifying problems, refining ideas and organization. The next stage was the “museology stage” involving the establishment of a traditional museum and collections, research and communication, which led to the eventual establishment of the ecomuseum. He asserted that once the ecomuseum began to function, the post-museology stage would begin where a continuous cycle of feedback and action would take place leading to the interpretation of a territory by the people themselves, involving partnerships, review, negotiation, choice and evaluation. Mayrand described a further final stage beyond the three-year cycle, at an undetermined time in the future,

³⁸² Hugues Varine, "The Word and beyond," *Museum International* 37, no. 4 (1985): 185, doi:10.1111/j.1468-0033.1985.tb00583.x.

³⁸³ Georges Henri Rivière, "Définition évolutive De L'écomusée1," *Museum International (Edition Francaise)* 37, no. 4 (2009): 182-183, doi:10.1111/j.1755-5825.1985.tb00986.x.

³⁸⁴ Peter Davis, "Ecomuseums and Sustainability in Italy, Japan and China; Concept Adaptation through Implementation," in *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and Are Changed* (London: Routledge, 2010).

as the trans-museology stage: a utopic stage where the community no longer needed the services of the ecomuseum as a facilitator. According to this model, during the trans-museology stage an ideal type of democratic self-governance would be achieved.³⁸⁵ De Varine supported Mayrand's long term goal-oriented and process-driven description of the ecomuseum but without the utopic stage, describing it perhaps more realistically, as "an ongoing and growing participatory inquiry which lasts for at least a generation."³⁸⁶

What is significant about these innovations is that they expanded the discipline of museology to encompass anything as long as this served the actualization of the objectives at hand. The discipline of museology could include any type of collection, or no collections at all; it could have a building to house its collections or no building at all; and it could have any purpose as long as its objective was for the good of the community. The discipline of museology was henceforth no longer limited to the traditional museum form since it had successfully blended into other cultural, social and political institutions. Hawke cites various authors' characterization of this major paradigm shift in the discipline of museology as a shift from "the museum as temple to museum as forum," "the museum as storehouse to the museum as contact zone," and "the museum about objects to the museum for people."³⁸⁷ The major paradigm shift experienced thus within the field of museology which had taken place over a period of around two centuries eventually transformed

³⁸⁵ Peter Davis, *Ecomuseums: A Sense of Place* (London: Continuum, 2011).

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ Stephanie Kate. Hawke, *Sense of Place, Engagement with Heritage and Ecomuseum Potential in the North Pennines AONB*, PhD diss., 2011, 39.

the discipline from its rigid object-based paradigm in the 18th century to a paradigm still prevalent in the 21st century that can best be characterized as *flexibility in form and purpose* so much so that various disciplinary endeavors previously beyond the purview of the field can now be envisioned as an integral part of it.

The new museology movement which paved the way for the thinking in this dissertation is time and place specific and includes innovative responses to developments taking place in the world around the middle of the 20th century. The new museology movement was built upon previous innovations made in the field during earlier time periods; a trend this dissertation continues and builds upon to innovate further in an attempt to help the field remain socially relevant. I posit that the new museology movement fell short of materializing into a tangible and credible discipline because it did not develop the focus and specialization it needed for its productive evolution. In my dissertation, I propose and articulate a distinct field I call the museology of peacebuilding, which I see as a time-and-place-specific response guided by the need to contribute to building peace in the world. To the extent that the articulation of this new field is robust, it will contribute to both the discipline of museology as well as that of peacebuilding. Even more importantly, it will enable the field of museology to be active in one of the most significant missions of our times: building peace across the globe.

In the next section, I examine the pragmatics and problematics of practicing museology as an educative endeavor towards peacebuilding and suggest a revised framework of practice that will enable the new discipline to be practiced as an “intentional” endeavor.

A Revised Framework for Practicing the Museology of Peacebuilding

Former Innovations in Museum Education

The museology of peacebuilding has the same objectives as peacebuilding: to improve relations amongst estranged communities, and it sets out to achieve this by *shifting people's perception of reality*. Such a museology is necessarily an *intentional* endeavor that needs to be able to assess the outcomes of its activities. In other words, it needs to be able to answer the question of whether or not the intended shifts in perception are indeed taking place within the group of people targeted.

Ironically, the informal learning processes of the discipline of museology are characterized by the near impossibility of accurately and convincingly assessing their learning outcomes. As indicated in the landmark publication *The Uncertain Profession* (1984), the field of museum education as it stood then had neither “clearly stated aims” nor a “solid intellectual basis.”³⁸⁸ One of the museum educators interviewed during the preparation of the report admitted that “there was no philosophical basis” for what was done and activities were simply executed as professionals deemed appropriate.³⁸⁹ It is this lack of a grounding theory that led the field of museum education to be dominated by empirical studies that attempted to measure the learning outcomes of exhibitions and events.

Prior to the current concern with evaluating the learning outcomes of museum exhibitions and events, there were efforts, throughout the development of museology, for attracting and educating larger sections of the population than were

³⁸⁸ Lisa C. Roberts and Lisa C. Roberts, *From Knowledge to Narrative: Educators and the Changing Museum* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 6.

³⁸⁹ Stephen Mark Dobbs, "Excellence and Equity: Education and the Public Dimension of Museums," *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, 1993, 82.

attending museums during any given time period. As far back as the last quarter of the 19th century, in recognition and anticipation of the different learning backgrounds and interests of people, museum educator George Brown Goode³⁹⁰ suggested a dual arrangement for exhibitions; one for the scholars and the other for the lay public.³⁹¹ Wilson Peale, another significant museum innovator from the end of the 19th century attempted to lure the public by appealing to the prevalent demands of the time for entertainment. He was the innovator of a new approach to education in museums that is nowadays referred to as “edutainment” where learning is made fun and entertaining attracting in this way people who would normally not attend museums. Around the same time in the United States, in 1872, another innovator P.T. Barnum formed his famous circus called P.T. Barnum’s Great Traveling Museum, Menagerie and Worlds Fair during which he displayed Fiji cannibals, Modoc and Digger Indians, and representative types of Chinese, Japanese, Aztec and Eskimo people, primarily because these were topics that the public was curious about and wanted to see. Barnum’s exhibitions were frequently criticized for being racist and elitist and the term “Barnumism” came to be used to refer to this type of exhibition strategy characterized by the predominant goal of increasing attendance regardless of the ethical and educational implications.³⁹²

³⁹⁰ George Brown Goode directed the United States National Museum which later became the Smithsonian Museum.

³⁹¹ Edward P. Alexander, *Museum Masters: Their Museums and Their Influence* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002). Historian Edward Alexander refers to Goode as the “the first American museum director” and it is interesting that his suggestion for a dual arrangement in exhibitions is still being thought of today. Falk and Dierking suggest something similar but at the level of the individual exhibition itself, where it can accommodate 50 minutes for the scholar and 5 minutes for the lay public. Such expanded versions of exhibitions are becoming more common with the use of technology and the option of delving deeper into a subject if desired. Goode’s idea for the dual museum was inspired by and modelled after similar ideas put forth by the director of the Natural Museum in London, Sir William Henry Flower, and was referred to as the “new museum idea.”

³⁹² Bluford Adams, *E Pluribus Barnum: The Great Showman and the Making of U.S. Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 193-195.

During the beginning of the 20th century, John Cotton Dana, mentioned previously, was guided by his belief that the museum was primarily a “public” institution of education and asserted that it should, for this reason, make the utmost effort to reach out to its community by advertising its services, opening up branch museums, loaning exhibitions, making frequent use of travelling exhibitions to schools in the neighborhood as well as establishing collaborations between various institutions of learning.³⁹³ He put up a lot of “process exhibits” in the Newark Museum which he directed and kept open after work hours so that working people could get a chance to visit and observe the manner in which the objects on display were made in practice. Maffei quotes Dana describing how, in reference to an exhibition on leather at the Newark Museum, factory workers had seen the final leather product for the first time, having previously been exposed only to the processing part of it for which they were responsible in their workplaces.³⁹⁴ Le Corbusier, a well-known architect and contemporary of Dana, supported this pragmatic outlook to museums and put forth that human beings were “founded on logic” and had a selective interest in topics which was based on whether or not they believed what they expected to learn was likely to “arm” them “to attack the task of the day.”³⁹⁵

Another museum educator from the mid 20th century, Theodore Lowe, who worked at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, put forth that museums were institutions of education that needed to be drivers of positive social change in society. Writing in

³⁹³ John Cotton Dana, *The Gloom of the Museum* (Woodstock, VT, 1918).

³⁹⁴ N. Maffei, "John Cotton Dana and the Politics of Exhibiting Industrial Art in the US, 1909-1929," *Journal of Design History* 13, no. 4 (2000): , doi:10.1093/jdh/13.4.301.

³⁹⁵ Le Corbusier, "Other Icons," in *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

1939 in the midst of WWII, he expressed dissatisfaction with the current state of museums and believed that they had been, like all institutions, “slow and cautious in their adaptations.”³⁹⁶ He stated that “had the museums of yesterday realized the role which they should have had in community life, they would have been infinitely better prepared to meet the emergency at hand today.”³⁹⁷ He described American museums to be in a state of “utter confusion” as to their purpose and function and as having failed to adapt themselves to new social theories and ideas.³⁹⁸ He pointed to the particular socio-political circumstance of his time as being characterized by “cultural upheavals taking place all around with a rapidity scarcely ever equaled in history” and called upon museums to turn their attention to popular education in the service of building the ideals of freedom and peace in America. Theodore Lowe’s calls for museums to contribute to the building of a more peaceful world, voiced almost a century ago, echo the sentiments of my dissertation as I investigate ways in which the field of museology can branch itself out into different types of museologies, one of which I delineate as the museology of peacebuilding.

Educational Paradigms & Pragmatics of Museum Education

In delineating the outlines of the museology of peacebuilding, I share the same concerns with the above-mentioned former museum educators in being able to reach out to larger segments of the population and implement an effective education program. While my concerns are similar, the paradigm for how we learn has

³⁹⁶ Theodore Lowe, "What Is a Museum?" in *Reinventing the Museum: The Evolving Conversation on the Paradigm Shift* (Lanham: Alta Mira Press, 2012), 43

³⁹⁷ Margaret A. Lindauer, "Looking at Museum Education through the Lens of Curriculum Theory," *Journal of Museum Education* 31, no. 2 (2006): 79-80, doi:10.1080/10598650.2006.11510534.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 35-36.

changed significantly since then. Early museums had adopted the now outdated one-directional “transmission” or “banking” model of education which viewed knowledge as “objective, verifiable” and easily transferable.³⁹⁹ Within this model, education was seen as the simple transfer of the so-called objective entity of knowledge from the educator to the learner. The educator was seen as the storehouse of knowledge and its starting point and the educative process as the simple transmission of knowledge from the person who already knew, to the person who was to be taught, having the determinable attributes of a scientific process.⁴⁰⁰ Within this paradigm of education, learning became the “acquisition of what was already incorporated in the books and heads of elders.”⁴⁰¹ This model fell short, however, of explaining the great variation in the learning outcomes of individuals, both in kind and degree even when later theories of multiple intelligences and different learning styles were taken into account.⁴⁰² Although the transmission model of learning is still practiced widely in formal education, it is no longer endorsed in progressive museums. The constructivist model of learning is embraced instead⁴⁰³ as the

³⁹⁹ Lisa C. Roberts and Lisa C. Roberts, *From Knowledge to Narrative: Educators and the Changing Museum* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 2.

⁴⁰⁰ This understanding of education is similar to other exchanges between people where one gives and the other receives; which explains why this method of education is also commonly referred to as the banking model of education.

⁴⁰¹ John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York: Free Press, 2015), 18-19.

⁴⁰² Howard E. Gardner, *Multiple Intelligences: New Horizons in Theory and Practice* (New York: Basic Books, 2006).

⁴⁰³ Karl Aubrey and Alison Riley, *Understanding & Using Educational Theories* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2016), 105-11. Aubrey and Riley note that the constructivist learning paradigm is attributed to Jerome Bruner who put forth that children constructed knowledge and made meaning based on their “current and previous experiences” with others as well as with the environment. Although Bruner was to stress the role of culture in learning towards the later stages of his career his constructivist learning paradigm came to implicitly embody the role of culture within the learning process. They note that his *Toward a Theory of Instruction* (1966) was considered as having significant influence on the application of constructivism in curriculum design and practice in the classroom.

dominant paradigm of learning.⁴⁰⁴ The constructivist model of learning is described as a process of multi-directional interaction between the learner and the learning environment whether that is a real teacher, a museum program, an exhibition or simply other people within an informal learning environment. Lisa Roberts explains this model as a “two-way process whose outcome is unavoidably shaped by what the learner has brought to it.”⁴⁰⁵ In other words the learner, who was previously seen as a passive receiver, is now seen as an active agent within the learning process. Researchers Falk and Dierking have confirmed, through field studies, that the previous experiences and interests⁴⁰⁶ of visitors are indeed crucial factors in their learning processes and eventual learning outcomes.⁴⁰⁷ They have also determined that learning has a temporal nature such that responses given to an exhibition right after exposure tended to be different than the responses given when the same people were contacted months or years later.⁴⁰⁸

In other words, their assessment of the learning outcome of an exhibition or event can change over the course of time as a result of additional experiences they become

⁴⁰⁴ George E. Hein, *Learning in the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998), 16. Museum educator George Hein’s categorization of education theory based on the dual theories of knowledge and teaching and their various combinations are helpful in conceptualizing the various philosophies with which education can be practiced. Hein further delineates three aspects of an educational theory. Two of these involve a theory of knowledge (epistemology) and a theory of learning and the third involves a theory of teaching encompassing conceptions about the different ways people learn.

⁴⁰⁵ Lisa C. Roberts and Lisa C. Roberts, *From Knowledge to Narrative: Educators and the Changing Museum* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 5.

⁴⁰⁶ John H. Falk and Lynn D. Dierking, *The Museum Experience* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2013), 215. Falk and Dierking have been observing visitors in museums today and categorizing them into different types depending on the nature of what they call their “identity-related” motivations for visiting. They categorize visitors into eight types; explorers, facilitators, professional/hobbyists, experience seekers, rechargers, respectful pilgrims and affinity seekers, and observe that visitors behave differently in the museum depending on the category to which they belong

⁴⁰⁷ John Howard. Falk and Lynn Diane. Dierking, *The Museum Experience Revisited* (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

exposed to in the meantime.⁴⁰⁹ By the time learning takes place for an individual, his/her museum experience will have blended with a multitude of other life experiences in a unique way, never to be repeated again.⁴¹⁰ This conceptualization of learning as a cumulative and sequential process, verified now by empirical studies, was in fact part of the theory of progressive education delineated by John Dewey in the beginning of the 20th century. He argued that learning happened as a result of a “cumulative and continuous chain” of educative experiences⁴¹¹ connected to each other, the one building upon the previous one. Given this cumulative nature of learning, we may be able to establish that a museum experience contributed to a particular learning outcome in someone’s life but we would not be able to establish a cause-effect relationship between the two as this would contradict the cumulative nature of learning. Even assessing such a *contributing* value would require that the particular person involved be contacted, observed and/or interviewed years later; the kind of long-term following up of people that is not within the scope of standard museum practice.

⁴⁰⁹ Even in formal education, the evaluation of learning outcomes is unable to take into account the longer-term consequences of educative experiences which may reveal themselves years, even decades later. In fact, one of the most rewarding moments for teachers is when their students come back years later to tell them that a specific approach they had had in the classroom, a comment they made on one occasion or the manner in which they conducted their lesson on a particular day had a significant impact on them, contributing positively to their growth as human beings. In a recent anecdote with a friend of mine from high school who is now a teacher, she told me the story of a student of hers whom she saw years later, who had become a doctor and was still treasuring the little gift of encouragement my friend, his teacher at the time, had given him in the classroom more than a decade ago, which he told her changed his life in a significant way.

⁴¹⁰ John Howard. Falk and Lynn Diane. Dierking, *The Museum Experience Revisited* (London: Routledge, 2016). Extensive studies conducted by Falk & Dierking indicate that the learning outcome of a museum visit for a particular individual is bound to differ even as a consequence of the most obscure of criteria such as the time of the visit, with whom the museum has been visited, how crowded it was during the visit and the chance social interactions taking place within the physical space of the museum.

⁴¹¹ John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York: Free Press, 2015), 76. Dewey describes educative experiences as those that “live fruitfully and creatively in subsequent experiences.”

In recognition of the fact that “complex and lengthy longitudinal studies lasting months or even years” would be required to make a proper evaluation of the learning outcome of an exhibition or program, Gammon suggests that a more pragmatic approach be adopted. He posits that all types of learning are possible in a museum, ranging from the formal to the informal and self-directed, and suggests that instead of trying to measure learning outcomes we should try to ascertain whether or not learning has the “potential” of taking place and whether or not there are “barriers to learning” within a given learning environment.⁴¹² He expands upon his argument by matching different types of learning with their corresponding “indicators” of potentiality. For example, indicators that affective learning is likely to take place include observations of visitors which indicate that their beliefs and values are challenged, that they are experiencing strong emotional responses and an increased state of empathy. Needless to say, these kinds of observations are not only difficult to make, they also do not take into account whether or not they will be long-lasting, extending beyond the walls of the museum and the period of engagement with its contents.

One of the largest stumbling blocks in the development of the field of museum education is the lack of reliable methodologies to evaluate museum learning outcomes. Summarizing this difficulty, Eileen Hooper most poignantly asks how museum learning processes are to be researched if meaning-making is “contingent,

⁴¹² Ben Gammon, *Assessing Learning in Museum Environment, A Practical Guide for Museum Evaluators*, report, Learning and Audience Development, Science Museum, London (London, 2003), 2.

variable, and fluid.”⁴¹³ She argues that it is only when we are able to define appropriate research methodologies that we will be able to understand education and learning in the museum. Falk and Dierking claim instead, perhaps as a result of not having a more concrete answer to give, that museum experiences which are “memorable” should also be considered “educational.” This is reminiscent of the same kind of somewhat casual response given by leaders of the NGO *Seed*, cited earlier in Chapter 1, where the claim is made that if the teenagers attending the peacebuilding summer camps make one friend from amongst the enemy, the endeavor should be considered successful. In an endeavor as serious as peacebuilding, neither Dierking’s claim that what is memorable is educational nor *Seed*’s claim that making a friend is proof of the success of the peacebuilding endeavor are good enough indicators that the stated objectives have been fulfilled. More rigorous criteria of evaluation are warranted for an endeavor as significant as peacebuilding.

One plausible solution to the problem of the lack of evaluative strategies for both museum education is Lindauer’s suggestion of the humanistic method of evaluation. She posits that a positivist method which sets out to measure pre-determined learning outcomes does not match the type of learning that takes place in a museum environment or for that matter in any informal learning environment. She states that learning in museums is characterized by creativity and spontaneity and standard evaluation methods for learning in the form of “measurement” and “quantification”

⁴¹³ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2015), 373.

do not comply with the diversity of learners' expectations and aspirations.⁴¹⁴ Based on this, she claims that an "interpretivist" or "humanistic" approach to evaluation is more appropriate for measuring museum learning. Explaining both methods, she likens the interpretive evaluation method to "investigative reporting" which is focused on understanding the needs and expectations of the visitors⁴¹⁵ whereas the humanistic evaluation method is folded into the educative endeavor itself instead of a process which occurs afterwards. She qualifies this statement explaining that within this humanistic method "neither evaluator nor practitioner is thought to face a problem to be solved as much as a dilemma or mystery that requires interpretation."⁴¹⁶

Articulated as such, the humanistic method of evaluation becomes an ongoing iterative process of adjusting an educative intervention in order to better suit to the needs of the audience. As such, Lindauer's humanistic methodology becomes itself the description for an educative process; one that is evolving, unpredictable, creative and iterative requiring close observation of the learner at all times and a flexibility to shift approaches when necessary. Lindauer's humanistic evaluation methodology can just as easily be described as a reflective approach to education and suggests that the educative process be envisioned and practiced as extended in time with no specific start and end date, allowing educators to observe learning processes in action and make the necessary adjustments as they see fit at any given point during this process.

⁴¹⁴ Margaret Lindauer, "What to Ask and How to Answer: A Comparative Analysis of Methodologies and Philosophies of Summative Exhibition Evaluation," *Museum & Society* 3, no. 3 (2005): 142.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 143.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 148.

Despite this apparent need for extension of the museum experience in time, museum learning is characterized instead by an environment where there is limited time for people to engage with museological interventions and lack of opportunity to observe how their particular museum experiences become blended with other life experiences over time. These are serious structural obstacles in museum education and create the major dilemma of the discipline in so far as the practice of museology as an “intentional” endeavor is concerned; of the need to be able to assess the outcomes of interventions on the one hand versus the near impossibility of doing so within the current framework of museum practices.

Renowned museum educator George Hein explains why it is especially difficult to assess the educative value of experiences in informal learning environments through a comparison and contrast with formal education. He points out that there are three distinguishing features of the museum environment, common also to most informal learning environments, which sets it apart from formal environments. Firstly, there is no curriculum to follow which normally progresses in increments starting from the simpler to the more complex, embodying in this way a traceable continuity in the content of the experience/learning. Secondly, attendance is not mandatory, meaning the opportunity to trace the intellectual development in a single individual is lacking, and finally, there is no certification given regarding mastery of specific knowledge in the aftermath of the program, event or initiative.⁴¹⁷ Contrarily, in a formal educational setting, assuming the more or less constant nature of the educator and content of education, the stable pool of students and physical setting, as well as the extended nature of the educative endeavor that is typically spread over years, it is

⁴¹⁷ George E. Hein, *Learning in the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998), 7.

possible to assess, within a certain degree of validity, the learning outcomes of students in a given class.

Convergence of Museum Education & Peacebuilding

Given the correlation between peacebuilding and education, it is not surprising that the pragmatics and problematics of museum education outlined above converge with the pragmatics and problematics of peacebuilding. In both disciplines, there is a lack of “systematic, appropriate and independent evaluation methodologies” to assess whether or not the intended change in society has been brought about as a result of a given initiative.⁴¹⁸ Steinberg notes that even though the social psychological model of peacebuilding is widely practiced, the “behavioral and empirical research” required to measure the impacts of this model have been neglected.⁴¹⁹ There is a corresponding need, in both museum education as well as peacebuilding, for longer stretches of time to be allocated to the endeavor during which it becomes possible to make meaningful evaluations. Scholar and practitioner of peacebuilding John Lederach posits that we cannot think of peacebuilding processes “in anything less than a decade” because in practice they are often characterized by back and forth processes of progress and regress where one step forward is likely to be followed by two steps backward. It is necessary therefore to observe changes over longer periods of time in order to be able to make a reliable assessment of the effect of any given peacebuilding initiative.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁸ Gerald M. Steinberg, "Chapter 3 The Limits of Peacebuilding Theory," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by James Ker-Lindsay (London: Routledge, 2015), 48.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 38.

⁴²⁰ John Lederach, "From Conflict Resolution to Strategic Peacebuilding," YouTube, March 25, 2011, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LwsThUncRxE>.

Based on Lederach's assertion of this long-term nature of peacebuilding, the museology of peacebuilding the objective of which is peacebuilding should also be conceptualized as a long-term endeavor. Once imagined as such, the museology of peacebuilding can be practiced reflectively and iteratively as suggested by Lindauer. Beyond what is suggested by the pragmatics of the disciplines of peacebuilding and museum education, the notion of education as a reflective practice has been widely endorsed since Donald Schön's landmark publication in 1983 titled *The Reflective Practitioner: How professionals think in action*.⁴²¹ Schön's notion of reflective practice included both an understanding of education as a process that is constantly being adjusted, depending on the feedback received, but also where the educator is viewed as possessing tacit knowledge that is difficult to describe verbally but nonetheless enables him/her to perform "daily activities effectively;" a kind of knowledge he calls "both automatic and intuitive." Schön described reflective practice as "a dialogue of thinking and doing through which the educator becomes more skillful."⁴²²

While a museology of peacebuilding accessible to a given community for long stretches of time makes it possible to envision the endeavor as an intentional one extended in time, the integration of digital technologies enables its conceptualization as an endeavor extended *also* through space. This extension is critical for the objective of peacebuilding which intends to connect the estranged communities of

⁴²¹ It needs to be noted however that the notion of education as a reflective practice is evident in Dewey's theory of progressive education formulated many decades prior to Schön, at the beginning of the 20th century.

⁴²² Karl Aubrey and Alison Riley, *Understanding & Using Educational Theories* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2016), 145.

the island who live in geographically segregated areas. The digital component of the museology of peacebuilding, specifically information and communication technologies (ICTs), facilitate interaction between the physically divided communities, across the divide, leading over time, to communication that is not only virtual but also real. Internet-based platforms are used frequently in exhibitions across the world and allow people to continue communicating with one another even after the exhibition is over and they are no longer sharing the same physical space. Twitter use during exhibitions, as well as mobile applications available for use during and after exhibitions are increasing the opportunities for people to build upon their initial experiences at the museum through extended conversations and engagement. Visser notes that at the end of 2014, close to three billion people had access to the internet and two-thirds of these people were from the developing world.⁴²³ He also notes that worldwide phone subscriptions were close to seven billion in 2014 and expected to rise in the years to come. He notes that in the two years between 2012 and 2014, 90% of all data every produced in the world was produced with the remaining 10% produced up until the year 2012.⁴²⁴

In terms of the most successful use of ICTs for the purposes of peacebuilding, Visser cites the Satellite Sentinel project launched in 2010 and initiated by George Clooney which involved the use of commercial satellite technology to “capture imagery of possible threats to civilians and to detect atrocities” in Sudan. The Satellite Sentinel project “enabled commercial satellites to cooperate with networked communities to

⁴²³ Jasper Visser, "Chapter 5 Information and Communication Technologies for Heritage and Peacebuilding," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 53.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

make potential or real violence visible in one of the world's least accessible areas.”⁴²⁵ Another successful use of ICT is the Video Volunteers in India which involved people recording videos regarding issues in their neighborhoods ranging from forced evictions, tribal conflict and cultural festivals and posting these videos online for view by the rest of the community. These videos were afterwards labelled as a “success” if the issue was resolved or “update” to indicate any progress that was made since the posting. Visser notes that the above examples are cases of practices where information streams horizontally, meaning information is used to “connect individuals or communities” with each other rather than vertically, in which case information would be used to connect people with authorities, organizations and institutions. Visser emphasizes that horizontal connections have the most impact in terms of results on the ground.⁴²⁶ The museology of peacebuilding I envision is guided by this strategy of using digital technologies to make horizontal connections amongst people, across space and through time.

Recently, museums have begun to realize the necessity for extension of the museum experience in both time and space. The Koret Visitor Education Center (KVEC) at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art is a separate learning space within the museum which author Peter Samis describes as “a physically comfortable, inviting space with the feel of a living room, with flexible architectural components that endow the space with flexible usage.” Sami claims that the “learning lounge,” as it has been called, “gives visitors the opportunity to reflect and review, to augment their emergent understandings while still in an art space, before they have to resume

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 54.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 55.

the hectic pace of the outside world.”⁴²⁷ He points out how the learning lounge is a social space enabling another kind of behavior than the one within the exhibition space and claims that the more interpretive tools there are in this space, the more people will use them and the more meaningful the exhibition will become for them.⁴²⁸ Alluding also to the different ways in which the younger generation may prefer to learn, he mentions that some visitors prefer to use their cell phones and do so because they are “more comfortable with an à la carte, cafeteria-style alternative, where they can call up and get on-demand doses of information about specific objects.”⁴²⁹ The employment of such spaces in progressive museums further points to the apparent need people have for such informal spaces where the museum experience can extend in time and space, at the leisure of the visitor.

Within the context of Cyprus, a museology of peacebuilding envisioned as a practice extended in time and space and employing digital technologies will not only provide the communities with the opportunity to look up something “on-demand,” it will also allow them to connect across the psychological and physical divide, to estranged “others” on the island with whom they may have common interests. The embeddedness of the museology of peacebuilding within the lived environments of people allows them to engage with its contents not only within the comfort of their own environment but also at their own pace, knowing all the while that those “others” are only a touch away, any moment they feel ready to reach out. When

⁴²⁷ Peter Samis, "New Technologies as Part of a Comprehensive Interpretive Plan," in *The Digital Museum: A Think Guide* (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Museums, 2007), 28.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 25.

asked what the main challenges of heritage-based peacebuilding is, Will Glendinning, a practitioner of peacebuilding, stated that the main challenges were “finding time and space for the development of the trust necessary to start on the journey of reconciliation.”⁴³⁰ A museology of peacebuilding embedded within the safety of a community’s own environment, which has the potential to extend in time and space, allows for this trust to develop and the individual needs of the neighborhood to be properly understood. It also allows for sufficient time to make healthy evaluations of the endeavor and make the necessary adjustments in an evolving iterative fashion. Having thus established a revised framework for practicing the museology of peacebuilding, I examine in the next section theories of education that can provide a grounding reference point for the new discipline and practice.

The Museology of Peacebuilding Situated within Theories of Education

I focused, in the previous section, on the pragmatics of museum education as this will also constitute the pragmatics of the museology of peacebuilding. In this last section of Part I of the dissertation, I examine various other theories in terms of their potential to contribute to the museology of peacebuilding. I conduct this additional theoretical inquiry because as an endeavor that sets out to change people’s perceptions and behavior, the museology of peacebuilding needs a theory which can constitute an overall guide and vision for these transformations. Without a working theory, the practice of the museology of peacebuilding cannot be properly evaluated and without a reliable evaluation of its practices, the discipline of the museology of

⁴³⁰ Will Glendinning, "Chapter 13 A Conversation with Will Glendinning: Diversity Challenges in Northern Ireland," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 157.

peacebuilding cannot develop. As noted by Zaum, “it is only by testing theoretical claims that we can advance our knowledge of peacebuilding practices.”⁴³¹

Freire’s theory of education⁴³² is informative because it is a theory of education that is not only comprehensive but also conceptualized foremost as “a political act” endowed with “a deep-seated ethos of social justice,”⁴³³ both attributes being very significant for peacebuilding. According to Freire, learning is based on “mutual respect between the learner and the teacher with shared values and the need to act and transform the world.” Action, in other words, is central to his philosophy⁴³⁴ so much so that he defines authentic liberating education as happening through “praxis: the action of men and women upon their world in order to transform it.”⁴³⁵ This description of education through action is shared by aforementioned theorist, John Dewey, from the beginning of the 20th century who visualized education as becoming evident in the form of appropriate action. He defined “growth in judgement and understanding as essentially the growth in ability to form purposes and to select and arrange means for their realization” which he called “intelligent activity” as distinguished from aimless activity.⁴³⁶ As such, both Dewey’s theory of

⁴³¹ Dominik Zaum, "Chapter 8 International Relations Theory and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 106.

⁴³² Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Place of Publication Not Identified: Penguin Education, 1972).

⁴³³ Karl Aubrey and Alison Riley, *Understanding & Using Educational Theories* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2016), 130.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 131.

⁴³⁵ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Place of Publication Not Identified: Penguin Education, 1972), 60.

⁴³⁶ John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York: Free Press, 2015), 84. Dewey’s definition of intelligent activity has two aspects to it; the first involves “the selection of means out of the variety of conditions that are present” which he calls “analysis,” and the second involves “their arrangement to reach an intended aim or purpose,” which he calls “synthesis.”

progressive education as well as Freire's theory of liberating education point to the inseparability of learning from intelligent activity. In essence, both theorists posit that unless followed through with intelligent activity learning is not considered to have actually taken place. A museology of peacebuilding guided by these action-oriented theories of education becomes easier to evaluate, contributing in this way to overcoming one of the most significant problematics of its practice conceptualized as an intentional endeavor as explained in the previous section.⁴³⁷

Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed is also aligned with the concept of new museology, of which the museology of peacebuilding is an offshoot, in terms of being conceptualized as a series of transformative processes. New museology was conceptualized as made up of *transformative processes* and this was a radical departure from the static paradigm of the museum which alluded to moments of revelation that happen on their own as a result of the power of the object itself. The new museology concept was, in other words, a *temporal* paradigm composed of transformative processes which occurred over extended periods of time. It was about the act of doing something as opposed to being about something that was on display. This new paradigm, defined by its transformative processes of positive growth for the individual and community⁴³⁸ was in effect an educative paradigm that aligned with other theories education that were conceptualized as transformative processes that brought about positive social change in society, such as Freire's and Dewey's.

⁴³⁷ Karl Aubrey and Alison Riley, *Understanding & Using Educational Theories* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2016), 63. Aubrey and Riley explain educational theorist Skinner's theory which posits that it is "more productive to study observable behavior" than to "attempt to discern internal, mental events, such as feelings, motives, and intentions which are not easily seen." Freire's and Dewey's theories are in this sense also aligned with Skinner's more pragmatic theory of education.

⁴³⁸ Pierre Mayrand, "The New Museology Proclaimed," *Museum International* 37, no. 4 (1985): 200-201, doi:10.1111/j.1468-0033.1985.tb00588.x.

As such, the new museology movement brought a natural alignment between the field of museology and progressive theories of education that were conceptualized as processes of social transformation. Through a similar process of convergence, this paradigmatic shift in museology also aligned the field of museology with peacebuilding which is described as “encompassing, generating and sustaining the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict towards more sustainable and peaceful relationships.”⁴³⁹

These transformations in people envisioned as the outcome of educative processes concern, at the most general level, positive human development towards peaceful societies. Confirming the significance of this, peace historian David Cortwright describes positive peace in terms of human growth itself and the “transcending of conditions that limit human potential assuring opportunities for self-realization.”⁴⁴⁰ The recent emphasis on the practice of mindfulness as well as non-violent communication point towards the recognition that change begins first and foremost with the individual and positive human development. Walters also emphasizes the interrelatedness of peacebuilding with human development by pointing out that “reaching out to others” actually helps the individual himself/herself.⁴⁴¹ Maulden describes personal growth through education as a prerequisite to peacebuilding and as “a process of individual empowerment, fostering the progression from one

⁴³⁹ John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Winnipeg: Media Production Services Unit, Manitoba Education, 2015), 20.

⁴⁴⁰ Joyce Apsel, *Introducing Peace Museums* (London: Routledge, 2017), 8. Cartwright quoted. David Cortright, *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008) p.7

⁴⁴¹ Diana Walters, "Chapter 4 Can Museums Build Peace? The Role of Museums in Peacebuilding and Internationalism," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* by Diana Walters, Daniel Laven, and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 48.

cognitive or affective state to another in a bottom-up rather than a top-down progression, requiring shifts in perceptions and an inner transformation.”⁴⁴² The museology of peacebuilding is linked therefore with theories of human development of the kind that contribute to peaceful societies; encompassing growth in the human capacity for “reconciliation, compromise, empathy, trust and forgiveness.”⁴⁴³ Within education literature this is also defined as the building of “values, soft skills and attitudes” which “facilitate international cooperation and promote social transformation.”⁴⁴⁴

Freire’s theory of a liberating education encompasses the above notions of human development and more because it theorizes about the nature of these transformations at the level of entire communities and as a collaborative endeavor of the kind envisioned also for the museology of peacebuilding, as outlined in Chapter 2. Freire states that transformation takes place, not as a top-down process of education but as a collaborative bottom-up community practice. Freire states that an oppressed society becomes liberated through the education of its community under the guidance of revolutionary leaders. According to Freire, mapping a path towards liberation is essential because as long as people are “crushed and oppressed, internalizing the image of the oppressor” they cannot possibly construct, by themselves, a theory of liberating action⁴⁴⁵ and “as long as the oppressed remain unaware of the causes of

⁴⁴² Patricia A. Maulden, "Chapter 22 Education and Learning," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 287.

⁴⁴³ Emma Hutchison and Roland Bleiker, "Chapter 6 Reconciliation," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding*, by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 86.

⁴⁴⁴ Qian Tang, *Global Citizenship Education: Preparing Learners for the Challenges of the 21st Century* (Paris: UNESCO, 2014).

⁴⁴⁵ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Place of Publication Not Identified: Penguin Education, 1972), 164.

their condition, they fatalistically accept their exploitation.”⁴⁴⁶ Although the context within which Freire formulated his thinking was Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s, and he was referring to the liberation of the oppressed poor sections of society, his philosophy is equally applicable to other forms of oppression in society of which there are many in the modern world especially in those regions plagued with conflict and war. In its most conceptual interpretation, Freire’s notion of oppression refers to how people become conditioned to accept and play into the roles that have been assigned to them in a system, and liberation from this oppression refers to the processes through which they become aware of this oppression and take subsequent action to liberate not only themselves but their oppressors as well.

According to Freire, the process of understanding reality and hence people’s state of oppression takes as its starting point the “historicity” of people.⁴⁴⁷ The world and human beings “do not exist apart from each other” but in “constant interaction” with each other and reality is the totality of this interaction. Freire’s ideas regarding how we need to go about understanding what he terms the “reality” of people draws upon the work of educational theorist Vygotsky (1896-1934) who is known for his emphasis on “the significance of both culture and environment in the way in which people understand the world around them” as well as his notion that both culture and the environment need to be employed as tools during the educative endeavor.⁴⁴⁸ Freire puts forth, as Vygotsky does, that teachers need to “adopt a pedagogy which

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 46.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 65.

⁴⁴⁸ Karl Aubrey and Alison Riley, *Understanding & Using Educational Theories* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2016), 48.

complements the learner's social, historical and cultural backgrounds.”⁴⁴⁹ They need to understand the specific cultural and social background of a group of people while delineating an educative endeavor for them. This is especially pertinent within the context of Cyprus because the contesting communities on the island have significant differences in their historical outlook towards the dispute, as I have elaborated upon in Chapter 2. Any educative endeavor needs to be cognizant of this historicity.

In summarizing what it takes to become engaged in a liberating education Freire posits that “the more radical the person, the more fully he or she enters into reality so that, knowing it better, he or she can better transform it.”⁴⁵⁰ In Freire's pedagogy, courage and boldness is necessary for understanding reality; a liberating education is “a task for radicals” which “cannot be carried out by sectarians.”⁴⁵¹ What is being described conceptually, whether it is through the paradigm of education or that of peacebuilding, is a process of transitioning into an improved state of existence while still being situated within the former inferior state. Peacebuilding scholar and practitioner Lederach conceptualizes what is necessary for this transition to take place by qualifying the human capacity we need for it. He suggests, as does Freire, that such human capacity involves risk taking and boldness. He asserts that transitioning into peace becomes possible only if we develop the capacity to “imagine ourselves in a web of relationships that includes our enemies; the ability to sustain a paradoxical curiosity that embraces complexity without reliance on

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 53.

⁴⁵⁰ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Place of Publication Not Identified: Penguin Education, 1972), 21.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 2.

dualistic polarity; the fundamental belief in and pursuit of the creative act; and the acceptance of the inherent risk of stepping into the mystery of the unknown that lies beyond the far too familiar landscape of violence.”⁴⁵²

In a similar vein, Bourdieu’s notion of reflexivity shows parallels with Freire’s notion of conscientisation which he describes as the process through which both “learners and teachers develop their consciousness.”⁴⁵³ Bourdieu explains that people occupy certain places in society, what he calls social “fields” and are sociologically conditioned to think and act according to the norms of that field. He states, nevertheless, that the individual can develop an awareness of his/her position within that field and become aware of his/her own biases, achieving in this way what he calls an “ethical corrective” to an otherwise “naive conception of his/her own freedom and agency.”⁴⁵⁴ The achievement of this ethical corrective is what Bourdieu calls reflexivity, a way to achieve a certain autonomy from the subject matter, although he contends that full autonomy is never possible. He posits that “reflexivity is useful because it illuminates the social conditions of what we take to be our autonomy, objectivity, and disinterestedness when it comes to our behavior as actors in particular fields.”⁴⁵⁵ While Freire writes about understanding reality in all its complexity, including our objectified place within it, Bourdieu describes reflexivity as the means through which we can better understand the values and behaviors that

⁴⁵² John Paul. Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 5.

⁴⁵³ Karl Aubrey and Alison Riley, *Understanding & Using Educational Theories* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2016), 131.

⁴⁵⁴ Thomas Osborne, *The Structure of Modern Cultural Theory* (Oxford: Manchester University Press, 2014), 112.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

are imposed upon us through our assigned place in society. While Bourdieu suggests that one becomes aware of one's assigned place in society through reflexivity, Freire argues that one becomes aware of one's oppression in society through a liberating education that enables one to inquire into her/his "real" condition. The objective of both thinkers is to free the individual and communities from blindly succumbing into the roles that have been assigned to them through the power structures of society through a developed awareness of their own contribution to the status quo.

Taking Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed as a guiding theory for the museology of peacebuilding in Cyprus suggests that the specific transformations expected to take place are the islanders becoming more aware of the complex realities of the dispute on the island along with their own position within this situation; objectified and objectifying at the same time. They are also expected to become more aware of the *imposed* nature of the official narratives forced upon them while at the same time becoming aware of their own contribution to the perpetuation of these narratives. They will thus become aware that there is indeed a need for the creation of "new" histories and heritages on the island as the prerequisite to building a more peaceful future in Cyprus.

Grounded as such in Paulo Freire's theory of a liberating education, other theories of education become potential resources to be employed in the development of the discipline and practice of the museology of peacebuilding. One such theory is Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger's theory of socially situated learning which "explores how people learn new knowledge and skills without being a part of the formal training process." Lave and Wenger's theory of education based on informal learning

processes becomes informative within the context of the museology of peacebuilding because the learning processes described are informal, as are those imagined to be part of the museology of peacebuilding. Lave and Wegner's theory developed out of observations of apprentices while learning a craft alongside a master. These observations included Liberian tailors, butchers from US supermarkets, Mayan midwives and US Navy quartermasters, based on which Lave and Wegner concluded that "learning was more complex and involved social interaction and was not just a routine and mechanistic matter of the learner copying what is done by the old-timer or master."⁴⁵⁶ They state that "the true nature of such situated learning involved a multifaceted process including relationships and culture." Their notion of socially situated learning was thus different from the social constructivist model of learning because unlike this model it emphasized "the culture of social participation, the nurturing of relationships and, in particular, the shared specific purpose of the activity" as critical components of the learning process.⁴⁵⁷ Lave and Wegner also developed the concept of "legitimate peripheral participation" which included the relationships between newcomers and old-timers, activities, identities and artefacts through which learners became part of a community of practice.⁴⁵⁸ Aubrey and Riley describe Lave and Wegner's notion of legitimate peripheral participation as "a transformational process" that is "inspired by the increasing worth of belonging and the novice's wishes to become full and experienced members of a community of practice." They further note that people can become members of more than one

⁴⁵⁶ Karl Aubrey and Alison Riley, *Understanding & Using Educational Theories* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2016), 172.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 170.

community of practice⁴⁵⁹ and through their participation in these communities they can learn to fit in, contribute and change their community.⁴⁶⁰

One of the most significant aspects of Lave and Wegner's socially situated learning theory, in so far as its applicability to the museology of peacebuilding is concerned, is that all members within a community of practice are envisioned as having a common interest and sharing practices.⁴⁶¹ Learning takes places simultaneously with the development of a community of practice around shared interests. Given that establishing common interests is *also* an effective means of initiating the processes of peacebuilding, Lave and Wegner's theory of situated learning suggests that the content of the museology of peacebuilding can be thought of as fomenting such common interests to develop amongst the estranged communities on the island. The potential grouping of the islanders into communities of practices based on shared interests and activities is an effective and sustainable way of establishing more positive relations amongst them. These shared interests would center on topics they are more comfortable with, acting as stepping stones to conversing about more difficult topics such as the dispute on the island. Lave and Wegner's theory of socially situated learning can thus be visualized as congruent with a tiered approach to peacebuilding which starts with the less difficult topics and moves eventually to address the more difficult topics, an approach I will develop further in Part II of my dissertation.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 174. Lave and Wegner cite the three characteristics of communities of practices as "mutual engagement," "joint enterprise," and "shared repertoire."

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 173.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 171.

An additional significance of Lave and Wenger's theory is that it visualizes communities coming together *informally* based on their shared practices and interests. As outlined in Chapter 2, the museology of peacebuilding is envisioned as an independent endeavor that bypasses the structural obstacles present in Cyprus. As such, the informal learning processes theorized by Lave and Wenger are congruent with the bottom-up collaborative approach of the museology of peacebuilding. Through the practice of the museology of peacebuilding, I imagine communities of practices to form across the divide acting as an informal coalition which initiates the processes of transformation outlined above. In Part II of my dissertation, I provide an indication of how these communities of practices may begin to form through the application of the *CHHP of Cyprus*.

So far, I noted various theories & educational approaches that could be used to support a museology of peacebuilding and help envision it as a holistic practice of human growth and transformation. Aspects of Freire's, Dewey's and Lave and Wenger's theories can be used in various ways to support the museology of peacebuilding. Within the context of Cyprus, both communities across the divide are oppressed, in the sense that the singular, opposing and exclusive official narratives of "history" as well as "group identity" are imposed upon them to the extent that unless they fully endorse and own them, they are not considered true and deserving members of their own communities. The imposition of these narratives as the only representation of reality on the island is a state of oppression similar to the one described by Freire where people become unaware that they have been assigned the roles of safeguarding these narratives as "good" members of the community, a role they take on, based on the social fields they occupy, as expressed by Bourdieu.

Freire states that it is only in “discovering themselves as hosts of the oppressor” that people can “contribute to the midwifery of their liberating pedagogy.”⁴⁶² The museology of peacebuilding sets out to initiate and sustain this process of liberation.

The museology of peacebuilding is above all related to human development and as such it is an all-encompassing field that can be further informed by a variety of disciplines ranging from psychology, cognitive sciences, psychoanalysis, the behavioral sciences, sociology and anthropology. Theorizing about the museology of peacebuilding as an empowering educative endeavor guided by the theories of education outlined above leaves it open to incorporating more findings and insights from various other disciplines as they become relevant to the new discipline and practice. Nevertheless, grounding the museology of peacebuilding within Freire’s theory of a liberating education and Lave and Wenger’s theory of socially-situated learning provides a theoretical framework for practice that is crucial in the further development of the museology of peacebuilding as mentioned before.

Guided therefore by the above theories, the investigation conducted thus far, as well as an overriding faith in the human potential to achieve peace, the museology of peacebuilding can be described as *the discipline and practice of an empowering pedagogy that uses museological strategies to re-establish the individual’s perception and relationship to reality to improve relations amongst estranged communities*. In Part II of my dissertation, I elaborate upon the *CHHP of Cyprus* as

⁴⁶² Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Place of Publication Not Identified: Penguin Education, 1972).

the practical manifestation of the museology of peacebuilding, and illustrate, through examples, how I foresee it to function as a tool for peacebuilding on the island.





PART II

Putting the Museology of Peacebuilding into Practice

CHAPTER 4

COMPILING HISTORIES & HERITAGES; DISTANT & RECENT

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Introduction to Chapter 4

The *Collaborative Histories and Heritages Platform of Cyprus*, henceforth referred to as the *CHHP of Cyprus*, is the solution I proposed in Part I of my dissertation. It brings together the museology of peacebuilding as applied to the island of Cyprus. In Part II, I develop this proposal. The *CHHP of Cyprus* is a digital platform for the heritage of Cyprus and uses the collaborative, local, place and people-based methodology referred to in Part I. As noted by Harvey, digital technologies enable the use of heritage as “a resource to challenge and redefine received values and identities” instead of promoting “a consensus version of history by state-sanctioned cultural institutions.”⁴⁶³ The *CHHP of Cyprus* is proposed according to the definition provided by Harvey and is intended as a platform that will challenge the Authorized Heritage Discourses elaborated on in Chapter 2 of Part I for North and South Cyprus.

The local, place and people-based methodology employed in the museology of peacebuilding necessitates that a *particular* place be chosen for piloting this practice.

⁴⁶³ David H. Harvey, "Chapter 1 The History of Heritage," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Place of Publication Not Identified: Routledge, 2016).

For this pilot study I chose the walled and divided city of Nicosia, henceforth referred to as Walled Nicosia,⁴⁶⁴ because it is the capital of both the North and South of Cyprus and endowed with a diverse range of material remains from its past; it serves here as a significant resource for the museology and heritage-based practice of peacebuilding. The recent history of Walled Nicosia also justifies piloting the *CHHP of Cyprus* in this location because it was “the epicenter of early communal tensions and the location that suffered the most acutely from inter-communal violence in the 1950s and 1960s.”⁴⁶⁵ Walled Nicosia was, in other words, one of the first places on the island to witness the conflict and physical separation of the two communities, hence, also the location of the oldest living memory of conflict on the island. Given that the people-based methodology capable of investigating this living memory constitutes one of the pillars of the museology of peacebuilding, Walled Nicosia becomes even more fitting as a place to pilot this new discipline and

⁴⁶⁴ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 34-35. Oswald gives a comprehensive list of primary resources on Nicosia. He notes that the earliest historical account of Nicosia dates back to the mid-5th century A.D. and it is only from the 6th century A.D onwards that sources begin to appear with more detail regarding Nicosia. Some of these primary sources are *Acts of St. Barnabas* (mid-5th century A.D), the *Vita of St. Tychon* (610 A.D), *Theodore of Paphos* (655 A.D), *Hierokles* (first half of 6th century A.D), *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (9th century A.D.), *Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos* (10th century A.D.), *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (10th century A.D.), *Vita of St. Spyridon* (7th century A.D.), *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (10th-13th century A.D.), *Anna Kommene* (1148 A.D.), *John Kinnamos* (after 1143 A.D.), *Vita of St. Triphyllios* (12th century A.D.), *Gregory of Cyprus Patriarch of Constantinople* (1283-1289 A.D), *Resegsta Regni Hierosolymitani* (1286 A.D.), *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (13th century A.D.) Three sources give some details as to the design of the city and these are *Wilford Von Oldenburg* (1211 A.D.), *Felix Faber* (1480 A.D.) and *Christopher Furer* (1566 A.D.) Regarding the Venetian city, *Chronicle of George Boustronios* (1456-1489). Regarding the Ottoman period most sources are travelers accounts and works by British colonial agents and administrators. Some of these primary sources are *Dandini* (1596), *Richard Wrag* (1595), *Goerge Sandry* (1610), *Jefferies* (1918), *Fischer* (1919), *Luke* (1921), *Papadopoulos* (1965). More detailed descriptions of the city during the Ottoman period can be found in *John Mortague* (1738), *Richard Pococke* (1738), *Mariti* (1909), *Barskyj's Travels in Cyprus* (1800), *William Turner* (1815), *General Lewis Cass* (1837), *Archduke Salvator* (1873). For accounts on the later periods of Ottoman rule, Oswald puts forth that there is a “recognizable bias” in their “use of descriptions of the conditions of Nicosia as a way to delegitimize the Ottomans while simultaneously bolstering the civilizing aspects of the British Colonia Rule.” These include *Luke* (1921), *Orr* (1918), *Jeffery* (1918) and *Jennings* (1993). For sources during the British period, see *R.H.Lang* (1878), *Wolseley* (1878), *W.F. Butler* (1878), *McCalmont* (1878-1879), *Foscolo* (1880), *Rider* (1901).

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

practice. Since the whole of Walled Nicosia would be too large to pilot within the scope of my research, I chose a single quarter, the Ayios Loukas⁴⁶⁶ quarter, in the north of Walled Nicosia, as the place to pilot the *CHHP of Cyprus*.

In this chapter, I delineate the more specific context in which I pilot the museology of peacebuilding, Walled Nicosia, and the processes through which I propose to gather the islanders' accounts. Towards this end, I give a broad and comprehensive historical account of Walled Nicosia to provide a context for the living memory of the city. I also give an overview of Walled Nicosia today. Subsequently, I outline the methodology to be followed in compiling the living memory of the islanders; based both on lessons learned from the oral history project I conducted and literature and case-studies about oral history in regions of conflict. Finally, I explain how the *CHHP of Cyprus* piloted for Walled Nicosia can be expanded as an island-wide endeavor.

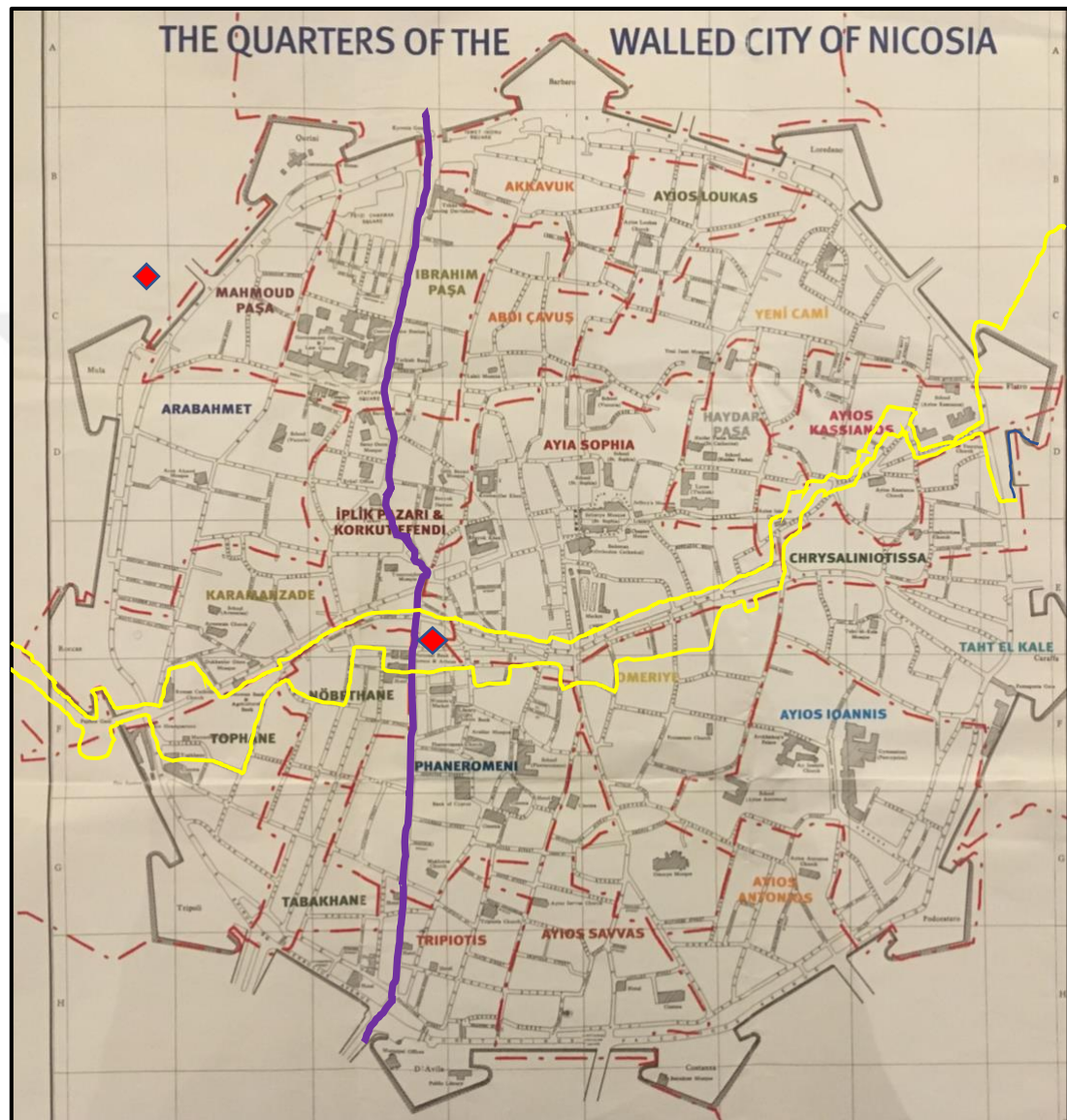
Historical Development of Walled Nicosia & Ayios Loukas

Walled Nicosia is divided into 23 administrative quarters called “mahalles” and each quarter is governed by a “muhtar,” in both the North and South of Cyprus. Of these quarters, 12 are in the Turkish North and 11 are in the Greek South.⁴⁶⁷ While the

⁴⁶⁶ The name Ayios Loukas is the original Greek name of this neighborhood. In the Turkish pronunciation of Ayios Loukas, it is heard as Ayluga and recently the name of this neighborhood has been changed to Ay Yıldız. I use the original name Ayios Loukas throughout the dissertation.

⁴⁶⁷ Anna Marankou and Andreas Coutsas, *Nicosia: The History of the City* (Nicosia: Cassoulides Masterprinters, 2011), 203. The quarters currently in the Turkish North are Karamanzade, Arabahmet, Mahmoud Paşa, İplik Pazarı & Korkut Efendi, İbrahim Paşa, Akkavuk, Abdi Çavus, Ayia Sophia, Ayios Loukas, Yeni Cami, Haydarpaşa & Ayios Kassianos. The quarters currently in the Greek South are Tophane, Nöbethane, Tabakhane, Phaneromeni, Tripiotis, Ayios Savvas, Ömeriye, Ayios Antonios, Ayios Ioannis, Taht el Kale & Chrysaliniotissa (from Marangou & Coutsas). The name for the Ayios Loukas neighborhood case-studied in this dissertation has been changed to Ay Yıldız but I use its former name throughout the dissertation.

museology of peacebuilding, as piloted in Walled Nicosia, employs the people-based methodology and therefore addresses the most recent past of the city based on its living memory, this recent past is informed by a broader historical context and it is useful to understand this context.



Map: Neighborhoods of Walled Nicosia

(Base map is taken from Anna Marankou and Andreas Coutsas, *Nicosia: The History of the City* (Nicosia: Cassoulides Masterprinters, 2011). Overlays are by author. Yellow line indicates Buffer Zone, purple line is the only north-south axis connecting Ledra Street with Kyrenia Street through Lokmaci Crossing point. The other red marking indicates the Ledra Crossing point just outside Walled Nicosia.)

Figure 10

Since the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization in 1200 B.C., whole communities of people migrated from the Aegean and other regions of the Mediterranean to settle in

Cyprus.⁴⁶⁸ During this period, city-kingdoms were established on the island in newly founded cities.⁴⁶⁹ Salamis, Paphos, Marion, Soloi, Kourion and Lapethos are some of these city-kingdoms. In the early 7th century B.C, the kingdom of Ledra, thought to be the precedent of the city of Nicosia, is listed as one of the ten city-kingdoms of Cyprus.⁴⁷⁰ Throughout history, the city of Ledra is mentioned by various authorities, secular or ecclesiastical, under many different names, first as Lidir in the 7th century BC. Assyrian sources and later as Ledrae, Ledra, Lefkousa, Kallinisiki, Photolampou and Lefkotheon.⁴⁷¹ Given Cyprus's strategic location in the Mediterranean, these city-kingdoms came under the domination of various powers during later periods.⁴⁷²

Habitation in Nicosia during the eras from the Archaic, through the Classical , Hellenistic and Roman is “evidenced through finds at the excavation site of Ayioi

⁴⁶⁸ Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs and Despina Pilides, "Chapter 1, Nicosia from the Beginnings to Roman Ledroi," in *Historic Nicosia* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 21.

⁴⁶⁹ David Wathen Stather Hunt, Herman W. Goult, and John S. Bowman, "Cyprus," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, May 28, 2019, , accessed May 31, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cyprus#ref33842>.

⁴⁷⁰ Anna Marankou and Andreas Coutas, *Nicosia: The History of the City* (Nicosia: Cassoulides Masterprinters, 2011), 22.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 23. According to tradition the city was rebuilt and expanded by Lefkos, son of the king of Egypt Ptolemy Soter I, who supposedly came to Cyprus in the 3rd century B.C. and gave his name to the city.

⁴⁷² Demetrios Michaelides and Despina Pilides, "Chapter 1, Nicosia from the Beginnings to Roman Ledroi," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Demetrios Michaelides (Rimal Publications, 2012), 24-34. The first power that Cyprus paid homage to was Assyria from the 8th to 7th century BC. ... during which a literary style of epic poetry grew on the island with the poet Stasinus of Cyprus being credited with the lost epic poem of Cypria. Michaelides and Pilides note on p.24 that on a prism of Esarhaddon (king of the Assyrians) dated 672 B.C., the ninth kingdom of Cyprus recorded on the catalogue is that of Lidir (Ledrae) Ledroio. After the Assyrian empire broke up, the Cypriot city-kingdoms paid homage to Egypt. Until 525 BC Egyptian influence has been observed on limestone sculptures from this period which “reproduced Egyptian conventions in dress.” A later influence from Ionia is also observed as reflected in the first Cypriot coins issued on the island by King Eueltion of Salamis in 560-525 B.C. When the Persians conquered Egypt In 525 B.C., Cyprus naturally fell under Persian domination until Alexandre the Great defeated Persia in 333 B.C. The Cypriot city-kingdoms became aligned with Alexandre the Great until his death 323 B.C. (p.34) After Alexander the Great's death Cyprus was annexed by Ptolemy (king of Egypt at the time) in 294 B.C which brought the end of the Cypriot city-kingdoms. The island was one of Ptolemy's “most important sources of minerals, timber and even grain as well as their chief military stronghold outside Egypt.” Nea Paphos, with its South-west location on the island became a major city of exchange with Egypt becoming by the mid 2nd century B.C. “the first ever capital of a united island.

Omologyites” to the south of the city center outside the walls.⁴⁷³ From the distribution of finds, it appears that the settlement extended both east as well as north towards the city center.⁴⁷⁴ This settlement is also thought to be part of the city of Ledroi.⁴⁷⁵ Less than a century into Roman rule in Cyprus (58 B.C. - 330 A.D), Christianity arrived on the island in 45 A.D making Cyprus one of the early centers of Christianity⁴⁷⁶ and the first Roman province that was governed by a Christian ruler.⁴⁷⁷ Many bishops from the island went on pilgrimages to Syria and Palestine and upon their return built monasteries which resembled those they had seen on their journeys to those lands east.⁴⁷⁸ During this period of early Christianity Nicosia was a

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 25. Michaelides and Pilides note, on p.30, that this site in Nicosia (old site of the Union of Civil Servants - PASYDY) has been under excavation since 1996 by D. Pilides and has brought to light “the most substantial remains” of this period in Nicosia. The wide chronological span of the remains found at this site indicates that “the hill was part of a large settlement occupied from the Cypro-Archaic period to the end of the Hellenistic period. They note, on p. 60, that a significant find in this area has been an ecclesiastical building with four phases dating from the 7th century A.D. to the end of the Venetian period, indicating the continuous occupation of this area. They note, on p. 38, that these recent excavations have also established that the settlement in Nicosia was completely rebuilt at the beginning of the Hellenistic period on a more or less regular plan.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 44.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 30.

⁴⁷⁶ John T. A. Koumoulides, "Cyprus from Earliest Times to A.D. 1600," in *Cyprus, the Legacy: Historic Landmarks That Influenced the Art of Cyprus: Late Bronze Age to A.D. 1600*, by John T. A. Koumoulides (Bethesda, Md: University Press of Maryland, 1999). St. Barnabas, a Cypriot Levite, had travelled with St. Paul as early as 45 A.D. from Antioch to Seleucia and then to Cyprus in what is said to be their first missionary journey. It is recounted that indeed they were successful in convincing L. Sergius Paulus, the Roman governor of the island, to convert to Christianity. A Cypriot Levite⁴⁷⁶ by the name of St. Barnabas, left Antioch accompanied by St. Paul and John Mark on a trip that is considered their first missionary journey. They first went to Seleucia and then crossed the sea to Cyprus to the city of Salamis on the east. Upon their arrival, they preached to the islanders in the synagogues of the Jews. Later on, they travelled through the island and came to the then capital city Paphos. There, St. Barnabas and St. Paul were invited by L. Sergius Paulus, the Roman governor of the island, to his palace. On this occasion, Paul performed a miracle (blinding of the sorcerer Elymas) that impressed the pro-consul so much that he converted to Christianity.

⁴⁷⁷ Demetrios Michaelides and Despina Pilides, "Chapter 1, Nicosia from the Beginnings to Roman Ledroi," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Demetrios Michaelides (Rimal Publications, 2012), 53.

⁴⁷⁸ Slobodan Curcic, "Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus: An Introduction to the Problem of the Genesis of a Regional Style," in *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, by Nancy Patterson. Ševčenko, Christopher Moss, and Doula Mouriki (Princeton, NJ: Dept. of Art and Archaeology, 1999).

small town with its own bishopric, known alternatively as the Bishopric of Kallinikisis, Lefkousia and Ledri.⁴⁷⁹ The remains of an aqueduct dating from the Roman period is still visible along the Venetian city walls of Nicosia, in its south east. Although the lack of reference to Ledroi during Roman rule appears to signify the loss of its civil status,⁴⁸⁰ it is argued that the large amounts of spolia dating from the Roman period found within Nicosia point to the presence of a prosperous Roman city. One such example is the large column of red Egyptian granite on the facade of the old Archbishop's Palace (see location of Archbishopric in Walled Nicosia in Fig. 19 and Fig 20, on p. 270-271). Given the high value of this stone, it is assumed that it must have originally been used in an important Roman building.⁴⁸¹ Citing Demi Danilo's study on Roman Nicosia, Marankou states that "in Roman times the heart of the city was located on the southern bank of the Pedieos River" with a center containing a castle with four gates, and it was this center which later "evolved to become the ecclesiastical and commercial center of the city" as we know it today.⁴⁸²

When the Roman Empire divided into an eastern and western empire in 395, Cyprus remained subject to the Eastern or Byzantine Empire which was administered from Constantinople. It also became part of the dioceses of the Orient governed from Antioch. The continuing Arab raids on the island led to an agreement between the Byzantine Emperor and the Ummayyad Caliph in 686, where Cyprus became a neutral

⁴⁷⁹ Loukia L. Hadjigavriel and Bouli Hadjioannou, *A Guide to the History of Nicosia: Through the Leventis Municipal Museum*(Nicosia: Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, 2009), 39.

⁴⁸⁰ Demetrios Michaelides and Despina Pilides, "Chapter 1, Nicosia from the Beginnings to Roman Ledroi," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Demetrios Michaelides (Rimal Publications, 2012), 46.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 51.

⁴⁸² Anna Marankou and Andreas Coutas, *Nicosia: The History of the City* (Nicosia: Cassoulides Masterprinters, 2011), 23.

state paying an equal amount of taxes to Damascus and Constantinople.⁴⁸³ This interim period on the island, of a mostly Greek speaking Christian population with obligations to an Arab speaking Muslim Dynasty in Syria, witnessed the absence of a recognizable and acceptable civic authority on the island. This hiatus is thought to have resulted in the Church of Cyprus filling this vacuum by taking on an administrative as well as religious role on the island.⁴⁸⁴ The Arab raids between the 7th and 9th centuries also prompted the islanders to move inland in efforts to seek better protection.⁴⁸⁵ With its access to fertile land and a good supply of water, Nicosia became the choice for the new capital of the island.⁴⁸⁶

In 965 A.D., Cyprus fell under the direct rule of a renascent Byzantium headed by Nicephorus Phocas.⁴⁸⁷ Nicosia became the center of the island's administration and its capital with a castle and seat for the Byzantine governor of Cyprus.⁴⁸⁸ This central location for a capital is an exception "among all the capitals of the islands of

⁴⁸³ Charles Anthony Stewart, "The First Vaulted Churches in Cyprus," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69, no. 2 (2010): , doi:10.1525/jsah.2010.69.2.162.

⁴⁸⁴ John T. A. Koumoulides, "Cyprus from Earliest Times to A.D. 1600," in *Cyprus, the Legacy: Historic Landmarks That Influenced the Art of Cyprus: Late Bronze Age to A.D. 1600*, by John T. A. Koumoulides (Bethesda, Md: University Press of Maryland, 1999). It is important to note that the Church of Cyprus still has a very strong presence on the island and is regarded as a significant and credible authority on matters concerning the Cyprus dispute.

⁴⁸⁵ Tassos Papacostas, "Chapter II Byzantine Nicosia 650-1191," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 81.

⁴⁸⁶ Loukia L. Hadjigavriel and Bouli Hadjioannou, *A Guide to the History of Nicosia: Through the Leventis Municipal Museum*(Nicosia: Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, 2009), 39.

⁴⁸⁷ Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571-1640* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 2.

⁴⁸⁸ Loukia L. Hadjigavriel and Bouli Hadjioannou, *A Guide to the History of Nicosia: Through the Leventis Municipal Museum*(Nicosia: Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, 2009), 39.

the Mediterranean.”⁴⁸⁹ The almost equidistant location of Nicosia from the coastal towns of Famagusta, Kyrenia, Limassol, and Larnaka allowed it to serve as the center of trade on the island.⁴⁹⁰ During Byzantine rule, a dense network of rural settlements grew around Nicosia and along the route from Nicosia to Kyrenia.⁴⁹¹ The capital city was not fortified as there was no imminent danger at the time from the surrounding regions because during the early Byzantine period, Cilicia and Syria had also come under Byzantine rule. During the late 11th century however, the Seljuk advance in Asia Minor and the region of Antioch as well as the arrival of the Crusaders from Europe made it imperative that the island be better protected. Two castles were built within the Pentadaktylos mountains, the St. Hilarion and Buffavento castles to defend against enemy ships. Once ships were spotted, the military leadership in the capital city of Nicosia was immediately informed.⁴⁹² The reason for the dearth of information on the Byzantine period in Cyprus is because most of the documentation which survives on Medieval Byzantium emanated from Constantinople and chroniclers and historians had little interest in the affairs of the provinces unless it concerned the Empire directly.⁴⁹³

The most impressive material remains from the past of Nicosia date from the Lusignan or Frankish rule which followed Byzantine rule, beginning in 1191 A.D

⁴⁸⁹ Nicholas Coureas, Gilles Grivaud, and Chris Schabel, "Chapter III Frankish and Venetian Nicosia 1191-1570," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 115.

⁴⁹⁰ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 13.

⁴⁹¹ Tassos Papacostas, "Chapter II Byzantine Nicosia 650-1191," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 82.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 84.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, 79.

and lasting until the Venetian take over in 1478 A.D. This was a period during which Cyprus became linked to “a flourishing European civilization”⁴⁹⁴ and gained in importance as a bridge between the West and East.⁴⁹⁵ The Lusignans were a crusading family of Poitevin origin⁴⁹⁶ who brought with them their architecture, language, religion and feudal system. They imposed on Cyprus a French-speaking Roman Catholic aristocracy and the European feudal customs of kingship, landholding and inheritance. During this period, the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus was suppressed and a Latin Church hierarchy introduced⁴⁹⁷ with its Archbishopric in Nicosia.⁴⁹⁸ The new king of Cyprus, Guy de Lusignan, and his successors invited a great number of French and other European settlers to the island including nobles, tradesmen, crusaders and artists who came and settled mainly in the large towns of Nicosia and Famagusta forming a new social class of the bourgeoisie.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁴ Suna Güven, "Lusignan Kings and Cathedrals in Medieval Cyprus," in *Aptullah Kuran İçin Yazılar - Essays in Honor of Aptullah Kuran*, by Günhan Danişman, Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, Aptullah Kuran, and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak (İstanbul: YKY, 1999), 28.

⁴⁹⁵ Loukia L. Hadjigavriel and Bouli Hadjioannou, *A Guide to the History of Nicosia: Through the Leventis Municipal Museum*(Nicosia: Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, 2009), 45.

⁴⁹⁶ Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades: 1191-1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 2.

⁴⁹⁷ Nuri Çevikel, "1570-1571 Türk Fethi ile Kıbrıs'ta Meydana Gelen Toplumsal Değişim Hakkında Bir Tahlil Denemesi," *Journal for Cypriot Studies* 3, no. 1 (1997): 42. Çevikel notes that on 1260, the Latin Bishopric in Nicosia was announced to be the only religious leader on the island through an official letter by the Pope entitled “Bulla Cypria.” Other bishoprics were established across the island, all answering to the one in Nicosia.

⁴⁹⁸ J. N. Coldstream, *Nicosia: Gothic City to Venetian Fortress* (Nicosia: Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, 1993), 3

⁴⁹⁹ Loukia L. Hadjigavriel and Bouli Hadjioannou, *A Guide to the History of Nicosia: Through the Leventis Municipal Museum* (Nicosia: Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, 2009), 49.

Under its new Latin rulers, Nicosia became the thriving capital of an independent Latin kingdom instead of an outpost of the Byzantine Empire.⁵⁰⁰ The city was surrounded by a circuit of walls which enclosed around twenty-three square kilometers.⁵⁰¹ Nine gates and towers⁵⁰² are thought to have replaced the ancient walls of Nicosia dating from the 4th century.⁵⁰³ In its “heyday” in the 14th century, the Latin Kingdom of Cyprus hosted over 100 monasteries and convents which housed up to two thousand monks and nuns. Around 30 of these monasteries were located in Nicosia.⁵⁰⁴ The *Hagia Sophia Cathedral* (currently the Selimiye Mosque) was built in 1209 and is the most significant surviving monument of “the feudal kings of the Lusignans and the art and culture of the Levant during the 13th and 14th centuries.”⁵⁰⁵ The current Haydarpaşa Mosque also dates to this period and used to be the *Church of St. Catherine*.⁵⁰⁶ The *Bedestan* right next to the Selimiye Mosque is also a monument from the period of Lusignan rule although it is thought to have

⁵⁰⁰ Nicholas Coureas, Gilles Grivaud, and Chris Schabel, "Chapter III Frankish and Venetian Nicosia 1191-1570," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 121.

⁵⁰¹ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 13.

⁵⁰² Loukia L. Hadjigavriel and Bouli Hadjioannou, *A Guide to the History of Nicosia: Through the Leventis Municipal Museum* (Nicosia: Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, 2009), 57.

⁵⁰³ Demetrios Michaelides and Despina Pilides, "Chapter 1, Nicosia from the Beginnings to Roman Ledroi," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Demetrios Michaelides (Rimal Publications, 2012), 53. Michaelides and Pilides note that “a single passage in Stefano de Lusignan’s *Chorografia* is sometimes quoted as evidence for the construction of a defensive wall around the city during the Early Christian period but, to date, there is no archaeological evidence to support the existence of such a wall. According to Lusignan, the old walls of Nicosia were demolished in order to build the new ones, and in the process quantities of bronze coins of Constantine and Helena were found at different locations; and on the basis of this, the old walls have been dated to the 4th century.”

⁵⁰⁴ Nicholas Coureas, Gilles Grivaud, and Chris Schabel, "Chapter III Frankish and Venetian Nicosia 1191-1570," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 164.

⁵⁰⁵ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 187.

⁵⁰⁶ Euphrosyne Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou, "Chapter V Nicosia under Ottoman Rule 1570-1878 - Part II," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 277.

replaced an earlier Greek Orthodox Church (see Fig.10, p. 209 for the locations of significant monuments in Walled Nicosia).

The Latin kingdom of Cyprus reached its height during the 13th and 14th centuries when Famagusta became a center for trade in the Mediterranean making both Nicosia and Famagusta heterogeneous cities where merchants from many different ethnic and religious groups mixed, including Italians and French from the West, and Greeks, Maronites, Armenians, Copts, Nestorians, Jacobites, Abyssinians, and Gregorians from the East.⁵⁰⁷ Various travelers' accounts of the city of Nicosia from this period describe it as a beautiful city with lots of gardens and houses which resembled those in Syria and Antioch.⁵⁰⁸ One such traveler's account mentions at least 250 churches in the thriving capital city of Nicosia, itself a thriving center of Latin Christianity.⁵⁰⁹ Nicosia also had an abundant supply of water with wells and aqueducts,⁵¹⁰ and a branch of the Pedieos River known as the "Sweet Water" flowed through the city along the line of what are now Paphos and Hermes Streets, entering the city near Paphos Gate and leaving it in three places near the Famagusta Gate. The river could be crossed by several stone or wooden bridges.⁵¹¹

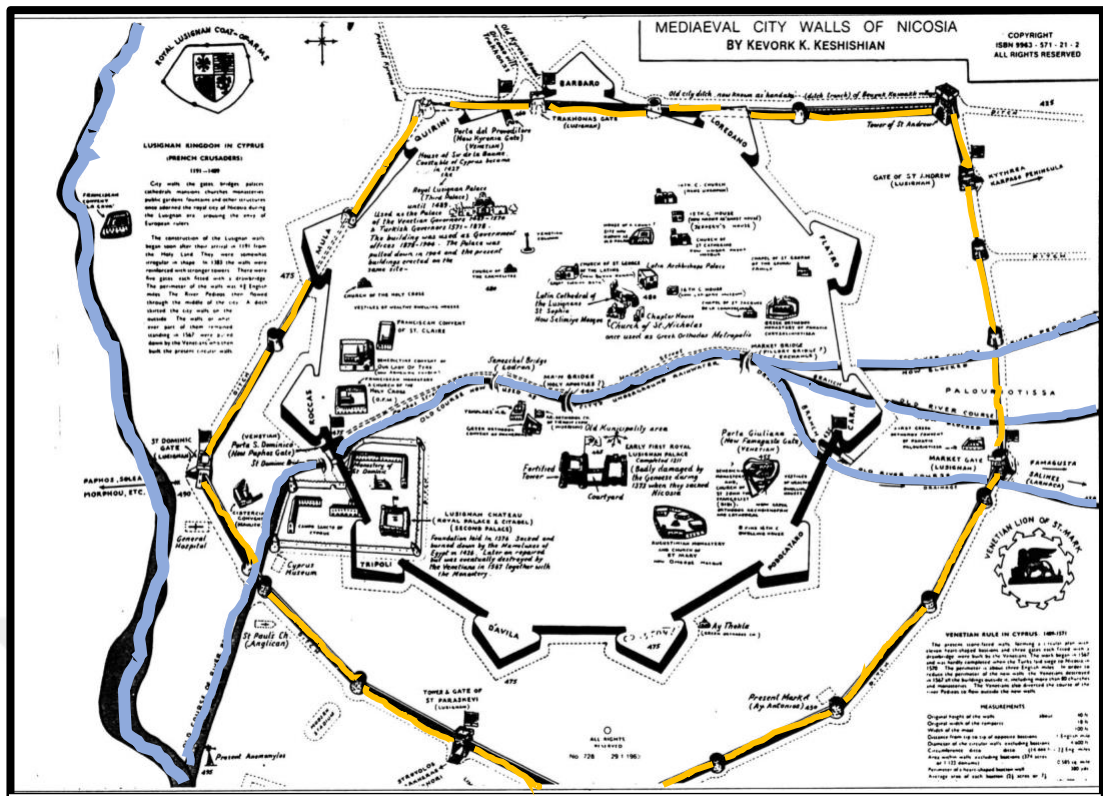
⁵⁰⁷ Suna Güven, "Lusignan Kings and Cathedrals in Medieval Cyprus," in *Aptullah Kuran İçin Yazılar - Essays in Honor of Aptullah Kuran*, by Günhan Danişman, Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, Aptullah Kuran, and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak (İstanbul: YKY, 1999), 29.

⁵⁰⁸ J. N. Coldstream, *Nicosia: Gothic City to Venetian Fortress* (Nicosia: Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, 1993), 5.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁵¹¹ Nicholas Coureas, Gilles Grivaud, and Chris Schabel, "Chapter III Frankish and Venetian Nicosia 1191-1570," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 116. The inundation of the Pedaios river on 11th November 1330 mentioned by all chroniclers, was very alarming simply because it constituted a rare event that has not recurred since – otherwise it was a "slow-moving stream, and that only during winter."



Map: River Pedieos, Lusignan & Venetian Walls

(Base map belongs to Kevork K. Keshishian, used in, Chloe Papanastasiou, *Bridging Across Nicosia's Divide: From a "No Man's Land" to a Shared Public Realm*, PhD diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, 1994, 17. Blue line indicates river course during Lusignan rule and orange line represents Lusignan Walls, drawn by author.)

Figure 11

At one end of this main axis lay the king's palace or castle and processions would take place along the axis of the river course where the many different sects of the Christian religion were represented.⁵¹² Nicosia was the center of political, administrative and religious authority which meant that the streets of the capital city

⁵¹² J. N. Coldstream, *Nicosia: Gothic City to Venetian Fortress* (Nicosia: Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, 1993), 11. Before the years of takeover by the Venetians, Etienne de Lusignan described processions in the streets of Nicosia: "First came a cross borne by the Greeks, under which walked a confused multitude. These were succeeded by priests of the same communion, behind whom was carried an icon of the Blessed Virgin followed by a number of women. Next appeared the Mendicant fraternities marshaled in due order of precedence, then the Abyssinian priests with scarves or turbans of sky-blue or azure cloths upon their heads, and accompanied by their bishop wearing a minter. To them succeeded first the Nestorians, then the Jacobites, Maronites, Copts and Armenians, all wearing turbans, also, except the last named who wore round birettas with a covering of white cloth on the tope, and were vested in copes after the Latin fashion. After them walked the Latin ecclesiastics with their archbishop and the procession was closed by the civil authorities and the island nobility."

were the scene of many “religious festivals, processions, funerals, weddings and coronations of kings.”⁵¹³

In 1464, the last Lusignan king of Cyprus, James II, expelled the Genoese from Famagusta and married a Venetian noblewoman, Caterina Cornaro, who succeeded him after his death. Caterina held onto the crown for a very short time until she was persuaded to hand over Cyprus to the Republic of Venice in 1489.⁵¹⁴ By the time of the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus (1571), the island had become the main center of Venice’s maritime trade in the eastern Mediterranean. During this period, the Ottoman Empire was experiencing difficulties guaranteeing the safe travel of its own ships in the region⁵¹⁵ and it became evident that it planned to attack the island.⁵¹⁶ The Venetians thus set to work fortifying their cities. Giulios Savorganano, who had just completed the Candian walls in Crete, designed the new city walls of Nicosia with eleven bastions. The fortifications were surrounded by a deep ditch about 80m wide and supplied with water diverted from the Pedieos river.⁵¹⁷ The river that had

⁵¹³ Nicholas Coureas, Gilles Grivaud, and Chris Schabel, "Chapter III Frankish and Venetian Nicosia 1191-1570," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 116.

⁵¹⁴ David Wathen Stather Hunt, Herman W. Goult, and John S. Bowman, "Cyprus," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, May 28, 2019, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cyprus#ref33842>.

⁵¹⁵ Benjamin Arbel, "Cyprus on the Eve of the Ottoman Conquest," in *Ottoman Cyprus: A Collection of Studies on History and Culture*, by Michalis N. Michael, Matthias Kappler, and Eftihios Gavriel (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 44.

⁵¹⁶ Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), 128. The importance of Cyprus for the Ottoman Empire had grown tremendously after the conquest of Egypt in 1517 because this newly captured province along with Syria became the main source for the empire’s wealth, providing in 1528, one-third of the total budgeted income of the empire and the sea trade routes from these provinces to the sea ports in the South of Turkey went right through Cyprus. Christian corsairs operating mainly from Rhodes, Cyprus and Crete, constantly menaced the sea routes between Alexandria and Istanbul. To protect themselves from these corsairs, Ottoman ships used to travel in a convoy on this route and were accompanied by warships.

⁵¹⁷ Gianni Perbellini, *The Fortress of Nicosia, Prototype of European Renaissance Military Architecture* (Nicosia: Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation, 1994).

flowed east through the city, became instead, a canal over which bridges were built to connect the north and south sections of Nicosia.⁵¹⁸ The Lusignan walls were torn down along with many other buildings to make way for the new Venetian walls which were much smaller in size. During this demolition, the lives of many residents of Nicosia were greatly disrupted.⁵¹⁹

The Venetian walls⁵²⁰ were “inspired by the ideal of the radial city” (*città ideale*) and built in the form of a perfect circle with a circumference of approximately 5 km. long enclosing a living space of approximately 280 hectares (2.8 km²). Within the walls, up to 130,000 people could be temporarily accommodated. The walled city was

⁵¹⁸ Nicholas Coureas, Gilles Grivaud, and Chris Schabel, "Chapter III Frankish and Venetian Nicosia 1191-1570," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 204-208.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 204-205. The Lusignan walls had outlived their usefulness because the new military technology of artillery had made them ineffective as a means of protection against attackers.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., 204-208. The Venetians had started ruling Cyprus in 1478 and “facing the expansion of Ottoman power in the Mediterranean” they intended, as early as 1491, to maintain their fortresses in Famagusta and Kyrenia. It was not until 1556 however that the Senate “implemented an overall policy of reinforcing its overseas military machinery” and several proveditors and officials were sent to Cyprus to assess the feasibility of building new fortresses on the island. The financial burden of undertaking such a feat led the Venetians to decide on building a new fortress in Nicosia because the wealthy nobles who lived in the city had “agreed to finance the enterprise, provided that it protected their families and goods.” The governor general Giulio Savorganano thus ordered new city walls to be built in Nicosia “compatible with the strategic needs of the time.” However, before construction could even begin, many existing structures had to be demolished to allow for the construction of the new walls. The old Lusignan city walls which encompassed a larger area than the new Venetian walls were torn down. The structures “located on the line of the new walls” were demolished and finally all structures “obstructing fire within two-kilometer radii were destroyed because the new walls would only be effective if they were complimented by “an external dead zone” which placed the “attacker in line of fire from artillery installed on the bastions.” This area is where the moat was built and later filled with water. There still remains a stretch of empty area around the Venetian walls where the moat used to be. Part of it is now used as a car racing track and part of it as a park. The suburbs that remained outside the new city walls to the south and east of the walled city were also “completely razed in 1567.” The scale of the destruction carried out in order to build the new Venetian walls was enormous; “approximately 80 churches, four large monasteries (St John of Montfort, St Dominic, St George of Mangana, and Pallouriotissa), the Armenian Cathedral of the Holy Cross, a cemetery, 1,800 houses, including four palaces valued at more than 10,000 ducats each and innumerable gardens.” Grivaud puts forth that “in the span of a few months, Nicosia’s urban space underwent the most radical transformation in its history, in particular with the diversion of the course of the Pedaios river, which would now circumvent the city to the north.” Although Savorganano tried to introduce “a grid for the city’s streets,” this was not realized and the city fabric did not go through “drastic changes, except for crowding and minor adaptations.” Grivaud puts forth that the new walls disrupted social cohesion within the city as the “greatest burden caused by the demolition fell on the most humble.”

entered through three gates; the Famagusta gate, the Paphos gate and the Kyrenia gate.⁵²¹ These gates continue to be significant symbols in Nicosia. Each of the eleven bastions was installed approximately 280 meters from the other and had circumferences of 325 meters with “rounded angles and recessed sides.” The Mula, Querini, Barbaro and Loredano bastions were named after Venetian officials and the Flatro, Caraffa, Podocataro, Constanzo, Davila, Tripoli and Rochas bastions were named after Cypriot noblemen who were responsible for financing their construction.⁵²² The Venetian walls are considered to be “one of the finest examples of European medieval fortification architecture”⁵²³ and the “prototype of Renaissance military architecture.”⁵²⁴ On the eve of the Ottoman conquest (1571), “the cosmopolitan city of Nicosia had been transformed into a beleaguered fortress.”⁵²⁵ It fell, after 51 days of resistance by the Venetians.⁵²⁶ Today the center of this perfectly walled circle is in the Turkish quarter of Walled Nicosia, at a location around 100 meters from the Buffer Zone, on Goldsmiths Street No. 49 (Kuyumcular Street).

⁵²¹ Ibid., 205-6. Perbellini (1994) points out that the three gates mentioned were in the same locations as the gates from the Lusignan walls.

⁵²² Ibid., 207. The construction of the new walls was indeed a major feat involving 1500 men and women with an additional 500-800 men per bastion. According to Savorganano, were it not for the power struggles between the Venetian officials which delayed the construction of the four bastions under their responsibility, the new city walls which started to be built on June 1st 1567 would have been completed in six months for the sum of 90,000 ducats.

⁵²³ Anna Marankou and Andreas Coutas, *Nicosia: The History of the City* (Nicosia: Cassoulides Masterprinters, 2011), 205.

⁵²⁴ Loukia L. Hadjigavriel and Bouli Hadjioannou, *A Guide to the History of Nicosia: Through the Leventis Municipal Museum* (Nicosia: Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, 2009), 67.

⁵²⁵ J. N. Coldstream, *Nicosia: Gothic City to Venetian Fortress* (Nicosia: Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, 1993), 12.

⁵²⁶ Mustafa Ekincikli, "1571'de Kıbrıs'ın Fethinin Sonuçları," *Journal of Cypriot Studies* 2, no. 4 (1996): 344.

At the time, the Ottoman Empire as well as the Mediterranean region in general was in a state of decline.⁵²⁷ There were many jobless people in Anatolia and the land was no longer capable of feeding the population.⁵²⁸ Cyprus was therefore viewed as a place where the surplus population of Anatolia could be resettled.⁵²⁹ Thus, on August 19th 1572, Sultan Selim II ordered what is thought to be the largest and most comprehensive exile program ever implemented by the empire.⁵³⁰ The main purpose, as revealed by the original exile documents, was twofold: to supply the island with people to till the land and to make it a safe place by settling a reliable Turkish population in what was primarily a Greek-speaking Christian community.⁵³¹ One out of every four households from the states of Anadolu, Karaman, Rum and Dülkadir were asked to go to Cyprus.⁵³² The Venetian and Lusignan residents of the city of Nicosia were replaced by the Ottoman administrators and retired Janissaries, many of Balkan origin, who took over as tax collectors of the city.⁵³³ The feudal system of serfdom was abolished and the Greek Orthodox Church restored such that it now had the freedom to exercise its own religious laws over its own community, as elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire.⁵³⁴

⁵²⁷ Halil İnalçık, "A Note on the Population of Cyprus," *Journal of Cypriot Studies* 3, no. 1 (1997): 6. İnalçık qualifies the conquering of Cyprus as the last great conquest of the Ottoman Empire.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., 6.

⁵²⁹ Nuri Çevikel, "1570-1571 Türk Fethi ile Kıbrıs'ta Meydana Gelen Toplumsal Değişim Hakkında Bir Tahlil Denemesi," *Journal for Cypriot Studies* 3, no. 1 (1997): 50-51.

⁵³⁰ Hasan Celâl Güzel and Güler Eren, *Hanedan* (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), 176.

⁵³¹ Halil İnalçık, "A Note on the Population of Cyprus," *Journal of Cypriot Studies* 3, no. 1 (1997): 6.

⁵³² Recep Dündar, "Kıbrıs Beylerbeyliği," *Osmanlı, IV, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları*, 1999, 634.

⁵³³ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 195.

⁵³⁴ Nuri Çevikel, "1570-1571 Türk Fethi ile Kıbrıs'ta Meydana Gelen Toplumsal Değişim Hakkında Bir Tahlil Denemesi," *Journal for Cypriot Studies* 3, no. 1 (1997): 44.

The basic unit of the city within the Ottoman Empire, the “mahalle,” which also made up the legal and administrative “backbone of the community structures within Ottoman cities,” was established within Walled Nicosia.⁵³⁵ These *mahalles* were usually composed of a religiously homogeneous population clustered around a mosque or church.⁵³⁶ Each *mahalle* was made up of 5 to 100 families of co-religionists, which included their houses built out to the road, as well as a number of key “components such as a local church or mosque, small markets and coffee-shops, and a network of streets that terminated in blind alleys to ensure privacy and protection.”⁵³⁷ While in the 1572 census, Walled Nicosia is reported as having 7 neighborhoods only,⁵³⁸ during the majority of Ottoman rule, it was divided into 12 *mahalles* named after the 12 generals who conquered the city in 1570.”⁵³⁹ By the time the island was handed to the British, the number of *mahalles* had increased to 25. According to a survey conducted by Jeffrey (1891), shortly after the handover of the island to the British in 1878, Nicosia had 25 quarters; 14 of these were inhabited

⁵³⁵ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 205.

⁵³⁶ Ioannis Theocharides and Theoharis Stavrides, "Chapter IV Nicosia under Ottoman Rule 1570 - 1878 - Part I," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 239.

⁵³⁷ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 202.

⁵³⁸ Ioannis Theocharides and Theoharis Stavrides, "Chapter IV Nicosia under Ottoman Rule 1570 - 1878 - Part I," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 241. The *mahalles* of the Muslims were the following: ayia sophia, yeni camii, ömeriye, yahya pasha, nevbet hane, top hane, karamanzade, arab ahmed pasha, mahmud pasha, ibrahim pasha, korkud efendi, iplik pazari, abdi çavuş pasha, haydar pasha and Tahtakale. The *mahalles* of the Christians were the following: evvel (meaning the first which was Trypiotis) ayia sophia, ayios Ioannis, kafasli, ayios loukas, ayios kassianos, phaneromeni, ayios antonios, and that of the Armenians.

⁵³⁹ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 210. Oswald notes that according to Jeffrey’s map these *mahalles* were 1. General İbrahim Paşa 2. General Mahmoud Paşa 3. General Ak Kavuk Paşa 4. General Korkut Efendi 5. General Arab Ahmet Paşa 6. General Abdi Paşa 7. General Haydar Paşa 8. General Karamanzade 9. General Yahya Paşa (now Phaneromeni Quarter) 10. General Daniel Paşa (now Ömeriye Quarter) 11. Tophane (Arsenal) and 12. Nevbethane (police).

by Muslims, 7 by Christians, 2 by a mixed Christian/Muslim population, 1 by Armenians and 1 by Latins. The fact that the majority of the quarters in the city were Muslim reflects the privileged position of this group in the Ottoman capital of the province of Cyprus. The list of neighborhoods also included the names of the eight main orthodox churches in Nicosia: Phaneromeni, Ayios Savvas, Ayios Antonios, Ayios Kassianos, Ayios Loukas, Trypiotis, Ayios Ioannis and Chrysaliniotissa. To this day, these same churches correspond to the main parishes of the old city.⁵⁴⁰

The gates of Walled Nicosia opened at sunrise and closed after sunset, a routine that continued until the first years of British rule, and it was through these gates that all goods into Nicosia passed.⁵⁴¹ There were two main arteries of the city, the east-west axis which currently runs through the Buffer Zone consisting of the axis containing Hermes (Ermou) and Paphos streets,⁵⁴² and the north-south axis which started at the Kyrenia gate and ended up at the Bayraktar mosque going past the Selimiye mosque

⁵⁴⁰ Euphrosyne Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou, "Chapter V Nicosia under Ottoman Rule 1570-1878 - Part II," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 299-300. The church of Ayios Loukas which remains in the North is no longer used as a church but instead as a cultural center.

⁵⁴¹ Ioannis Theoharides and Theoharis Stavrides, "Chapter IV Nicosia under Ottoman Rule 1570 - 1878 - Part I," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 244.

⁵⁴² Euphrosyne Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou, "Chapter V Nicosia under Ottoman Rule 1570-1878 - Part II," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 300-301. Egoumenidou notes that the city's commercial center developed along this axis from east to west, from the Famagusta to the Paphos gates, cutting the city into two almost equal halves. The extended row of shops was known as the *uzun çarşı*, or Long market. She notes that in 1873 Louis Salvatore writes that "the shops in the bazaars had shutters made in the Turkish manner that can be pushed up and down and here and there were small wells with wooden windlasses and a trough for the cattle, often overshadowed by gigantic vines or big earthenware jugs, from which everyone can take water for his own use by means of small cups thus making them useful for the public in general...as in all towns within the ottoman empire, the bazaars in Nicosia were the centers of social life. Moreover, they were the focus of industrial production and very important for the economy of the capital. The crafts of silk weaving and gold embroidery survived in Nicosia where other crafts, such as calico-printing also began to flourish."

and through Trikopia streets.⁵⁴³ Merchants who came to the city of Nicosia to sell their goods would stay at the *hans*, or inns of Walled Nicosia, two of which remain to this day: the Büyük Han and Kumarcılar Han (See Fig. 10, p. 209 for locations of these *hans*). With the monetization of the economy, handicraft, cloth manufacturing and weaving also developed as trades within the city.⁵⁴⁴ Entire parts of the city received their name according to the workshops and shops found in those areas. By the second half of the 19th century, Nicosia contained many such markets; the Arab Cebel, Kykko, Cart-makers, Armenians, Wax-sellers, Carpenters, Long, Calico-makers, Fish and Orta Odası (meaning middle room in Turkish) markets.⁵⁴⁵

The water needs of Nicosia were provided for by a chain of wells⁵⁴⁶ dug along the Pedieos river and distributed through aqueducts. One aqueduct was named after Arab Ahmet Pasha, one of the generals during the capture of the island in 1570. The other was named after Silahdar Ağa as it was built by this Ottoman administrator in 1801. These aqueducts fed many public fountains, baths, and gardens of Nicosia with plenty of water.⁵⁴⁷ Towards the end of Ottoman rule, almost every quarter of

⁵⁴³ Ioannis Theocharides and Theoharis Stavrides, "Chapter IV Nicosia under Ottoman Rule 1570 - 1878 - Part I," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 242.

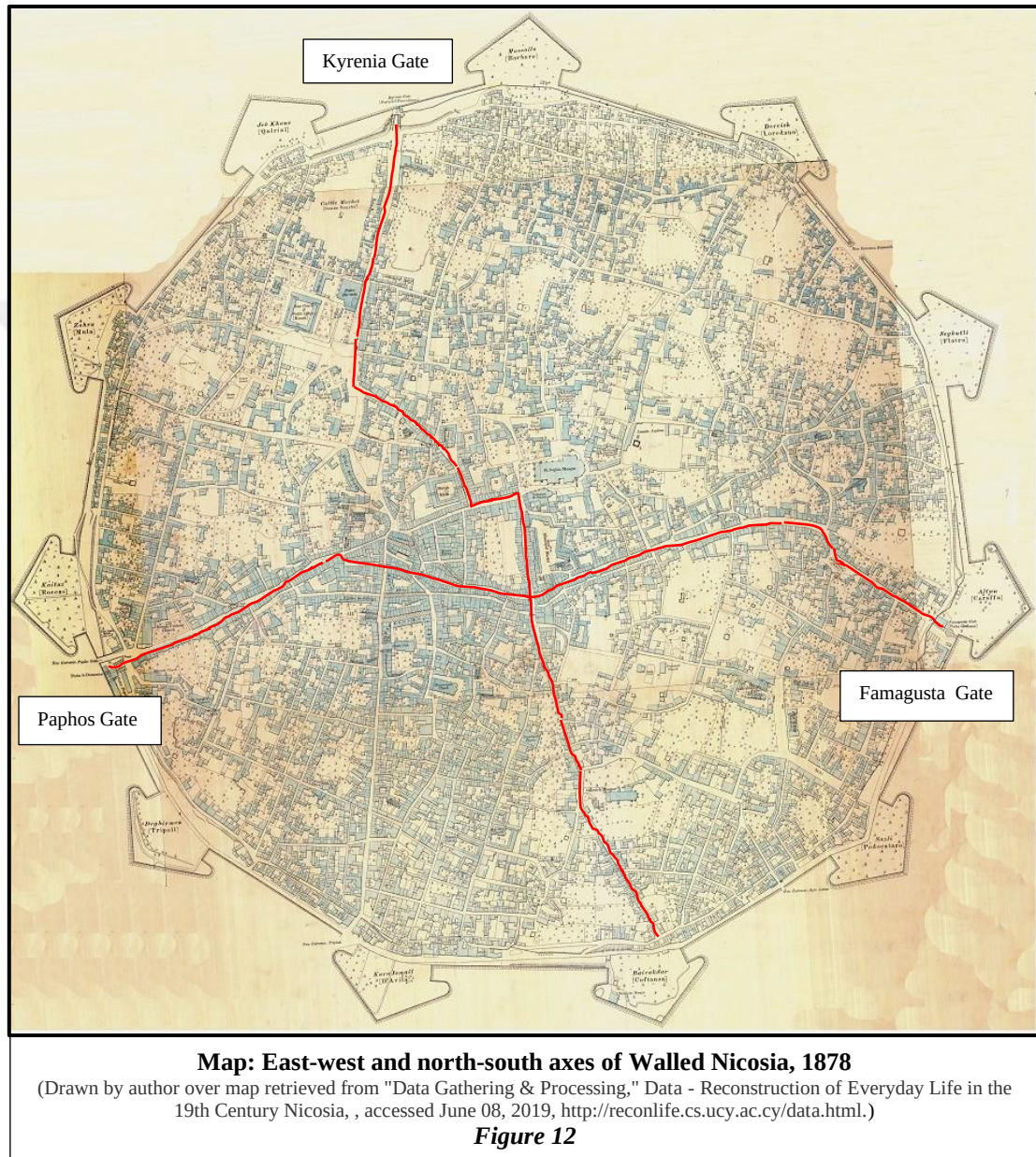
⁵⁴⁴ Ioannis Theocharides and Theoharis Stavrides, "Chapter IV Nicosia under Ottoman Rule 1570 - 1878 - Part I," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 245. Early 18th century documents indicate the presence of shoemakers, smitheries, groceries and haberdasheries, perfumers, garlic sellers, blacksmiths, cart-makers, wax-makers, makers of strings for musical instruments, locksmiths, calico-makers and others. Surnames derived from traders also developed such as "kahveci" (coffeehouse keeper), "nalband" (blacksmith), "basmacı" (calico-maker) who were grouped together creating the separate markets of Nicosia.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid., 241.

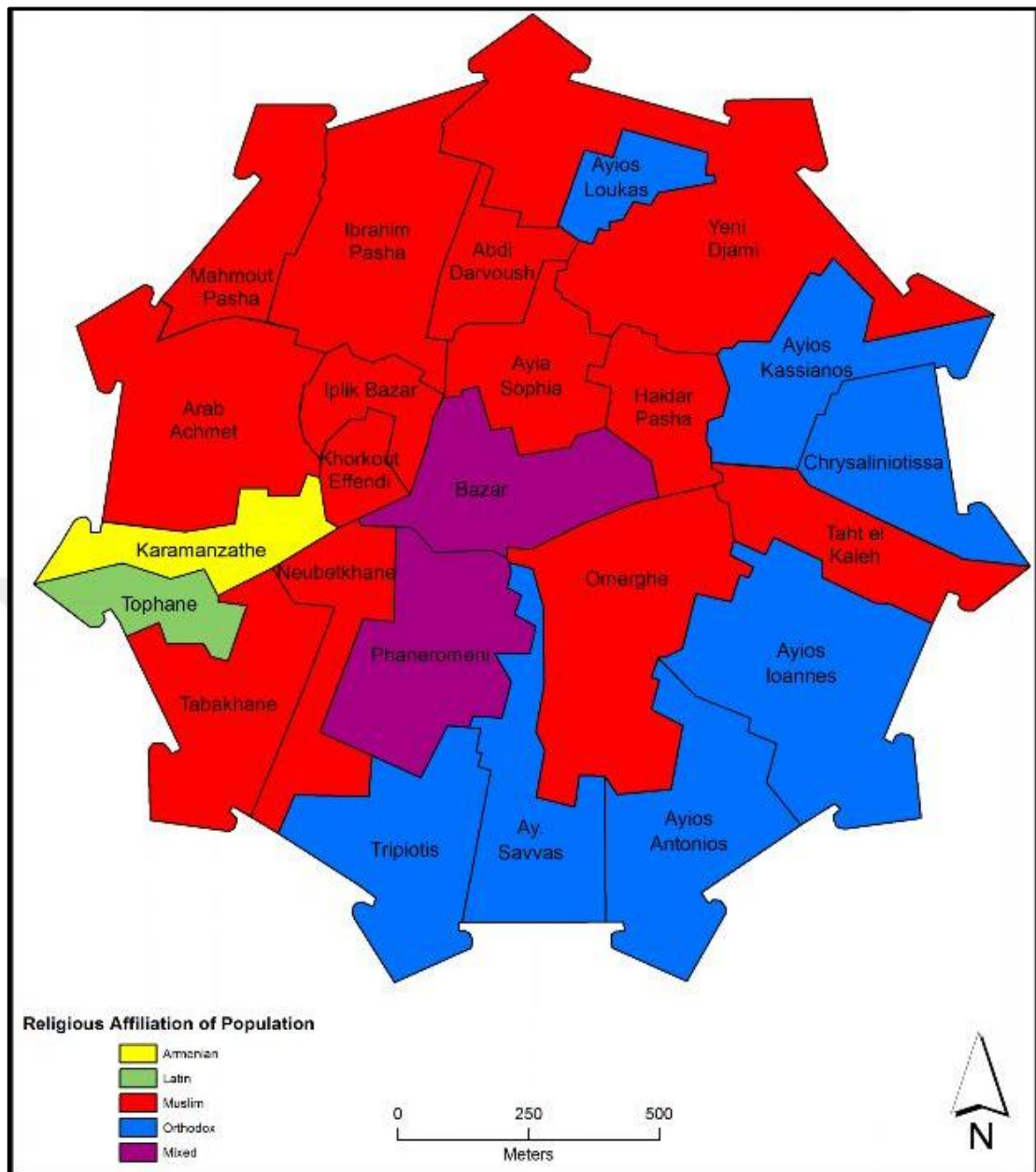
⁵⁴⁶ Euphrosyne Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou, "Chapter V Nicosia under Ottoman Rule 1570-1878 - Part II," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 269. She notes that water was brought to the surface by means of waterwheels turned by horses (alakatia).

⁵⁴⁷ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 208.

the city had a fountain, with about a dozen of them in Nicosia.⁵⁴⁸ During Ottoman rule, the old riverbed of the Pedieos which had been converted into a canal during the time of Venetian rule served as the main city sewer.



⁵⁴⁸ Euphrosyne Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou, "Chapter V Nicosia under Ottoman Rule 1570-1878 - Part II," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 270-271.



Map: Ethnic Distribution of Neighborhoods, 1878

(Map taken from John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 283.)

Figure 13

Based on the spatio-temporal study of Walled Nicosia, Oswald notes that this same axis was also interpreted as the “de facto line between the Ottoman and Greek Orthodox administrative centers” of Walled Nicosia.⁵⁴⁹ North of this were the

⁵⁴⁹ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 213.

Ottoman administration buildings, law courts and markets; to the south near the Famagusta gate was the Orthodox Archbishopric complex, which remains in the same location today. South of this axis were also the houses of prominent Christians, one of the most prominent one being the house of the Dragoman Hadjigeorgakis Kornessios who was the interpreter of the “Saray.” Its architectural form with an interior courtyard reflected the lifestyle of that period and created an ambiance similar to many of the wealthy houses of the Empire⁵⁵⁰ (See Fig. 10 p. 209 for locations of Archbishopric and house of Kornessios).

Another significant monument from the period of Ottoman rule is the “Mevlevi Tekke” in Nicosia. The only original sections that survive of this building are the main mosque, mausoleum and tombs of the sheikhs. The Mevlevi Tekke was the center of the Mevlevi sect of dervishes in Cyprus; the mystical Sufi brotherhood founded by Celaleddin Rumi who was a saint and mystical poet of the 13th century. Performances continued in this center until 1956. After independence in 1960 it was converted into the Turkish Ethnographical Museum.⁵⁵¹ Dervish Pasha Konak and the Eaved House are also significant examples of domestic Ottoman architecture that have been preserved.⁵⁵²

⁵⁵⁰ Euphrosyne Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou, "Chapter V Nicosia under Ottoman Rule 1570 - 1878 - Part II," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 309-310. Egoumenidou notes that the austere facades built of hewn sandstone, and their barred and latticed windows placed high up on the walls, give the building a fortress like character. Above the entrance there is a decorated marble slab bearing a simplified form of the coat of arms of the Podocataro family to whom the house originally belonged and above this there is a protruding kiosk ... the mansion has been defined as an example of the original courtyard house in which all parts of the house are connected to the unifying courtyard ... the entrance begins with just a communication passage between the street and the courtyard.”

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., 279.

⁵⁵² Ibid., 307-313. The Dervish Pasha Konak was the house of “Tüccarbaşı Hacı Derviş” (tüccarbaşı means head of merchants in Turkish) who was the editor of Zaman, the first Turkish newspaper in Cyprus (1891). The eaved house is now a cultural and arts center. Funding received from the UNDP

On July 1878, the last Ottoman governor of the island, Besim Pasha, officially handed over the administration of Cyprus to the British Vice Admiral, Lord John Hay, in accordance with the agreement made at the Congress of Berlin (13 June – 13 July 1878). At this time, Britain agreed to defend the Ottoman Empire against Russia in return for taking over the administration of the island. The city that the British inherited in 1878 was a “complex cultural hybrid” inhabited by Latins, Maronites, Armenians, Greek Orthodox and Ottoman Turks.”⁵⁵³ It was “administratively divided and socially segmented, while simultaneously being a relatively cosmopolitan city.”⁵⁵⁴ Writing of Walled Nicosia in 1881, a few years after the British take over, Louis Salvator described the city as a place where the Turks are numerically dominant and communities share crafts and languages and “mingle” in the market. He noted that although religious affiliations serve “as a means of separation and distinction,” the boundaries are “flexible” and there is religious tolerance.⁵⁵⁵ During this time, the majority of the land in Nicosia belonged to the Muslim community because they had previously constituted the ruling class of Cyprus.⁵⁵⁶

Oswald puts forth that previous Ottoman rule in Cyprus which adopted the “millet” system in governance effectively divided Walled Nicosia into “ethno-religious mahalles, which though permeable, did establish the neighborhood/quarter

between 1987 and 1993 helped restore the most significant residential quarters of walled Nicosia, 13 buildings in the Chrysanliniotissa and 11 in the ArabAhmet quarters were restored.

⁵⁵³ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 184.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., 218.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 217.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., 238-239.

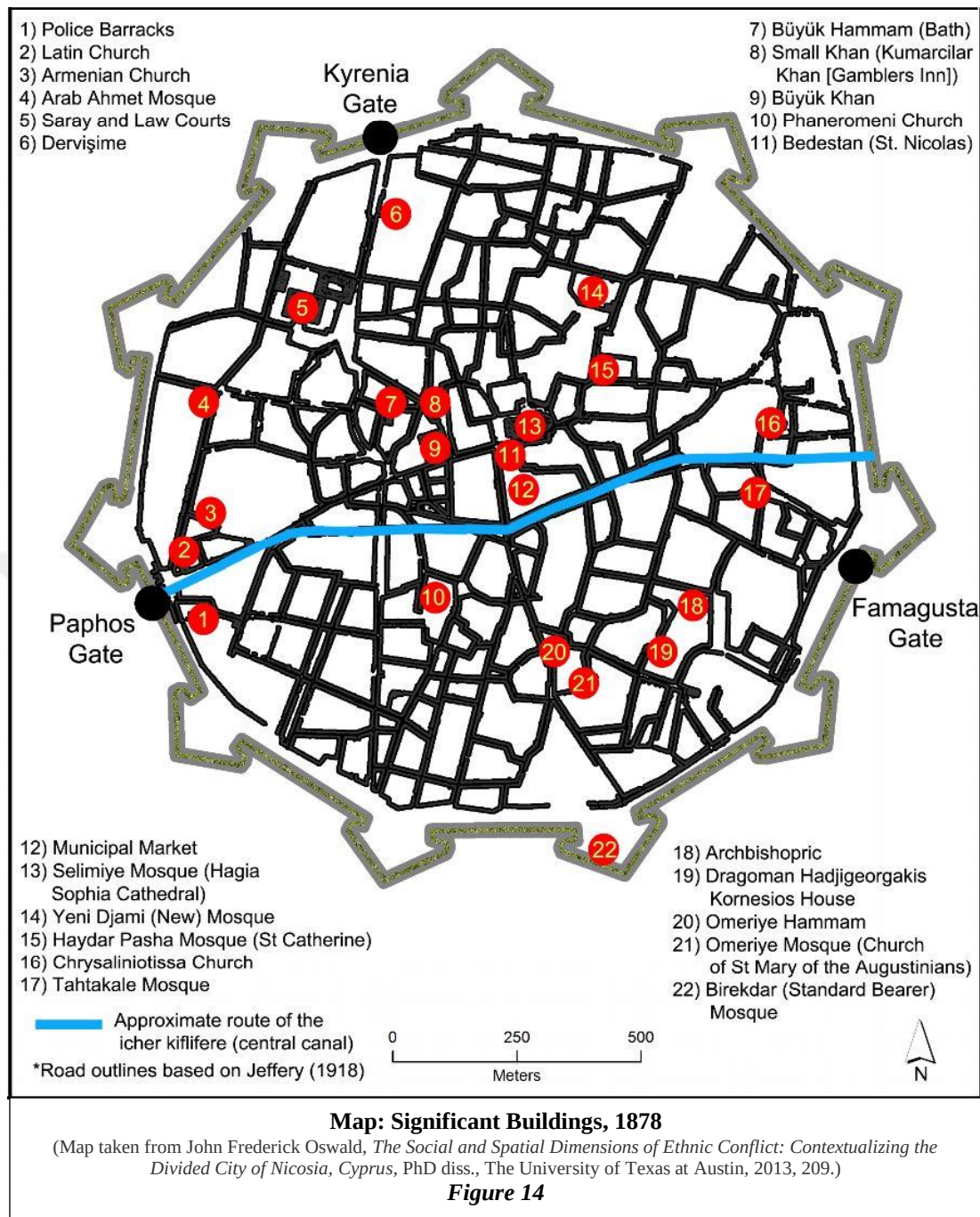
template.” Another significant structure put into place during the *Tanzimat* reforms of the Ottoman Empire involved the creation of a Municipal Council in Nicosia in 1858 which consisted of a Muslim president (Reis) appointed by the central authorities, and six locally elected members; three Muslims and three Christians with responsibilities that included “matters of hygiene, sanitation, town planning and the management of buildings.” This administrative structure became the precursor of the future Nicosia Municipality.⁵⁵⁷

During British rule, the separate administrative structures of the Muslim and Christian neighborhoods within Walled Nicosia, run by an elected *muhtar*, were centralized under the Nicosia Municipal Council which had representatives based on the numerical proportions of these communities within the city. In effect, the degree of political access one’s community had within the Nicosia Municipal Council became dependent upon that community’s numerical presence within the city and led to the majority being perceived as “neglecting the needs of the minority.”⁵⁵⁸ As a means of ameliorating this, the British enacted Law 1891, which stated that a community would be allowed to have a *separate* muhtar if there was a “definite, defined and physical boundary between the two communities.” Oswald conjectures that this law may explain why there was a “drastic reduction in the number of mixed villages around the island and mixed quarters around Nicosia” from that point onwards.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁷ Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs and Despina Pilides, "Chapter 1, Nicosia from the Beginnings to Roman Ledroi," in *Historic Nicosia* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 46-47.

⁵⁵⁸ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 238. In the mixed village of Pyla, for example, the Turkish Cypriots demanded that the village have two muhtars, one for each faith.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 238-239.



By 1885, the central drainage canal running through Nicosia had been paved over⁵⁶⁰ and the east-west corridor of Paphos and Hermes Streets became the most densely built area of the city,⁵⁶¹ most of which now remains within the Buffer Zone. New

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 246.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., 247.

openings were cut into the Venetian walls; by 1911 there were a total of 6 entrances including the original Famagusta, Kyrenia and Paphos gates; by 1927 this had gone up to 11.⁵⁶² There was not major construction during British rule; the primary monument built was the new British Law Court building in Sarayönü which replaced the Ottoman “Konak”⁵⁶³ (see Fig. 19 and Fig. 20 on p.270-271 for location of this building). Between 1881 and 1921, Nicosia’s population resided entirely within the city walls and had not yet grown beyond them,⁵⁶⁴ but over the course of British rule, the primarily agrarian population of the island shifted to being more urban and industrialized and the modern city of Nicosia began to take shape.⁵⁶⁵ The ring road was built around the Venetian walls in the 1890s and a train route established which effectively linked Lefka and Morphou in the west, with Nicosia in the center and Famagusta in the east. The residential and commercial population of Walled Nicosia increased as people could now more easily reach various locations on the island.⁵⁶⁶ The first British Governor of the island, General Wolseley built his own residence, as well as the Colonial Administrative, Public Works and Agriculture Department’s offices, outside the city walls to the south west of the city, creating in this way a “conscious separation of elite British nationals from the masses within Nicosia.”⁵⁶⁷ Every year the number of British moving outside the city increased, which

⁵⁶² Ibid., 253.

⁵⁶³ Ibid., 249.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., 14.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., 21.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., 250.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., 244.

“established the paradigm for future urban expansion in the south of Nicosia.”⁵⁶⁸

Between 1931 and 1960 the city and its surrounding villages grew from around 30,000 people to almost 100,000.⁵⁶⁹

Prior to the troubled decades of the 1950s and 1960s, there are a few recorded incidents of tension between the communities. The most distant incident dates to 1821 and involves the suppression by the Ottoman Empire of Greek Cypriot riots in the aftermath of the Greek declaration of independence from the Ottoman Empire. During the riots, the Archbishop was captured and killed. The Archbishopric where he was killed remains in the same location today, within the Tahtakale quarter of Walled Nicosia and continues to function as “the center of all spiritual, national and political movement of the Greek Cypriots.”⁵⁷⁰ The first recorded time of *intercommunal* fighting between Greek and Turkish Cypriots was in 1912 on the occasion of the defeat of the Ottoman Empire during the 1st Balkan War and the success of the Greek army (October 1912 to May 1913 with Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Greece).⁵⁷¹ Another recorded incident involved the Greek Cypriot pleas for enosis in 1931 which turned into a riot against the British Colonial Regime. When the Greek Cypriot community found out that the taxes the British had been collecting on the island were used to repay loans which were given to the Ottoman

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., 246. He notes on p.279 how this pattern of South westerly expansion beyond the walls led to land prices increasing in this area where the British residences and administrative offices concentrated.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., 14.

⁵⁷⁰ Euphrosyne Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou, "Chapter V Nicosia under Ottoman Rule 1570-1878 - Part II," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 283.

⁵⁷¹ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 252.

Sultan during the Crimean war of the 1850s, it resulted in the perception that they were being taken advantage of by the British Colonial Regime. An angry crowd gathered and stormed the Governor's house burning it to the ground.⁵⁷²

There are also events, prior to the establishment of EOKA in 1955, which indicate that there was unrest within the Turkish Cypriot community regarding the future sovereignty of Cyprus. In 1943, for example, the Cyprus Turkish Minority Association was formed, later renamed the Cyprus Turkish National Party, whose main goal was to promote the idea that Cyprus be returned to Turkey if the British chose to leave the island. In 1949, a demonstration was held in Nicosia which was attended by 15,000 Turkish Cypriots who demanded that Cyprus be returned to Turkey if the British ever left.⁵⁷³

Oswald notes that the trend of settlement to the south of Walled Nicosia, of the wealthier sections of the population, was accompanied by poorer low-income sections of the population moving within the walls, during which time the Turkish Cypriots remained within the walls.⁵⁷⁴ Infrastructure investment focused on the wealthier southern section of Walled Nicosia to the detriment of the northern section decreasing the “potential for future expansion north of the old city.” Oswald puts forth that the “Turkish Cypriot residents of the old city remained locked” within this

⁵⁷² Ibid., 255.

⁵⁷³ Ibid., 169.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 263. The census record of 1946 indicates that within Walled Nicosia 63% of the dwelling units were rentals meaning a large section of the population was no longer home owners. Oswald puts forth that this lack of ownership in Walled Nicosia had a long-term impact on the city explaining its transformation from “a vibrant urban core in the early 20th century to an urban system whose fabric was in decline both structurally and socially.”

northern section of Walled Nicosia due to the lack of opportunity for expansion beyond the walls which he claims confined them “to the decaying old city.” He asserts that this confinement was a factor in the eruption of conflict in the late 1950s and early 1960s.⁵⁷⁵ The fact that the neighborhood of Ayios Loukas, (located in the northern section of Walled Nicosia and a case-study in this dissertation), was one of the first places, if not the first one, where a neighborhood was segregated through the forced expulsion of its “other” minority community, in this case the Greek Cypriot community, lends credence to his assertion.

In a project conducted using Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and Censuses of Population Records (CPR), Oswald conducted a spatio-temporal analysis of the island mapping the location and movement of people over a period of around 70 years between 1881 and 1946.⁵⁷⁶ With regard to Walled Nicosia, he documented the gradual change in the demographic mix of the separate neighborhoods on the basis of the ratios of the ethnic mix in them.⁵⁷⁷ He classified the quarters using intervals of 20 percent such that a neighborhood with a mix of 40-60 was considered a mixed neighborhood, one with a 61-80 percent presence a majority neighborhood, and one with an 81-100 presence, a super-majority neighborhood. His mapping project indicated that “whether by choice or covert coercion, the Turkish Cypriot community experienced a near doubling of population densities within their majority quarters” and were pushed to the northern edge of the geographical space of Walled Nicosia.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., 274.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 30.

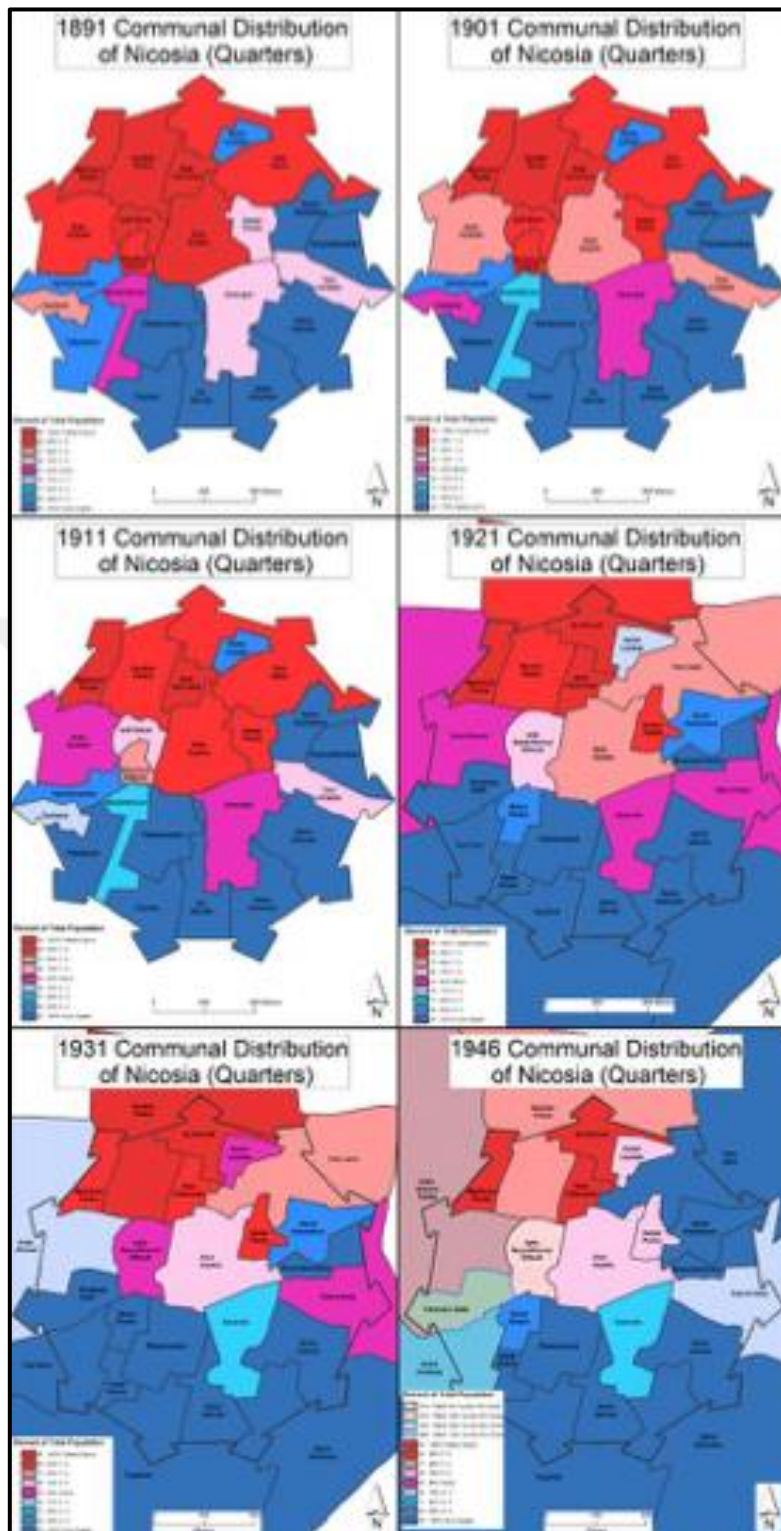
⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., 50.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., 304.

By the end of British rule in the 1950s, Walled Nicosia had transitioned into a Greek Cypriot majority area, both spatially and socially.⁵⁷⁹ The last CPR carried out by the British in 1946 indicates that the number of Turkish Cypriot majority neighborhoods had decreased from 12 in 1891, to 6 in 1946, with all of the neighborhoods now located in the northern section of Walled Nicosia. During the same time period the number of Greek Cypriot majority neighborhoods had increased from 10 in 1891, to 13 in 1946.

In the overall historical development of Walled Nicosia, the Ayios Loukas neighborhood appears as a unique neighborhood in three significant ways. First, as one of the eight Christian Orthodox neighborhoods on Jeffrey's map of 1891, it appears to be a traditionally Christian Orthodox neighborhood dating from the period of Ottoman rule on the island. Second, on the same map it appears to be the only Christian neighborhood surrounded by Muslim neighborhoods north of the de-facto boundary line between the two religious communities mentioned earlier, indicating the likelihood that the neighborhood of Ayios Loukas may have even existed as a Greek Orthodox neighborhood prior to Ottoman rule on the island. The validity of this suggestion needs to be verified through historical records and a more thorough investigation of the architecture of the Ayios Loukas Church.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., 323.



Map: Demographic Structure of Nicosia 1891-1946

(Red indicates majority TC, blue indicates majority GC, remaining shades are graded according to ratio of population – map taken from John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 306.)

Figure 15

Finally, Ayios Loukas is the only Greek Cypriot neighborhood which transitioned into a Turkish Cypriot majority neighborhood during the period examined by Oswald; the trend in the remaining neighborhoods of Walled Nicosia was the reverse with neighborhoods transitioning into Greek Cypriot majority neighborhoods.⁵⁸⁰ Therefore, given both its location within Walled Nicosia and its historical evolution, the neighborhood of Ayios Loukas appears to be somewhat of an anomaly within the overall historical development of Walled Nicosia.

The past residents of Ayios Loukas whom I interviewed remember this neighborhood as a Turkish Cypriot majority mixed neighborhood because by then it had already transitioned. Oswald notes that by 1946 the walled city had become “an arena of highly concentrated, near homogeneous ethnic quarters that often abutted similarly structured quarters of the other.”⁵⁸¹ It is within these quarters, in the aftermath of the establishment of EOKA in 1955, that civil strife erupted. On January 11th 1956, a Turkish Cypriot policeman was killed in the city of Paphos and the next day riots broke out in Nicosia. The Turkish Cypriot residents of Nicosia gathered for a rally in Atatürk Square (Sarayönü) which later turned violent. As the *Cyprus Mail* Newspaper (Thursday, January 12, 1956) noted in its headline: “Anti Greek Demonstrations in Nicosia—Sequel to murder of Paphos Policeman - Turkish leaders appeal for calm after murder of Turkish Cypriot policeman in Paphos - Blows exchanged outside Greek sports clubs and Greek owned shops vandalized - Security forces sealed off trouble spots in Nicosia and other towns in the tightest

⁵⁸⁰ Ayios Loukas was a super-majority Greek Cypriot neighborhood in 1921 with only some Turkish Cypriots living here. By 1931, it had become a mixed neighborhood (40-60 ratio) and by 1946 it had become a Turkish Cypriot majority neighborhood.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 339.

anti-riot patrols yet seen.” The article concludes that “yesterday’s events show that only a little spark is needed to set off a violent explosion in Cyprus which would have tragic consequences both for the Greek and Turkish Cypriots who share the island and have hitherto been on the most amicable terms.”⁵⁸²

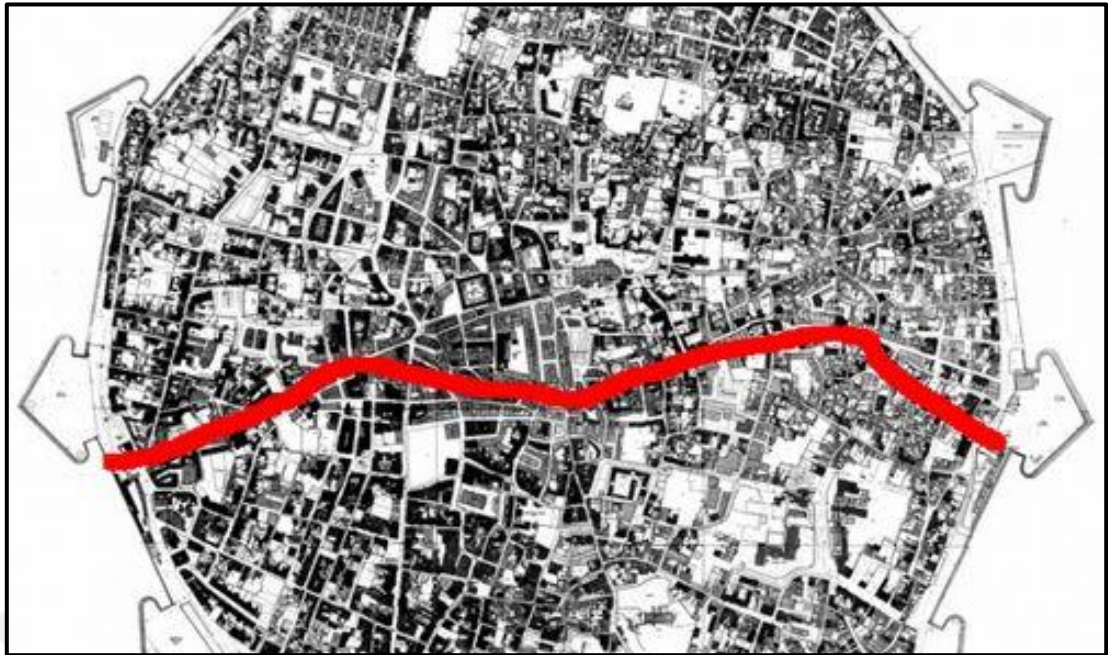
Subsequent to the 1956 riots in Walled Nicosia mentioned above, the British established a “barbed-wired barrier leading down the Paphos-Hermes Street corridor” which became informally referred to as the Mason Dixon Line.⁵⁸³ This barbed-wired fence is the “first official division of Nicosia” which Oswald suggests “heightened the polarization of the two communities into two ethnic zones” serving also as the border “behind which the TCs formed a separate municipality in 1958.”⁵⁸⁴ As the polarization of the two communities escalated through the late 1950s, a permanent division called the “Green Line” was established in Walled Nicosia in 1964, and was patrolled by the British Truce Force until its control was handed over to UNFICYP in May 1964.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸² Ibid., 168.

⁵⁸³ Military Histories - The First Demarcation Line, , accessed June 08, 2019, <http://www.militaryhistories.co.uk/greenline/first>. The putting into force of the Mason Dixon (it was later given this name) was initiated by the then District Commissioner of Nicosia, Martin Clements and announced in the papers on May 29th 1956. The paper reported that both the Turkish and Greek Cypriot sides agreed to put up a barbed wire fence six foot high fence that would extend from the Paphos Gate to the Famagusta gate (along the main east-west axis of the walled city) and have five points of access controlled by “armed sentries.”

⁵⁸⁴ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 110.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., 15.



Map and Photograph: Mason Dixon Line and Barbed Wire Fence being put up, May 1956

(Map and photograph taken from, Military Histories - The First Demarcation Line, accessed June 08, 2019, <http://www.militaryhistories.co.uk/greenline/first.>)

Figure 16

The attack on Ayios Loukas, as recounted by a resident who witnessed it firsthand, took place on April 23rd 1956, a couple of months after the above-mentioned riots in Nicosia and shortly before the putting up of the Mason-Dixon Line, very likely therefore, to be the *first* instance of the forced mass evacuation of a minority community from a mixed neighborhood. Oswald's spatio-temporal study indicates

that the demographic shifts within Walled Nicosia took place over several decades and perhaps in a fashion that was not even perceptible for those who lived in these neighborhoods, that is, until the year 1956, when the neighborhood of Ayios Loukas was attacked and abruptly transitioned into a homogenous one, followed by other neighborhoods where the same segregation took place.

By the end of 1963, there were no mixed neighborhoods left in Walled Nicosia.

Once the oral history project conducted for Ayios Loukas is repeated for the remaining 22 neighborhoods of Walled Nicosia, a much clearer, specific and complex history of the segregation of the two communities will emerge, effectively extending Oswald's study of Walled Nicosia until 1964. It is this complex narrative that will enable the islanders to enter reality deeply, as Freire puts forth, and become liberated from having to conform to the singular authorized heritage discourses as put forth by their respective governing bodies. In the next section, I provide an overview of Walled Nicosia during the 1950s and 1960s as revealed through the oral history research I conducted with past residents of Ayios Loukas.

Walled Nicosia in the 1950s and 1960s

The sense of neighborliness common to the neighborhood of Ayios Loukas was, in fact, a general feature of Walled Nicosia. The dense city fabric meant that people lived in close physical proximity to each other which led to intimate relationships. The residents knew almost everyone who lived in their neighborhood and most certainly everyone who lived on their street. Houses shared the same walls and usually had gardens in their back. In some cases, houses extended from one street to another through an entire block with a garden in the middle. During the attack on the

neighborhood, it was common to jump over the walls between houses, either to escape or hide in a neighbor's home. The streets of Walled Nicosia housed the public life of its residents. People pulled up their chairs to sit outside in front of their homes, especially on hot summer nights. When I asked former residents of Ayios Lukas whether they visited each other's homes socially, most of them told me there was no need for this because they socialized on the street, in front of their homes where they spent a great deal of their time. Given also the scarcity of cars at that time, the streets of Walled Nicosia functioned as semi-public spaces, extensions of the private space of the home, where each street became a kind of public space for the residents living on that particular street.

As one interviewee A. O., a TC male in his 70s said, in reference to the streets of Walled Nicosia, "all of our loves and disappointments happened on these streets." He recounted how no one went hungry in the neighborhood because if someone was poor the neighbors would always send food to that person's house, regardless of which ethnic group the family belonged to. He also recounted how he was able to listen to a single song that was playing on the radio during a walk through Walled Nicosia in the 1960s because there was only one radio station at the time broadcasting in Turkish and everyone listened to that station. With people's doors open, he was able to stroll through the neighborhood and listen to a single song uninterrupted as the sound emanated from the houses of Walled Nicosia. He remembers, in particular, that Zeki Müren songs used to play a lot in those days.



Photographs: The Semi-Public Spaces of Walled Nicosia
Left: View on Marmara Street, Ayios Loukas, looking east (photograph by author)
Right: View on Toros Street, Ayios Loukas, looking North (photograph by author)
Figure 17

Another former resident of Ayios Lukas, a TC male now in his mid 70s, V. H., told me how possessive they felt of their neighborhood and its residents. He recounted that as young men, they would make a special effort to observe any “foreign” men who passed by their neighborhood lest they intended to harass the girls. They would watch out, in his own words, “for any men who were up to no good.” What he meant by that, of course, was any men from “outside” the neighborhood attempting to court one of the girls in their own neighborhood. So strong was the sense of community, that a group of former TC residents from Ayios Loukas currently support an old resident, a woman now in her 80s who used to work in her youth as a prostitute in this neighborhood. It is remarkable that the sense of neighborliness does not appear to have any boundaries of social status. Even the psychologically disturbed people of Walled Nicosia, who sometimes appeared as “scary” to children, were taken care of by their community. These people were well-known by the

residents of the neighborhood, had nicknames and usually had particular spots where they hung out during the day. I recently had a conversation with the grandson of the owner of “Enver’in Kahvesi,” a popular spot for the former residents of Ayios Loukas, who recounted that recently such a well-known figure of Ayios Loukas, “Deli Hasan,” had passed away, shortly after he was removed from his usual spot by the Nicosia municipality on the grounds that he constituted a nuisance in the city.⁵⁸⁶

Although the intimate quarters of Walled Nicosia enabled a strong sense of community to evolve, it also contributed to the intensity of civil strife once it took hold of the communities. During the 1950s and 1960s, each community strove to delineate its own quarters at the exclusion of the other and most often through violent means. As noted by Björkdahl, a common feature of divided cities composed of different groups is that there is a “constant fight over city space, where ethnic groups try to dominate space under their control, while excluding and/or driving away the other.”⁵⁸⁷ Militant factions on both sides of the divide contributed to the eventual division of the city over the short time span between the mid 1950s and 1964. Piloting the *CHHP of Cyprus* within Walled Nicosia will deepen our understanding of the chain of events which led to this eventual division. The mosaic of stories which have already emerged point to this, and additional stories have the potential to create “new” histories and heritages of Walled Nicosia while revealing the biased nature of the current authorized heritage discourses.

⁵⁸⁶ Enver Kırmızı, “Old Nicosia,” personal communication, May 20, 2019.

⁵⁸⁷ Annika Björkdahl, “Urban Peacebuilding,” *Peacebuilding* 1, no. 2 (2013): 215, doi:10.1080/21647259.2013.783254.

Experiencing Walled Nicosia Today

Similar to other divided cities in the world such as Beirut, Jerusalem, Belfast and Mostar, Nicosia is an “emblem of the larger social conflict,”⁵⁸⁸ but the symbolic nature of Walled Nicosia is additionally pronounced because of the conflation of opposing symbolisms here; the perfect circular form of the Venetian walls versus its bifurcation by the Buffer Zone. In the Northern section lies the TRNC and in the Southern section lies the RoC. Viewed at the scale of Walled Nicosia itself, it is peculiar indeed that such a small area, bounded by a circumference of around 5 km., is governed by two separate administrative bodies. Streets on either side of Walled Nicosia end abruptly at the Buffer Zone as they are confronted by a wall, barbed wire or sand bags, emerging on the other side in an equally mutilated way. The only non-dissected street running in a north-south direction is Ledra Street and its continuation through Kyrenia Street. Both streets are major streets, starting at the D’Avila Bastion in the Southern Edge of Walled Nicosia, continuing north through the Lokmacı Crossing Point, the only crossing point in the walled city and a pedestrian one and linking to Kyrenia Street, a major street in the North which goes all the way up to Kyrenia Gate in the northern edge of Walled Nicosia located between the Barbaro and Qurini Bastions. Along this route is the historic Atatürk Square, also known as Sarayönü which is the location of the old Lusignan and Venetian palaces, later the Ottoman “konak” and now the Law Courts of the TRNC (see Fig. 6, p.188 for the location of this axis). This is the previous location of the palace of the Lusignan rulers and the current location of the Law Courts and Central Police Station in the North (See Fig. 19 and Fig. 20 for location of law courts and Sarayönü). The

⁵⁸⁸ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 1.

north-south spine connecting Ledra Street to Kyrenia Street is significant not only because of the prominence of both major streets in the South and North, but also because this spine makes up the only continuous path through the Buffer Zone within Walled Nicosia.



Photographs: The “Lokmacı” Crossing Point

(Photographs taken from Jessica Lee, "How to Travel Independently around Cyprus," Lonely Planet, April 21, 2015, accessed June 09, 2019, <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/cyprus/travel-tips-and-articles/how-to-travel-independently-around-cyprus/40625c8c-8a11-5710-a052-1479d27600e0>.)

Figure 18

The act of crossing from the North to the South is infused with divisive symbolism and rituals. Identity cards must be shown to the police at the Lokmacı Crossing Point. The RoC does not record its own citizens crossing to the TRNC because it views this area on the island as the “occupied territories” and not a separate country. The TRNC, on the other hand, records its own citizens as well as others passing to the South because it recognizes them as leaving a legitimate country and entering another.⁵⁸⁹ Assertions of sovereignty are apparent at the Lokmacı crossing point. The RoC claims sovereignty over the whole island through two signs at the

⁵⁸⁹ Although Turkish Cypriot citizens of the RoC dating from the period before 1963, as well as their descendants, are allowed to freely cross to the South, the RoC does not allow TRNC citizens who are related to those who settled on the island from Turkey after the 1974 war to cross the border to the South, even those born on the island after 1974 unless they are married to a person considered a legitimate citizen of the RoC. If divorced from a legitimate citizen, the person is not allowed to cross and may be asked to show his/her marriage certificate to prove the validity of the marriage. He/she may even be asked to show bills proving continuing co-habitation at the same address. For a comprehensive review of the Green Line Regulations see, "Monitoring the Green Line Regulation," European Commission - European Commission, January 24, 2019, , accessed June 06, 2019, https://ec.europa.eu/info/mission-statement-structural-reform-support-service/monitoring-green-line-regulation_en.

checkpoint; “I will never forget” as well as “the last divided capital city of Europe” which highlights the unjust division of the island and a projected future when the “occupied” lands will be reclaimed. The TRNC on the other hand expresses its claim over the Northern half of Cyprus by meeting those crossing the checkpoint with a large sign that reads “Welcome to the TRNC” emphasizing that this is the sovereign territory of another country distinct from the RoC. Referring to the two sections on either side of the Buffer Zone, Björkdahl notes that the barricades that separate the north from the south separate two worlds from one another prompting the rest of the cityscape to be “marked by the hegemonic nationalist discourses *more* prominently and offensively than in other places on the island (emphasis mine).”⁵⁹⁰

The experience of passing from the North to the South or vice versa is also surreal in nature. In that moment of passing from one side to the other, the language spoken on the streets as well as the social and economic culture changes while the city fabric and architecture remain the same. The two halves within the area bounded by the perfect form of the Venetian walls have evolved differently, similar to twins separated from one another at some point in their lives who evolve differently because they continue their lives in different environments. Physical similarity is juxtaposed against experiential difference as one crosses the checkpoint, giving one a surreal feeling of having instantly crossed over into another version of the same place as though having travelled through time. The Buffer Zone itself, not open to the public, is also experientially surreal as is apparent in photographs taken of this area. It includes what used to be the busiest commercial street of Walled Nicosia, the major east-west spine of Walled Nicosia called Ermou Street (Hermes) where

⁵⁹⁰ Annika Björkdahl, "Urban Peacebuilding," *Peacebuilding* 1, no. 2 (2013): 210-211, doi:10.1080/21647259.2013.783254.

TCs and GCs interacted with each other the most before the division of the city.⁵⁹¹ As it stands now, it is a deserted street inhabited by dilapidated buildings and wild vegetation. Photographs taken of this zone give one the impression of a deserted ghost town where everything has been left as it was in 1974; cars, coke bottles, food cans, even airplanes in what used to be the Nicosia International Airport. It is as if a bomb was dropped into this zone which instantly erased all signs of human life, leaving behind an environment overtaken by wildlife.⁵⁹²

There is a potency in this zone expressive of the abrupt and traumatic way in which wars disrupt and violate human lives. In my opinion, this area of Walled Nicosia is already an open-air museum of war and needs to be thought of as such, even in a scenario where the two sides reunite. The strategy employed within the city of Berlin of erasing signs present in the landscape of the previously divided city has meant that most cognitive and emotional prompts alluding to this period are erased. Whether that was appropriate for Berlin is another matter but I believe that such a strategy would be wrong for Cyprus because it would deprive the islanders of powerful and authentic props that can be used to elucidate the consequences of war and ethnic discrimination. Such powerful and authentic prompts should be used to teach lessons from the past and to illustrate the consequences of not treating peacebuilding as a serious and necessary endeavor on the island at the present time.

⁵⁹¹ Ermou Street which used to be the main shopping area before the division of Walled Nicosia is also the axis of the original route of the Pedieos river, which was turned into a canal during Venetian rule when the river was diverted to the moat of the new city walls, and later became the sewage drainage canal during the Ottoman period.

⁵⁹² Costas M. Constantinou and Evi Eftychiou, *The Cyprus Buffer Zone as a Socio-Ecological Landscape*, report, University of Cyprus (2014).



Photographs: The Buffer Zone, Walled Nicosia

(Photographs taken from "Borders & Barriers-Cyprus-The Buffer Zone," Richard Wainwright Photography, September 15, 2015, , accessed June 08, 2019, <https://www.richwainwright.com/blog/foreign-assignments/borders-barriers-cyprus-the-buffer-zone/>.)

Figure 19



Photographs: Streets at Buffer Zone, Walled Nicosia

(Photographs taken from Military Histories - The Green Line Through Central Nicosia, , accessed June 08, 2019, [http://www.militaryhistories.co.uk/greenline/visit.](http://www.militaryhistories.co.uk/greenline/visit/))

Figure 20

What is also unique about Walled Nicosia is that it has retained much of its city fabric and buildings from the past century, in this way also retaining a significant aspect of what Pallasmaa calls the “haptic” experience of places. In explaining why some places are more powerful and hence better places than others Pallasmaa draws on the field of anthropology and states that “the body knows and remembers”⁵⁹³ what has been embodied in it from its evolutionary past and although happening over generations of evolution, the body retains the memory of what it took to survive in

⁵⁹³ Pallasmaa Juhani, *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses* (Chichester: Wiley, 2014), 60.

nature. He calls this “the wisdom of the body stored in the haptic memory,” and architecture as meaningful and significant to the extent that it materializes this evolutionary “bodily” knowledge. He gives the work of some architects as examples of spaces which tap into this bodily knowledge which he qualifies in tactile terms as “the kinesthetic and textural architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright, the muscular and tactile buildings of Alvar Aalto and Louis Kahn’s architecture of geometry and gravitas.”⁵⁹⁴ Pallassmaa further notes that traditional architecture also embodies this haptic knowledge of the past because of its affiliation with what is natural where construction is “guided by the body in the same way that a bird shapes its nest by movements of its body.”⁵⁹⁵ The traditional architecture of most of Walled Nicosia, made either out of yellow stone mined locally or the earth itself, combined with the human scale of its public spaces defined by narrow streets and mostly two-storey buildings, makes Walled Nicosia a place which brings forth such powerful and positive haptic responses which the museology of peacebuilding will build upon, as I will explain in Chapter 5.

Conducting Oral History in Ayios Loukas; Lessons Learned

While the context of Cyprus suggested a collaborative, local and place-based methodology for diluting the singular state narratives, it also suggested a people-based methodology for “humanizing” the other which pointed towards the significance of oral history in the practice of the museology of peacebuilding. Oral history, as a methodological inquiry, is described as “the interviewing of eye-witness

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., 35.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., 26.

participants in the events of the past for the purposes of historical reconstruction.”⁵⁹⁶

The field came into being in the aftermath of WWII in the form of the “renaissance of memory as a source for people’s history.”⁵⁹⁷ In oral history, eyewitness accounts become the primary source from which to reconstruct history and when based on ordinary people’s accounts, the methodology becomes a bottom-up approach effectively democratizing the discipline of history. As such, the methodology of oral history is especially fitting for the museology of peacebuilding that is theorized and conceptualized as a bottom-up collaborative endeavor.

In conducting oral history research with past residents of Ayios Loukas, my criteria were to select residents who were well enough to speak to me, and willing to recount their past. I interviewed former residents of the neighborhood, now in their 70s, 80s and 90s who remember the troubled period on the island from the mid 1950s through the 1960s coinciding with events which led to the departure of all Greek Cypriots from this previously mixed neighborhood. The fact that the GCs were a minority in the Ayios Loukas quarter of Walled Nicosia, as well as the larger number of contacts I have in the North, resulted in my interviewing more TCs than GCs. I was able to interview a total of 31 people, 25 TCs and 6 GCs. I had a Greek Cypriot journalist partner Soula Hadjikyriacou, who facilitated the interviews with Greek Cypriots and acted as a translator when necessary.⁵⁹⁸ I started my interviews with the former

⁵⁹⁶ Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), xiii.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁹⁸ Although I had a Greek Cypriot partner, journalist Soula Hadjikyriacou, for the interviews conducted with the Greek Cypriots, I was present in all of them except one. My meeting with Soula was a chance coincidence and a result of a conversation I had with her son Antonis Hadjikyriacou who was at the time teaching at Boğaziçi University. During our conversation I found out that his grandmother had lived in Ayios Loukas briefly in the 1940s and was still alive. She ended up being

Turkish Cypriot residents of this neighborhood asking them very broad questions such as “tell me what life was like in Ayluga (this is the Turkish pronunciation of Ayios Loukas),” “do you remember any of your neighbors and your relationship with them,” “did any incidents from your past in this neighborhood stick in your mind,” and “do you remember when, how and why the Greek Cypriots left.”⁵⁹⁹ My primary objective was to get an overall sense for the neighborhood so that I could determine a more structured approach for my subsequent interviews with GCs. I started interviewing GCs equipped with a general understanding of what happened in Ayios Loukas.

Throughout my interviews, I felt that I was able to establish a sense of trust between myself and my interviewees. Both TCs and GCs appeared very appreciative that I wanted to listen to their stories. I observed that my Turkish Cypriot interviewees seemed to open up to me more by pointing out incidents they were involved in, which in hindsight, they did not seem very proud of. My Greek Cypriot interviewees appeared to be better prepared for what they wanted to say about their neighborhood and I heard less utterances of an “uncomfortable” nature. This may be due to a number of factors. It may be due to my presence, as a Turkish Cypriot, which refrained them from making comments which could be offensive to me. It may also be because my Greek Cypriot interviewees were recounting a specific and traumatic event in their lives which had become etched into their memories and hence, understandably, they were clearer about what was most important to recount. I wanted to observe whether or not Greek Cypriot interviewees would be more

my first Greek Cypriot interviewee and Soula, her daughter, volunteered to help me in seeking out more GCs who lived in Ayios Loukas, organizing the interviews and translating when necessary.

⁵⁹⁹ See Appendix 3 for a list of my interview questions.

comfortable if a Greek Cypriot interviewed them instead of me. Towards this end, I asked my Greek Cypriot partner Soula Hadjikyriacou to conduct my last interview with a Greek Cypriot in my absence. This last interviewee, K. M., did indeed talk of the increase in tension amongst the two communities during those years and even recounted a few incidents of harassment by TCs, which none of the Greek Cypriot interviewees I interviewed had mentioned. Although one interviewee is not indicative of a trend, it appears to me that while my belonging to the Turkish Cypriot community was an advantage in my interviews with the TCs, it may have been a disadvantage in my interviews with GCs. This is unfortunate but not a surprise and I expect that the reverse would also be true. In other words, if a Greek Cypriot were to be interviewing TCs, TCs would also hold back some of their utterances.

I felt with both my Turkish and Greek Cypriot male interviewees who were involved in militant struggles that there was a kind of reckoning going on of what had really happened back then. It became apparent to me that the accounts of these men would be some of the most telling because decades after the events they all seemed somewhat perplexed about their past. Their lives were complex and full of contradictory memories and thoughts, revelatory itself of the complexity of the Cyprus dispute. My experience interviewing some of these men suggests that the option of anonymity is a must while piloting the *CHHP of Cyprus* in Walled Nicosia if some of the more telling accounts of this period on the island are to be compiled and recorded.

During the course of my interviews, I became familiar not only with the significant events that took place in Ayios Loukas but also with the relationships amongst

people in this neighborhood. For example, one of my interviewees, S. D.,⁶⁰⁰ who lived her whole life in Ayios Loukas recounted that she was not sent to school after elementary school because her parents were somewhat conservative and that instead, they sent her to apprentice with a seamstress in the neighborhood to learn the craft of sewing. In another interview, I conducted with V. H. T.,⁶⁰¹ he recounted that his sisters were very good seamstresses who used to take in many girls as apprentices. When I mentioned the name S. D. to him, it turned out that she too was one of the girls who had learned the trade next to his sisters. In another instance, a specific event was clarified through accounts which matched and completed each other. S. D. recounted remembering their Greek Cypriot neighbor, who was the headmaster of a school, being dragged out of his home until the end of the road and his books scattered all over during the attack on the neighborhood. Another past resident I interviewed, G. Ç.,⁶⁰² recounted remembering his father helping a Greek Cypriot teacher from the neighborhood escape. When I inquired about the home address of this Greek Cypriot, it turned out to be the same man S. D. was talking about. Throughout my interviews, I established such links, both amongst people and within events recounted, which helped further clarify the pictures of life in this neighborhood. This is the strength of the local approach to history, which reveals the lived past in a form easier for people to relate to and understand, inclusive of relationships amongst people, their emotions and specific occurrences. In other words, the scale of the neighborhood, as defined in Walled Nicosia, proved

⁶⁰⁰ S. D., (Turkish Cypriot, female) "Ayios Loukas in the 1950s and 1960s," interview by author, January 24, 2018.

⁶⁰¹ V. H. T., "Ayios Loukas in the 1950s and 1960s," interview by author, January 24, 2018.

⁶⁰² G. Ç., (Turkish Cypriot, male) "Ayios Loukas in the 1950s and 1960s," interview by author, February 15, 2019.

appropriate in so far as revealing the links between accounts, critical for effectively and accurately putting together the stories that emerge.

Over the course of my interviews, the small neighborhood of Ayios Loukas began to come alive in my imagination as a lived place including the complex set of relationships, customs, daily practices, personalities, landmarks, sounds, smells and textures which make up the totality of the experience of a place. Based on my experience of conducting oral history at the scale of a neighborhood, I propose that no more than one Turkish and Greek Cypriot, acting as a team, be responsible for each neighborhood of Walled Nicosia. It is only when a single individual is well aware of all the stories gathered for a particular neighborhood that it is possible to understand the myriad relationships and connections that exist amongst these stories. During the process of piloting the *CHHP of Cyprus* in Walled Nicosia, these teams will determine not only the missing gaps in the stories but also the links that exist amongst stories recounted in different neighborhoods. The local, place and people-based methodology employed in the museology of peacebuilding is capable of revealing, not only, in Lederach's words, the "web of relationships"⁶⁰³ that exist amongst people and places, but also the specific and tactile quality of these relationships.

Although I focused on the period of the 1950s and 1960s in my interviews and the specific event of the departure of the Greek Cypriots from Ayios Loukas, the *CHHP of Cyprus* should adopt a biographical approach when conducting future interviews

⁶⁰³ John Paul. Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

and inquire about the *entire* lives of the interviewees. This is necessary because the lives of the oldest generation of Cypriots are bound to contain significant memories and eye witness accounts that relate to *other* parts of the island besides Walled Nicosia and there may be no further opportunity to record their stories. As mentioned earlier in this dissertation, within the short time period of my field work, spanning close to two years, one elderly woman in her 90s whom I planned to interview passed away before I had the chance to meet her, and three elderly people whom I interviewed, T. H., Ü. B. and Jale Beha, although seemingly in good health at the time, passed away after I interviewed them but while I was writing my dissertation. Needless to say, their passing has saddened me but it has also reiterated the urgency of gathering their stories and adopting the biographical approach in the rest of the interviews. Such an approach ensures that each period of the interviewees' lives is covered.⁶⁰⁴

Compiling Histories and Heritages: An Ethical Stance

While the oral history methodology is viewed as a democratic and bottom-up approach to constructing new histories, the accuracy of what people recount has been one of the major concerns and criticisms of the field. During the first paradigm shift experienced within the field of oral history in the 1970s, it was pointed out that

⁶⁰⁴ V. K., "Ayios Loukas in the 1950s and 1960s," interview by author, March 30, 2018. In the interview I conducted with V., now almost 90 years old, when I asked her about life in Ayios Lukas in the 1950s she began recounting why they had come to this neighborhood in the first place right before she gave birth to her son in 1958. She noted that because of the increasing strife on the island they had to leave their own village of Arçoz in 1958, a mixed Greek Cypriot majority village on the outskirts of Nicosia where she and her husband had grown up. V. who was 8 months pregnant at the time recounts how the Greek Cypriot "bakkal" of their village advised them to leave the village telling her husband, "*you should take your wife and leave because she is pregnant and if the Greeks attack the Turks here, we may not be able to protect you.*" She continued recounting some more anecdotes from her village of relatives who had also left the village of Arçoz during this time period and settled in Vadili, another mixed village but with a clear boundary between its Turkish and Greek quarters and better protected. This story was also significant to record as it constitutes the micro-history of the village of Arçoz and that of Vadili.

memory was unreliable,⁶⁰⁵ with some theorists asserting that “memory sources are artefacts from the present that can be used to study memory but not history.”⁶⁰⁶ Later paradigm shifts in the field which took place in the late 1970s and 1980s claimed that the “so-called unreliability of memory” was actually a strength when the objective was to understand the social and psychological state of the narrators because it is these subjective accounts that provide clues “not only about the meanings of historical experience, but also about the relationships between past and present, between memory and personal identity and between individual and collective memory.”⁶⁰⁷ In other words, the subjectivity of the interviewees was seen as a *resource* to better understand them as individuals embedded in history and culture.

In my interviews, I observed first-hand how memory became linked with personal identity. In my interview with a TC female, in her late 80s, when I asked her if she had any Greek Cypriot friends, she recounted that she kept her distance from them most of the time because she was afraid,⁶⁰⁸ although in a somewhat contradictory involuntary expression, she became very animated and happy when I told her I interviewed her former next-door neighbor in Ayios Loukas, a Greek Cypriot woman. She became very curious wondering whether or not her old neighbor

⁶⁰⁵ Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 3.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁶⁰⁸ Shelley McKeown, "Chapter 9 Social Psychology and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 128. McKeown notes that “studies have shown that even in racially and religiously mixed spaces people remain highly segregated at the individual level.”

remembered her. While on the one hand, she recounted a narrative of uncomfortable co-existence with the “other,” this female TC interviewee was also demonstrating an expression of care for her old GC neighbor. Differences in the way people talk about their lived experience with the “other,” besides signifying differences in their actual lived experiences, are also indicative of their outlook in the present time; a book-case example of heritage in the making as discussed in Chapter 1 where meaning is made according to the needs of the present. Accordingly, while some of my interviewees chose to remember happy days of co-existence, reflective of their hope for attaining peace in Cyprus, others chose to remember the troubles and tension in the relationships, reflective of their lack of hope for achieving peace on the island.

The diversity and multifaceted quality of these accounts concerning the period of co-existence on the island, reveals the inner world of the islanders and includes their outlooks for the future. The islanders’ inner world, as reflected through their accounts of the past, is what Freire calls their “reality” or “thematic universe.” This is revealed through “the structural conditions in which the thought and language of the people are dialectically framed.” He resembles this reality or thematic universe to “an enormous, unique living code to be deciphered” including “the idiom of the people; their expressions, their vocabulary, and their syntax, not their incorrect pronunciation, but rather the way they construct their thought.”⁶⁰⁹ It is this “unique living code” pertaining to the troubled decades on the island, that oral history has the potential to unravel, one utterance at a time. One simple but consistent comment I observed with *both* my Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot interviewees was the use of the word “but” before indicating a positive attribute of the “other” as though what

⁶⁰⁹ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Place of Publication Not Identified: Penguin Education, 1972), 93.

was being expressed was an anomaly. They did this in a naive way, unaware of what was revealed through this specific use of the language.

In this dissertation, congruent with Freire's theory of a liberating education, I adhere to the notion of the usefulness of subjectivity in understanding the cognitive and emotional universe of the islanders. Moreover, I suggest that the chances of mis-recording history through "subjective" accounts is significantly reduced because addressing specific events in specific places within the confines of a small neighborhood gives the oral historian the chance to check individual accounts against others. Any inconsistencies are thus easily revealed. In fact, during the oral history project I conducted in Ayios Loukas, I did notice that dates were most often remembered incorrectly and sometimes the sequence of events was also mis-remembered. Checking accounts against each other as well as the consultation of historical records for dates and sequence of events enables such inconsistencies to be eliminated altogether.

Nel Noddings, a prominent scholar on peace education, advocates that "an honest and constructive relationship with topics of peace and war requires attention to both feelings and facts" and there is the need to understand not only "what happened but also how people feel about the events under discussion and, where possible, why they feel as they do."⁶¹⁰ Noddings is skeptical of the field of critical history-writing because in "its relentless search for facts" it is "stripped of feeling" and does not do justice to what people actually experienced. She puts forth that critical history-writing cannot be objective, as it claims to be, because "the choice of facts is itself

⁶¹⁰ Nel Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 153.

unavoidably colored by unspoken feelings.”⁶¹¹ Based on Noddings’ outlook, the recounting of history which takes note of emotions deepens our understanding of history because it also addresses the various ways in which historical events affect people. Oral history is a methodology that facilitates such understanding because it provides a window into how people’s thoughts and emotions are shaped.

Hutchison and Bleiker state that “no matter how secure or democratically ordered a post-conflict society is, it is unlikely to achieve lasting stability if the underlying emotional sources of conflict remain unaddressed.”⁶¹² The authors view emotions not in the manner in which they have traditionally been viewed, as “purely private and irrational phenomenon,”⁶¹³ but as “socio-political forces that contribute to the construction of identity and community.”⁶¹⁴ They explain that even though experiences evoke particular emotions, these emotional responses are “shaped through patterns of communication and language, and more broadly, through socialization into particular historically grounded ways of being.”⁶¹⁵ In other words, our emotions, although deriving also from basic human responses, are conditioned by societal forces which are constitutive of personal as well as group identity. They note, for example, that emotions such as fear and anger are passed down through generations and influence “perceptions of the world and others.”⁶¹⁶ Vamik Volkan, a

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 152.

⁶¹² Emma Hutchison and Roland Bleiker, "Chapter 6 Reconciliation," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding*, by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 85.

⁶¹³ Ibid., 83.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid., 82.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., 83. (quoting Nussbaum and Shilling’s ideas)

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 84.

renowned psychoanalyst who has written extensively on Cyprus, addresses the same topic and notes that “massive traumas at the hands of enemies affect both individuals and societies for decades.”⁶¹⁷

Hutchison and Bleiker note that “recognizing fear and anger brings them into the public sphere, and in doing so incorporates them into processes that aim to placate feelings of revenge and create a culture of healing and collaboration.”⁶¹⁸ In other words, exposing emotions, even when they are negative, helps in dealing with them constructively and altering them for the better. They call this process of positive alteration in emotions the “recasting of the emotional legacies of conflict.”⁶¹⁹ Vamık Volkan refers to the same need for healing social traumas noting that “psychoanalysts who have studied the trans-generational transmission of massive social trauma inform us that if the impact of such trauma is denied or repressed, it will still manifest itself in various ways in new generations.”⁶²⁰ Oral history is therefore an effective methodology, both in revealing the emotional universe of the islanders as well as helping them cope with it. Giving people the opportunity to talk about their past is often put forward as having therapeutic value itself.⁶²¹ It is argued that in certain cases there is just as much significance, if not more, to the “process of remembering and reinterpreting the past” than the “historical product” itself.⁶²²

⁶¹⁷ Vamık Volkan, "Trauma, Identity and Search for a Solution in Cyprus," *Insight Turkey* 10, no. 4 (2008): 95.

⁶¹⁸ Emma Hutchison and Roland Bleiker, "Chapter 6 Reconciliation," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding*, by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 85.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁶²⁰ Vamık Volkan, "Trauma, Identity and Search for a Solution in Cyprus," *Insight Turkey* 10, no. 4 (2008): 101.

⁶²¹ Emma Hutchison and Roland Bleiker, "Chapter 6 Reconciliation," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding*, by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 81.

⁶²² Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), xiv.

In regions of conflict where people have experienced loss, emotions are powerful and vulnerabilities high which necessitates that oral history be approached with sensitivity and care. In his pedagogy of the oppressed, Freire states that naming the world “cannot be an act of arrogance” requiring instead that we embrace humility while doing so.⁶²³ I would add to this, the need to be *sincere* with ourselves and others while renaming the world because it is only through the candid and sincere accounts of the past that reality can be entered deeply, exposing our frailties, imperfections and, in the process, revealing our humanity. Allowing ourselves to become vulnerable, at least to some extent, helps to establish better relations with estranged “others.” The Oxford English Dictionary describes the word *sincere* as “*the absence of pretense, deceit or hypocrisy*” and so in terms of its opposite. When we look up the meaning of *pretense*, it is described as “*an attempt to make something that is not the case appear true,*” *deceit* as “*the action or practice of deceiving someone by misrepresenting or concealing the truth,*” and *hypocrisy* as “*the practice of claiming to have higher standards or more noble beliefs than is the case.*”⁶²⁴ In all of these *opposite* meanings of sincerity, the word true or truth is either mentioned directly or alluded to, leading to the understanding that *sincerity* is perceived as a state of being true or truthful. The word *truth* however, is just as elusive as sincere, and therefore of little help in so far as articulating the meaning of the latter term.

⁶²³ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Place of Publication Not Identified: Penguin Education, 1972), 71.

⁶²⁴ "Hypocrisy | Definition of Hypocrisy in English by Oxford Dictionaries," Oxford Dictionaries | English, , accessed June 03, 2019, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/hypocrisy>.

J. Krishnamurti's seemingly more circuitous and *indirect* reference to sincerity is surprisingly more helpful because it relates the meaning of the term to other more concrete states of being which we are familiar with as human beings. He states that;

“You may deliberately forget or lose yourself in some activity, in cultivating a garden or an ideology, in whipping up in a whole people the raging fervor of war; but you are now the country, the idea, the activity, the god. The greater the identification, the more your conflict and pain are covered over, and so the everlasting struggle to be identified with something. This desire to be one with a chosen object brings the conflict of sincerity.”⁶²⁵

Krishnamurti thus links the meaning of the term sincere to lived experiences such that it is impossible to achieve sincerity⁶²⁶ as long as we identify ourselves firmly with something. Any firm association with an ideology or belief becomes a hindrance to sincerity. The truth of this assertion is also proven through an oral history project conducted by Anita Bakshi with past shop owners of Ermou Street in Walled Nicosia, now in the Buffer Zone, where she recounts that people vested in the singular historical narratives of their own community were giving accounts of the past, *not* as they took place, but as they *should* have taken place in order to be congruent with the narratives they adhered to.⁶²⁷ In such cases, knowingly or not,

⁶²⁵ J. Krishnamurti, *Commentaries on Living First Series: From the Notebook of J. Krishnamurti* (Wheaton, Ill.: Quest Books, 1989), 80.

⁶²⁶ Roger Mac Ginty, "Introduction," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 6.

⁶²⁷ Anita Bakshi, *Topographies of Memories: A New Poetics of Commemoration* (S.l.: Springer International PU, 2018). Bakshi proposes that visual representations of the previous places of habitation of the islanders be presented to them in the form of photographs and maps which will act as prompts in probing their memory and bringing to the surface what has been “forgotten,” consciously or not.

sincerity is compromised, through processes which Harvey characterizes as the “purposive acts of remembering and/or forgetting.”⁶²⁸

If people recounted their memories more sincerely, they would have to face the inconsistency between their memories and the narratives they hold to be true, creating discomfort for themselves, conflict and even pain, as Krishnamurti asserts. Being sincere requires us to be vulnerable which is most certainly not a comfortable state to be in. Brene Brown, who has been researching vulnerability for the past 20 years, adds that vulnerability is also essential if we want to have any kind of meaningful connection to other human beings. She asserts that without being vulnerable, connection is not possible.⁶²⁹ Given that the major objective of peacebuilding is to make connections to “others,” vulnerability, sincerity as well as humility become essential modes of being that need to be adopted while conducting oral history and throughout the practice of the museology of peacebuilding.

The trust that develops between interviewer and interviewee during the conducting of oral history is invaluable because it is this trust which encourages people to risk being vulnerable and sincere, and it is only *then* that the reality of their thematic universe is revealed. Any action which jeopardizes this trust is detrimental to the practice of the museology of peacebuilding. It is therefore of primary importance that this ethical component of oral history be properly understood. There are standards of practice for oral history including its ethical aspects, available for

⁶²⁸ David H. Harvey, "Chapter 1 The History of Heritage," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Place of Publication Not Identified: Routledge, 2016).

⁶²⁹ Brene Brown, writer, "Brene Brown: The Call to Courage," Netflix, 2018.

consultation on the oral history association website,⁶³⁰ but in regions of conflict around the world where wrongdoings abound, the ethics of conducting oral history take on additional significance. As I listened to and recorded the stories of the islanders, I felt that the fact that my interviewees had signed their consent papers did not relieve me of the responsibility of further assessing whether publicizing their stories, with their names attached to them, was ethical. For privacy reasons, I have opted *not* to use my interviewees' full names and have used instead only their initials.

An NGO in Northern Ireland called Diversity Challenges, established in 2001, which facilitates dialogue about past conflicts within the context of Northern Ireland, has devised a guideline for how they define ethical storytelling; guidelines that apply *both* to those recounting the stories as well as to those recording them. Will Glendinning, former politician and current director of Diversity Challenges notes that there are various reasons for why people want to talk or listen. He states that “some people may want to be listened by someone who cares and who takes note of their suffering” while “others may want to tell their story to their community or to hear the stories of another community.” He further notes that there are yet others who “may want to tell their story because by telling it they can emphasize their need for justice or further investigation.” The various motivations that exist for recounting stories mean that “the process of storytelling is just as likely to have

⁶³⁰ "Principles and Best Practices," Oral History Association, accessed June 06, 2019, <https://www.oralhistory.org/about/principles-and-practices-revised-2009/>. Best Practices of Oral History consist of four elements: preparation, interviewing, preservation and access. While preservation and access will not be a concern for the islanders, preparation and interviewing will be. The guidelines for these published on the Website of the Oral History Association will be adapted for the purposes of the *CHHP of Cyprus*, translated into Turkish and Greek and included on its website.

reconciliatory effects as it is to have divisive consequences.”⁶³¹ Caution is therefore needed to ensure that the well-intentioned process of collecting stories is not subverted into a process for the further propagation of hate amongst the communities.

Glendinning notes that the Good Friday Agreements of 1998 “gave no clarity about how to deal with the past and did not result in the devolution of justice;”⁶³² and although there was funding from the EU and USA to carry out work with regard to how to deal with the heritage of the past, the voices of those who came from a police or army background were neglected.⁶³³ Diversity Challenges sought to remedy this situation through the Green and Blue project which worked to facilitate dialogue about the past conflict in Northern Ireland through the stories of state forces and police, observed to be the “last people to tell their stories.”⁶³⁴ Green and Blue is a “storytelling project reflecting the cooperation and interaction between former members of Royal Ulster Constabulary and former members of An Garda Siochana along the border, from the establishment of the two Police Forces until 2001.”⁶³⁵ Given that there are close parallels between the situation in Northern Ireland and Cyprus, the Ethical Guidelines for Storytelling established for the Green and Blue project can constitute an appropriate starting place for delineating the ethical

⁶³¹ Will Glendinning, "Chapter 13 A Conversation with Will Glendinning: Diversity Challenges in Northern Ireland," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* by Diana Walters, Daniel Laven, and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 153.

⁶³² Ibid., 151.

⁶³³ Ibid., 152.

⁶³⁴ Ibid., 150.

⁶³⁵ "Brief," Green and Blue, August 27, 2013, , accessed June 03, 2019, <http://www.green-and-blue.org/project-background/brief/>.

guidelines for the *CHHP of Cyprus*. The guidelines outline a general set of ethical principles including “benefitting the participants and contributing to their welfare, being free of harm and exploitation, not forcing participants into the process or any part of it, and treating people as ends in themselves not as means to an end.”⁶³⁶

While the Ethical Guidelines for Storytelling were necessitated by a particular situation and within the context of the Green and Blue initiative in Northern Ireland, they are indicative of the need for a widespread “ethical” stance to be adopted in recounting and exposing people’s personal stories, especially in sensitive regions of conflict where contestations abound.

It is the responsibility of the oral historian to make sure that the stories recounted have the “correct” motivations behind them. Given that the *CHHP of Cyprus* is an initiative that sets out to challenge the authorized heritage discourses on both sides of the island, it may be necessary to make a distinction between groups that are supportive of its objectives and those that are not;⁶³⁷ hence screening content may be required if it is deemed to be counterproductive to peacebuilding. This may, indeed, be one of the greatest dilemmas of the democratic nature of the museology of peacebuilding envisioned in this study and one which can only be negotiated, resolved and investigated through practice and on a case by case basis.

Related to the necessity of adopting this ethical stance in storytelling is Lederach’s assertion that people can only contribute to peacebuilding when they are able to

⁶³⁶ "Resources for Story Collection," Green and Blue, August 10, 2014, , accessed June 06, 2019, <http://www.green-and-blue.org/resources-for-story-collection/>.

⁶³⁷ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2010), 38. Smith also notes that discriminatory approaches may be necessary when forming new heritage understandings.

develop what he calls their “moral imagination.” He puts forth that four distinct capabilities are required for the development of our moral imagination which are; “the capacity to imagine ourselves in a web of relationships that include our enemies,” “the ability to sustain a paradoxical curiosity that embraces complexity without reliance on dualistic polarity,” a “fundamental belief in and pursuit of the creative act” and an acceptance of the “inherent risk of stepping into the mystery of the unknown that lies beyond the far too familiar landscape of violence.”⁶³⁸

Ironically, these kinds of capabilities characterized by complexity, curiosity, risk taking, ambiguity and creativity are precisely the characteristics that are lacking in regions of conflict where people are locked into patterns of duality and opposition. Nevertheless, oral history, composed of the individual accounts of people, is an enabling tool because it provides inspiration to people for how to transition by demonstrating examples of such transformations in people.

I would like to give one example, through which such a shift in our perception towards embracing complexity is facilitated. Below are three excerpts⁶³⁹ that would be revealed through a search conducted on the *CHHP of Cyprus* website under the theme of *governance—British auxiliary government—auxiliary police—1955-1959*, concerning the British government’s policy to employ Turkish Cypriots as part of their auxiliary police force which was tasked with fighting EOKA. Many of the interviewees, both Turkish and Greek Cypriots, mention this policy as one which pitted the two communities more forcefully against each other. As noted by Oswald,

⁶³⁸ John Paul. Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 5.

⁶³⁹ While transcribing the interviews I have, in parts, not transliterated because the Turkish Cypriot dialect could, at times, pose difficulties in understanding the content of what is said.

it was a policy which, to say the least, “increased the chances of someone from the other community being killed by the other.”⁶⁴⁰

Excerpt 1: Interview with Ö. A., March 30th 2018, excerpt (55:13-57:32)
Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60697#segment3313
Ö: Daireye girdik dedik ya – dairede Kenan Bey indi aşağıya, müdürümüz, Kooperatif Dairesi, “hepiniz,” dedi.
B: Soyadı neydi Kenan Bey’in?
Ö: Efendim. Rağıp Kenan, Sait ‘çiğin, Dr. Sait’in babası, efendime söyleyim, esas Rum-Türk zamanından nadir daireler vardı Türk müdür, Kenan Bey, yani, daire müdürü İngiliz, ikinci adam Kenan Bey, Rum’un Türk’ün, biz öyle bir dairede başladık. Geldi aşağıya, bütün daireye, “hepiniz” dedi “girin arabalarınıza,” ben önde, “gidiyoruz,” dedi, “hepiniz yardımcı polis olacaksınız.” Mecbur ettilerdi o zaman çalışanları, “after-office hours.”
B: Bankada oluyor bu?
Ö: Banka değil. Şimdi bak, Kooperatif İnkişaf Dairesi - hükümetin. Kooperatif Merkez Bankası - bankası. Yani İnkişaf Dairesinin müdürü Kenan Bey, eh Eşref Bey, dünürü da bankanın müdürü. İki Türk, nadirdi bu - ilk olarak da ayrılan daireydi. Aldılar, götürdüler bizi hep – mesela ben bir yıldızlı polistim – yani auxiliary polis – after-office hours. Çıkardık daireden (iş sonrası), giderdik polise.
B: Bu söylediğiniz hangi yıl oldu?
Ö: Bu dediğim yıl benim, efendime söyleyim, nişanlı olduğumuzda, 1955’ten sonra, EOKA 1955’te başladı. Bu dediğim 56’ten yukarıya devam etti, oldu taa 1963’e kadar - auxiliary devam etti.
B: Siz devam ettiniz mi?
Ö: Ben evlendikten sonra, gittim, çıktım.

Excerpt 2: Interview with N. R., April 4th 2018, excerpt (55.13-57.32)
Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60680#segment544
N: Hopkinson was the minister of the British government. Hopkinson, I remember the name and he said to the Turks, “you don’t do anything, we are fighting EOKA and you stay there without doing anything,” you see, “you have to do something” and they decided to appoint, to take into, the auxiliary police – they collected a lot of auxiliary police, Turks, to do something against the Greeks, you see. I mean, from here, this was the beginning of the conflict. Unfortunately.

⁶⁴⁰ John Frederick Oswald, *The Social and Spatial Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict: Contextualizing the Divided City of Nicosia, Cyprus*, PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2013, 153.

Excerpt 3: Interview with Dr. E. İ., October 20th 2017, excerpt (07:19 to 12:05)
Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60578#segment439
E: Şöyle diyelim, 55 senesinde, hiç unutmam, şimdi bile hatırlarım, 1 Nisan 1955’de evde radyo dinlerken ansızın bir bomba sesi duydum. Ondan sonra haberleri dinlerim, buna bir EOKA örgütünün, Rumların bir EOKA örgütünün patlattığı itirafında bulundular ve bunu bir örgütün yaptığı ve İngiliz’e karşı bir savaş başlattığını ilan ettiler. 1 Nisan 1955, aklımda kalan o.
B: Lefkoşa’nın içinde mi patlatıldılar?
E: E duyduğumuza göre herhalde Rum tarafında patlatıldılar, bir yerlerde patlatıldılar ama nerede bilmiyorum. Ama o bomba sesi Rumların, EOKA’nın (diyeyim) Rumların demeyim, EOKA terör örgütünün yahut EOKA örgütünün (diyeyim) terör örgütü da demeyim o zaman çünkü onlara göre milliyetçi bir örgüt, İngilizlere karşı, Kıbrıs’a bağımsızlık ilan etmek için başlattıkları bir savaş olarak başladı. Neticede bu EOKA şeyi, İngiliz subaylarını böyle arkadan vurarak öldürerek, kaçak, bir sürü İngiliz askerini, subayını Ermou caddesinde sokağında vurarak öldürdüler. Bir kısmı yakalandı, bir kısmı şey oldu – eh – tabi İngilizler askerler geldi – örfi idareler oldu – örfi idarelerden Türk’ler de nasibini aldı. Fakat İngiliz bu arada şöyle bir şey yaptı – dedi ki – “ben” dedi “gönüllü polis yazdırmak isterim” dedi ve çok da maaş verdi – o devirde yani ekonomi kötüyken bu polis şeylerine yazılacak gönüllü erlere ayda 55-60 Kıbrıs Liralık maaşlar vermeye başladı ve bütün Kıbrıs gençleri ve Türk köylerinde yaşayan Türkler İngiliz’in bu “constabulary” dediğimiz special force’a, hepsi bu örgüte yazılıp para kazanmaya başladılar. Ama bu örgüt EOKA’ya karşıydı - dolayısıyla iki toplumun arası bu kanalla açılmış oldu.
B: Bu 55’deki patlamaya kadar bir huzursuzluk var mıydı mahallede?
E: Hiç yoktu.

The first interviewee, a TC male, recounts that he and his fellow Turkish Cypriot colleagues were asked by their boss to become part of the auxiliary police, with really no choice to object, and hence a request that was made of them that was more akin to a directive. The second interviewee, a Greek Cypriot male, recounts the words of the British Minister of Interior at the time, Hopkins, who urged Turkish Cypriots to take up arms with the British against EOKA, while the third interviewee, a Turkish Cypriot male, recounts that the pay offered to auxiliary police was very good at a time when many Turkish Cypriots were jobless, making this particular employment very attractive financially. Addressing the issue of the auxiliary police,

as recounted through the islander's lived experiences, reveals many of the complexities and nuances that are an integral part of this particular topic, as well as raising many questions about it. The interviewees' accounts suggest that people were poor and needed jobs, that they were being asked, even made to comply by their leadership, to join the auxiliary police and that the British government took advantage of this situation to fill their police force with Turkish Cypriots who thus assisted them in fighting EOKA.

So much has already been revealed through these three very short interview excerpts which combined take only ten minutes to listen. These excerpts reveal the specific manifestations of the issue of the auxiliary police as it affected the lives of the islanders. This is the strength of oral history; events are recounted through lived experiences which are inclusive of human thought and emotion and, as such, both easily understood by people as well as enabling in terms of their development of empathy towards the "other" and making the transition into remaining with complexities and ambiguities without resorting to dualities. Oral history is an account of the past contrary to the bounded and abstract nature of most historical writing because it is based on lived experiences which are multifaceted in nature. While facilitating the development of empathy towards the "other," the multifaceted and complex nature of the accounts also reveals the complexity of the issues that are addressed. Did the Turkish Cypriot leadership view the auxiliary police as an opportunity to stop EOKA? Did the British government use this police force to intentionally divide the two communities? If so, why? What was the economic condition of Turkish Cypriots during this time period? What was the rate of unemployment? How desperate were they for these jobs? What other speeches were

made or incentives given by British officials encouraging Turkish Cypriots to join this police force? What other personal accounts can be gathered regarding Turkish Cypriots who served as auxiliary police during this time period?

The endeavor of peacebuilding necessitates that people, while being locked into patterns of duality and opposition, find ways out of this pattern. The sincere and heartfelt stories of the islanders, compiled on the digital platform of the *CHHP of Cyprus*, are imagined to function as aids, helping and encouraging islanders make this much needed transition. As noted by Lederach, the process of peacebuilding, as practiced by all, is characterized by “the capacity to imagine something rooted in the challenges of the real world yet capable of giving birth to that which does not yet exist.”⁶⁴¹ In other words, peacebuilding requires that we transcend our current state and move beyond it while still being immersed within it; a theme which Freire makes frequent reference to when talking about the need to be liberated from our state of oppression while still being immersed within it. Bourdieu refers to this as reflexivity and the ability to see our situatedness within an existing social field while still being situated within and part of that field. In so far as compiling the stories of the islanders are concerned, everyone involved in the endeavor needs to take the difficult and uncomfortable steps necessary for the process to be initiated and sustained, collaboratively and equipped with a sense of humility, sincerity, vulnerability and moral imagination.

⁶⁴¹ John Paul. Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 29.

Compiling Histories and Heritages: a Collaborative Endeavor

While it is feasible to pilot the *CHHP of Cyprus* in Walled Nicosia with a team each, at the most, for each of the 23 neighborhoods, its application on an island-wide scale requires a different structure because the individualized approach adopted in this thesis is too time consuming and not expedient.⁶⁴² Crowdsourcing is envisioned as a method for gathering the stories of the islanders which is an approach crucial to employ in the *CHHP of Cyprus* given the urgency involved in recording the oldest living memory on the island before its bearers pass away. Crowdsourcing is described as “the practice of engaging a crowd or group for a common goal often involving innovation, problem solving, (and) efficiency.” Given advances in digital technologies it is now easier than ever for individuals to collectively contribute towards a project or cause. Crowdsourcing is a term used to refer to this collective mobilization.⁶⁴³ Within the practice of the museology of peacebuilding crowdsourcing would be the collaborative effort of all islanders, across generations, bringing families and friends together as they record the stories of the oldest generation of Cypriots alive today.

Conducting oral history does not require any specialization and with some guidance and tips it can be carried out by anyone, even children. The Oral History

⁶⁴² I had some help in the practical work conducted. Nezihe Atun, a third year Media Studies and History major at Claremont McKenna College, also my daughter, transcribed some of the interviews, set up the website and put together the video on the website which simulates the embedded experience of listening to the islanders’ stories in Ayios Loukas. Soula Hadjikyriacou, who acted as my Greek Cypriot collaborator searched for and found all the Greek Cypriots who used to live in Ayios Lukas, arranged for the interviews, acted as a translator in some of them where the interviewee did not speak English and conducted one of the interviews.

⁶⁴³ Investor Trading Academy, "What Is Crowdsourcing?" YouTube, May 02, 2016, , accessed June 06, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AkwhUOQ3nYg>. See also HBS Digital Initiative, "The History of Crowdsourcing," YouTube, September 08, 2015, , accessed June 06, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BFqfy1SXvOI>. for the uses of crowdsourcing.

Association⁶⁴⁴ has been active for many years delineating and updating guidelines for conducting oral history interviews and is an invaluable resource that should be consulted in drafting appropriate guidelines for the islanders incorporating also the additional ethical guidelines mentioned above. I propose to mobilize the entire island population by carrying out a campaign which gives the young generation of Cypriots the chance to get directly involved in peacebuilding work, often cited as significant in terms of the effectiveness of any peacebuilding endeavor.⁶⁴⁵ This chance for public involvement is all the more significant in Cyprus where structural obstacles exist regarding such involvement, as highlighted in Part I of this study. Initiating the *CHHP of Cyprus* as a collaborative community endeavor from the very start maximizes the chances that it will be sustainable over the long term because people will have invested time and effort in establishing it in the first place.

The public campaign for recording the oldest generation of Cypriots' stories will have the title "*YOUR Story, YOUR Contribution, YOUR Legacy in CYPRUS*" which alludes not only to the collaborative nature of the *CHHP of Cyprus* but also to its ultimate relevance to each individual on the island. By contributing their own story, the islanders will not only help build a body of knowledge regarding Cyprus and its people, they will also have the opportunity to locate themselves within this evolving story through the search capability of the platform which I will elaborate upon in the

⁶⁴⁴ "Best Practices," Oral History Association, accessed June 03, 2019, <https://www.oralhistory.org/best-practices/>.

⁶⁴⁵ *Citizen Peacemaking in Cyprus, The Story of Co-operation and Trust across the Green Line*, report, United Nations Development Program (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2013), 68. Marc Howard Ross also makes a note, in Marc Howard Ross, "Chapter 7 The Politics of Memory and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 96, of dissonance theory which supports the notion that engaging people in activities makes them "more committed" to these activities. He further cites Verba's studies from 1961 as proof that "once people engage in a behavior they are more likely to be emotionally invested in it." (Verba, S. 1961. *Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.)

next chapter, Chapter 5. The campaign will be composed of the introduction below which will be distributed in social media.

<i>YOUR Story, YOUR Contribution, YOUR Legacy in CYPRUS</i>
• We are compiling the histories and heritages of the island through <i>YOUR</i> eyewitness accounts and memories later to be put on the www.chhpofcyprus.com website and made accessible to the public.
• Our mission is to diversify the singular narratives of the island through accounts of your lived experiences.
• Our vision is of a Cyprus where the islanders begin to understand and empathize with each other despite their present disagreements.
• Contact your elderly relatives or acquaintances and ask them to tell you the significant incidents and memories of their lives in Cyprus.
• This is an opportunity for you to tell <i>YOUR Story</i> and make <i>YOUR Contribution</i> towards the creation of the histories and heritages of Cyprus.
• This is also an opportunity for you to find out <i>YOUR Legacy</i> on the island as others talk about their lives mentioning people who were significant for them.
• Go to the website www.chhpofcyprus.com to find out more about how you can be involved.

Once the campaign to record the stories of the older population of Cypriots is initiated, the interviews can be conducted over a relatively short period of time. After these interviews are held, they will be transcribed by those recording them in their original language and then translated into English. Both the recordings as well as their transcriptions will be uploaded onto the *CHHP of Cyprus* website where they will be indexed by a team responsible for running the platform composed of Turkish and Greek Cypriots as mentioned previously, where no more than one team is responsible for a given neighborhood. The website will also include a set of interview questions to ask indicating the critical things to pay attention to while conducting an interview. Below is the list of these questions and some points to pay

particular attention to. These are the questions I used in my own interviews with the former residents of Ayios Loukas.

<i>List of Questions to Ask Interviewees</i>
1. What is your name, where and when were you born?
2. What address did you live in during your childhood, tell me about your childhood, what was life like back then? (open street address should be asked)
3. Which school did you go to, how did you go to school, what was your school life like?
4. Is there anything about your family life that you'd like to share?
5. What was your social life like, what did you do for entertainment?
6. Did you have any Turkish/Greek Cypriot friends?
7. How did the troubles between the Turkish/Greek Cypriots affect your life?
8. Did you witness any events in your neighborhood pertaining to this period?
9. Do you have any memories from this period that you'd like to share?
10. What were some of the buildings in your neighborhood that were important in your life, why?
11. When did you move from this house and where did you go? (open street address should be asked and same questions above asked for the different places lived in)
12. What was your work life like? Did you work with Turkish/Greek Cypriots?
13. Do you have memories/incidents from your work life that you'd like to share?
14. Is there anything else that you'd like to add to what you've already said, which you think is important to record regarding the histories and heritages of the island of Cyprus.
15. Anything else you'd like to say to the younger generation who will be listening to these stories?
<i>General Note:</i> ALWAYS take the address or location of the events and memories being recounted, time period that they refer to, and full names of any persons mentioned. The place could be a street, a building, a neighborhood or the city itself, depending on how clear that person's memory is and the time period could be a specific date like November 21 st 1965, a year like 1956 or a range like early 1950s, mid 1950s or late 1950s.
Once recorded, transcribe the interview in its original language, then have it translated into English, after which you may upload it on the <i>CHHP of Cyprus</i> website.

Getting the younger generation of Cypriots involved in and responsible for compiling the histories and heritages of the island as recorded through their grandparents', older relatives', and friends' voices becomes the first step in executing the museology of peacebuilding which has been conceptualized, primarily, as an empowering educative endeavor. The process of listening to the older generation's stories is expected to be revelatory in nature, beginning the process of connecting this younger generation back to a past which they were not a part of but the ramifications of which they experience during the course of their daily lives. In the next chapter, Chapter 5, I delineate how educating the younger generation of Cypriots towards a peaceful future is an integral part of the museology of peacebuilding.

CHAPTER 5

CURATING RECENT HISTORIES & HERITAGES

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Introduction to Chapter 5

In Chapter 4, I provided the historical background for Walled Nicosia and Ayios Loukas and highlighted the critical components involved in compiling the histories and heritages of the island. In this chapter, I highlight the critical aspects involved in curating these compiled interviews such that they contribute to the overriding objective of peacebuilding. I begin by explaining the significance of what I call the *thematic cataloguing of interview excerpts* which not only enables effective engagement and searchability by the islanders but also enables their contents to be used for peace education. I continue by explaining the various ways I foresee people engaging with the contents of the *CHHP of Cyprus*. Finally, I illustrate how the emerging theme-based stories, although local, make connections to concerns that are global in nature, hence constituting appropriate content material for peace education on the island.

Thematic Cataloguing of Interviews; Engagement & Searchability

Each interview I conducted lasted for an average of about an hour and a half during which interviewees made references to a wide variety of topics, places and dates.

Without an effective system of cataloguing the contents of such an interview, a person searching the *CHHP of Cyprus* for a topic of interest would have to listen to an entire interview in order to find out if there is anything of interest in it for her/him. Very few people have this kind of time or patience, let alone for casual or informal searches which will constitute a significant part of the usage of the *CHHP of Cyprus*. People are unlikely to go through the trouble of searching the platform, especially the younger generation who is accustomed to the instant accessing of information on the internet, unless they know that they can quickly access what they are looking for.

It is therefore imperative that the *CHHP of Cyprus* function with the kind of efficiency as well as effectiveness provided by good search engines; whereby the results of a particular search reveal a compilation of interview excerpts which both appeal to the particular interest of the researcher as well as correspond to his/her particular search. In such a scenario, the resulting compilation of relevant interview excerpts is akin to a successful exhibition, as described by exhibition designer Seth Frankel, in so far as it meets the criteria of having demonstrated “a good understanding of why the facts matter and to whom.”⁶⁴⁶ In such a scenario, the *CHHP of Cyprus* would have fulfilled the specific needs and interests of its diverse audience. Easy and effective searchability is therefore a prerequisite for meeting the

⁶⁴⁶ Seth Frankel, "Chapter 2 A Conversation with Seth Frankel: Designing Exhibitions for Peace," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 21.

needs of people and becomes a guiding principle for organizing the contents of the interviews.

There are digital technologies currently available which enable the effective cataloguing of interview contents which are “transforming the ways in which we record, preserve, catalogue, interpret, share and present oral histories.”⁶⁴⁷ The Oral History Metadata Synchronizer (OHMS) which I used to catalogue my interviews is one such system. It was developed by the Nunn Center for Oral History of the University of Kentucky Libraries and made available for use to the public free of charge. It is confirming the assertion made by many that we are “in the midst of a dizzying digital revolution.”⁶⁴⁸

Within OHMS, interviews can be divided into as many individual excerpts as necessary. Each excerpt is given a title which Doug Boyd, director of the Nunn Center for Oral History and creator of the OHMS software, likens to chapters in a book. These titles indicate “the content that is covered” and constitute the “primary access point in browsing interviews.”⁶⁴⁹ Simultaneous with the process of determining what constitutes an excerpt is the process of assigning subject headings, keywords and GPS locations for the particular excerpts. Boyd describes subject headings as denoting “descriptive terms that represent the content of each

⁶⁴⁷ Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 11.

⁶⁴⁸ Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 11.

⁶⁴⁹ Douglas A. Boyd, *Indexing Interviews in OHMS: An Overview*, technical paper, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, 11.

segment”⁶⁵⁰ and keywords as representing the content of each segment but more specific in nature and composed of “local terms that effectively communicate the contents of the segment.” He suggests that keywords be used liberally, be composed of brief words to maintain searchability, and quotation marks be used for “esoteric or nicknames” that are no longer used in a language.⁶⁵¹ Each excerpt can have a synopsis and/or partial or full transcript, which is possible to upload in two languages. While it would be useful to have the capability of a third language, so that excerpts are translated into the language of the “other” as well as English, the software currently does not have this capability, although I foresee that it soon will. Finally, interview excerpts can also be linked, through a hyper link, to any website relevant to the interview excerpt. Therefore, once all interviews are catalogued into individual excerpts and indexed, they are effectively reduced into much shorter segments, lasting typically 3-4 minutes in *my* indexing experience, with a title and extensive metadata associated with it.

Indexing interviews⁶⁵² involves the process of deciding what is an individual excerpt and what kind of metadata needs to be associated with it. Boyd notes that this process is akin to the process of curating because “by choosing to index or not to index a moment in an oral history interview, the indexer is controlling significance” and hence framing “all future navigation of that interview.”⁶⁵³ Boyd notes that “an

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., 10.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., 11.

⁶⁵² The indexing process was also iterative, as the rest of this study, and after an initial indexing of the 30 interviews I went back and re-indexed most of them based both on emerging themes as well as a clearer picture of how I imagined the islanders engaging with the *CHHP of Cyprus*.

⁶⁵³ Douglas A. Boyd, *Indexing Interviews in OHMS: An Overview*, technical paper, Louie B. Nunn Center for Oral History, University of Kentucky Libraries, 4. If a transcript is also included within the

index is only as good as the indexer and the effectiveness of the segment or story-level metadata being created.”⁶⁵⁴ He further notes that it involves “making good decisions about the representation of data in an interview.”⁶⁵⁵ He asserts that there is “enormous value added when a collection is catalogued and indexed by the people who created it for a group of people they have in mind to use it.”⁶⁵⁶ This is certainly true, as I realized myself, during the process of cataloguing and indexing the interviews that each decision I made had the potential of contributing to the objectives of peacebuilding.

The strategy I employed while indexing my interviews has been to have as many excerpts as possible without losing the sense of integrity within each individual excerpt. This enables people to listen to the maximum number of excerpts by different interviewees, on a given topic, within a given time period, ensuring exposure to the utmost number of perspectives. Listening to different points of view is a fundamental prerequisite of peacebuilding. Peace education scholar Noddings notes that “we must create a climate in which dramatically different views are discussed with respect and sympathy” because “memory cannot be obliterated, nor should it be scorned”⁶⁵⁷ and “the first step toward the abolition of war is learning to listen with respect and sympathy.”⁶⁵⁸ The shorter the length of the interview

indexed interview, then there is the additional “keyword searchability of an interview’s verbatim content.”

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid., 2.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., 3.

⁶⁵⁶ Admin, "Meaningful Access to Audio and Video Passages," Go Back to the Front Page, October 07, 2015, , accessed June 03, 2019, <http://ohda.matrix.msu.edu/2012/06/meaningful-access-to-audio-and-video-passages-2/>.

⁶⁵⁷ Nel Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 6.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., 7.

excerpts, the greater the number of views a listener is capable of listening to in a given time frame.

Assigning subject headings and keywords to individual excerpts is another way in which the objective of peacebuilding is furthered. I delineated subject headings⁶⁵⁹ based on two major criteria; first, that they are diverse enough such that islanders from a variety of backgrounds find something that is of particular interest to them, thus encouraging their engagement; second, that they are tiered enough with respect to their level of intensity in addressing difficult topics so that islanders are eased into difficult topics gradually as is suggested by research conducted in the fields of museology, education and peacebuilding.⁶⁶⁰ Accordingly, I have grouped themes into two broad categories, “Daily Living” and “Troubled Times,” the former covering themes related to daily life and hence less contested and the latter covering themes directly related to the troubled decades on the island. Under the general categories of “Daily Living” and “Troubled Times,” are sub-themes that are neutral in meaning, hence implicating no one, a priori, as guilty in the troubles. Thus, the tiered approach as well as assignment of neutral terms to themes, facilitate the objective of peacebuilding helping to present content in a less intimidating and judgmental manner.

⁶⁵⁹ I use the terms “subject headings,” “topics” and “themes” interchangeably here but the OHMS system refers to this kind of metadata as “subject headings.”

⁶⁶⁰ I elaborate upon this literature in a later section in this chapter.

Under the theme of “Troubled Times,” there are three sub-themes,⁶⁶¹ which include *Governance*, *Militant Struggles* and *Civil Strife*. The theme of *Governance* lists all governing structures either directly or indirectly responsible for Cyprus, formal as well as informal. I expect that the number of governing bodies included under governance will grow considerably once the *CHHP of Cyprus* is executed across the entire island, revealing the involvement of bodies that perhaps until now were unknown as contributors to the Cyprus dispute. One sub-theme under governance, is “leadership” which will include the names of all leaders, whether official or not, who are thought to have had a role in the dispute. At this point, only those mentioned in the interviews have been included. The category of governance is thought of as a broad category which will include each body, of any degree of power, whether institutional or singular, official or not, who used this power in a way that influenced the conflict on the island, ensuring in this way that a deeper and more specific assignment of responsibilities emerges. The second sub-theme under the general theme “Troubled Times” is *Militant Struggles* which, as noted in Chapter 2 constitutes one of the most contested themes in Cyprus. Under this theme are further sub-themes called *establishment*, *activities*, *daily life*, *training* and *war*, such that a search conducted for *militant struggles—activities*, for example, reveals the activities of *all* militant struggles on the island, grouping those of EOKA, TMT as well as the British Colonial Regime together, thus revealing their similarities with each other. A third and last sub-theme under the general theme of “Troubled Times” is *Civil Strife* which includes all interview excerpts which reference incidents as well as feelings

⁶⁶¹ I imagine the thesaurus of subject headings I created while indexing the interviews I conducted with past residents of Ayios Loukas to expand while piloting the *CHHP of Cyprus* for the entirety of Walled Nicosia. Also, I have assigned “key words” to interview excerpts based on the likely “terms” people may use when searching for the kind of content contained within a given excerpt. The process is intuitive and based on good judgement and undoubtedly with room for improvement.

related to the islanders' experiences during the period of civil strife on the island.

Many sub-themes exist under *Civil Strife* to describe its more specific manifestations such as *forced to leave home, burning, fighting, looting, enclaves, harassment, returning home, segregation, settlement* as well as concepts and emotions such as *freedom, anger, fear, safety, pain, loss* etc. Any search conducted under these sub-themes will reveal instances of the particular theme being referenced, across the divide, regardless of the ethnic, religious or other affiliation with which the interviewee is associated.

The thematic labeling of interview excerpts thus ensures that while listening to the suffering of one community, one necessarily also listens to the suffering of the “other” community unless specifically choosing not to do so by making the search more specific through inclusion of additional terms such as *Turkish Cypriots* or *Greek Cypriots*. Otherwise, the thematic labelling of interview excerpts works in a way counter to the “selective” recounting of suffering typical of the authorized heritage discourses outlined in Chapter 2, by grouping the experiences of the islanders *together* under common themes. The theme of *civil strife—burning*, for example, reveals all instances when people experienced the burning of their property or that of others, Turkish and Greek Cypriot alike. Another theme, *civil strife—fear*, for example, will reveal all instances where people recount being scared due to the occurrence of civil strife. Such grouping together of experiences facilitates the museology of peacebuilding's main objective which is to shift people's perception of reality such that good and evil are exposed as existing *within* both communities and *across* the divide.

Under the second general theme of “Daily Living” are sub-themes, some of which I imagine will be of special interest to the children and youth of Cyprus. The nine themes under “Daily Living” which have further sub-themes include *Childhood & Youth, Customs, Friendship, Home, Love, Work Life, Social Life, Sounds & Smells*. Each interview excerpt, whichever theme/themes with which it is associated, raises significant issues related to peacebuilding which require investigation and reflection, a topic I will address later in this chapter.

TROUBLED TIMES		
Governance	Militant Struggles	Civil Strife
<i>British Colonial Government (BCG)</i>	<i>Establishment</i>	<i>Anger</i>
Acculturation	EOKA--1955	<i>Burning</i>
auxiliary police--1955-1959	Karaçete--1955	<i>Communication--psychotherapy</i>
Fires--intervening	Volkan--1956	<i>Discrimination</i>
tear gas	TMT--1958	<i>Enclaves</i>
WWII--Cypriot soldiers	"mücahit"--1963	<i>Fear</i>
Curfew	Greek National Guard	<i>Fighting</i>
<i>Church of Cyprus</i>	<i>Activities</i>	<i>Forced to Leave home</i>
funding--Turkish Cypriot property--1950s	youth	<i>Freedom</i>
<i>Republic of Cyprus (ROC)</i>	harassment	expression
constitution--guarantees--1960-1963	looting	movement
Establishment--1960	murder	speech
<i>Turkish Community--1963-1974</i>	segregation	<i>Harassment</i>
<i>Otonom Kıbrıs Türk Yönetimi--1974-1975</i>	settlement	<i>Identity</i>
<i>Turkish Federated State of Cyprus--1975-1983</i>	enclaves--1963-1974	<i>Justice</i>
<i>Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus--1983-present</i>	burning	<i>Looting</i>
<i>Republic of Turkey</i>	looting	<i>Loss</i>
<i>Hellenic Republic of Greece</i>	<i>Daily Life</i>	<i>Neighborliness</i>
<i>Leadership</i>	<i>Training</i>	<i>Pain</i>
Averoff	<i>War</i>	<i>Returning home</i>
Rauf Denktaş	WWII	<i>Safety</i>
Karamanlis	1974	<i>Segregation</i>
Dr. Küçük		<i>Settlement</i>
Archbishop Makarios		
Hopkinson		

Table: Subject Headings under the general theme of “Troubled Times”
Figure 21

DAILY LIVING			
Childhood & Youth	Customs	Friendship	Work Life
circumcision	bathing	Yorgos & Atatürk	"şamişi" making
fight	burial--Muslims	meeting again	accountancy
football--clubs--Aboen	Dress	Home	architecture
football--clubs--Çetinkaya	food--animal husbandry	safety	bakkal ownership
football--clubs--Yenicamii	food--cooking	selling of	banking
football--clubs--Yenicamii	food--cooking--bread	architecture	building
football--clubs--Youth Union of Ayios Loukas	Fairs	garden	army
football--federations	food--cooking--date marmalade	house work--water	car mechanic
militantism	food--farming		carpenters
play--"lingiri"	Hunting	Love	conservation
play--"pirili"	language--Greek lessons	courtship	date collecting--"hurmacı"
play--football	language--speaking other	Social Life	dying clothes/strings
play--wargames	last names changing	"nargile"	egg-making on fire
school	marriages	cinema	engineer
school--bombing	religions	fairs	farming
school--religion	religions--"mevlevi"	plays	first professionals
school--sports	religions--bayrams--new dresses	street	foreign service
sports--football	religions--celebrations--"bayram"	tv	housework
	animals as pets	Sounds	"helva" making
	religions--laicism	Smells	ice cream cone cutter
	religions--prayer		ice making--"buzcu"
	religions--secularism		ironing--"ütücü"
	religion--church attendance		journalism
	Values		knitting
	values--community		museums
	values--honor		photography
	values--neighborliness		radio station
	weddings		restoration
			salt making
			sewing
			state employees
			tourism
			trading--fabrics

Table: Subject Headings under the general theme of "Daily Living"
Figure 22

While themes under “Daily Living” reference the conflict in more subtle and indirect ways as related to daily life, those under “Troubled Times” reference the conflict in more direct ways as related to the period of conflict on the island. While questions raised by themes under “Daily Living” are somewhat easier to address, since they are part of everyday life, questions raised by themes under “Troubled Times” are somewhat more difficult to address because they are related with unusual circumstances with which most people are unfamiliar. Regardless, the variety of themes, both in kind as well as degree of immersion into the conflict on the island, presents the islanders with a broad range of options from which to choose. In the next section, I delineate the various ways in which I imagine the islanders engaging with the contents of the *CHHP of Cyprus* on its website as well as through its mobile application.

Engagement with the *CHHP of Cyprus*; Research & Immersion

The primary objective of the museology of peacebuilding is to affect positive social change in society. Such change begins with change in individuals. Authors Senge, Gibling and Taylor note that “real change starts with recognizing that we are part of the systems we seek to change. The fear and distrust “we seek to remedy also exist within us – as do the anger, sorrow, doubt and frustration.” They further note that “ineffective leaders try to make change happen, whereas system leaders focus on creating the conditions that foster change and cause it to be self-sustaining.”⁶⁶²

Guided by the vision to be a facilitator of change, my suggestions for the *CHHP of Cyprus* constitute a starting-point only, and one which I envision will evolve and

⁶⁶² Felicity Gibling and Michele Taylor, "Chapter 9 Diversity, Leadership and Peacebuilding in Museums in the Western Balkans," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding*, by Diana Walters, Daniel Laven, and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 95.

change during the piloting of the proposal in Walled Nicosia. The philosophy of leadership I embrace is also similar to the notion of “post-heroic leadership” which is described as “boldly inclusive” and moving away from “command and control to make space for other perspectives, engage deep and often difficult conversations, and then try out co-created solutions from a place of humility.”⁶⁶³ Moreover, this kind of leadership is the kind espoused by Freire who posits that the revolutionary leaders who guide the process of a liberating education “cannot think without the people, nor for the people, but only with the people” and must therefore “enter into the situation of those with whom they are solidary.”⁶⁶⁴

Thus, the organizers of the *CHHP of Cyprus* are imagined to be in this capacity of acting as facilitators and guides in a process that is ultimately a collaborative one. The dialogue established between the organizers of the *CHHP of Cyprus* and the islanders is one that can be described in Freire’s words as an “encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world.”⁶⁶⁵ According to Freire, without this dialogue there can be no communication and without communication there can be no true education.⁶⁶⁶ In other words, his pedagogy of the oppressed is based on dialogue and communication amongst people where they “teach each other, mediated by the world” and “become jointly responsible” for naming the world.⁶⁶⁷ It

⁶⁶³ "What Is Post Heroic Leadership," Dalai Lama Fellows Program, 2017, <http://www.dalailamafellows.org/program/what-is-post-heroic-leadership/>.

⁶⁶⁴ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Place of Publication Not Identified: Penguin Education, 1972), 112.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 73-74.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 61.

is this dialogue that I imagine to be taking place through the implementation of the *CHHP of Cyprus*. Freire's vision of a liberating education is a genuinely democratic one and constitutes the vision aspired to in the *CHHP of Cyprus* where there is a "drive towards reconciliation"⁶⁶⁸ between teacher and student towards resolving the polarity between them.⁶⁶⁹ More importantly, there is a simultaneous drive towards reconciliation between the estranged communities on the island.

The *CHHP of Cyprus* is imagined as a crowdsourced digital platform similar to Wikipedia, growing in content over time, as more people download their eye-witness accounts and experiences onto the platform. The OHMS viewer, which is the software used in cataloguing the interviews, allows for searchability *within* a single interview only, but once the viewer is linked with the content management system of a website, as is imagined to be the case for the *CHHP of Cyprus* website, searchability is extended across the entire collection of interviews as well as the entire spectrum of metadata with which an individual excerpt is associated. At this point, only the template of the website has been set up, not its technical searchability function.

I imagine the *CHHP of Cyprus* to begin with a public campaign to gather the stories of the islanders, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Chapter 4. While I envision the *CHHP of Cyprus* to evolve as a credible resource about the histories and heritages of Cyprus, similar to Wikipedia and complying with Lowenthal's understanding of history as "a past consensually known, open to inspection and

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., 53.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid.

proof,”⁶⁷⁰ I also envision it to function as a platform enabling and facilitating dialogue amongst members of the various communities on the island. In this respect, the *CHHP of Cyprus* is different from Wikipedia because it is imagined as a resource *not only* put together by the communities of Cyprus, but also intended for their use and with the mission of improving their relationships with one another. Given the central focus of community in the conceptualization of the *CHHP of Cyprus*, the notion of a community collection, as formulated by the University of Oxford, becomes also relevant. According to Ylva Berglund Prytz, a community collection is “a collection that has been created by a community where they have shared their resources or knowledge.”⁶⁷¹

The University of Oxford has devised a methodology for running a community collection online which they call *RunCoCo* from which the well-known *Europeana* digital heritage project sprung. *RunCoCo* is based on both the online crowdsourced contribution of people, for which a software is created, as well as contributions gathered in events they call “roadshows” where people are called upon to come forth on a particular day and contribute their artifacts or stories regarding a particular topic. The roadshows are meant to fulfil the needs of the elder population not so comfortable with using technology while the software allows for content to be uploaded online. Roadshows could be incorporated as part of the methodology of gathering stories for the *CHHP of Cyprus* and *RunCoCo* can be further consulted for additional guidance and insights.

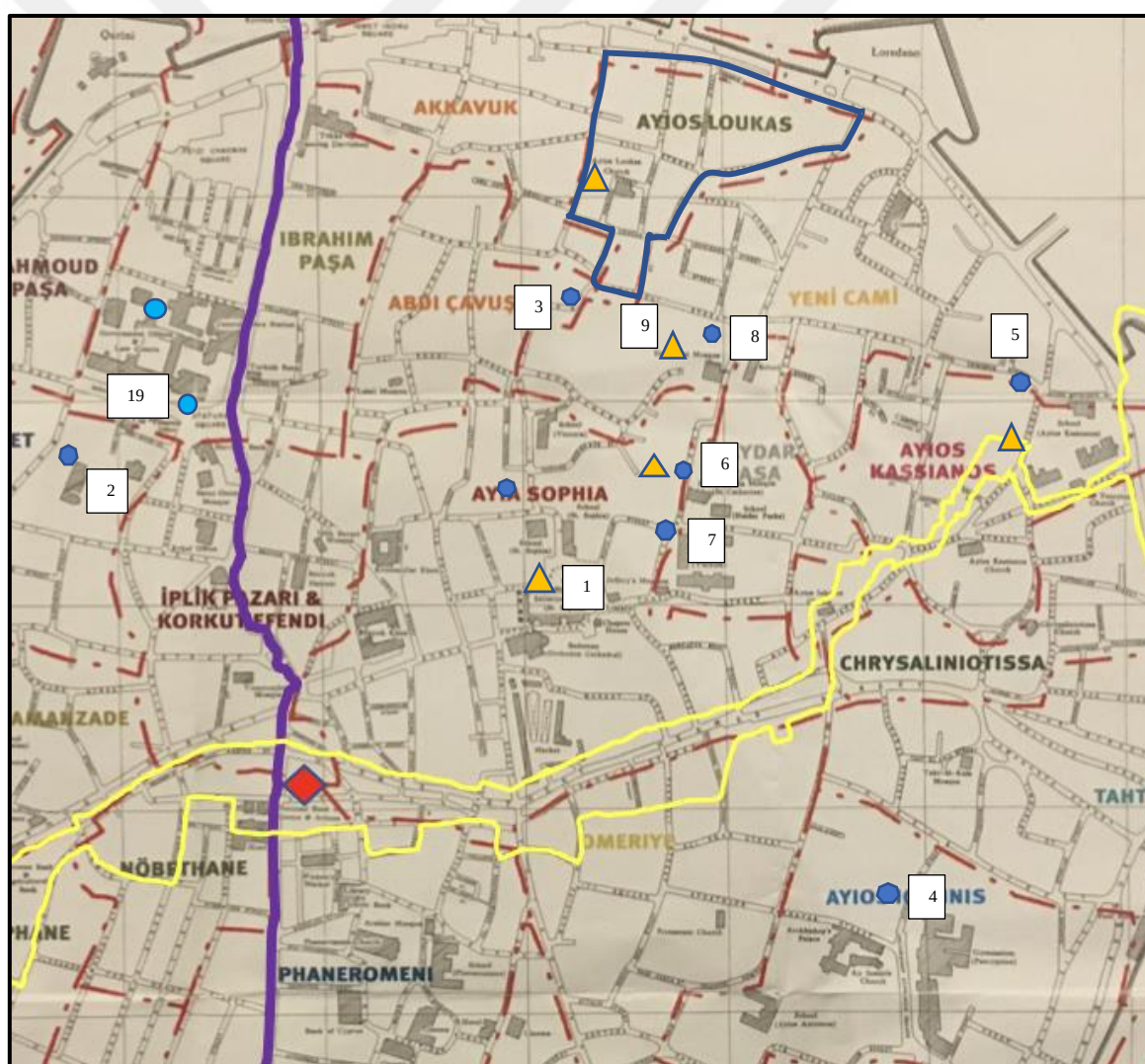
⁶⁷⁰ David Lowenthal, "Chapter 1 Heritage Ascendant," in *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, by David Lowenthal (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1-31.

⁶⁷¹ Hestia Project, "Ylva Berglund Prytz (University of Oxford) The Benefit of the Crowd.," YouTube, October 17, 2014, , accessed June 03, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Iq89PZ5RbAo&feature=youtu.be>.

PLACES		
Ayia Sophia	Abdiçavuş	Other Places
<i>School</i>	<i>Whorehouse--"kuruçeşme" "dry fountain"</i>	(mentioned in interviews)
Ayasofya (Selimiye) Elementary School (1)	Akkavuk	Nicosia, South Italy
Victoria School (2)	<i>Bakka!-Çolakoglu (10)</i>	<i>villages--mixed</i>
Atatürk Elementary School (3)	<i>Mosque--Akkavuk (11)</i>	Madyat
Ayios Antonios	Arabahmet	Vadili
Ayios Ionannis	Ayios Loukas	Arçoz
<i>School</i>	<i>Bakka!</i>	Balikitre
Pancyprian Gymnasium (4)	Ahmet Örek/Cahit Örek (12)	<i>School</i>
Ayios Kassianos	Louizou (13)	American Academy
<i>School</i>	Andricco (14)	Cyprus College
Ayios Kassianos Elementary School (5)	<i>Church</i>	English School
Ayios Savvas	Ayios Loukas Church (15)	
Chrysaliniotissa	<i>Coffehouse</i>	
Haydarpaşa	Enver'in Kahve (16)	
<i>School</i>	<i>Fountain</i>	
Haydarpaşa Elementary School (6)	<i>Bakery</i>	
Lefkoşa Türk Lisesi (7)	Minnoş (17)	
İbrahim Paşa	Hodjas	
Sarayönü (19)	<i>Street</i>	
Law Courts (20)	Ali Yüzbaşı Street	
İplik Pazarı & Korkut Efendi	Alsancak Street (<i>Apostolos Loucas</i>)	
Karamanzade	Ege Street (<i>Elli</i>)	
Mahmut Paşa	Ferah Street (<i>Phrixos</i>)	
Nöbethane	Hacı Sadık Street	
Ömeriye	Kadife Sreet (<i>Corinth</i>)	
Phaneromeni	Lozan Street (<i>Lysias</i>)	
Tabakhane	Marmara Street (<i>Marathon</i>)	
Taht El Kale (Tahtagala)	Poyraz Street (<i>Pelopidas</i>)	
Tophane	Reşadiye Street (<i>now İstanbul Street</i>)	
Tripiotis	Toros Street (<i>Tiebes street</i>)	
Yenicami	Turan Street (<i>Alanjılar</i>)	
<i>School</i>	Vefalı Street (<i>Valoratis</i>)	
Yenicamii Elementary School (8)	Yenicami Street	
<i>Mosque</i>	Isparta Street (<i>Sparta</i>)	
Yenicami mosque (9)		
Walled Nicosia		

Table: Place Names as revealed through Oral History Project regarding Ayios Loukas
Figure 23

While each interview excerpt will have a subtitle, subject headings and key words associated with it, as mentioned in the previous section, it will also be referenced to a particular place, when appropriate, as well as a particular time period. Figure 19 lists the place names mentioned so far in the interviews, including those outside Walled Nicosia as well as the remaining 22 neighborhoods which the piloted version of the *CHHP of Cyprus* in Walled Nicosia will reference. In my interviews with Greek Cypriots, street names were mentioned which I did not know about, until I located an older map of the city and was able to match the old street names with the new ones. These former Greek street names are included in Fig. 19.

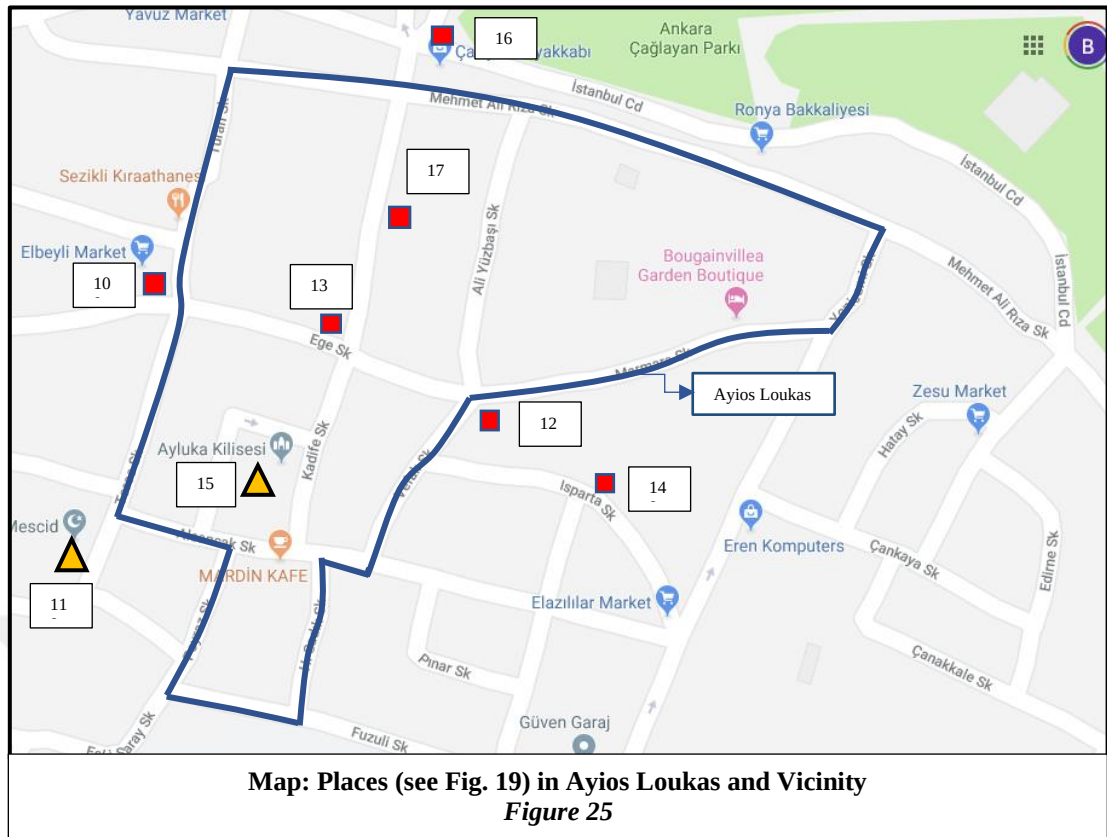


Map: Places (see Fig. 19) outside Ayios Loukas
Figure 24

All of the street names that were in Greek in the past have been replaced with Turkish names. Even the neighborhood of Ayios Loukas, referred to by TCs as “Ayluga” has been changed and is now referred to as Ay Yıldız. Such changing of street names was also practiced in the aftermath of the French Revolution because it was realized that such action had great “ideological and pedagogical potential.”⁶⁷² Noteworthy is the fact that changing street and place names is widely practiced in the North of the island but not in the South.

Given the local focus of the methodology employed in the museology of peacebuilding, the greatest number of place names mentioned are in Ayios Loukas and include its “bakkals,” or small grocery shops, coffee shops, ovens and fountains, besides its individual streets and most prominent public landmark, the Ayios Loukas Church. Places will be listed by names when they are of a public nature such as *Enver’in Kahve* (coffeehouse), *Minnoş* (bakery), *Louizou* (tavern), but in the piloted version of the *CHHP of Cyprus* for Walled Nicosia they will also have addresses and GPS locations because in most cases these places no longer exist in their old locations, if at all, and the *CHHP of Cyprus* Mobile Application requires interview excerpts to have GPS locations linked with them, as I will explain later in this section. Once all the interviews are transcribed, translated, catalogued, indexed, referenced to particular places and uploaded onto the *CHHP of Cyprus* website, the platform is ready for engagement by users. I foresee this engagement happening in two primary ways which I outline below.

⁶⁷² Michael Sheringham, *Everyday Life: Theories and Practices from Surrealism to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 377.



The *CHHP of Cyprus* Website:

The *CHHP of Cyprus* website is accessible from anywhere around the world, where research can be conducted based on any topic, place and time period of interest. A tourist, for example, could conduct research about the island before visiting. S/he may have heard about the 1974 war which led to the division of the island and the dislocation of people from their homes and conduct a search about it which would reveal, most likely to her/his surprise, that the dislocation of people from their homes has been taking place across the island under different circumstances since the mid-1950s onwards, one of the earliest, if not the earliest instance being the neighborhood of Ayios Loukas in Walled Nicosia case-studied in this dissertation. S/he could conduct this search in two ways; either by clicking on the “civil strife” box under “Listen Troubled Times” and choosing the sub-theme of “forced to leave home” or

conducting a free search with relevant words under the “Search” function. A similar type of use may involve an academician interested in the islanders’ outlook towards the dispute who may want to listen to interviews and capture the “thematic universes” of the islanders, as expressed through their voices and structure of language used. This person may choose *civil strife—fear* and listen to excerpts where the islanders recount their traumatic experiences on the island. A more local use of the platform may involve a high school student currently living in Walled Nicosia, who becomes aware of the *CHHP of Cyprus* website and conducts a search about the love life of the islanders in the 1950s and 1960s. In a similarly local use of the platform, an elderly Cypriot woman may search the website for any mentions of her recently deceased husband who was a well-known personality on the island. Another person may vaguely remember a murder taking place in the whereabouts of his neighborhood when he was a child and may conduct a search to see if any information comes up about it on the *CHHP of Cyprus* website. Whether used by those foreign to the island or those immersed in its histories and heritages, the *CHHP of Cyprus* website is imagined as a growing resource for the histories and heritages of the island, an invaluable learning and research tool with a search capability akin to good internet search engines.

While the person who catalogues and indexes the interviews becomes, effectively, also the person who curates the emerging histories and heritages of Cyprus, this curation is done only to the extent that it helps the objective of peacebuilding, as explained above. The remaining curation is done by the person engaged with the *CHHP of Cyprus* website and determined through her/his particular search. The

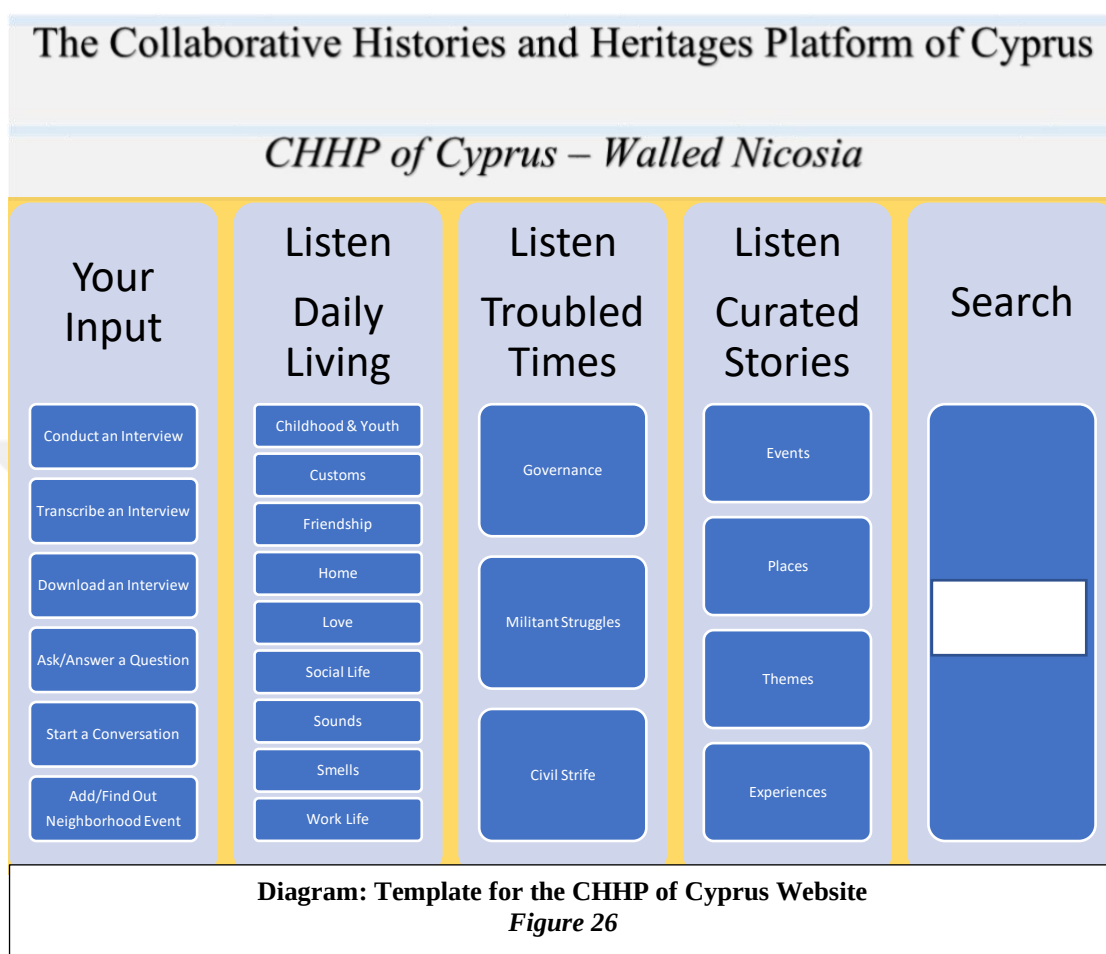
results which appear comprise her/his own personalized exhibition compiled out of relevant interview excerpts.

The *CHHP of Cyprus* website is also envisioned as using Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) as a means of allowing community members to communicate with each other over the platform. Visser notes that there are very few examples of these.⁶⁷³ The left-hand box on the website with the title “Your Input” is the place where this type of communication amongst members takes place. The first three boxes concern directions to be followed when interviewing someone and downloading the contents onto the platform, as explained in Chapter 4. The remaining three boxes is where community members have the chance to communicate with each other. These last three areas are imagined to be used heavily as part of the peace education program which I will address in the next section. The box “Ask/Answer a Question” is where those engaged with the contents of the platform can post a specific question or answer one previously posted by someone else.

The “Start a Conversation” box is where people who want to engage with others can start a chat. This is a place where old neighbors can converse with each other or where current residents connect with the former inhabitants of their home or where conversations take place regarding a particular theme addressed on the website. The last box “Add/Find Out Neighborhood Event” is the place where people can post any

⁶⁷³ Jasper Visser, "Chapter 5 Information and Communication Technologies for Heritage and Peacebuilding," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 61.

event they are organizing in Walled Nicosia as well as find out what other ongoing events there are.



Hence, I imagine the *CHHP of Cyprus* website as a place which enables anyone with any kind of interest in Walled Nicosia, its past, present, as well as future, to connect with like-minded others and begin conversing about their shared interests. Visser notes, in so far as ICT's are concerned, that establishing horizontal connections amongst individuals and communities is far more important than establishing vertical connections between people and institutions, as mentioned previously.⁶⁷⁴ The *CHHP of Cyprus* is imagined as a platform which establishes such horizontal connections

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid., 55.

amongst its members as opposed to vertical connections between them and any other given institution. John Lederach also reiterates the significance of establishing communication across different sections of society by noting that the exchange of ideas between people who are unlikely to ever meet and talk with each other creates the kind of synergy that leads to “innovative solutions and creativity in peacebuilding.”⁶⁷⁵

Walled Nicosia affords the opportunity for such unlikely coalescing of people, on both sides of the divide. A large number of migrant populations live in Walled Nicosia including from Turkey, Pakistan, Philippines, Romania, Russia, Bulgaria and more. In fact, Walled Nicosia is most likely to have the most heterogeneous population on the island. Census of Population records in the North do not indicate the migrant background of residents if they have TRNC citizenship but in my personal communication with the neighborhood official, the “muhtar” of the Ayios Loukas neighborhood Ayla Talik, I found out that more than half the population of Ayios Loukas is made up of migrant communities, a large proportion of whom are from the Hatay province of Turkey. Other neighborhoods in the North of Walled Nicosia have similar if not higher proportions of migrant populations. In contrast to this current demographic mix, during the 1950s and 1960s, according to the results of the oral history project I conducted with former residents of this neighborhood, Ayios Loukas was populated by a mix of Turkish and Greek Cypriots as well as some Armenians. Most of these residents now live outside the walls.⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷⁵ John Lederach, "From Conflict Resolution to Strategic Peacebuilding," YouTube, March 25, 2011, accessed June 02, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LwsThUncRxE>.

⁶⁷⁶ Significant about the walled city today is that it retains much of the city fabric from this time period, especially in the North, largely as a result of neglect because the majority of the islander's in the North left this area because it reminded them of the difficult enclave period when many TCs from

The *CHHP of Cyprus* piloted for Walled Nicosia is expected to be of relevance to all these people, from the past and the present, as they all have memories linked with the particular places which they inhabited. What this means is that a very diverse group of people will be engaged with the platform and communicating with each other around the histories and heritages of their past and present places of habitation. Visser calls such communities communicating with each other through digital platforms, “digital communities,” and notes that they are attractive and successful to the extent that they have a local or personal connection to the concerned community.⁶⁷⁷ The *CHHP of Cyprus* website piloted for Walled Nicosia covers the histories and heritages of this particular place and therefore has a local and personal connection for these people who have or have had experiences in these places. The *CHHP of Cyprus* Mobile Application, which I address next, furthers this local and personal connection by embedding particular stories from the past concerning these places within the very environments which they address.

The CHHP of Cyprus Mobile Application:

The *CHHP of Cyprus* Mobile Application will be downloadable before visiting a site or downloadable on-site through QR codes⁶⁷⁸ placed on the poles of street signs.

other regions on the island had migrated within the city walls because it provided better protection and safety compared to other more exposed regions on the island. Many GCs also left Walled Nicosia after the 1974 because they did not want to live within such proximity to the enemy. Although the walled city is gradually gentrifying with a new group of islanders, mostly from the highly educated sections of the population, coming back to the walled city, opening up cafes, galleries and boutique hotels, this transformation is in its initial phases.

⁶⁷⁷ Jasper Visser, "Chapter 5 Information and Communication Technologies for Heritage and Peacebuilding," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 61.

⁶⁷⁸ QR (Quick Response) codes are a type of black and white barcode that can be read using smartphones and dedicated QR reading devices. They are typically used to connect to a URL address on the internet. So, when they are placed on a particular location, a person who scans it with his/her phone can be connected to the website of the building automatically. Applications that allow one to create QR codes as well as those that allow smartphones to read them can be downloaded free of

When the mobile device is held to the QR code, it will link directly to the mobile application. The mobile application will contain already curated stories regarding the histories and heritages of that region, in this case, Walled Nicosia, which will be categorized into “events,” “places,” and “themes.” These curated stories will also be available on the website under the box “Listen Curated Stories.”



Photographs: Decaying Walled Nicosia

(Photographs are by author.)

Figure 27

The specific event which emerged through the oral history project conducted in Ayios Loukas is the forced eviction of Greek Cypriots from this neighborhood between 1956 and 1958⁶⁷⁹ for which I curated a story. The particular “place” for which there were the greatest number of anecdotes was the Ayios Loukas Church, for which I also curated another story. In the last chapter of the dissertation, Chapter

charge. Therefore, QR codes are most likely the simplest and cheapest technology that can be used to embed data in a physical location.

⁶⁷⁹ Another event which emerged was the 1963 incident of hundreds, if not thousands of Turkish Cypriots moving into Walled Nicosia seeking refuge from the attacks on their own neighborhoods.

6, I include the transcriptions as well as linked audio recordings for these interview excerpts which make up the above two curated stories. In this chapter, I illustrate the theme-based stories which emerged as the chance consequence of the flow of the conversations I had with my interviewees while I inquired more specifically about the major event which took place in Ayios Loukas.

Within each curated story compiled out of interview excerpts, whether concerning an event, a place or a theme, there are excerpts which reference specific places while there are also excerpts which do not. Given my focus during the oral history research on a particular period within Ayios Loukas, the most complete curated stories which emerged are the above-mentioned ones concerning the Greek Cypriots leaving Ayios Loukas and the Ayios Loukas Church itself. Given their local nature, these two stories are also the ones that have the greatest number of place-referenced excerpts. The theme-based curated stories I cover in this chapter are shorter and have less place referenced excerpts.

I imagine the *CHHP of Cyprus* mobile application to work with Google Maps and show the real-time location of the person with a default option for listening to the curated stories that reference that particular neighborhood, street or site that the person is currently located within. I also imagine the mobile application to work similar to Google Maps such that a person walking from one location to another can input this information on the application and choose to listen to curated stories that are referenced to the locations *along* her/his chosen route. It is for this reason that a GPS location needs to be included as the metadata for interview excerpts to enable the mobile application to choose excerpts that are located along the particular chosen

path. The mobile application will also indicate how long this particular route will take to traverse, allowing the person to choose a combination of excerpts that will match his/her time of travel.⁶⁸⁰ Through the *CHHP of Cyprus* mobile application, an individual moving through the city, whether on foot, by bicycle or car, will be able to listen to already curated stories about Walled Nicosia available on the mobile application (or choose excerpts from within the curated story) as well as a custom-tailored compilation of excerpts conducted through his/her own particular search.

In the website of the *CHHP of Cyprus*, www.chhpofcyprus.com, I include a video under “Listen Curated Stories” “Experiences,” which simulates the experience of using the mobile application for the major event which took place in Ayios Loukas (1956-1958) during which GCs were forced to leave their homes.⁶⁸¹ This video simulates a ten-minute walk through the neighborhood and was put together by a History and Media Studies undergraduate student, Nezihe Atun, using her own video footage. The brief for the video was to include any part/parts of the 24 interview excerpts which total close to two hours and make up the content of the curated story for this event. I provided her with the table on p.330 which lists the excerpts in the order I compiled them and as they would appear on the mobile application, with excerpts referencing a particular place grouped together indicating also the particular

⁶⁸⁰ I conducted a very similar project to the mobile application outlined above but using Geographical Information Systems which can be used both for mapping routes as well as for associating interview excerpts with particular locations. A GIS version of the Website could also exist where regions such as Walled Nicosia, streets, neighborhoods defined by administrative boundaries etc. are delineated and content related to them, associated with them. The preference for websites is that they are more accessible to the general public and much easier to use compared to the technical and difficult nature of GIS.

⁶⁸¹ A third Year Media Studies and History Major, Nezihe Atun, did an internship with me in the summer of 2018 where she took footage of both the neighborhood and the interviews and put the video together, under my directives, for the purpose of simulating the experience of using the *CHHP of Cyprus* Mobile Application in Ayios Loukas.

locations that they reference. I also provided her with the transcripts of these interview excerpts and their audio links. Therefore, the video created is both an illustration of what the embedded experience of the *CHHP of Cyprus* may be like as well as an illustration of the *individualized* nature capability of the mobile application which enables each person to curate his/her *own* stories out of the available excerpts.

Similar to how the interviewee mentioned in Chapter 4, A. O., used to listen to Zeki Müren songs while walking through the city, a person today will be able to listen to voices from the past which reference the particular places traversed, creating a kind of *collapse of time* which brings all islanders associated with a given place, past and present, into a new kind of *shared* space which embodies all memories of the islanders associated with these places. In effect, the embedded methodology employed by the museology of peacebuilding becomes a tool which *alters* our experience of a place. As such, the museology of peacebuilding, as envisioned through the proposal of the *CHHP of Cyprus*, while shifting our perception of the “other” and the dispute on the island through the accounts of the islanders, simultaneously shifts our experience and perception of the places in which these curated stories are embedded. As we listen to them, the past becomes familiar and no longer foreign while our current lived-in environments become imbued with additional significances which enrich their meanings.

By embedding stories from the troubled past of the 1950s and 1960s within the present lived environment of Walled Nicosia, the *CHHP of Cyprus Mobile Application*, in effect, makes these stories part of the present experience of these neighborhoods. The significant difference in the former and current demographics of

Walled Nicosia means that the lived experiences of a significantly different group of people from the past will become the living reality of the current residents as they listen to these stories during the course of their daily lives. A Philippine family may now be living in the house where a Turkish Cypriot family used to live in the South and a family from Turkey may now be living in a house in which a Greek Cypriot family used to live. In the case of Ayios Loukas, the particular events involving the attack on the Greek Cypriots of this neighborhood will have taken place on the street where currently a family from Hatay lives. Should these current residents of this particular street become familiar with the curated stories on the mobile application that reference this street, they will begin to perceive their present physical environment differently. This same street will now be imbued with all the complexity that life during the troubled decades of the 1950s and 1960s encompassed; including pain, loss, love, friendship, fear, poverty and much more. The past as well as the people belonging to this past will no longer be foreign as they will have been brought back into the places which their memories reference and where they will be stored and shared where the current residents of Walled Nicosia live.

Ayers puts forth that the two disciplines of geography and history are the primary disciplines representing space and time respectively and their integration into inquiry helps to situate an investigation in “a physical and cultural landscape” as well as within “time;”⁶⁸² dimensions that are necessary for understanding social phenomena

⁶⁸² Edward L. Ayers, "Chapter 1 Turning toward Place, Space, and Time," in *Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of Humanities Scholarship*, by David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris (2010), 6.

as an “integrated whole.”⁶⁸³ By embedding a historical past within the present environment that this past references, the museology of peacebuilding which the *CHHP of Cyprus* is a manifestation of, establishes a kind of simulated virtual environment, similar to virtual exhibitions, facilitating an understanding of this past but more importantly shifting the perception of reality towards a deeper understanding of the “other” as well as the dispute on the island.

In this regard, the *CHHP of Cyprus* also embraces what is referred to as the “spatial” turn in the humanities, meaning that the humanistic inquiry foregrounds or at least addresses space as being significant. In their introduction to the book *Spatial Humanities*, Bodenhamer, Corrigan, and Harris put forth that the advent of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) was “at the heart” of this spatial turn.⁶⁸⁴ In the field of archaeology, for example, the finds in a dig, categorized by kind and indicated on a map showing where they are found, give clues regarding the functions of the various spaces in the structure, for which most often no other historical record exists. In other words, locating information within its spatial context helps in our interpretation and understanding of it. The *CHHP of Cyprus* takes this understanding one step further by using the “real” spaces of the island instead of a map in which to locate information regarding the past of these places. As such, the *CHHP of Cyprus* treats Walled Nicosia as a kind of map onto which information can be uploaded for the purpose of providing people with a virtual experience of the past.

⁶⁸³ Ibid., 7.

⁶⁸⁴ David J. Bodenhamer, “Chapter 2 The Potential of Spatial Humanities,” in *Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of Humanities Scholarship*, by David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris (2010), 14. Bodenhamer explains that the spatial turn began in the pioneering work of social scientists like Clifford Geertz, Erving Goffman, and Anthony Giddens and has been advanced in the humanities through the work of Michel Foucault, Michel de Certeau, Edward Said and others whose investigation of space took the form of a focus on the local and on context.

Gurian notes that, in its fluidity and complexity, the behavior of people in exhibitions mimics those in other public arenas of display such as international fairs, department stores and city streets.⁶⁸⁵ I imagine that the *CHHP of Cyprus* mobile application embedded within the streets of Walled Nicosia will induce such fluid, complex and casual engagement with the *CHHP of Cyprus*. The frequent use of the mobile application to listen to former residents' accounts of Walled Nicosia while going from one place to another, will layer these places with meanings from the troubled past of the island belonging to both communities. I imagine such repeated listening to familiarize the current residents with these stories to the extent that even the contestations within them are henceforth perceived simply as "differences." I imagine, in other words, that similar to how repeated exposure, over time, to something initially seen to be negative and foreign, transforms them into something familiar, even likeable, I also imagine that the perception of those engaged with these stories will likewise shift over time. The histories and heritages that are compiled into curated stories on the *CHHP of Cyprus* mobile application will become part of the everyday experience of the residents of Walled Nicosia, achieving thus the overriding objective of making the museology of peacebuilding an endeavor accessible to all islanders no matter what ethnic, religious, social or cultural group they belong to and no matter where they live.

Peace Education and Museology of Peacebuilding

While embedding the voices of the past residents of a neighborhood within the current space of a neighborhood is a significant step in immersing the islanders into

⁶⁸⁵ Elaine Heumann Gurian, "Chapter 3 Public Spaces for Strangers: The Foundation for Peacebuilding and Implications for Heritage Institutions," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 35.

the cognitive and affective world of the past, they need additional support, especially members of the younger generation, in ensuring that the affective responses generated by the *CHHP of Cyprus* evolve into lasting shifts in perception of the “other” and resolution of the dispute on the island through a program of peace education that more specifically addresses all the issues involved. This additional support will be provided by the peace education program which I envision to be an integral part of the museology of peacebuilding. In terms of the islanders’ readiness for peace education, surveys conducted indicate that 54% of Cypriots are “in favor of the distribution of jointly produced educational material across the island to promote a multi-perspective understanding of the past.”⁶⁸⁶ This is a good indicator of support for an endeavor that is very hard to practice in regions of conflict. Even in regions *not* torn by conflict, “forces in the larger culture make it difficult for schools to pursue the aim of educating for peace.”⁶⁸⁷

Although peace education is a theoretically driven field, it is also “a practical enterprise that needs continuously to consider what it is that the present contextual conditions afford it to do and say.”⁶⁸⁸ There are currently serious structural obstacles against the island-wide practice of peace education in Cyprus, as explained in Chapter 2, necessitating therefore, that an altogether different structure be put into place. Since peace education is conceptualized as an integral part of the museology of peacebuilding and affected by the same problematics of peacebuilding, it is logical

⁶⁸⁶ *Citizen Peacemaking in Cyprus, The Story of Co-operation and Trust across the Green Line*, report, United Nations Development Program (Cyprus: UNDP-ACT, 2013), 69.

⁶⁸⁷ Nel Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.

⁶⁸⁸ Zvi Bekerman and Claire McGlynn, *Addressing Ethnic Conflict through Peace Education: International Perspectives* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 5.

for it to also adopt the same local, place and people-based methodology. It has been suggested by anthropologist Anne Brown that “local realities and their interactions are not only serious but also of fundamental importance to peacebuilding.”⁶⁸⁹ A program implemented at the local scale is also easily observable in terms of its outcomes, which I noted in Chapter 3 to be a significant requirement of the practice of the museology of peacebuilding.

The peace education program, which is viewed as an integral part of the museology of peacebuilding, is significantly different from a museum program or event in two major ways. First, there is now a stable population engaged with it, similar to a classroom, and therefore in a position to give feedback at any given moment. Second, the overriding objective of the peace education program remains the same, unlike museum events or exhibitions that change every couple of months thus facilitating the essential follow-up of students in whom particular changes in behavior are looked for. These two significant differences, the relatively stable residential population of a neighborhood as well as the stable objective of the program enables the museology of peacebuilding to be practiced as an *intentional* educative endeavor as opposed to one whose outcomes can be very difficult to ascertain, as is the case in traditional museums elaborated upon in Chapter 3. The primary objective of this peace education program to be implemented as part of the museology of peacebuilding is to raise a new generation without hatred and enmity towards the “other” and equip them with a deep understanding of the histories and heritages of the island as well as their own role within this “reality.”

⁶⁸⁹ M. Anne Brown, "Chapter 10 Anthropology and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* (London: Routledge, 2015), 139.

The fact that each neighborhood within Walled Nicosia is run by a “muhtar” means that this local official can become an integral part of the peace education program, acting as a point of reference for better understanding the needs of a given neighborhood. Within the context of the Ayios Loukas neighborhood, the Church of Ayios Loukas that is currently used by Has-der (Halk Sanatları Derneği or Folk Arts Association), but not on a regular daily basis, is a very appropriate public space within the neighborhood that can be put to use for accommodating the neighborhood’s peace education needs. Peace education programs can be put together based on the specific needs of the children and youth of Ayios Loukas. Educational theorist John Dewey notes that the educational needs of individuals are indeed unique to them. He asserted that “there is no such thing as intrinsically educative material” and the degree of reception by the learner depends on how fitting this material is to his/her needs.⁶⁹⁰

A very wide range of themes were addressed in the interviews I conducted, to which more will be added once the *CHHP of Cyprus* is piloted in all of Walled Nicosia. The breadth and depth of these themes, as I will illustrate later in this chapter and Chapter 6, provide sufficient material that can constitute the starting point for the peace education program, situating the learning experiences of the youth within the *real* lived experiences of the former generation of islanders. The individualistic nature of learning delineated by educational theorist John Dewey necessitates close observation of the learner and an iterative process in presenting material that is appropriate for her/his intellectual and emotional development. It is also the reason why *more* instead of less guidance is needed by educators in discovering what

⁶⁹⁰ John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York: Free Press, 2015).

material is appropriate for a given individual.⁶⁹¹ What this means is that setting up a peace education program requires, above all, good educators and many of them. I imagine that, as with the rest of the *CHHP of Cyprus*, the museology of peacebuilding will function on the basis of volunteers until a sustainable financial plan is also set up for it.⁶⁹²

Peace education scholar Noddings notes that peace education has to begin with the encouragement to listen “sympathetically” to those with whom we disagree. The islanders’ accounts compiled on the *CHHP of Cyprus* are, in this regard, a very fitting place to begin practicing this sympathetic listening. Noddings also notes that peace education involves asking difficult and at times very uncomfortable questions. She elaborates on some of these questions, asking for example, if it is possible for people to “think of themselves as citizens of the world first” and then as citizens of a nation or group? How does “patriotism support war” and is it possible to redefine patriotism such that it “sustains love of country, yet reduces its identification with the military and war?”⁶⁹³ She notes that it is a fact of history that “church and state have cooperated by means of elaborate rituals to maintain religiously endorsed patriotism” but that we need to be courageous enough to ask what role religion played in “both advocating peace and supporting war?”⁶⁹⁴ This necessary stance of asking difficult questions has parallels with Freire’s liberating education which is also based on

⁶⁹¹ Ibid.

⁶⁹² A sustainable financial plan is an indispensable part of the *CHHP of Cyprus*, as stated in Part I of the dissertation and constitutes part of the work that will need to take place during the implementation phase of the proposal, post-dissertation.

⁶⁹³ Nel Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 4.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid., 5.

asking difficult questions involving both our particular situatedness within society as well as our oppressed state, questions unlikely to have been asked before. Within the context of the museology of peacebuilding, asking difficult questions is what constitutes its essence, as noted by James Clifford in the Introduction to the dissertation, who puts forth that if museums intend to act as zones of contact museums they need to address issues such as “alliance” and “inequality”⁶⁹⁵ which are some of the most difficult issues to address in regions of conflict.

Working through these paradoxes is very challenging and difficult, even for those who are trained for this. A comprehensive study conducted with teachers who were tasked with peace education in bilingual schools in Israel and Palestine noted, through concrete classroom examples, that on many occasions the teachers found themselves automatically shifting into the national narratives of their respective communities, failing in this way, to create the safe space that was necessary for initiating and maintaining dialogue between the Palestinian and Israeli children.⁶⁹⁶ In other words, remaining within the space of “paradoxical curiosity” without slipping into dualisms, as Lederach points out we need to, and maintaining the safe space where difficult questions can be asked is easier said than done, even for educators who set out from the start to accomplish this. The practice of peace education is ultimately more difficult than delineating its theory.

⁶⁹⁵ James Clifford, "Museums as Contact Zones," in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA,: Harvard Univ. Press, 1999), 213.

⁶⁹⁶ Zvi Bekerman and Michalinos Zembylas, *Teaching Contested Narratives: Identity, Memory and Reconciliation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

The significance of the *CHHP of Cyprus* for the peace education program is that the individual excerpts as well as curated stories can initiate asking these difficult questions based on concrete examples involving the lived experiences of the islanders. What is also significant is that each interview excerpt as well as curated story is always incomplete, sometimes with even inaccurate bits of information, hence calling for the further involvement and collaboration of the islanders towards its completion. I view this incompleteness as an opportunity and basis for how peace education is to become an integral part of the museology of peacebuilding and not an addendum to it. In the *CHHP of Cyprus* model of peace education, participants are encouraged to use the website to reach out to the larger community to collaborate in the completion of the excerpts and curated stories.

The “Your Input” section of the *CHHP of Cyprus* website is where questions will be posted and answers given, as I stated before in this chapter. While the accounts of the former residents of a neighborhood constitute the base for the histories and heritages of the island, the present residents of the same neighborhood, particularly the youth, contribute to the further development, evolution and completion of these emerging histories and heritages in a model of peace education that is steeped in the well-accepted pedagogical approach which advocates active and participatory learning. Peace education becomes an integral part of the discipline and practice of the museology of peacebuilding. In effect, the communities of Cyprus which were brought together in compiling the histories and heritages of their country are held together through the ever-present necessity to complete their evolving and emerging histories and heritages. Visser notes that when connections are present amongst members of digital communities, these communities become highly motivated to

engage in activities that relate to their interests, culture or history.⁶⁹⁷ I imagine that connections will be established amongst those who engage with the *CHHP of Cyprus* which will further motivate and encourage them to establish new collaborations amongst themselves.

John Dewey's conceptualization of education as a social process and his suggestion that the educational setting be viewed as a game with rules, helps us visualize the pragmatics of the practice of peace education imagined as integral to the museology of peacebuilding. Dewey suggests that as long as everyone views the educational setting as a game, the rules of the game become intrinsic to the endeavor.⁶⁹⁸ I foresee such rules to be essential in setting up a peace education program if the standard blame game and thinking in dualisms is to be avoided. Dewey further advocates the significance of the feeling of community in the educative endeavor and claims that if the "classroom" feels as a community, order is maintained, and education stands a greater chance of success. He puts forth that it is not "the will or desire of any one person which establishes order," such as the teacher, but "the moving spirit of the whole group" which sees itself as part of the classroom community.⁶⁹⁹ Dewey further asserts that the educative setting needs to be "conducive to community activity" the absence of which gives way to "the possibility of chaos or lack of order."⁷⁰⁰ He states that when this community

⁶⁹⁷ Jasper Visser, "Chapter 5 Information and Communication Technologies for Heritage and Peacebuilding," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 59.

⁶⁹⁸ John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York: Free Press, 2015), 52.

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 58.

environment is missing, teachers find themselves in the position of having to become authoritative.

The kinds of questions and actions that are suggested by the interview excerpts and curated stories encourage those involved in the program to look around, examine their neighborhood, ask their parents and elders questions, discuss with their friends, post a question on the website etc., all of which encourage working together as a community in what is akin to a social model of learning espoused by many educational theorists including Dewey and Vygotsky.

Regarding the general approach to peace education, I propose that a tiered approach to addressing difficult topics be adopted. A tiered approach enables various kinds and degrees of engagement with the histories and heritages of Cyprus, the necessity for which is supported by research as well as practice within the fields of museology, education and peacebuilding. Based on observations of people in “immersion exhibits,” Mortenson categorizes visitors into three types; the resonance visitor who “effortlessly immerses herself/himself in the exhibit because s/he understands and appreciates its micro-culture; the “distance” visitor who “although inclined to make the transition, retains his/her distance to it” and the last type of visitor; the “rejection” visitor who is “unable to grasp the meaning of the layout and refuses to immerse in it.”⁷⁰¹ Mortenson notes that different types and degrees of what she calls “anchors” are needed for transitioning these visitors into the immersive environment. In other words, each individual’s willingness as well as capability to enter an

⁷⁰¹ Marianne Foss Mortensen, "Designing Immersion Exhibits as Border-crossing Environments," *Museum Management and Curatorship* 25, no. 3 (2010): doi:10.1080/09647775.2010.498990.

immersive environment shows great variety. The stories recounted about the troubled past of the island, inclusive of people's emotions and thoughts, are immersive environments. While some people may want to immerse themselves in these environments, others may be unwilling to do so. People cannot and should not be forced into such environments. Glendinning, aforementioned Director of Diversity Challenges, notes that for the reconciliatory process to take place "everyone needs to be given space and time and not be rushed"⁷⁰² and even then, "some may never take the first step."⁷⁰³ A tiered approach to content exposure provides people with the choice of various degrees and kinds of engagement with difficult topics in accordance with their state of readiness and preference, increasing the chances of more people becoming engaged with the *CHHP of Cyprus*.

Jean Piaget's well-known theory of the sequential stages of human development also points to the need for a tiered approach to learning. Piaget asserts that "children pass through a series of stages when developing their thinking and skills" which are sequential in nature where "each stage must be fully achieved before the next could commence."⁷⁰⁴ In a similar understanding of the tiered nature of learning, John Dewey noted that due to the cumulative nature of learning, experiences build on top of previous experiences and at any given point in time an individual is at a different "objective" state of learning. Thus, he argued, "the organized subject-matter of the adult and specialist" cannot and should not constitute the starting point of an

⁷⁰² Will Glendinning, "Chapter 13 A Conversation with Will Glendinning: Diversity Challenges in Northern Ireland," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 152.

⁷⁰³ Ibid., 157.

⁷⁰⁴ Karl Aubrey and Alison Riley, *Understanding & Using Educational Theories* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2016), 34.

educative endeavor. He posited that this upper level material can “only represent the goal towards which” education should “continuously move.”⁷⁰⁵ Given that the audience of the *CHHP of Cyprus* is expected to be of varying ages and at different stages in their intellectual and emotional development, the platform needs to be tiered in its content such that it allows for different kinds and degrees of intellectual and emotional engagement. The tiered approach, in effect, provides content that mimics how we learn, beginning with the less complex and moving up to the more complex, in a schema where less challenging themes act as stepping stones or “anchors” for more challenging ones.

While I envision peace education to be carried out based on the content of the *CHHP of Cyprus*, once the intervention is carried out across the entire island, the model of peace education piloted in these neighborhoods can evolve into an altogether new model of education for the entire island which incorporates peace education as part of its pedagogy as opposed to treating it as a separate kind of education. A 2015 UNESCO report *Redefining Learning Content and Methods in the 21st Century* puts forth the consensus among educators that “present approaches to teaching and structuring learning environments are inadequate to addressing and supporting twenty-first century learning needs” and “curricula and schools must be transformed to make new forms of learning possible.”⁷⁰⁶ It is generally accepted that current models of formal education are insufficient in preparing youth for the future. This is all the more pronounced in regions of conflict, as noted previously in this study. The

⁷⁰⁵ John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York: Free Press, 2015).

⁷⁰⁶ Qian Tang, *Global Citizenship Education: Preparing Learners for the Challenges of the 21st Century* (Paris: UNESCO, 2014), 2.

sharp disciplinary boundaries that are part of school curricula fail to explain the complex world we live in today as well as the complex structures and relationships that have led to conflict in the world. As noted by peace education scholars also, there is the need for “a strong and consistent interdisciplinary approach to peace education.”⁷⁰⁷

The evolving histories and heritages of Cyprus, as compiled through the *CHHP of Cyprus*, provide educators with material that is already interdisciplinary in nature because the stories recounted are based on real lived experiences which move across disciplinary areas. When the *CHHP of Cyprus* is applied on an island-wide scale, including its natural environment, there are bound to emerge many interesting topics that could form the content material for the entire education curricula of Cyprus across the divide. Hence, the expanded version of the *CHHP of Cyprus* addressing the specific histories and heritages of the island can be viewed as the future resource package for education in Cyprus, not only regarding the dispute on the island, but all other subjects as well. Such teaching and learning would be a contextual and situated approach, which addresses all topics in a concrete and tangible manner making them not only more interesting but also more comprehensible to people.

The possibility of imagining the *CHHP of Cyprus* evolving into new forms is indicative of its flexibility. This is a positive attribute and one which indicates that the *CHHP of Cyprus* is, above all, a *tool*. It has been theorized and conceptualized to be an enabling tool in so far as peacebuilding is concerned, but also one the proper

⁷⁰⁷ Zvi Bekerman and Claire McGlynn, *Addressing Ethnic Conflict through Peace Education: International Perspectives* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 2.

use of which will depend on the ingenuity and willingness of the islanders to employ it for the purposes of building peace on the island.

Peace education scholar Noddings posits that genuine education begins with “feeling, the twinge we call interest and moves towards wisdom as we think openly and clearly about what we feel.”⁷⁰⁸ The accounts of the islanders are “real” stories with affect and the potential to elicit similar feelings in the listener; therefore, a good starting point for peace education. The educator is tasked with choosing which interview excerpts and/or compiled stories are appropriate for a given group of children and youth and creating questions that are critical to ask. While themes under “Difficult Times” address the conflict more directly, raising questions that are ultimately more difficult to answer, themes under “Daily Living” raise questions which relate more directly to the lives of the children and youth of Cyprus, enabling them to begin their peace education from a more manageable place. In the following section, I examine the different ways in which the less challenging theme-based stories constitute a starting point for the peace education program of the *CHHP of Cyprus*, through an evaluation of the particular themes and an examination of the types of questions individual excerpts raise.

Content for Peace Education; Emerging Themes

While the story of an event and a place specific to Ayios Loukas emerged out of the oral history conducted with its past residents, other shorter theme-based stories also emerged. In the remaining part of this chapter, I illustrate some theme-based stories through their transcribed interview excerpts and indicate how they can be used as

⁷⁰⁸ Nel Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 154.

content material for peace education. Here the themes of *customs/food, children & youth/play, love, and children & youth/school are covered*. In a separate text box, I then illustrate how each theme and individual excerpt raises a set of questions which can be asked, as well as different kinds of potential action to be taken based on the excerpt from the interview. I have used this format to indicate the capacity of the *CHHP of Cyprus* to cover a wide variety of topics and actions related to peace education. I point out in the text box placed under each interview excerpt what kinds of questions could be asked and what kinds of potential action taken.

Customs/Food

The theme of *customs/food* under the general theme of “Daily Living” is a theme of common interest to many islanders and has great potential for leading to the formation of communities of practices, based on Lave and Wenger’s situated theory of learning, as elaborated upon in Chapter 3, where communities of practices share interests and practices, work and learn together. In the following two interview excerpts, the interviewee talks about the extinct vocation of date collecting (“*hurmacı*” in Turkish) as well as the recipe for making date jam, nowadays known to very few on the island and a custom that is disappearing. In the first interview excerpt the interviewee recounts how date collectors used to tie a rope around their waists, climb up the date tree and collect the dates. Whether it is in researching extinct professions, reviving them, or discussing best practices for existing or new ones, these practice-related themes are opportunities for islanders to come together around their shared interests, in communities of practices, in order to work and learn together, as theorized by Lave and Wenger.

1. Ours was the only house with “Mersin” trees, we also had “Date” trees
Interview with E. Y., January 23 rd 2018, excerpt (54:31-56:31)
Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60592#segment3415
E: Ayluga (Ayios Loukas) kilisesinden şöyle 100-150 metre uzaklıktaydı bizim evimiz. Reşadiye sokakta, 71 numara. Eh, bu evimiz zamanında büyük bir evdi ve rahmetlik nenem bu evi ikiye böldü ortasından ve iki kızı vardı, biri annem, biri teyzem. Birini teyzeme verdi, birini anneme. Teyzemin çocuğu olmadı. Ben eh, öyle 10 yaşlarında falan annem babam rahmetlik oldular - böyle 1 yıl ara ile - ve beni teyzem büyüttü çünkü teyzemin de çocuğu yoktu – eh teyzemin beyi marangozdu, o da çok iyi, nur içinde yatsın, hepsi nur içinde yatsın. Teyzemin büyük özelliği – bahçemiz bayağı uzun bir bahçeydi – ana yoldan yaklaşık 30-40 metre içeriye uzanan dar ve uzun bir koridor şeklinde ve bu alanda 5-6 tane Mersin ağacı – mahallede tek Mersin ağacı olan ev – zamanı geldiğinde böyle iri iri mersin verir, onları toplar yer - arkadaşlarımızla yedik - ve evde üç tane hurma ağacı - bu hurma ağaçlarının ikisi tam bir minare büyüklüğünde öbürü de yarım minare büyüklüğünde. Fırtınalı günlerde bu ağaçlar böyle gider gelir ya – aman derdim bu hurmalardan biri devrilse her taraf ev – ne olacak – ve bu dediğim oldu - oldu – fırtınalı bir günde bu ağaçlardan biri devrildi ve en az 20-30 evin olduğu bir alanda 3 ya da 5 metre karelik bir koridor vardı – Muhittin’in bahçesine doğru – Muhittin dayının bahçesine doğru – o böyle ince uzun bir koridordu ve o koridorun içine düştü – bu mucize! – herhangi bir evin üstüne düşse evi yıkacak içindekileri de öldürecek ve o koridorun içine düşüyor.
Segment Synopsis: The interviewee talks about his house and the trees in his house, "Mersin" and "Date" trees, and the incident when one of the trees fell on a very windy day, miraculously not hurting anyone. Subjects: Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas--Reşadiye street no.71; 1950s; home--garden Keywords: Mersin tree; Date tree; garden; Muhittin;
Questions to Ask (1):
Walled Nicosia was known for its houses that had many trees, especially date trees. Obtain Kitchener’s map of Nicosia from the late 19th century which indicates the location of all the trees in Walled Nicosia. How many trees were in your neighborhood then? How many trees are there in your neighborhood now? Are there any suitable places to plant more? Do you have a back yard where you can plant one or would you rather plant another tree? Which endemic fruit and/or tree of Cyprus is your favorite? Think of a place to plant a tree in your neighborhood, find out where you can get the sapling from and how to plant it. You can do this as a group of friends or on your own. Plant a tree in your neighborhood.

2. Collecting dates and making date marmelade
Interview with E. Y., January 23 rd 2018, excerpt (00:59:31-01:04:38)
Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60592#segment3571
E: Sarı hurma, bir tanesi de kırmızı hurmaydı, bu sarı hurmalar inanmayacaksınız küçük bir yumurta büyüklüğünde meyve verirdi. Hasan dayı diye, yaşlıca, hurma ağaçlarına bakan onları tohumlayan yaşlı bir adam vardı – hurmacı Hasan dayı – bu adam gelir - beline bir kemer bağlar – o kemeri ata ata, ata ata, taa tepelere kadar çıkar önce tohumlar hurmaları, (sonra) torba geçirir, gece kuşları ve arı kuşları yemesin diye. Olgunlaşınca iki ay, üç ay bilmiyorum, tekrar çıkar açar torbaları, hurmaları keser dalları ve aşağıya sarkıtırdı – Hasan dayı para falan almazdı kimseden, hurma alırdı onun yerine – mesela bizim evden 10 dal hurma mı çıktı? Üçünü alırdı, ikisini alırdı, her neyse bizim o Bandabulya dediğimiz - ki aslında ona da gelmem gerekir - orada satardı. Ve teyzem bu özellikle sarı hurmaları - ki dediğim gibi küçük bir tavuk yumurtası büyüklüğündeydi – çok zahmetli bir şeydi - o hurma macunu orda mı T.?
T: Dolaba koydum aşağıya, dur da vereceğim sana.
E: Yenmez o boş ver.
T: Birisi getirdi bize ama maalesef sert çıktı.
E: Ben hurma macununu çok severim, bulamadım.
T: Bostancı'da öğretmen arkadaşımız, istedi E. ama yapamadılar.
B: Ceviz macunu gibi yapılır acaba?
E: Bakın anlatayım size. Önce, tencerede, şekerli su ya da şerbet.
T: Daha önce haşlanır, şekerli sudan önce.
E: Yok, haşlanmazdı T., çünkü zaten kaynayan şerbetli su - onu şey eder - hurmanın canı ne ki?
T: Ama işte acısı bir devrilip - o acı suyunu dökerler.
E: Acı değil ki onun suyu?
T: Eh - buruktu, hurma, buruk.
E: Neyse yani şimdi ben bildiğim kadarı ile, şimdi yapmıyoruz detayına da gerek yok. O hurmalar tek tek soyulur, zahmetli iş, çekirdeği dikkatlice çıkarılır ki kırılmasın hurma, bir tarafta badem kızartılır, karanfille beraber, soyulduktan sonra, burada şerbet kaynıyor ya tencere - belli bir süre – az tutarsan sert olur, çok tutarsan eritebilirsin hurmayı – teyzeciğim bunu senelerce yaptığı için öğrenmiş zamanını, diyelim ki beş dakika – o şekerli suda kaynadıktan sonra çıkarılır, soğumaya bırakılır eh - önceden hazırlanan kızarmış bademler içine konur, en üzerine da karanfil konur ve kavanozların içerisine inci dizer gibi dizilir ve o şerbet da üzerine dökülür, yani bu inanılmaz bir olaydır ve bu çok ustalık isteyen zahmetli zor bir iş olduğundan ben bir aydır - Rum tarafı dahil – ki Rum tarafında inanamayacağın tatlıların meyvelerin macunları, reçelleri var – pathcandan tutun da karpuzda kadar - hurma macununu bulamadım. Onun üzerine arkadaşşıma telefon ettim ve o yolladı - fakat çok kötü çıktı – yapamadı yapan.

T: Sana birazcık tattırayım, E. amcan biraz su da koydu da kaynattı tekrar kendini.
E: Isır bakalım.
T: Yani yumuşamadı, o kadar kaynattık ama.
E: Bu arada kaynattık biz bunu belki yumuşar diye.
B: Fena değil gibi ama ...
T: Eh bak, bakalım.
B: Kötü değil.
E: Yumuşadı o zaman.
T: Şerbette da durunca.
E: Ha bir saat bunu kaynattım bunu şerbette.
B: Bence iyi yani.
E: Allah, Allah. Badem de var mı içinde - arasında?
B: Deneyin siz da bir yani ama sert değil.
E: Ben dört beş gündür onu aforoz ettim, çünkü ilk yediğimde dişlerimi kırıyordum. Sonra düşündüm, bir saat kadar biraz da su kattım içine kaynattım. Gene sertti, demek ki durunca biraz.
B: Hafif ceviz macununa benzer.
T: Eh - karanfil var içinde ve badem var o yüzden.
B: Çok hafif da burukluğu var, güzel yani.
T: Eh - hurma.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee describes how date collectors used to pollinate, take care of and collect dates and how they made a living out of this. He also describes how date marmalade is made, a time consuming process, but with a very good tasting result. He talks about having difficulty finding date marmalade in Cyprus and how he made it made but it was not good.

Subjects:

work life--date collectors; home--garden; customs--food--cooking; Cyprus

Keywords:

"hurmacı"; yellow date; red date; Hasan dayı; date marmalade; making; cooking; recipe; walnut marmalade; pollination

Questions to Ask (2):

Research about the vocation of date collectors? Is there any left in Cyprus? Can you find them and interview them? What skills were required? How were they trained? Was it passed on from father to son? Are there any known cases of serious accidents happening? What memories do they have from doing this job? How do they collect dates now? How many different types of dates grow in Cyprus? How are they taken care of, pollinated, stored etc.? What kinds of climates do they grow in? What other countries do dates grow in? What climatic conditions are needed for the growth of date trees? Find the recipe of how to make date marmalade and try to make it with your friends and family.

Children & Youth/Play

Below are four excerpts that came up under the general theme of “Daily Living” and the sub-theme of *childhood & youth/play*. All questions that are raised constitute significant content material for the component of peace education concerning our relationship to people around us, while the set of questions raised by excerpt 4 are action-oriented, suggesting action to be taken by the youth. This question, whether or not the youth of Ayios Loukas would be interested in setting up a joint football team with descendants of former residents of Ayios Loukas, is suggestive of how the islanders’ lived experiences can provide inspiration for the young generation to take action to “change” the world for the better, as Freire puts forth in his theory of a liberating education.

1. Turkish and Greek Cypriot kids were friends who nonetheless fought with each other a lot
<i>Interview with A. Ö., March 30th 2018, excerpt (17:02-19:51)</i>
<i>Segment of Interview in OHMS</i>
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60697#segment1022
B: <i>Siz şeyi hatırlar mısınız? Aynı Ayluga (Ayios Loukas) mahallesine gider miydiniz, bakkaldan dolayı?</i>
A: <i>Ohh – tabi şimdi bu dediğim, her gün, bizim mahallede, akşamüstü, bütün Ayluga geçer şimdi bizim sokaklardan, Aygasyano (Ayios Kassianos) denilen Mağusa kapısına çıkan bir yol var, okulları orda – giderler, şimdi her gün dönüşte – öğlen şimdi herkes karıştı evdedir değildir, falan – akşamüstü çıktıklarında her gün bir savaş olurdu bu geçişlerde.</i>
B: <i>Öyle mi?</i>
A: <i>Tabii. Yani o, şimdi Rum, Türk, hem ești, hem dostu, hem de hiç durmadan kavga ederdik.</i>
S: <i>Mesela çocuklar hiç durmadan birbirlerine “deli Türk,” “deli Rum” derlerdi.</i>
A: <i>Şimdi siz bana Osman Örek’in ismi ile geldiniz - şimdi - Osman Örek’in, bilmem bilirsaydınız, tanırsaydınız kendini ...</i>
B: <i>Yani birkaç defa tanıştık, babamdan dolayı ...</i>
A: <i>Bir gözü farklıydı. Biri ballı, bir yeşilliydi. Rum’la “lingiri” denilen bir oyun vardı. Şimdi koyan tahtayı, atan böyle vurun, böyle bir tahta uçar gider. Mahallenin en yezit Rum’u ile bu lingiri oynarken - bu dediğim mahallede bizim -</i>

o sizin akrabanız Yücel hanımın sokağına giden, sola büken, bir yol var orada – oynarken - Osman Örek, ben ilkokula giderim - Rum oğlu öyle bir vurdu, geldi o tahta böyle gözüne çarptı, o çarpmadan (sonra) yapılan bakımdan sonra renk değişikliği oldu gözünde.

S: *Sonra yasaklandıydı bizim okulda – müdür yasakladıydı.*

A: *Yani, demek istediğim, Osman Örek, Rum'la sokakta oynayan bir tipti ve gider babasına yardım ederdi bakkaliyeye. Ahmet Bey'e ...*

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about how during the late afternoon when all the kids got out of school, there would be street fights in their neighborhood because all the Greek Cypriot children and youth would be on their way back from their school in Ayios Kassianos to their home in Ayios Loukas. He recounts that it was during one of these fights that Osman Örek, a former Minister in North Cyprus, got one of his eyes damaged when the wooden block thrown by a Greek Cypriot youth hit his eye. He recounts that this is the reason that his eyes had different colors; it was because of this injury. He describes their relationship with the Greek Cypriots as "friends" but recounts that they also fought with each other all the time.

Subjects:

childhood & youth--play--lingiri; civil strife--neighborliness; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1950s; 1940s; friendship;

Keywords:

Ayios Kassianos; "Aygasyano"; "deli Türk"; "deli Rum"; "lingiri;" crazy Turk; crazy Greek;

2. We were neither friends nor enemies with the Greek Cypriots

Interview with S. S., November 16th 2017, excerpt (10:28-13:18)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60713#segment628>

S: *Ama ara sıra düşünüyorum yani – Rum Türk mahallelerinde mesela – eh – pilavuna, onların paskalyalarında mesela, onlar pilavuna yapar, bütün mahalleye dağıtırlardı, Rum Türk gözetmeksizin, biz da bayramlarda ekmek kadayıfı tel kadayıfı yapar onlara gönderirdik. Yani ilişkilerimiz buydu, oturup birlikte yiyip içmezdik ama o komşuluk her zaman için düzeyli bir şekilde devam etmişti.*

B: *Bu olaylardan dolayı mı böyleydi, yoksa hep mi böyleydi?*

S: *Hep böyleydi çünkü benim eh – içimde hala çözemediğim bir soru işareti var her zaman. Kimse bize kimseyi kötülemedi aslında. En azından benim annem babam o Rum'dur, kötüdür, demedi ama karşıda başka bir Rum komşumuz vardı onların adını pek hatırlamıyorum – Gogo diye bir oğlan çocuğu vardı benim yaşımda - nasılsa oynardık yani Rumca Türkçe nasıl anlaşıyorduk onu da bilmiyorum çünkü ben Rumca bilmezdim o da Türkçe bilmezdi – ama eh – işte bazı oyunda anlaşılamazdık. Ben elimle haç şeklinde işaret yapar, affedersiniz*

<i>tükürürdüm, yani onun bayrağına tükürürdüm gibi – o da eliyle ay yıldız işareti yapar tükürürdü – herkes evine giderdi.</i>
B: Küserdiniz.
S: Küserdik, ama bir saat geçmeden gene kapının önünde sekilerde oynardık. Bu nasıl bir duyguydu, hala çözmüş değilim. Yani bayrağımız farklı, dilimiz farklı, dinimiz farklı ama yıllarca da beraber yaşadık. Yani ...
B: Hatırladığınız başka Rum çocuk var mıydı mahallede?
S: Nitzo vardı yine Andricoo'nun kızı, onunla da yani böyle seviye - yani evlerimize hiç gitmedik – gitmezdik. Rum komşuluklarımız olmadı, ama düşman da olmadık, dost da olmadık, yani hep bu ayırım oldu.
B: Yan yana yaşamayı bildik en azından.
S: Yani küsmedik, kavga etmedik ama içimizde bir Türk'e karşı duyduğumuz yakınlık olmadı, o sıcaklığı duyamadık. En azından bizim ailemiz böyleydi, o mahalle de böyleydi.

Segment Synopsis:

She reminisces about the past and how as children they would both play and fight with the Greek Cypriots in the neighborhood. She recounts that they were neither friends nor enemies with the Greeks, that they did not go to each other's homes and eat together, for example, but that they were always very civil and neighborly to each other. She recounts how as children they used to play with Greek children, sometimes fight and insult each other's flags but that they would later on resume playing after a couple of hours.

Subjects:

Childhood--games--fighting; childhood & youth--play; childhood & youth--fight; friendship; civil strife--neighborliness; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; Walled Nicosia—Yenicami; 1950s;

Keywords:

Gogo; "pliavuna"; "ekmek kadayıfı"; cross; crescent; flag; insult; spit; Nitzo; Andricco

Questions to Ask (1 & 2):

The interviewees talk about being both good friends with the Greek Cypriot children but also fighting with them quite a lot. Do you have friends with whom you fight a lot but also like a lot? What do you fight about? Why do you think you fight? Do the fights affect your relationship adversely? How is your relationship with them different than your relationship with friends with whom you do not fight? Would your relationships improve if you fought less? Do you want to fight less? What do you think you can do to fight less with your friends? Who initiates the fights? How do you respond when fights are initiated? Is there anyone you see as your enemy? Why? What have they done to you? How does this make you feel?

3. We used to play wargames and had our own army

Interview with A. O., Recording 1 of 2, June 13th 2017, excerpt (25:24-27:15)

Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60411#segment1524
A: Yani biz karagöz Hacivat oynattığımızı hatırlarım. Efendime söyleyim, bir ayak ve saklambaç oynadığımızı hatırlarım. İkincisi biz henüz da yetiştik, ortaokula ha gittik, ha gidiyoruz, dediğim gibi o 63 olayları patlak verdi da biraz milliyetçilik şu bu hakim oldu sokaklara, eh – biz bir ordu kurduk, mesela, çocuk ordusu, mücahit, gibi falan – o dönemin enformasyon dairesi ilgi gösterdi filan, efendim işte kıyafetler yaptık, tahta tabancalar, tahta kılıçlar bilmem ne falan, dönemin şeyi, nasıl çocukları etkiliyor. İşte o milliyetçi hisler, oyunmuş gibi kendi oyununa karışıyor. Bunlar savaş oyunları oynardık ve gösteri yapardık, bir sokaktan bir sokağa – kortej oluşturur, mahallenin çocukları – ben da komutanlarıydım – (gülüşmeler) - haliyle böyle yani.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about his childhood games, mostly military games, which they played in the streets of Walled Nicosia, under the influence of the conflict on the island. He recounts having an army of his own and being their commander-in-chief.

Subjects:

childhood & youth--play--wargames; Walled Nicosia; 1960s;

Keywords:

"Karagöz-hacivat"; "bir ayak"; "saklambaç"; 1963; children military; games; war; nationalism; hide and seek;

Questions to Ask (3):
The interviewee talks about playing war games on the streets during the 1960s at a time when they were filled with nationalistic feelings. Have you ever played such games where there is an enemy that you are fighting against? Do you like these games? Why/Why not? Do you think these games affect the relationships you have with your friends and others? If so, in what way? Describe how the games affect you emotionally. Do you feel better afterwards or not? Do your parents encourage such games or not?

4. We had a mixed football team, “Youth Union of Ayios Loukas”
Interview with A. I., May 29 th 2018, excerpt (17:41-23:18)
Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60431#segment1061
A: We have when we have been 12 years something like this a football team and the football team something like this – our, the leader of us who the coach of us, it was Defteralis – he was playing on the team of Çetinkaya – Defteralis was the best footballer of all Cyprus – and he was teaching us without any money – and the most important you have to write it - the hodja of the camii – the minaret – like our archbishopric – the Turkish one – the mufti – the place of mufti – he gave us a small room because our team, it was Turks and Greek together – and the name of our team, it was – I will tell you exactly – Enosis Neon Ayios Loukas – it means

union of the young of ayios loukas – Youth Union of Ayios Loukas – and one of us we went to the muftis and I asked him – is it unfortunate we put this name, if you want to delete Ayios Loukas we can delete it and he said “no no no – here it is Ayios Loukas – you have to continue to have this name” and we have this name – and Defteralis he was our guy without taking even one pound, never, and we’ve been very very strong and once at that time when we’ve been 11,12 years old - one hodja – not the pope I mean – we went to a village in I will tell you – I will tell you – if I write it – I didn’t write it – anyway - we went to a Turkish village with our team and our team it was Turks and Greeks and unfortunately for us, we won and one of the Turks tells to the pope (hodja)- “why do you bring these people to beat us” – he said “you must be ashamed to think such things – they are among Turks and Greeks and they are living as brothers – what you say, why, I mean why you are thinking like this?” Anyway, we came to Nicosia, we had a party – we had the congratulations of the mufti and so on. For these reasons...

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about the mixed football team they had in Ayios Loukas as young children and how they were coached for free by the famous Defteralis, whom he calls the best footballer of Cyprus. They were encouraged by the mufti of their neighborhood mosque and won the football game they played in a Turkish village. Their mixed team was scorned by a Turkish Cypriot but the mufti stood up for them and they celebrated their success upon returning home.

Subjects:

childhood & youth--play—football; friendship; Walled Nicosia; late 1940s;1950s; childhood & youth—memories;

Subjects (Translation):

Keywords:

Defteralis; Çetinkaya; football; hodja; Enosis Neon Ayios Loukas; Youth Union of Ayios Loukas; mufti; coaching; free

Questions to Ask (4):

The interviewee talks about a joint football team they had in Ayios Loukas, composed of Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Would you be interested in having a neighborhood team composed of yourselves and the descendants of the past Greek Cypriot residents of Ayios Loukas? You would have the opportunity to get to know the grandchildren of the Greek Cypriots who were forced to leave this neighborhood 60 years ago, against their will. You will also get to know another culture. What do you say? Do you like sports? What kinds? Why?

The series of questions compiled above are difficult questions but they relate to the daily lives of people and the nature of their relationships with those around them.

Hence, they are questions that can at least be reflected upon easily, if not answered in full. Asking the above questions enables people to take a critical look at themselves.

How do I handle difference? How do I handle my own emotions? Do I have sensitivities that make me overreact in certain situations? How do I express my thoughts? Do I hurt people? Do I hate some people? Why? Have they really done something to me or am I under the influence of others? If I understand my own behavior and emotions better, can I change? This type of self-questioning is congruent with the general trend observed today of emphasizing the importance of self-knowledge for an improved quality of life. Organizations such as “Mindful Schools” emphasize the need for practicing mindfulness for a better quality of life. They describe “mindful” as “maintaining a moment-by-moment awareness of our thoughts, emotions, bodily sensations, and surrounding environment with openness and curiosity.”⁷⁰⁹ Another related organization “The School of Life” and their associated learning tool “The Book of Life” publishes videos under six themes and their many sub-themes related to our daily lives which explain why we behave the way we do with the intention of helping people better understand their own behavior. The six themes are “relationships,” “work,” “self-knowledge,” “sociability,” “calm,” and “leisure” under which there are further sub-themes.⁷¹⁰ The series of questions raised by the four interview excerpts above, not only constitute prompts for learning themes concerning self-knowledge recognized as a growing need of society, they also situate these themes within the histories and heritages of the island making them more tangible as well as interesting for the youth of Cyprus.

⁷⁰⁹ "Mindfulness Fundamentals," Mindful Schools, September 10, 2018, accessed June 03, 2019, <https://www.mindfulschools.org/training/mindfulness-fundamentals/>.

⁷¹⁰ The Book of Life, The School of life Website. Retrieved from <https://www.theschooloflife.com/thebookoflife/> on May 22nd 2019. Under a theme like self-knowledge for example, are sub-themes “know yourself” “mood” “behaviors” “emotional skills” “fulfilment” “growth and maturity” “fear and insecurity” “trauma and childhood” “psychotherapy” and “questionnaires”. Each of these sub-themes is further branched out into more sub-themes. Under “know yourself” for example are 39 sub-themes that are more specific in nature such as “our secret thoughts” “on self-sabotage” “on procrastination” “on being very normal” etc. This branching out in sub-themes is very similar to the branching out in sub-themes envisioned in this study.

Love

The theme of “love” is thought to be of special interest to children and youth. Below are four interview excerpts that relate to the theme of “love” and what a search for that word would reveal. Each interviewee addresses different aspects of love leading to different kinds of questions, which, as will be observed, are not always easy to answer. More importantly however, they raise questions that are critical to reflect upon on the road towards peacebuilding.

1. I met my wife in the narrow streets of Walled Nicosia
Interview with A. O., Recording 2 of 2, June 13 th 2017, excerpt (10:07-12:24)
Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60422#segment607
B: Mahallede tanıştınız?
A: Eh - tabi şöyle bir olay, o dönemin sosyal hayatında kızlı erkekli ilişkilerin kendine özgü bir biçimi vardı, yani bir arkadaşınızın elini tutmak bir olaydı, yani lazım elinizi yıkamayasınız – onu bırak – dolayısı ile mektuplaşmak çok önemliydi. Eh - tabi bu işte dünya edebiyatına da girmiş şeylerdi, mesela örneğin Yılmaz Güneyn karısı Fatoş’a yazdığı mektupların edebi değeri vardı – kitaplaştı etti – eh ben onun mektuplarını okuduğumda insan bu kadar da mı yani karısına hayran olur, bu kadar güzel yazar. Yani alt tarafı bir mektup – yahu derim benim mektuplarım nereye gitti – işte biz yani küçük bir ülkenin küçük insanlarıyız, maalesef yani bunları zamanında değerlendiremedik. Dolayısı ile şimdi Kız Lisesi bir taraftaydı, lise bir tarafta – ben Lefkoşa Türk Lisesinde okurdum. Esin da Kız lisesinde okurdu – onlar kara önlük giyerlerdi o zaman – dolayısı ile şimdi her iki taraf da tetikte dururdu. En son zil çaldığında çünkü şeyde birleşecektik, kızlar çıkacaktı, Kız Lisesinden erkekler da çıkacaktı Türk Lisesinden – ilk görüşme oralarda olurdu, sonra daracık sokaklarda herkes evine dağılacağına herkes sokaklarda birbirini takip ederdi, ha gördün, gördün - görmedin - (gülüşmeler) - işte o dar sokaklarda tanıştık.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about how he met his first wife, Esin (who later passed away in a car accident), in the narrow streets of Walled Nicosia and how it was customary to wait for the girls to get out of school and then follow them home. This was the only place of courtship, the “narrow” streets of Nicosia, as he recalls. He also talks about the importance of writing letters in those days.

Subjects:

Love life--courtship; childhood & youth--school; Walled Nicosia; 1960s

Keywords:

relationships; letters; Yılmaz Güney; love; Lefkoşa Türk Lisesi; Lefkoşa Kız Lisesi; girlfriends; boyfriends; holding hands; writing;

Questions to Ask (1):

In the past people used to write letters to each other, especially when they could not see each other. They were the primary means of communication and expression of love. You often had to wait a long time before receiving a letter. Have you ever written a letter? Writing is a powerful means of communication. You can also use it to clarify your thoughts. Write a letter to someone whom you want to say something to but have not had the chance or courage to do so. After you've written the letter, think about how this makes you feel? Are you clearer about your thoughts/feelings now? Was it difficult to express what you wanted to say? How does your generation court each other? Is it different? How? Compare this with how you think people courted each other in the past.

2. My first love was a Turkish Girl

Interview with A. I., May 29th 2018, excerpt (23:18-25:53)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60431#segment1398>

A: Also, I will tell you another thing, it is not prohibited. When I was 14 years. I started to go to Gymnasium so I been around 14 years, something, 13 years something. My first love was a Turkish and also one of my neighbors who was a Turk – he had a Greek girl – and we went with bicycle just outside (city walls) but we didn't touch, never, we didn't. Unfortunately – it was not allowed – but we were feeling because we were small thing we did not have such things – but the name of the girl it was Şenay.

B: Same age as you?

A: No, younger, and I was calling her Thanay. I would say “can I call you Thanay instead of Şenay?” – “Of course,” she said. But unfortunately after one month or so the father it was a police man and they sent him to Famagusta and I lost, I was passing from the house because I didn't know anything and I was crying because I didn't see anything and after a month a girl from Turks - she came to my house and she told my sister because she was fluently speaking English - she could speak better than me - and she told her that Şenay is in Famagusta , unfortunate for us - so we have - it was not different between us, different at all.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about his life as a young boy recounting that his first love was a Turkish girl by the name of Şenay. He also recounts how they were not allowed to touch each other but would ride their bicycles with another couple who was a Turkish boy and a Greek girl just outside the city walls. He remembers that Şenay and her family moved to Famagusta, which made him very upset, and he did not see her afterwards.

Subjects:

Love life; childhood & youth--school; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1950s

Keywords:

love; romantic; relationships; Şenay; policeman; Famagusta; Pancyprian Gymnasium

Questions to Ask (2):

Marriages between members of different religious and ethnic groups are not encouraged by some cultures. Why do you think this is the case? Are the reasons for this prohibition justified or not? Do you know of any such marriages around you? Would your family be willing to let you marry someone from another culture? How do you feel about this?

3. We had joint choir practice but were not supposed to look at the girls

Interview with A. A., October 19th 2017, excerpt (44:07-45:59)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60540#segment2647>

A: Annenden bu anıları dinlemişsindir. Annen işte Victoria Kız Lisesine giderdi – biz da işte genç ekran sayılırız. Korolara – ve müşterek koro çalışması – işte bizim hocamız Yılmaz hocaydı – bizi eğitir – Kız Lisesi ile birlikte müsamere yapacağız - şeye çağırırlar bizi Victoria Kız Lisesine – Nezaket hanım karşılardı bizi – saat 4’de – 4’e kadar kapının önünde beklerdik – 4’de kapıyı açar – “hiç sağa sola bakmayacaksınız - dosdoğru odaya gideceksiniz” (derdi) – dosdoğru odaya girerdik salona otururduk – bir tarafa bizi oturturlardı – biz oturduktan sonra kız çocukları girerdi ve o (Nezaket hanım) da arada dolaşırdı, kimse kimseye bakmayacak.

B: Sizin hangi liseydi?

A: Türk lisesi

B: Hatırlar mısınız yerini?

A: E tabii, lisesi şimdiki Turizm Bakanlığının olduğu yer bizim liseydi. Sonra lise işte şimdiki Lefkoşa Türk Lisesinin arkasındaki binaya taşındı - sonra da öndeki binaya geçti.

B: Victoria Kız Lisesi?

A: Sarayönü’ndedir. Şimdiki Selen Otopark

B: Ha, anladım. Bayağı uzak yani.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about the way joint choir was practiced in the Turkish schools of Walled Nicosia. The high schools were single sex and when they were going to have joint choir practice there were strict rules of separation and behavior they needed to follow. He recounts how they were expected not to even “look” at the girls.

Subjects:

childhood & youth--school; love life--courtship; Walled Nicosia; late 1950s; early 1960s

Keywords:

Yılmaz Taner; choir; Victoria High School; Lefkoşa Türk lisesi; late 1950s; early 1960s; practice; girls; boys;

4. The bookseller Yavuz is the reason schools ended at different times for boys and girls

Interview with A. A., October 19th 2017, excerpt (45:59-48:40)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60540#segment2759>

A: Biraz önce yazar falan dedik - bizim zamanımızda işte çocukluğumuzda en ciddi yazarlardan biri kitapçı Yavuzdu. Kıbrıs 'ta en saygı duyulan yazardı. Akşamcı bir adamdı ve kitapçı dükkanının 20 metre aşağısında hamamcı Tarif Aba 'nın meyhanesi vardı ve bu kalandorlar akşamları orada buluşurlardı içmek için. Yine bir akşam eh- işte Asmaaltındayız diye oralardayız - şöyle bir diyaloga eh şahit oldum - bir masadan birisi kitapçı Yavuz 'a laf attı - dedi ki yahu "Yavuz efendi nasıl yaparsın sen da toplumun namusu da elden gidiyor da sen da hiç bir şey yazman - niçin? - e yahu şimdi bizim çocuklar büyüdü - eskiden" diyor "ayrı kızlar" diyor "erkekler hep ayrı liselerde okuduk" - "şimdi" diyor "bakarım çıkarlar okuldan aynı saatte kızların peşinde gider erkekler kızlar da onlara pas atar - bilmem ne - namus gidiyor" diyor "yahu elden." Ertesi gün kitapçı Yavuz böyle bir yazı yazdı - ve Maarif müdürü hemen ertesi gün bir karar aldı - kızlar yarım saat önce çıkacak erkeklerden yolda karşılaşmamak için.

B: 1960'lardan bahsedersiniz?

A: Evet, 1960'lardan bahsederim (güler). Enteresan değil mi? Kitapçı Yavuzu herkes kitapçı Yavuz olarak bilir ama kitapçı Yavuz aslında meşhur tatlıcı Bedevilerin kardeşidir. Ünver Bedevi Cahide abamın oğludur.

B: Bilmiyorum ilişkiyi tabi. Dedesi herhalde.

A: Ünver Bedevinin annesi ile babasının nişan yüzüğünü takan kitapçı Yavuzdur.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about a conversation he witnessed at a tavern involving the famous bookseller "Yavuz" upon which he wrote an article in the newspapers the next day - which became the reason that the school ending time for boys' and girls was changed afterwards so that they did not mix and mingle in the streets after school hours. Previously, their schools had ended at the same time and they would meet and mingle in the streets of Nicosia, which was henceforth regarded as *not* to be "right."

Subjects:

love life--courtship; childhood & youth--school; 1960s; Walled Nicosia; customs--values--honor

Keywords:

Kitapçı Yavuz; Hamamcı Tarif Aba; meyhane; Asmaaltı; 1960s; Bedevi; Ünver Bedevi; Ü. B.; tavern

Questions to Ask (3 & 4):

Relationships between girls and boys are subject to some rules of morality determined by cultures. While these rules are different between cultures, they are also subject to change over time. Why are there sometimes different sets of rules for girls and boys? Is this fair? Are you comfortable with the rules your culture has on what's allowable or not in the relationship between the sexes or would you be more comfortable with a different set of rules. Why? Explain.

The series of questions which emerge from the four interview excerpts above enable the listener to question and project into the future in terms of how they would like their own lives to unfold. Have they been clear to their loved ones about their feelings? Does it help sometimes to think in writing? Have they treated boys and girls with the same amount of respect? What will happen if they fall in love with someone from another culture? What will it be like if their parents disallow the union? What kind of ideal world do they imagine in terms of the relationship between the sexes, both emotional and physical? General themes such as “love,” although appearing to be not directly related to peacebuilding, in fact, constitute its core. Peace education scholar Noddings asserts that love, exemplified through the “ethics of care” is central to building peace.⁷¹¹

Childhood & Youth/School

The below eight interview excerpts would come up in a search conducted under *childhood & youth/school*, although a more specific search where *English School* is added to the criteria would reveal only the first four interview excerpts that are specifically about the English School. The excerpts not only raise questions

⁷¹¹ Nel Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

pertinent to peacebuilding, but also indicate that a kind of institutional memory of the English School as well as the British government's policy on education begins to emerge as separate themes.

The emerging story on the English School could evolve into a separate project in itself documenting the institutional memory of this significant establishment attended by many Turkish and Greek Cypriots and the tradition of which continues today. It is also a project that would need to be collaboratively carried out across the divide seeking members of both community and of the kind delineated previously where new collaborations are established amongst islanders as a result of the connections initially established through the *CHHP of Cyprus*. The other emerging story, that of the British policy on education, is also a significant theme as it is likely to have had a role in the evolution of the conflict on the island with ample room for further clarification and elaboration.

1. I attended the English School between 1951 and 1957
<i>Interview with A. B., Recording 2 of 3, November 27th 2017, excerpt (24:04-30:56)</i>
<i>Segment of Interview in OHMS</i>
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60462#segment1444
B: Futbol oynar mıydın?
A: Yok, futbol değil, atletizm, iyi atlettim. İngiliz okulunda iyi atlettim, 400 metre 400 yarıydı o zaman, rekorum vardı, hala daha da devam ediyormuş o rekor diye duydum.
B: Tipik bir gününüzü anlatacak olsanız, okula, herhalde daha çok okula gidip gelmeyi hatırlarsınız, nasıldı yürüyerek giderdiniz, gelirdiniz, okul neredeydi mesela.
A: İlkokulu Haydarpaşa İlkokulu'nda okudum. Yaya gidiyordum, Yeni Cami'nin orada – gidip geliyorduk, hiçbir sorunumuz yoktu. Eh - 51 yılında işte sınavı kazandım, İngiliz okuluna başladım. Oraya bisikletle, babam bisiklet almıştı bana – eh – bisikletle her gün sabah bisiklete binip İngiliz okuluna gidip, öğlen dönüp yemek yiyip, öğlen spor yapmak için bir daha o yolu bir daha gidip geliyordum.
B: Neredeydi İngiliz Okulu?
A: İngiliz Okulu, şimdi Rum tarafında – Rum tarafındaydı.

B: Surlar içinde miydi?
A: Hayır, surlar dışındaydı, surlar dışında.
B: 5 kilometre en azından vardı o zaman.
A: Daha fazla, en az 10 kilometre vardı oraya gidip gelirdik. İngiliz okulunda ilk iki seneyi Türkler kendi sınıflarında okurlardı, Rumlar kendi sınıflarında biz kendi şeyimizde, İngilizce öğrenmek için - eh – sınıfımızda muhakkak birkaç da Ermeni oluyordu. Onlar çünkü Türkçe konuşuyorlardı. İki sene dolduktan sonra eh Rum Türk karışıyorduk şeyde ve aramız çok iyi idi, 54 yılına kadar. 54 yılında eh – Rumlar, Rum talebeler İngiliz okulunun toplantı salonunda yangın çıkardılar, yakmak için, İngiliz müdür bizi gözcü olarak görevlendirdi – herhangi bir şey olursa ona haber vermek için –
B: Türk öğrencileri mi görevlendirdi, yoksa karışık mıydınız?
A: Karışık ama bizi özel olarak müdür görevlendirdi, şüphelenirsek Rumlar gene böyle bir yangın çıkaracak, şey çıkaracak, onu haber vermemizi istiyordu. Ondan sonra 1957-58’de artık olaylar o kadar Türk ve Rumlar arasındaki olaylar o kadar gerginleşti ki artık Türkler İngiliz okuluna gidememeye başladı.
B: Mezun olmuş muydun sen?
A: Olmuştum.
B: Hangi senede mezun oldun?
A: Bir de “upper 6” okudum. Bir – eh – 1958, 1957’de mezun oldum.
B: Tam kötüleştiği sırada.
A: Evet.
B: İngiliz okulunda nasıldı ilişkileriniz Rum öğrencilerle, English School’da.
A: Valla başta çok iyi idi, daha sonraları, daha sonraları bir çekince başladı, yani onlarla bizim aramızda, yani bir şüphe ile bakıyoruz birbirimize, rahatsız oluyoruz. Yani eskiden o içten yapılan konuşmalar, oyunlar kalmamıştı.
B: İngilizce mi konuşturdunuz birbirinizle?
A: İngilizce, İngilizce konuşturduk, bazen hafif Rumca, nasılsın iyi misin?
B: Biraz Rumca bilirdin herhalde.
A: Azıcık, yani şu anda bile – eh - azaldı konuşmam yani ama anlarım yani Rumcayı.
B: O zaman 57, 58’den sonra gidemedi Türkler English School’a?
A: Yok.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee primarily talks about his life at the English school which he started in 1951 and finished in 1957. He mentions riding his bicycle to school every day - about 10 kilometers each way, coming home to eat and then going back for the afternoon session. He also states how the curriculum was structured, with Turkish and Greek students studying separately the first two years and then studying together afterwards. He mentions that relations got tense after the mid 1950s and the incident when the Greek students set fire to the meeting hall of the school in 1954.

Subjects:

childhood & youth--school life--English school; civil strife--burning; childhood & youth--school--sports; Nicosia; 1950s

Keywords:

English School; athletics; 400 yards; suspicion; 1951; Haydarpaşa İlkokulu; 1954; fire; meeting room; 1957; watchperson; elementary school; middle school; high school

Questions to Ask (1):

The interviewee talks about his school life at the English School. Did this institution compile a record of its history? Contact the English School in South Cyprus and ask if they have their own archives. Inquire about and confirm the incident in 1954 during which Greek Cypriot students burned the meeting room of the school. Why did they do this? Are there any other former students who would know more about this incident? Can you find and interview them? Relevant excerpts of the interviews will become part of the story of life at the English School.

2. I was a very good athlete and we won the cup against the American Academy

Interview with A. B., Recording 3 of 3, November 27th 2017, excerpt (23:51-32:41)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60465#segment1431>

A: İngiliz okulunda Rum arkadaşlar vardı. Ben okul “pre-fake”dim. Ne diyorlar, okul temsilcisi. Yani okul temsilcisi olarak da ilişkileri iyi tutabilmek için diyalog içindeydim Rumlarla, yani olayları bastırmak için olayların büyümesini önlemek için.

Wife: Spor aktivitelerini anlat.

A: Evet, çok başarılı bir sporcuydum. Son bir hatıram vardı Amerikan Academy Larnaka’da - Lefkoşa’da İngiliz Okulunda senede bir defa atletizm yarışmaları olurdu. Eh, o sene son koşuya kadar, en son 400 metre bayraklı yarışı olacak, Amerikan Academy eh- puan olarak ilerde, bizim İngiliz okulunun kupayı kazanabilmesi için 400 metre relay’i - eh- kazanılması gerekiyor – bir 400 metre’de 4 kişi koşuyor bayrak yarışında – ben en son koşucuyum. Üçüncü kişi bana bayrağı verdiğinde Amerikan Academy’li koşucu 30 metre bizden ileri – o 30 metreyi yavaş yavaş kapatıp son finişe geldiğimizde var gücümle şey yapıp hafif bir göğüs farkıyla kazandık ve İngiliz okulu kazandı, şeyi – bütün Rum çocukları beni havaya aldı – Türk ve Rum çocuklar, Rum çocuklar çoğunlukta idi “Bravo Re A. ’i” – beni aldılar kucaklarına aldılar – Miss Brown, Mr. Brown bizim spor hocamızdı, karısı Türk – geldi beni öptü hanım – “gurur duyuyorum seninle” dedi – halbuki hiç Türkçe konuşmuyordu bize hep İngilizce konuşuyordu – bana Türkçe hitap etti, anlımdan öptü - annen olsa şimdi söyleyecekti kim olduğunu – tanınmış

<i>birinin kızıydı – ve şilti biz aldık ve hiç o unutulmuyor – şimdi İngiliz okulunda şeylerinde yazıyor, resimleriyle birlikte.</i>
B: <i>Var mı o resimler sizde?</i>
Wife: <i>Var da derinlerde bir yerde.</i>
A: <i>Hatta birinciler birincisi oldum okul yarışlarında, birinciler birincisi – Victor Ludorn diyorlar ona – Kıbrıs valisinin elinden şilt aldım. John Harding, Çanakkale harbine de katılmış, küçük parmağı yok – onun resmi var bende şu anda - ondan şilt aldım. Üç sene birinciler birinciliğini kimseye vermedim, rakibim de Rum ’du. Her türlü numarayı yapıyorlardı onun birinci gelmesi için - dört ayrı branşta ben müsabakaya giriyordum - dört ayrı müsabakaya da o giriyordu ama o koşucu değil atıcıydı, disk atıyordu, gülle atıyordu, “cricket” atıyordu, bir de koşuyordu böyle – “hurdle” – “hurdle” (engelli yarış) yapıyordu, falan. Birinci oluyordu dört şeyde, ben de birinci oluyordum dört şeyde ama beşincide - beşinci koşumuzda “relay” (bayrak yarışı) idi. Ben relay’a de katılıyordum, o da katılıyordu ama ben birinci geldiğim için az bir farkla birinciler birinciliğini alıyordum.</i>
B: <i>İngiliz Kolejinde değil mi?</i>
A: <i>İngiliz Kolejinde ve çok sevilen biriydim.</i>
B: <i>Hatırlamıyorsun değil mi, ismini hatırlıyor musun o Rum rakibin?</i>
A: <i>Aklıma gelirse, hatırlarım ya ama ismini?</i>
B: <i>Gazete kupürü varsa onlardan çıkabilir?</i>
A: <i>Özer’in kafası yerinde olsa söylerdi şimdi</i>
B: <i>Özer amcayla yaşıt mısınız?(Özer Koray)</i>
A: <i>Yok, o bir iki yaş küçüktü ama aynı sene girdik okula.</i>
B: <i>Bu relay karışıkta değil m, Türk Rum?</i>
A: <i>Tabi tabi karışık.</i>
B: <i>Eh o zaman o spor olayları çünkü spor çok birleştiricidir, yani herhalde bayağı yakındınız diye tahmin ediyorum, takım olarak.</i>
Wife: <i>Rum çocuklarla var mıydı aranızda itişme kakışma, yani?</i>
A: <i>Yoktu, hayır. Okulda yoktu ve hiçbir zaman da konu olmazdı o aramızda. Aklımda hep o çocuk, kimdi?</i>

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about being a school representative and a very successful athlete who was very well liked at the English School by both Greek and Turkish Cypriots. He mentions he may still be holding the 400 yard record of the time. He talks of the one race they had with the American Academy in Larnaca where they won as a team composed of Turkish and Greek Cypriots because as the last runner in the relay race, he was able to close the gap of 30 meters during the last seconds of the race. He mentions being designated Victor Ludorn, winner of all races. He describes the happiness of all when they won as a team, Turkish and Greek Cypriot alike.

Subjects:

childhood & youth--school--English School; 1950s; Nicosia; childhood & youth--school--sports; friendship

Keywords:

sports; athletics; school representative; American Academy Larnaca; 400x4 relay; Mr. Brown; John Harding; Victor Ludorn; cricket; hurdle; jealousy

Questions to Ask (2):

Are any of the people mentioned in this story of the race between the English School and American Academy still alive? Is Mr. Brown or his wife still alive, or their relatives? What was her name? What is the name of the Greek Cypriot who was the fiercest opponent of the interviewee? If any of these people are alive, find them and interview them about their life at the English school as well as this incident. Relevant excerpts of the interview will become part of the story of life at the English school.

3. At the English School it was mandatory for Turkish Cypriots to go to mosque on Fridays

Interview with A. B., Recording 2 of 3, November 27th 2017, excerpt (30:56-35:45)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60462#segment1856>

B: Dini tatilleri hatırlar mısın? Bayramlarda mesela, nasıl geçirdi? Rumların dini tatillerini mesela, o dönemde ilişkiler nasıldı?

A: Görüşmezdik. Yalnız daha evvel söyledim, yani hafta sonları onlar bize bir şey ikram ederdi, bizimkiler bir şey yapar onlara ikram ederdi, yani samimi bir hava vardı ama o hava kalmamıştı daha sonra. Bunun başlıca nedeni de şey kilise, pazar günü bunlar kiliseye gidip, papazlar Türk düşmanlığı yapıyordu.

B: Siz hiç kiliseye gider miydiniz dinlemek için ne söylendiğini, ne konuşulduğunu?

A: Yok, gitmezdim.

B: Düzenli olarak gider miydi mahalledeki Rumlar kiliseye?

A: Evet, düzenli olarak her pazar günü giderlerdi. Cumartesi günleri de temizlik günleriydi, temizlik yaparlardı. İşte, ne pişirirlerse komşulara da dağıtırlardı.

B: Siz camiye gider miydiniz cuma günleri?

A: Eh, çocukken biz gitmezdik, çocukken gitmezdik ama İngiliz okulunda eh – gidiyorduk. İngiliz okulunda camiye gitmek zorunluydu.

B: Öyle mi?

A: Tabi. Zorunluydu. Okulun içinde değil. Arabahmet cami var Rum tarafında. İngiliz okulundan yürüyerek, 4-5 kilometre yürüyerek, Arabahmet camisinde gidip orada her Cuma orada.

B: Yani okul mu mecbur ederdi?

A: Evet, öyle.

B: Neden öyle?

A: <i>Türkler grup halinde oraya giderdi. Sonra sabahları Türkler ayrı, Rumlar ayrı dua ederdik, şeye derslere başlamadan evvel, Rumlar ayrı, biz ayrı dua ediyorduk.</i>
B: <i>Nasıl bir dua?</i>
A: <i>Unuttum.</i>
B: <i>Yani İslam dinine uygun bir dua mıydı yoksa İngiliz Okulu'nun?</i>
A: <i>İyilik için, çalışma eh- iyi insan olmak için.</i>
B: <i>O zaman ortak, genel bir şeydi.</i>
A: <i>Ama ayrı ayrı.</i>
B: <i>O zaman ayrı yapılmasının sebebi, lisandan dolayı mı, İngilizce yapılıyordu herhalde dua?</i>
A: <i>Onları Rumca bizimki Türkçe öğretmeni yapardı. Şeyin babası, neydi, Güner Nejat'ın babası.</i>

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about the religious practices in his neighborhood; how he did not attend mosque on Fridays but that most Greek Cypriots attended church on Sundays. He talks about going to mosque on Fridays because it was mandatory to do so at the English School. He also talks about the routine at the English school of praying every day, to be a good person in general, which the Turkish and Greek Cypriots did separately, with their own teachers and in their own languages.

Subjects:

childhood & youth--school--English School; childhood & youth--school--religion; customs--religion; Nicosia; 1950s

Keywords:

“bayram”; Güner Nejat; indoctrination; church; prayer; mosque

Questions to Ask (3):

The interviewee recounts that it was mandatory to go to mosque on Fridays while attending the English School. What could the reason for this be? Do you think it's a good idea for children to go to religious places of prayer during school time? Why/Why not? Do you like to pray? Why/Why not? Were the Greek Cypriots also required to go to church? What was the English School's policy on religious education and why? Contact the English School in South Cyprus to find out if there are any records about this policy. Find and talk to previous administrators of the school, talk to them and ask what the practices at that time were? Relevant excerpts of the interviews will become part of the story of life at the English School as well as the British policy on education. One of the Turkish teacher's daughter, Güner Nejat, is still alive and may be a lead.

4. I attended the English School between 1955 and 1960, had to go to school by bus, escorted by the Turkish police

Interview with E. Y., January 23rd 2018, excerpt (11.01-21:57)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60592#segment661>

B: Rum arkadaşların var mıydı o devirde?
E: Rum arkadaşların var mıydı o devirde? – yani bu olayları anlattığım devrede Rum arkadaşlarım yoktu – fakat bir veya iki sene sonra İngiliz okulu - Rum tarafında eğitim veren - yani yaklaşık olarak evimizden 10 kilometre kadar uzaktaydı ve biz okula bisikletlerle, yaz kış bisikletlerle giderdik – eh – o okulun giriş sınavlarını kazandım – okulun giriş sınavları ada çapında tüm öğrenciler sınava girer ve 30 kişi alınır. Yaklaşık 120 kişi girer, 30 kişi alınır, yani Rumlardan da onların sayısı bizden hayli kabarık olduğu için 60 Rum öğrenci alınır - bu neyi gösteriyor? Okulun kalitesini gösteriyor – daha işin başında size bir sınava tutup en iyisiniz alıyorlar – yani bir kasadan açılmamış ellenmemiş bir kasadan – domates nasıl seçerseniz, bu okul da en iyi öğrencileri alır bünyesine – ve çok deneyimli çok iyi ve insancıl – ve dediğim gibi hiçbir milliyetçilik duygusu taşımayan öğretmenler eşliğinde çok iyi bir eğitim verirlerdi. Öğretmenlerimiz kimdi?
B: Siz o zaman ilkokulu Haydarpaşa İlkokulunda okudunuz?
E: İlkokulu Haydarpaşa'da okuduktan sonra İngiliz koleji sınavlarını kazandım girdim. Öğretmenlerimiz Nejat Bey rahmetlik, Esat Hilmi Bey şimdi hala hayattadır, Allah ömür versin, Esat Hilmi.
Wife: Mehmet Küçük'ün kayınpederidir – Bilgenin babasıdır.
E: Raif Birman Bey vardı – o hayattadır, coğrafya hocamızdı, bir başka Reşat Bey vardı, o büyüklere, bize son sınıflara Türkçe Edebiyat verirdi. Ayrıca o zaman Kıbrıs'ta okullar - öğretmen okulları ya yoktu, ya da yeteri kadar mezun veremiyordu ve birçok derslerin öğretmenleri, başta Türkçe olmak üzere Türkiye'den gelen öğretmenler tarafından karşılanırdı. Bizim Türkçe öğretmenimiz Halit Akarca isminde birisi rahmetli oldu, nur içinde yatsın çok değerli bir hocamızdı – geriye kalan – ha 4 veya 5 Türk öğretmen vardı, aynı şekilde 4 veya 5 Ermeni öğretmenimiz vardı Mr. Mahatmeheryan, Mr. Sallahyan – eh - başka, Şöhmelyan –diğerlerinin isimlerini pek hatırlamam – bunlar çok değerli öğretmenlerimizdi – ve geriye kalan çoğunluk, aşağıya yukarı 30, veya 30'un üzerinde da Rum öğretmenlerimiz vardı. Nedendir bilmiyorum ama bayan öğretmenimiz hiç yoktu.
B: İngiliz okulu karışık mıydı?
E: Yok, bir tek erkekler. Yani öğrenci olarak da öğretmen olarak da kız yoktu. Ben 60 yılında okuldan mezun olduktan sonra okul karma oldu – eh – henüz daha hadiseler biliyorsunuz 63'de başladığı için 3 yıl okul karma olarak eğitime devam etti – Türk kızlar da vardı ve o dönemde birkaç bayan öğretmenin de okulda görev aldığını resimlerden anlıyorum. Rum arkadaşlarımız tabii ki vardı. Dediğim gibi o zamanlar daha milliyetçilik duyguları henüz ...
B: Şimdi sizin koleje başlama seneniz ne olur o zaman?
E: 55 – 60'da da mezun oldum.
B: Ama EOKA kuruldu o dönemde.
E: Evet, şimdi bakınız çok güzel bir konuya değindiniz diyorum sorular sorun, siz de araya girin ki hatırlayım. Tabii EOKA'nın asıl azgın olduğu devirdi ama

<i>EOKA o zaman henüz silahı Türklere çevirmemişti – İngilizlere çevirmişti ve İngilizler de korunmak için Türkleri auxiliary police, yardımcı polis, olarak göreve alıyorlardı. Okula gidişimiz çok ilginçti – Türk tarafından iki otobüs hareket ediyor, ikisi de tamamen Türk öğrencilerle dolu – en önde bir eskort polis, içinde üç dört tane polis, otobüs onu takip ediyor – ikinci otobüsü birinci otobüsü takip ediyor, bir de en arkada eskort</i>
B: Yani eskort Türk polisiydi?
E: Türk polisiydi.
B: E neye karşı eğer Türklere karşı bir şey yok saydı o zaman?
E: Eh - EOKA bize saldırmasın diye - çünkü İngiliz okulunun bulunduğu yer tamamen Rum tarafındaydı.
B: Yani İngiliz okulunun öğrencileri diye saldırmasın EOKA?
E: Hayır. Şimdi bakın az önce ne dedim. İngiliz okulunun öğrencileri Türklerden ve Rumlardan oluşurdu. Arada işte azınlıklar, Ermeni öğrenciler, diplomatların çocukları, Maronitler falan da vardı ama okula gitmek için her gün iki otobüse biner ve biri önde bir arkada olmak üzere cip içerisindeki Türk polisleri eşliğinde, silahlı, İngiliz okuluna giderdik, çünkü 10 kilometre uzaklıktaydı. Bu seyahat sırasında herhangi bir saldırıya uğramayalım diye bu eskortlar bizi götürüp getiriyorlardı.
B: Yani şeyi anlamaya çalışıyorum. Dediniz o zaman EOKA Türklere doğrultmadıydı.
E: Doğrultmadıydı ama şimdi bakın doğrultmadı diye doğrultmayacak anlamına da gelmez, tedbirini alacaksınız. Şimdi hadise başlatmak için ya da Türk toplumunu kızdırmak için bize ateş açabilirlerdi.
B: Yani bir huzursuzluk vardı?
E: Neticede bir huzursuzluk vardı ama bu huzursuzluk okula devam ettiğimiz ve mezun olduğumuz 60 yılına kadar devam etti – eh – bozulmadı yani bu huzursuzluğumuz, vardı yani bu huzursuzluk ama herhangi bir saldırıya maruz kalmadığımız için gidip geliyorduk, yoksa bir saldırıya maruz kalsak bizi bir önde bir arkada iki tane şey nasıl koruyacaktı? Mesela yan tarafa saklanıp otobüse ateş açıp kaçtığı anda onu o polis nereden yakalayacaktı? Öyle bir şey olmadı – okula biz uzun yıllar polis eşliğinde, eskortluğunda gittik. Bir de eh- okulda bir bombalama olayı oldu – İngiliz okulunda bir bombalama olayı oldu. Ben bunu yıllar sonra çok iyi düşündüğümde kafama dank etti – bu patlayan bomba nerede patlıyordu biliyor musunuz? Tümü Türk öğrencilerden oluşan 2A sınıfında çünkü İngiliz okulunda orta bir ve iki ayrı ayrı okunurdu, hepsi Türk hepsi Rum, orta 3'e geçtiğimiz zaman eh Rumlar ve Türkler artık müşterek aynı sınıf – mesela en iyi öğrenciler Fen bölümüne gider diğerleri Edebiyat eh diğerleri Ticaret, 3 bölümden commercial bölüm oluşurdu. 3. Sınıfa geçtiğimizde artık karma eğitim başlardı – eh – ve ben sonradan bir Rum arkadaşımın da bunu duydum. Bu bomba eh özel olarak tümü Türk olan öğrencilerin sınıfında, 2A sınıfında patlatıldı. Ha tabi işin iyi tarafı bu bomba öğrencilerin olmadığı akşamüzeri,

hatırladığım kadarı ile, yani okulu terk ettikten sonra eh ama – bu bizim için çok büyük zorluklara neden oldu.

B: *Siz kaçınıcı sınıftınız bu bomba patladığında?*

E: *2. Tabii bu bomba patladığında Türk öğrenciler için çok büyük zorluklar yarattı çünkü küçük bir sınıf, ısınan bir sınıftan, bizi hole aldılar – hol her sabah bütün öğrencilerin toplandığı bir tür sabah seremonisi gibiydi - müdür veya öğretmenler bir şey söylemek istediği zaman bütün öğrencilere hitap edebilmek için hol dediğimiz büyücek bir salon vardı - şimdi sınıfta bomba patlayınca başka sınıf yok, bizi hole aldılar – ve hol kocaman - soba yok – ve sene sonuna kadar üşüyerek, titreyerek, o holde derslerimize aynı şekilde devam ettik.*

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about his life at the English school, how they accepted students and its high standard of education. He talks about the Turkish, Armenian and Greek teachers he had. He recounts that towards the end of his school life there (1955-1960) they went to school by bus because it was no longer safe to ride the approximately 10 km to the English School which was in the Greek quarter of Nicosia. He also talks about the incident when their class, the Turkish class of 2 A was bombed one evening and how they had to sit in the cold common hall of the school for the rest of the term since they did not have any other class available for them. He recounts that it was a hard time as they were always cold.

Subjects:

childhood & youth--school--English School; civil strife--safety; Nicosia; mid 1950s; early 1960s; civil strife--fear

Keywords:

Haydarpaşa İlkokulu; Nejat bey; Esat Hilmi bey; Raif Birman; Reşat bey; teachers; Turkish teachers; Halit Akarca; Şöhmeliyan; Sallahyan; Mahatmeryan; eoka; bomb; class; 2A;

Questions to Ask (4):

The interviewee remembers many of the names of his teachers: Esat Hilmi, who, he states is still alive, Raif Birman, Halit Akarca, Mr. Mahatmeryan, Mr. Sallahyan, Mr. Şöymelyan and Nejat Bey. Find out if those people are still alive, seek out their relatives and find out if they left any memoirs or recounted any stories from their life at the English School to their relatives. Relevant excerpts of the interviews will become part of the story of life at the English school. Also, find out more about the incident of the bombing of the Turkish class of 2A at the English School. Does the school have any record of this? What do people still alive remember about this incident? Can you create a more detailed account of the incident?

5. The British did not let us hang our flags and Atatürk's portrait in our schools

Interview with İ. E. Y., March 30th 2018, excerpt (41:49-43:29)

Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60596#segment2509
İ: Okullarda okurken, ilkokulda mesela, tabii İngiliz idaresinde okurduk biz ve kraliçenin şeyinde – eh – müfettişler gelir okulu ziyaret ederdi mesela, öğretmenler derdi ki bugün müfettişler gelecek, ortadan Türk bayrağı, Atatürk resmi hep kalkardı ve biliyor musun, dışardan görünmesin diye, nerede varsa köhne bir yer, oraya koyardık Atatürk'ün resmini.
B: Görse onu İngiliz, kaldırtırdı, değil mi?
İ: Tabi, tabi. Biz böyle büyüdük, aynı biz Atatürk olarak...
B: Yani şeylerde da müdahale ederlerdi, hade Victoria İngiliz'in okulu, şeylerde da ...
İ: Ama benim bahsettiğim Ayasofya ilkokulu – İlkokul!
B: Türklerin okulu, ona da müdahale ederlerdi.
İ: Tabi. Tabi, İlkokul. Çok hayat yaşadık.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about how the British government did not allow them to exhibit any national symbols in their schools such as flags and the portrait of Atatürk and how they had to hide them whenever the school was being inspected. At other times, they would put these in the most obscure corners of the classroom so that they were not seen from outside.

Subjects:

childhood & youth--school--Ayasofya Elementary School; governance—British Colonial Regime—education—1950s; Walled Nicosia--Ayasofya; 1950s

Keywords:

Flags; Atatürk; portrait; inspector; nationalism; symbol; patriotism;

Questions to Ask (5):
<i>The interviewee recounts that the British did not allow any signs of nationalism, such as flags and portraits of important people, to be hung in schools. Find out what written record the British government has on this policy. Why did they forbid these symbols? How do you think this affected the communities? What is colonialism? Did the British government apply the same policy in its other colonies? Were there other symbols that the British required to be displayed in schools in Cyprus? Do you agree with their policy? Why/why not? Are symbols necessary and important? Why/why not? Which symbols are important to you? Why?</i>

6. The British spray tear gas on Turkish Cypriot students demonstrating for “taksim”
<i>Interview with İ. E. Y., March 3rd 2018, excerpt (04:45-07:53)</i>
Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60596#segment285

İ: İşte bir ara yeraltı teşkilatları kuruldu ya, ilk ateş açıldığı zaman şeyde, liselerde, biz orta okuldaydık, o zaman böyle yeraltı teşkilatları halkı galeyana getirsin diye bazı söyleşilerde bulunurlardı. Biz mesela çok küçük ve gençtik, yürüyüşlere falan çıkardık. Bazı sloganlar atarak, marşlar söyleyerek, falan filan. Eh, orta l'deydim galiba ben, yürüyüşten sonra, eski polis istasyonunun önüne geldiğimizde, tabii İngilizler da vardı orada. Mesela sadece Türk Rum anlaşmazlığı değil, ortada İngilizler vardı ve onlar aslında bozardı bizim karakter – yani – anlaşmamamızı – oraya geldiğimiz zaman – bizi şeylerle karşıladılar, el bombalarıyla karşıladı İngilizler.
B: Siz, şey için, "taksim" için yürüyüş yapardınız?
İ: Taksim için yürüyüş yapardık ve bayrağı kaptanımızdan bayrağı zorla almak istediler ve aldılar da.
B: Siz 11 yaşında falandınız?
İ: Ha, işte 12 falan. O zaman Dr. Fazıl Küçük vardı, göz yaşartıcı bomba attılardı bize, çocuklara, böyle çiğ yavrusu gibi dağıldık.
B: İngilizler attıydı?
İ: İngilizler attıydı. Bizi binasına almıştı Dr. Küçük da bize şey veriydi. Islak mendil. O zaman, gözümüze koymak için.
B: Şu anda müze olan yerinde?
İ: Evet ve daha yukarda var bir tane.
B: Onu bilmem ama.
İ: Yok, şeydi orası, Bozkurt Gazetesi'nin üstüydü.
B: E, şu an müzesinin olduğu yer değil mi?
İ: O eviydi. Bozkurt gazetesi vardı, onun üstüne taşıydı bizi. O çocukların ayakkabıları hep küfelerle dağıldıydı. Yalınayak kalmıştı çocuklar hep.
B: Yürüyüşten sonra?
İ: Tabii. Hepimiz üst üste düştük. Dağıldılar, ne ayakkabı kaldı, ne bir şey ortalıklarda. Tabii biz aralarında en küçüktük, ama en büyüğümüz, lise son sınıf. Kaptanlar falan. O kadar, hepsi çocuk.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts an incident when the Turkish Cypriots were demonstrating for "taksim," at Sarayönü, composed primarily of students, herself being part of the younger group around 11 years old, and how the British Colonial Regime tear gassed them and they were scattered all over the streets, losing their shoes etc. She recounts that Dr. Küçük treated them in his office.

Subjects:

civil strife--freedom--expression; governance--British colonial government--tear gas; childhood & youth--school life; Walled Nicosia; 1950s

Keywords:

tmt; nationalism; demonstrations; "taksim"; Dr. Küçük

7. The British had sprayed tear gas; our eyes were burning and we were scared
<i>Interview with S. A., May 29th 2018, excerpt (30:41-33:18)</i>
<i>Segment of Interview in OHMS</i>
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60689#segment1841
S: <i>Akademiyken de olaylar oldu hani – Ms. Şefika Türkçe öğretmenimizdi Akademiye - Bir olay olurken den hemen Türklerle Rumlar arasında, Ermeniler, Rumlar hemen düşman kesilirdi bize ve Şefika Hanım bizi nasıl kaçıracağını Rum tarafından Türk tarafına şaşırdı. Bir defa hiç unutmam hani çarşafli bir bayan Şerife Hanım basıldıydı (ezildi), İngilizlerle de olaylar oldu hatırlarsan.</i>
B: <i>Hangi sene?</i>
S: <i>İngilizler bastıydı (ezdi)di) cipleriyle Şerife isminde bir bayan vardı çarşafli hatta bizim uzaktan akrabamız olurdu.</i>
B: <i>Yani 63'ler yoksa daha önce?</i>
S: <i>Daha önce, İngilizlerle, önce EOKA başladı, Rumlarla İngilizler – sonra da bizimle de bir şeyleri, husumetleri oldu şeyin, İngilizlerin, hatta hatırlarım bizim hiç haberimiz yok ondan, Lefkoşa'da olaylar olmuş, öğrenciler yollara çıktı bilmem ne yaptı, cipleri sürmüş üzerlerine İngilizler falan. Biz okuldan çıktık – uh çok fena bir gaz kokusu, göz yaşartıcı bomba atmışlar meğer - gözlerimiz yakmaya başladı, annelerimiz telaşta, biz orada ne oluyoruz, geçtiğimiz sokaklarda insanlar yok, böyle başka türlü acayip bir duygu içine girdik, taa eve gelelim.</i>
B: <i>Bu Amerikan Academy'deyken?</i>
S: <i>Evet. O günü da hiç unutmam. Kaçtı yahu. O hangi seneydi, Türklerle İngilizler arasında şey oldu.</i>
B: <i>İngilizler Türklere göz yaşartıcı bomba attıydı?</i>
S: <i>Evet.</i>
B: <i>Neyin üzerine attıydı, hatırlar mısınız?</i>
S: <i>Onu hatırlamam, neydi şu anda ama okuldan çıktığımızda ikindin da geldik Türk tarafına – geçtiğimizde ne olduğumuzu şaşırdık, bir anda, çünkü orada hiçbir şeyden haberimiz yok, o zaman ne cep telefonu var ne bir şey.</i>

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about an incident when she was studying at the American Academy and how when they crossed back into the Turkish quarter after school they found a horrifying scene and a very bad smell which burned their eyes. She remembers being very scared and not knowing what was going on. She recounts that they later found out that the British had sprayed tear gas on Turkish Cypriots, mostly students.

Subjects:

governance--British colonial government--tear gas--late 1950s; civil strife--fear; childhood & youth--school--American Academy; 1950s; Walled Nicosia

Keywords:

American Academy; Şefika; Armenian; eoka; eyes; burning; fear

Questions to Ask (6 & 7):

The interviewees seem to be recounting the same incident of the British spraying tear gas on Turkish Cypriot students demonstrating at Sarayönü. One interviewee (7) states that this was a reaction against the British running over a Turkish Cypriot woman by the name of Şerife. Look at newspaper archives and find the date and nature of this incident. Why was the woman run over and what do the archives say about the demonstrations afterwards? Compile a report about this incident. Can you interview more people who might remember more details, as it seems to have been a major event? Relevant excerpts will be made part of the emerging story of demonstrations in Walled Nicosia.

Questions to Ask (7):

The interviewee mentions that as soon as tensions rose, enmities would surface instantly between the communities. Why do we sometimes instantly take sides in a dispute without even thinking who is right or wrong? Why do we feel that we should always align with our own community and/or family, without understanding the different sides of the issues? What does alliance bring us and what does it take away from us? What would happen if we pointed out the mistakes of our own community? Would it encourage others to do the same? How would the world be different if such alliances did not exist and people acted purely out of a desire to work towards a peaceful solution? What is the meaning of justice? Should this be an entitlement for every individual? What are the “peaceful” ways of resolving injustices? When do they work, not work? Can you find some examples from history of such situations? Are there any lessons to be learned?

8. Our schools were next to mosques, took their names from them, but we were raised secular

Interview with A. O., Recording 1 of 2, June 13th 2017, excerpt (29:35-31:21)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60411#segment1775>

B: Mesela okuldan geldikten sonra ne yapardınız, mesela geldiniz eve, yarım gündü o zaman okullar, öğlen.

A: Her gün, hem sabah hem öğlendi.

B: O zaman geç gelirdiniz eve?

A: Geç gelirdik ve çok güzeldi. Eh, okula giderdik, zaten herkes Atatürk İlkokuluna giderdi Lefkoşa'nın içerisinde, başka yoktu – hayır çok vardı, ama bakınız ne kadar enteresandır, Atatürk İlkokulu yanında cami var, Yenicami zaten adını oradan alır, İlkokulu, orada cami var.

B: Ben de oraya gittim iki sene.

A: Haydarpaşa İlkokulu, içinde Haydarpaşı cami var. Bizim nesil camilerle iç içe yaşadı - hiçbir zaman, hiçbir yönetici dini istismar etmedi - yani alınız Necati

Özkanlardan, Denктаşlar, Dr. Küçükler, bütün o ilk kuşak siyasetçiler - hani biz gençliğimizde karşıydık bu insanlara - hiçbirini dini istismar etmedi bu memlekette. O kesimin değeri esasında başka cepheden bakıldığında paha biçilmez. Camilerle, yani dini mekanlarla iç içe yaşayan nesilleriz ve gayet laik büyüdük. Böyle bir toplum hiçbir yerde olamaz, yani kendi kendimizin kıymetini bilmeyiz.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about how each Turkish school within Walled Nicosia was associated with a mosque and took its name from it - and despite this intermingling of religion and education within Walled Nicosia - his generation of Turkish Cypriots were raised with "secular" principles, which he feels they should be proud of. He also mentions that leaders such as Denктаş and Necati Özkan, whom they looked down upon in their youth, were in fact exemplary, in that they never mixed religious affairs with politics.

Subjects:

childhood & youth--school--religion; customs--religion--secularism; Walled Nicosia; 1950s; 1960s

Keywords:

Atatürk İlkokulu; Haydarpaşa İlkokulu; religion; tourism; Yenicami İlkokulu; Denктаş; Necati Özkan; mosque; elementary school;

Questions to Ask (8):

The interviewee states that secularism is a positive value of the Turkish Cypriot community and its first political leaders. The separation of politics from religion is called laicism but many wars are initiated and/or supported through appeal to religious sentiments. Are there instances when this is justified? Is it wrong to use religion this way, even if it is for a good purpose? Explain why, why not? Is it possible to describe such instances through examples?

The CHHP of Cyprus & Other Related Proposals

In this chapter, I elaborated upon the components of the CHHP of Cyprus and illustrated how I envision peace education as an integral aspect of the museology of peacebuilding; much of this happens in a framework where questions and issues are raised according to the topics discussed in the interviews. As the themes become more specific, the questions generated from the interviews also become more detailed and occasionally are historical in nature requiring investigation of primary resources for verification, seeking out previous interviewees for follow-up

interviews, or discovering new ones to fill in the gaps. Nevertheless, the excerpts also continue to raise questions that are general in nature, emphasize self-knowledge and are designed to develop empathy for oneself and “others,” whether as individuals or as communities.

I illustrated in this chapter that the small, unique and seemingly insignificant stories of the islanders not only raise questions pertinent to peacebuilding but they do so in a contextualized and place-referenced manner so that the questions and issues raised become “real,” “believable,” “tangible,” and “with affect,” impressing upon the listeners their relevance and significance in life and for peacebuilding. The islanders’ accounts are seen as lessons from the past from which the younger generation of islanders can learn. While the *CHHP of Cyprus* outlined in this dissertation is a unique proposal, it also has similarities with other proposals. I briefly cover three of these proposals as a means of illustrating how the emerging significance accorded to ordinary people’s accounts is being addressed in different contexts.

The first study is Anita Bakshi’s oral history project conducted in 2012 with former shop owners on the commercial Ermou street in Walled Nicosia, now in the Buffer Zone. In her project, she encourages her interviewees to write their memories on a map which belongs to particular streets and buildings which houses these memories. Bakshi argues that this process of “mapping” memories enables deeper suppressed memories to resurface. As such, her work is grounded primarily in memory studies and explores both the significance of memory in areas of conflict but more importantly how “place” acts as a “vehicle through which memory can be explored.”

Her focus is on the power of places to reference and “resonate with” a past that differs from official historical narratives.⁷¹² The *CHHP of Cyprus* has parallels with her work in the significance it attaches to “place” although the focus of my work is in endowing these places with new meanings from the past that are made accessible to the present residents of these places. The focus of Bakshi’s work is instead on how these “places” can assist in memory retrieval. Both Bakshi’s work and the proposed *CHHP of Cyprus* address how the narratives of individuals differ from the authorized heritage discourses. Further, the *CHHP of Cyprus* proposes that these diverse narratives be used to create a new culture of peace on the island.

Another project with which the *CHHP of Cyprus* shares similarities is the Murmur project described as “a documentary oral history project that records stories and memories told about specific geographic locations.” First established in Toronto’s Kensington Market in 2003, Murmur projects now exist in the cities of Montreal, Calgary, San Jose, Edinburgh, Dublin, and Geelong. A sign is inserted in streets, on the spot which a particular story references and anyone passing by can dial the phone number on this sign and listen to the story. The stories “range from personal recollections to more historic stories ... but are always told from a personal point of view” intended to “develop a new intimacy with places” and enable history to acquire “a multitude of voices.”⁷¹³ These objectives are very similar to those of the

⁷¹² Anita Bakshi, *Topographies of Memories: A New Poetics of Commemoration* (S.l.: Springer International PU, 2018), 12-14. Her work is very informative as she discovers that visual prompts such as maps and photographs helped people remember the past and is thus a methodology that could be employed in recounting the memories of the islanders. As part of the campaign during which the younger generation records the stories of the older generation of islanders, they may be asked first to compile all the old photographs they have of the many different places they lived in during their lives, as a process which will help them remember better. The structure and setting up of the *CHHP of Cyprus* can become further informed by the discipline of memory studies but this line of inquiry has remained beyond the scope of my dissertation.

⁷¹³ About, accessed June 03, 2019, <http://murmurtoronto.ca/about.php/>.

CHHP of Cyprus which embeds people's accounts from the past about particular places into those places through QR codes, enabling people passing by to likewise listen to these stories. Nevertheless, the intentions of the *CHHP of Cyprus* are in the ability of these stories to increase mutual understanding between the estranged communities of that particular place. For this reason, they are stories that reference the troubled decades on the island revealing the complexity and multifacetedness of life during this difficult period.

One last project with which the *CHHP of Cyprus* shares similarities is the History Engine Project run by the University of Richmond which they describe as a "moderated wiki" website populated by the research conducted by hundreds of students at five colleges and universities. The project involves students researching primary documents of a particular episode within a historical period, described as "snippets of daily life from the largest national event to the smallest local occurrence – that make up the cumulative database." These episodes are then screened, both academically and by library staff after which they are "added to others until the database is populated by thousands of documented nodes where place, time, and action intersect, searchable in several dimensions."⁷¹⁴ Imagined also as being overlaid with primary documents, images, and multimedia elements, this History Engine⁷¹⁵ is similar to what I imagine to be the expanded version of the *CHHP of Cyprus* applied across the island that becomes equally populated by the islanders

⁷¹⁴ Edward L. Ayers, "Chapter 1 Turning toward Place, Space, and Time," in *Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of Humanities Scholarship*, by David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris (2010), 8.

⁷¹⁵ Digital Scholarship Lab, "The History Engine," History Engine: Tools for Collaborative Education and Research | Home, , accessed June 03, 2019, <https://historyengine.richmond.edu/>.

accounts and is akin to a sort of Wikipedia on the histories and heritages of the island organized around the unit of places.⁷¹⁶ Nevertheless, there are also significant differences between the *CHHP of Cyprus* and the History Engine project. While the latter consists of the compilation of work conducted by individuals, albeit based on primary resources, the *CHHP of Cyprus* is compiled of the eye-witness accounts of people from the recent past. Moreover, while the History Engine is a resource site, the *CHHP of Cyprus* is both a resource for the histories and heritages of the island but more importantly, it is also a *tool* for peacebuilding.

In the following chapter, Chapter 6, I cover the more specific stories that are revealed through the oral history project concerning specifically the neighborhood of Ayios Loukas: the event of Greek Cypriots leaving Ayios Loukas between 1956 and 1958 and the Ayios Loukas Church as a place. These more specific stories best approximate the kinds of histories and heritages that will emerge from the *CHHP of Cyprus* once piloted in Walled Nicosia.

⁷¹⁶ David J. Bodenhamer, "Chapter 2 The Potential of Spatial Humanities," in *Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of Humanities Scholarship*, by David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris (2010), 27-28. One means of representing both space and time has been through the concept of "deep-mapping" first put forth by the Situationist International Movement in France in the 1950s. In imagining what a deep map of heritage and culture, centered on memory and place would look like, Bodenhamer states that "each artifact – a letter, memoir, photograph, painting, oral account, video, and so forth – would constitute a separate record anchored in time and space, thus allowing us to keep them in relationship, and each layer would contain the unique view over time."

CHAPTER 6

COLLABORATIVE MAKING OF HISTORIES & HERITAGES

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Introduction to Chapter 6

In the previous chapter, Chapter 5, I illustrated some of the more general theme-based histories and heritages that began to emerge through the *CHHP of Cyprus*. In this chapter, I illustrate two stories that are more complete and specific in nature because they concern the specific neighborhood investigated and are, for this reason, more indicative of the kinds of histories and heritages enabled by the museology of peacebuilding as envisioned in this dissertation. These two stories concern an event, the forced departure of Greek Cypriots from Ayios Loukas between 1956 and 1958, and a place, the Ayios Loukas Church, both of which are recounted through a compilation of interview excerpts that make reference to them as well as links to their audio recordings on the OHMS viewer.

The 24 interview excerpts which make up the story of Greek Cypriots leaving Ayios Loukas would be revealed through a search conducted on the *CHHP of Cyprus* website under *civil strife/forced to leave home/Ayios Loukas*, whereas the 16 interview excerpts which highlight the Ayios Loukas Church are those that could be accessed through a search conducted on the same website for *Ayios Loukas Church*. After piloting the *CHHP of Cyprus* in Walled Nicosia, the number of these excerpts would undoubtedly increase. Nevertheless, what has been compiled so far is sufficient for indicating the kinds of histories and heritages which are made possible

through the practice of the museology of peacebuilding. The sequencing of the excerpts which make up the story regarding the departure of Greek Cypriots is arranged so that anecdotes taking place on the same street are grouped together. This sequencing is necessary for observing the connections and/or inconsistencies between anecdotes referencing the same specific event; this is also helpful for the mobile application because interview excerpts which reference a particular event frequently reference a particular location too, a street for example; users of the mobile application may prefer, on occasion, to listen to excerpts that are place-referenced only, for example, those that take place on a given street. By grouping together these excerpts the selection process is made easier on the mobile application. In the sequencing of excerpts within the curated story of the Ayios Loukas Church, the same logic is used where similar themes or locations are grouped together for ease of comprehension and recognition of connections and/or different points of view between excerpts.

For each curated story below, interview excerpts are followed by a series of questions which are both general as well as specific. Before each curated story, I give a brief summary of the nature of the histories and heritages that are revealed. I argue that the local, place and people-based methodology practiced in the museology of peacebuilding not only dilutes and diversifies the authorized heritage discourses on either side, it also suggests an entirely new model of education on the island where peacebuilding is integrated into the curriculum rather than tacked onto it as an addendum.

An Event in Ayios Loukas; Forced to Leave Home, 1956-1958

Accounts of the past residents of Ayios Loukas revealed a *specific* manifestation of the contestation on the island as it unfolded within the small neighborhood of Ayios Loukas composed of only a couple of city blocks. In April 1956, a group of angry Turkish Cypriots stormed the neighborhood of Ayios Loukas with the intention to oust, and perhaps to even kill, the Greek Cypriot residents of this neighborhood, while the Turkish Cypriot residents of the same neighborhood protected their Greek Cypriot neighbors and helped them escape. In Ayios Loukas, feelings of anger and hatred towards the “other” community were acted out alongside feelings of compassion and neighborliness extended towards that same community, constituting, a concrete manifestation of the simultaneous existence of opposing feelings within the same community. The story of Ayios Loukas during this time period is exemplary of the complex nature of the Cyprus dispute, alluded to earlier, where in reality, wrongdoings and exemplary behavior exist within the same community and on both sides of the divide during a time period where the notion of right and wrong became muddled under conditions of war. As noted by peace education scholar Noddings, “the great moral fault lies with war itself” which “creates the conditions under which normally moral people commit immoral acts.”⁷¹⁷

The story of Ayios Loukas is the story of an interethnic and interreligious community living together, within dense quarters, which despite the politics involved at the upper levels of society, and in spite of each ethnic community’s own conflicting sentiments regarding the ongoing troubles, was bound together by an understanding that they were a community of “people” living in the same place,

⁷¹⁷ Nel Noddings, *Peace Education: How We Come to Love and Hate War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 18.

sharing similar resources as well as memories. The public life which the former residents of Ayios Loukas shared, enabled them to view each other primarily as fellow human beings; as real people, as Korallia, Ayten, Achilleas and Veli instead of “someone” belonging to the “other” community. The lived knowledge of the “other,” as human beings similar to themselves, a phenomenon lacking in today’s divided Cyprus, enabled the residents of Ayios Loukas to protect their neighbors despite the confusion and suspicion which filled their communities.

The people of Ayios Loukas were bound together through a public life they shared, during which they got to know each other as individuals, whether that was at the fair held in the Ayios Lukas Church every 18th of October, the daily exchanges at Ahmet Örek’s or Louziou’s “bakka,” the games played on the streets, the conversations exchanged at the water fountain and even the derogatory exchanges made against each other as children playing on the streets. Almost all interviewees recounted the increase of tension in the aftermath of the establishment of EOKA in 1955 but they also expressed that Ayios Loukas remained a community made up of human beings who were endowed with a sense of neighborliness and care for each other. They shared a life together despite the brewing troubles amongst communities outside their own neighborhood. The Ayios Loukas community, as the interviewees revealed, was a neighborhood known for its many talented seamstresses, one of the most renowned being the wife of the priest of Ayios Loukas whose clients included wealthy Turkish Cypriot families including the wife of Dr. Fazıl Küçük, leader of the Turkish Cypriot community and one of three founding members of TMT, as well as the wife of Rauf Denktaş, also the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community and one of the other three founding members of TMT. In other words, the community of

people involved in the daily vocation of sewing, significant for Ayios Loukas, included members of both communities and individuals who would otherwise be pitted against each other; a priest's wife whose best clients included the wives of the founders of TMT.

Ayios Loukas was also a neighborhood where many of its Turkish Cypriot male residents were TMT members and many of its Greek Cypriot male residents were EOKA members. It was indeed a complex life for these people where militant duties and obligations to their own community were carried out simultaneously with acts of friendship extended to their neighbors from the "other" community. This contradictory and difficult state of existence, of being friends with members of the "other" community but having to abide, at the same time, by the demands of your own community, was expressed through concrete examples by one of the interviewees, A. Ö., who was also a member of TMT.

Below is the interview excerpt where Asım recounts a conversation he had with his very close Greek Cypriot friend and colleague, Ashogi, who admits that if EOKA members came and asked him to point out who the Turks were, he would have to abide by their orders because otherwise they would kill *him*. He also recounts another incident where a Greek Cypriot colleague, whom he was not as close to, came up to him and told him that he should not be using the company car that his boss Kenan was using because it was recorded at the EOKA headquarters as a car involved in the Gönyeli incident where GCs were killed. His Greek Cypriot friend knew that Asım was not involved in the incident and wanted to protect him from harm. Asım recounts not being able to tell this to his *own* boss Kenan because doing

so would put his Greek Cypriot colleague into trouble, not only exposing him as an EOKA member but also causing him to lose his job. Asım recounts that he was done a favor and would not think of betraying this. He likens the situation during the troubled period on the island as a “crisscross situation” where wrongdoings cancelled good deeds, where there was both good and bad, and, he finally adds, that in cases where there were wrongdoings they were “necessarily so.”

Interview with A. Ö., March 30 th 2018, excerpt (1:35:08-1:45:14)
Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60697#segment5708
A: Şimdi Rum oğluna, Rum tarafında elektrik dairesi, gece bekçisi vurulur. Ertesi gün biz hep hoflandık, gecesı vuruldu. Şimdi, her gün, Land Rover’ımız var, ben kullanırım, burada bizim, daireden bahsederim şimdi. Her sabah ararım kendisini ve araziye çıkarız Karpaz’a, Baf’a, kooperatifleri gezeriz. Ben plant protection bölümündeydim önce. Şimdi nedir o. Zirai levazım, zirai köylüye bilgi verme, mesela bitkilerine nasıl ilaç kullanacak. Napacak ne edecek, İngiltere’de gittik, eğitimini de gördük yani, o tip. Ancak, bu bahsettiğim 55 sonrası evrede, sokaklar polis tarafından tutuldu. Rum’u didik didik eder yolda, stop der sana durun, license, verin iznini, nereden gelin, nereye giden, falan filan, şimdi süren Türk olduğunda “all right, pass” derler, hiç soru sual yok, geç der. Şimdi bunları bildikleri için, “beraber gideceyik be Ö.,” benim sorumlum, yani benim üstümdeki Rum’dur. Ben diyor yalnız gitmem, seninle gideceğiz her yere. Açıkğöz. Ama ben ararken kendini evinden, Kaymaklı’da kalır, karısı beni çağırır beni içeri her gün, onları iyi misafirlerine, şey verirler, ceviz macunu, çok muteberdir, ceviz macunu verdi mi saygın bir misafirsın. Rum’da – bizde o pek geçerli değil da – yani özel bir hikaye. Her sabah çağırır. Şimdi Ashogi’ydi ismi – böyle böyle güler – be Asım, der, seni şişmanlatacak bizim hanım ama yiyeceksin, diyor, reddedilmez, der, eh biz de alırız. Kadın da bilir, ben yardımcıyım kocasına gibisinden, yollarda bellerde İngiliz’den geçilmez.
B: Kocası EOKA’cı değildi ama herhalde?
A: Yahu, olmayan yok. Bizdeki gibi, hafif, değilse bile emirlerine itaat ederdi. Şimdi öyle bir insan, dedim ki kendisine yahu yarın gelirse biri da der size kimdir Türk göster bize ne yapacaksın, böyle yapacağım dedi, yani göstereceğim seni dedi. “Be” dedim, beni vurduracan? Eh, dedi, isten gelip gece beni vursunlar? Bak, şimdi, Anlaşıldı mı? Yani şimdi budur mevzu. Şimdi bakınız, mecburdur. Hakikaten öyle, karşı geldin mi sana yapacaklar bir şey, istemez tabi. ... Şimdi bir misal verdim, bir tane daha vereyim çünkü biri birini götürür işlerin. 778AC Opel arabası var bankanın, resmi, hiç unutmam, siyah. Şimdi Rum oğlunun biri

yaklaştı bana, şimdi her gün gelir Kenan Bey (his boss) der, be Ö., al diyor arabayı da gidelim, ev yaptırır o zaman, şimdi satıldı o ev, sıfır oldu, yıkıldı, şeyde, meclisten gelin, solda birinci yıkılmış ev, Mado'nun yanı, ... yapılır o şimdi inşaat ... o zaman inşaatı yapılır, baş katip inşaatı kontrol eder, mühendisi uzun yolda – Rum. Bak – tarih, yaptılar, yaşadılar, sattılar o evi 500,000 TL – iyi paraya da gitmedi. Be, dediler, bu arabayla gitme Kenan Bey'le bu araba dediler EOKA'da kayıtlı ve aranan arabadır, neymiş mesele? Gönyeli'de hani önünü kestilerdi de Rum hastanede önünü kesmiş beyaz önlüklü insanlar önümüzü kesti, hayal gördü yani, ... şimdi o hadisede bu araba geçmiş oradan ... şimdi bakıcısı, Kenan Bey'in hizmetlisi - orada kalır, Gönyeli'deydi, ve odacı gelir her gün akşamüstü ve götürür evine kendisini – öyle bir alemde, yani Rum Türk hadisesinde – bu araba geçmiş oradan – hangisi Rumlardan aldıysa, bu numaralı araba oradaydı – yani bize saldırdıklarında – mimmendi araba – şimdi EOKA'cı bu, bizde memur olan, bana gelip söyleyen, gitme diyor bu arabayla, bu arabayı bizimkiler arar, sen giden bu arabayla, şimdi – yani adamımız, Kenan beyin çalışan kızını götürürken orada Rum ile Türk karşı karşıya gelir, hadise, orada götürürmüş kızı. Şimdi Rum'larda biri bunu gördü, gitti teşkilata dedi ki bize dedi hücum edenler arasında bu araba da var. (ama) öyle bir şey yok. Ve de – bunu – içindeki bir şahıs (EOKA'nın) gelip bana söylüyor. Gitmeyeceksin bu arabayla, diyor (bana), gidersen de bırak da kaç, durma, gitme diyor daha doğrusu. Ben bunu söyleyemedim, Kenan Beye. Ertesi gün gene gelir, söylersen hadise çıkacak – kimdi sana söyleyen, neydi bu, şimdi ben verir miyim bana yardımcı olan adamın ismini, veremezsin, verirsen namertlik, yani doğru yapmazsın. Sorguya çekilecek, EOKA'cı olduğu çıkacak ortaya. İngiliz da müdür, duyarsa İngiliz atacak kendisini işten. Neyse, yani demek istediğim, en iyi dostumken gelirse de biri sorar Türk kimdir, göstereceğim, öbürü öyle dost değildir, be Ö., gitme der – da – bunu diyor, bu mimmidir bu araba sana bir şey yapacaklar sana, yazıktır gitme, diyor, suçsuzsun, yani sen Kenan beyi götürün, biz da biliriz, bu araba bir şey yapmadı, biz da biliriz. Anladı Rumlara ne olduğunu, ama kayıt içeriye gitti, bitti, mimmlediler yani arabayı. Böyle hadiseler, şimdi hep bunlar çaprazdır, birbirine karşı gelen iyi mi kötü mü, hem iyidir, hem kötüdür, ama kötüdür, mecburen kötüdür, vaka budur, yani sen ruhuna bunu işle. Hiçbir zaman da – yani overall konuşurum şimdi, her şeyin üstünden – menfaat sahipleri, köşe dönenler de bu işi körükleyenlerdi – Rumun kavgaya ettiğinde kim kazanır, kavgaya etmediğinde kim kaybeder, falan filan. Bunları da yapanlar ve köşeden köşeye de dönenler çok.

The 24 interview excerpts which make up the story of the forced departure of Greek Cypriots from Ayios Loukas between 1956 and 1958 raise questions that are very diverse in nature. Some require that missing information be found by consulting newspaper archives from this period, while others require that the dates of particular

incidents be verified. Specific interview excerpts require verification through consultation of official British records as well as speeches made by certain officials. These and similar questions require that primary research is conducted and primary records consulted in order to fill in some missing pieces of information in the stories. Other questions refer to more fundamental existential human conditions such as experiencing fear, sadness, shame, helplessness, trauma, shock, revenge and discrimination and ways in which we begin to understand the significance of these experiences. Concepts such as nationalism and patriotism also emerge and require elaboration and understanding through the peace education program. Combined, the questions include those oriented towards self-knowledge and self-awareness and those that would be asked by academicians and investigative journalists who inquire into facts in order to better understand particular historical events.

The specific lived accounts of the islanders regarding the troubled period on the island help to highlight the interrelatedness and connectedness that existed between people, which the peace education program builds upon to illustrate as “lessons of the past” necessary for building a better future. As noted by peacebuilding scholar Lederach, the objective of peacebuilding is not to “forgive and forget” but instead to “remember and change.”⁷¹⁸ The small histories and heritages of the island reveal the significance and meaning of the seemingly small actions taken by individuals on both sides of the divide that had an impact and made a difference in their lives both then and years later as they reflect back on the incidents which took place 60 years ago. As noted by Mac Ginty, “it is often individuals, families and communities who

⁷¹⁸ John Paul. Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 152.

have to do the heavy lifting of peacebuilding by learning to live with their neighbor from another religious group or learning to work alongside someone who shares very different political views.” He reiterates that the work of peacebuilding “often occurs at the micro-level of the village, street or neighborhood ... comprised of daily small steps” and often overlooked.⁷¹⁹ The small histories and heritages delineated through the islanders’ eye-witness accounts and memories are key to unravelling these micro acts and recognizing what they are comprised of. These compiled small heritages and histories help us to remember the past and change the future all the while dismantling the authorized heritage discourses that have been imposed on the islanders. The 24 excerpts below cover the story of the departure of Greek Cypriots from Ayios Loukas through the voices of the islanders and are followed by questions that are suggested by them which constitute, at the same time, prompts for the peace education program. The table below illustrates the logic of their sequencing where interviews referencing the same place or specific event are grouped together.

<i>Greek Cypriots are Forced to Leave their Homes in Ayios Loukas, 1956-1958</i>
<i>1. Turkish Cypriots attack Ayios Loukas after a Turkish Cypriot taxi driver and his friend are killed</i>
<i>2. We had no problems with each other before; the Church is responsible for the troubles</i>
<i>3. Turkish Cypriot youth of our neighborhood did not know what they were doing</i>
<i>4. It was civil war and the Ayios Loukas Church was burned as a reaction</i>
<i>5. Greek Cypriots of Ayios Loukas are attacked on 23rd April 1956, marking beginning of troubles – Isparta Street</i>
<i>6. I was the only young male Greek Cypriot adult in Ayios Loukas on the day of the attack – Marmara Street</i>
<i>7. We were forced to leave our homes, our Turkish Cypriot neighbors helped us but the British did nothing – Marmara Street</i>
<i>8. A Turkish Cypriot police officer with three stars cried with us – Marmara Street</i>

⁷¹⁹ Roger Mac Ginty, "Introduction," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* (London: Routledge, 2015).

9. I witnessed a lot of looting of Greek Cypriot homes on my street – Marmara Street
10. The Greek Cypriot headmaster is dragged out of his house and Louizou's bakkal is burned – Ege Street
11. My father helped Rasgale, the Greek Cypriot teacher, escape – Ege Street
12. My father was the priest of Ayios Loukas and we had a good life here before they started harassing us – Ali Yüzbaşı Street
13. Turkish Cypriots from outside attacked our house and I almost left my 2-year-old daughter behind - Ali Yüzbaşı Street
14. They wanted to burn the priest's house and other places were burning in the neighborhood - Ali Yüzbaşı Street
15. I was extremely scared when they banged on the door looking for the priest - Ali Yüzbaşı Street
16. A Turkish Cypriot was killed and an angry crowd wanted to kill the Ayios Loukas priest - Ali Yüzbaşı Street
17. We were kids and we burned the Ayios Loukas Church – Ayios Loukas Church
18. They damaged the Ayios Loukas Church's garden railings the day they attacked the priest's house - Ayios Loukas Church
19. We had no choice but to leave; a Turkish Cypriot taxi driver, Rifat, helped us get out of Ayios Loukas
20. I was in school when they attacked Ayios Loukas and had a terrifying journey back home
21. Our Turkish Cypriot neighbors protected us and prevented our homes from being burned – Toros Street
22. Our Turkish Cypriot neighbors helped fix my brother's house in one day
23. They attacked our street and I convinced them not to burn the Greek Cypriot homes - Toros Street
24. My father, the priest of Ayios Loukas, went blind because of the shock

1. Turkish Cypriots attack Ayios Loukas after a Turkish Cypriot taxi driver and his friend are killed
Interview with Dr. E. İ., October 20 th 2017, excerpt (07:19 to 12:05)
Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60578#segment439
E: Şöyle diyelim, 55 senesinde, hiç unutmam, şimdi bile hatırlarım, 1 Nisan 1955'de evde radyo dinlerken ansızın bir bomba sesi duydum. Ondan sonra haberleri dinlerim, buna bir EOKA örgütünün, Rumların bir EOKA örgütünün patlattığı itirafında bulundular ve bunu bir örgütün yaptığını ve İngiliz'e karşı bir savaş başlattığını ilan ettiler. 1 Nisan 1955, aklımda kalan o.
B: Lefkoşa'nın içinde mi patlattılar?
E: E duyduğumuza göre herhalde Rum tarafında patlattılar, bir yerlerde patlattılar ama nerede bilmiyorum. Ama o bomba sesi Rumların, EOKA'nın (diyeyim) Rumların demeyim, EOKA terör örgütünün, yahut EOKA örgütünün (diyeyim) terör örgütü da demeyim o zaman çünkü onlara göre milliyetçi bir örgüt,

İngilizlere karşı, Kıbrıs'a bağımsızlık ilan etmek için başlattıkları bir savaş olarak başladı. Neticede bu EOKA şeyi, İngiliz subaylarını böyle arkadan vurarak öldürerek, kaçak, bir sürü İngiliz askerini, subayını Ermou caddesinde sokağında vurarak öldürdüler. Bir kısmı yakalandı, bir kısmı şey oldu – eh – tabi İngilizler askerler geldi – örfi idareler oldu – örfi idarelerden Türk'ler de nasibini aldı. Fakat İngiliz bu arada şöyle bir şey yaptı – dedi ki – “ben” dedi “gönüllü polis yazdırmak isterim” dedi ve çok da maaş verdi – o devirde yani ekonomi kötüyken bu polis şeylerine yazılacak gönüllü erlere ayda 55-60 Kıbrıs liralık maaşlar vermeye başladı ve bütün Kıbrıs gençleri ve Türk köylerinde yaşayan Türkler İngiliz'in bu “constabulary” dediğimiz special force'a, hepsi bu örgüte yazılıp para kazanmaya başladılar. Ama bu örgüt EOKA'ya karşıydı - dolayısıyla iki toplumun arası bu kanalla açılmış oldu.

B: Bu 55'deki patlamaya kadar bir huzursuzluk var mıydı mahallede?

E: Hiç yoktu.

B: Ondan sonra değişti mi?

E: Bu başladıktan sonra – aslında şöyle. İngilizlernalar daha önce başladı ama 55'de EOKA ilan edilince, ondan sonra anladı ki bunların başında Yorgacis diye da bir liderleri var o da Yunanistan'dan gelme bir subay – dolayısı ile 1955'de EOKA – İngiliz'in da şeyiyle Türklere karşı da bir cephe aldı – ve de ilk öldürdükleri Baftan bir polis çavuşuydu. Tabii bunun üzerine Türkler de 1956'larda Volkan teşkilatı nebileyim ve daha ismini hatırlayamayacağım bir sürü böyle münferit örgütler kurdular - bunlar tek tük silahlarla bazı Rumları öldürmeye başladı. Dolayısıyla gerginlik daha da arttı – daha da artınca Lefkoşa'da bir gece işte böyle arabasıyla giden bir taksi şoförünü durdurttilar, içinde Türk şoförü öldürdüler, yanında da kadın arkadaşı vardı onu da öldürdüler, bu sefer toplum galeyana geldi. Galeyana gelince bu sefer hiç unutmam bizim sokağa geldiler, Rum evlerini yakacaklar. Benzinlerle geldiler, yakacaklar.

B: Bu hangi sene?

E: E bu aşağıya yukarı söyleyim sana, bu yaklaşık 1956'da oldu.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts remembering the day that EOKA was established and that it was announced on radio as the war of the Greek Cypriots against the British Colonial Regime, to free the island from their rule. He recounts how until then there were no problems at all between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots but a few factors involving both the Greek Cypriot leadership as well as the British policy of recruiting Turkish Cypriots into their auxiliary police, led to the beginning of civil strife. He recounts remembering the murder of a Turkish Cypriot taxi driver and his friend one night in Walled Nicosia, after which, an angry group of people stormed his neighborhood of Ayios Loukas with petrol cans, wanting to burn the Greek Cypriot homes.

Subjects:

governance--British Colonial Government--auxiliary police--1955-1956; civil strife--anger; civil strife--burning; militant struggles--establishment--eoka--April 1st 1955; 1956; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas

Keywords:

English soldiers; curfew; auxiliary police; police; Paphos; Volkan; Turkish taxi driver; murder; eoka; Ermou; Yorgacis; Greece; bomb; British; nationalist; terrorist;

Questions to Ask (1):

We know from eye-witness accounts that the attack on the neighborhood of Ayios Loukas took place on April 23rd 1956. The interviewee in this excerpt states that the attack took place right after the killing of a Turkish Cypriot taxi driver and his friend in Nicosia. Consult newspaper archives from this period and find out information regarding this incident. Who was this taxi driver and who was his friend? What other information can you find out about this incident? Which of their relatives are alive? What other information may they or others have about this incident? Can you conduct an interview with them? Compile a report about this incident. If you can arrange for interviews with those who have direct information regarding the incident, relevant excerpts will become part of this story.

2. We had no problems with each other before; the Church is responsible for the troubles

Interview with A. B., Recording 3/3, November 27th 2017, excerpt (38:45-43:55)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60465#segment2325>

B: Son olarak da şeyi sorayım, mesela bu söylediklerini Ayluga mahallesinde şimdi yaşayan veya mahalleyi şimdi ziyaret eden, turist olabilir veya, yeni nesil Kıbrıs'ta yaşayan insanlar olabilir, karşında olsa o insanlar o mahalleyle ilgili bir şey söylemek ister misin, nasıldı, yani öne çıkan bir şey var mı?

A: Vallahi, olaylar başlamadan önce, hiç Türk Rum gibi aramızda böyle yani aşırı milliyetçilik bir şey yoktu. Çocukluğumuz böyle geçti, yani düşünebiliyor musun, misket oynuyorduk yollarda. Rumların evine girebiliyorduk, onlar bizim evimize girebiliyordu, annem ikram ediyordu. Biraz geç kalsak, gelip sorardı, mesela bizim Rum ailesi vardı, gelip sorardı, nerede benim oğlan, yani gördünüz mü falan, yani böyle bir ilişki vardı aramızda, ama maalesef bu ilişkiyi bozdular ve bunu kesinlikle söylüyorum, biz bozmadık, Türkler bozmadı. Onlar sebebiyet verdi, bu ayrılıkların tüm sorumlusu Rumlar ve bizi istemediğimiz hareketlere zorladılar. Biz de onları mahalleden kovduk, tedirgin ettik, rahatsız ettik, gece taşladık evlerini, camlarını kırdık. Taş atıp kırıp kaçıp eve geliyordum. Yani bunu kendiliğimden yapmıyordum, bunu ağabeylerimizin telkinleriyle yapıyorduk. Yani şu anda o insanları görsek, keşke olmasak, sarılıp ağlaşabilirdik yani. Nitekim, birçok İstanbul'dan kaçan Rum sonradan geliyor yerlerini özlüyorlar, eski mahallelerini buluyorlar, öpüşüyorlar. "Aramıza bu nifakı soktular, gözleri çıksın" diyorlar ama o nifakı sokan kilise, kilise. Yani bunu hiç şey yapma,

<i>kesinlikle kilisedir yapan. Sorumlusu kilisedir. Suçsuz insanları zor durumlarda bıraktılar, onlar bizi, biz onları. Dünyalar kadar insan geldi Lefkoşa'ya köylerden.</i>
B: <i>Ayluga mahallesine da geldiler mi Rumlar kaçtıktan sonra?</i>
A: <i>Tabi tabi, onların yerine Türkler geldi.</i>
B: <i>O gelenler köylerden mi yoksa?</i>
A: <i>Eh, bazıları onlardan bazıları orada yaşayanlar, Lefkoşa'da yaşayanlar. Birçokları zaten evlerini eşyalarını bırakıp gittiler zaten.</i>

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts that life was very good with their Greek Cypriot neighbors before the troubles began. They were close, helped each other and communicated on a daily basis. He puts forth that the main responsible body for the troubles between the two communities is the Church and recounts that as a kid, he would throw stones and break the windows of Greek Cypriot homes, influenced also by the older youth of Turkish Cypriots, they wanted the Greek Cypriots out of their neighborhood.

Subjects:

governance--Church of Cyprus; militant struggles--activities--youth; civil strife--anger; civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas; civil strife--harassment; childhood & youth--militantism; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; mid 1950s; 1960s

Keywords:

play; neighbors; happy; stones; break; windows; villages

Questions to Ask (2):

The interviewee claims that the church indoctrinated Greek Cypriots against Turkish Cypriots, sewing seeds of hatred against them. How can you find out the degree of truth there is to this claim? Have any sermons given in churches ever been recorded and published? Does the Archbishopric have archives relating to significant speeches? Conduct research to find out what you can about speeches given in churches, whether there are any written records and indication that such indoctrination took place. Can you find Greek Cypriots who attended church and interview them? What do they think about the role of the Church in the Cyprus dispute? What are the basic tenets of the Greek Orthodox religion? How is religion defined? What is its purpose? Do you think it should become part of politics? Why/Why not?

3. Turkish Cypriot youth of our neighborhood did not know what they were doing

Interview with S. D., January 24th 2018, excerpt (23:40-25:45)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60681#segment1412>

S: *E tabi ki yani. Dediğim gibi hiç ummadık bir anda başlarına bunlar geldi.*

B: *1958'de hepsi gitti - yoksa parti parti gittiler?*

S: <i>Evet. Zaten dediğim gibi yani bu biraz kötülemek gibi olmasın ama o tutulan gençler ki - bunu yapanlar da belliydi - ülkücü geçinen gençler - ama biz o zaman bunun ülkücülük olduğunu bilmeden yapıldı bunlar.</i>
B: <i>Teşkilattaki çocuklardı herhalde?</i>
S: <i>Yok, yok, sokak - birçok arkadaşımız vardı - çocuk – sokak çocukları, 17-18 yaşında, ki çoğunu tanırdık. Ellerinde taşlar, değnekler gezerlerdi sokaklarda. Önüne gelene - kim bir şey söylerse onlar onu yapardı – polis tutuklardı kendilerini ondan sonra da bırakırdı yani – suçsuz - ne yaptıklarını bilmeden yapan gençlerdi bunlar. Ya - da hiç büyük insan görmedim ben – bu gençlere.</i>
B: <i>Birisinin yönlendirmesiyle herhalde.</i>
S: <i>Evet. Yaptırırlardı.</i>
(Husband): <i>Yaptırırlardı. İçerden de polis bilirdi - alırlardı kendilerini - bu kapıdan girer - öbür kapıdan yolladırlardı.</i>
B: <i>Yani maksat Rumları kaçırmaktı tabi herhalde.</i>
S: <i>Evet. Evet. Yani Amaç - şimdi “taksim’in” çıktığı ilk yıllardı bunlar. Hani 1955’de bahsettiğim EOKA, ondan sonra da TMT - şimdi öğrendik TMT olduğunu tabii ki - o zamanlar işte “Volkan” derlerdi. Yani ilk “Taksim”- nasıl ki sen Yunanistan’ı isten, ben de Türkiye’yi isterim. İşte bilinçsizce yaptığımız olayların sonucudur bu günler.</i>

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about the youth in their neighborhood, who were encouraged/instructed by others to harass the Greek Cypriots in their neighborhood. She recounts how they were just children and unaware of what they were doing and that these were children and youth of the neighborhood whom they knew personally. She also states that even the police these children/youth and they would never really get arrested, the implied reason being that they were not seen as criminals.

Subjects:

Militant struggles--activities--youth; civil strife--harassment; civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas; childhood & youth--militantism; mid 1950s; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas

Keywords:

Eoka; taksim; youth; police; harassment; Volkan; sticks; stones; nationalism

Questions to Ask (3):

The interviewee claims that the Turkish Cypriots creating trouble in the neighborhood of Ayios Loukas were kids who did not know what they were doing and were acting under the influence of others. Have you ever done something because you were influenced by someone else, what they said or what they did? Were you happy that you were influenced, or not? Why do you think you were influenced? Do you have any regrets about anything you’ve done because you were under the influence of someone/something? What did you learn? Would you do anything differently today? What does it mean to think independently?

4. It was civil war and the Ayios Loukas Church was burned as a reaction

Interview with S. S., November 16th 2017, excerpt (04:51-7:48)
Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60713#segment291
S: 1958 hadiseleri olduğu zaman ben ilkokul 4. Sınıftaydım. İlk şehidimizi vermiştik. Rumlar Bafta Abdullah Çavuş diye birisini şehit etmişlerdi. O gün öğretmenimiz bizi hemen evlerimize gönderdi, hiç oyalanmadan, gidin diye, hatta eve gidinceye kadar düşünün Selimiye'den Yenicami'ye iki adımlık bir yerde gidinceye kadar gözlerimiz yaşlarla dolmuştu çünkü bu şehit edilme olayını duyan Türkler Girne Kapısında polisin önünde toplanmışlar orada da İngiliz polisleri göz yaşartıcı bomba atmışlardı. Gözlerimiz ondan yaşıyordu. Tabii eve koşarak gittiğimiz zaman bizim evin terası vardı – oraya çıktım ben - mum kokusu vardı – ve Ayluga kilisesi yanıyordu. Yani bu yakıp yıkmalar da maalesef oldu, aralarda, bu tetriş olaylarında. İç savaştı çünkü bu, bizim Rumlara, Rumların bize karşı olan. B: Hemen arkasına mı olduydu, bu yakma olayı, çavuşun öldürülmesinin? S: Aynı gün. Aynı gündü, yani ona bir tepki. Sonra aynı günün gecesi, işte, bizim Rum Türk karışıklı. Bir da Rum bakkalımız vardı Andricco. Onun kızı da benim yani oynadığım bir arkadaşım, yani evlerimize girmezdik ama kapı önlerinde oynardık. Eh ertesi gün kalktığımız zaman Andricco'nun, bakkal Andricco'nun arabası ters çevrilmiş, yani van bir aracı vardı, bakkaldı, yanmıştı ama Andricco ve çocukları yoktu, kaçmışlardı mahalleden. Sadece hatırladığım, terzi ustalar vardı iki kız kardeş, dedim ya, onların bakıcıları vardı, evde hizmetlileri, el ayak işlerini gören, Türk yardımcıları vardı, Pembe abla diye, o balkonda duruyordu, işte Türk'ler de Rum evi zannetmeyip, yakıp yıkmaları diye – orda durdu korudu. Yani biz da koruyabildiğimiz kadar koruduk. Rumlar da aynı şekilde Türklerin daha az olduğu mahallelerde Türk'lerin evlerini yakıp yıkıyordu yani bu bir iç savaştı. Tabii çocuk olarak biz çok etkilenmiştik. Ben çok da üzülmüştüm. İşte 9 yaşında falandım herhalde ve kilise yandığı için çok üzüldüyüm çünkü şamişi alamayacaktık panayırlardan artık. Yani çocukluk psikolojisi.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts that after the murder of Abdullah Çavuş in 1956, the Turkish Cypriots gathered in Sarayönü square to protest and were tear gassed by the British government. She was in elementary school and remembers the burning of her eyes as she made her way back home from school that day. She recounts that it was also right after this incident that the Ayios Loukas Church was burned as she smelled this from her house.

Subjects:

Ayios Loukas church; governance--British colonial government--tear gas; civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas; civil strife--murder--Abdullah Çavuş--1956; civil strife--burning; civil strife--anger; civil strife--harassment; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1956

Keywords:

"Şamişi"; Paphos; Kyrenia Gate; Ayios Loukas church; burning; Andricco; car; turned over; Pembe abla; Selimiye; Yenicami; tear gas; bakkal; sisters; seamstress

Questions to Ask (4):

The interviewee recounts that the burning of the Ayios Loukas Church as well as their neighbor Andricco's bakkal took place after the killing of the Turkish police officer in Paphos and the demonstrations in Sarayönü that followed this. We know from historical records that the police officer from Paphos, Abdullah Ali Riza, was killed on January 10th 1956.⁷²⁰ We also know that another Turkish Cypriot police officer, by the name of Nihat Baş, was killed in Nicosia on April 23rd 1956, the day Ayios Loukas was attacked. Consult Newspaper archives and document the specifics of these two incidents. Who were these police officers and why were they killed? What other information can you find out about these incidents? Who else was involved? Which of their relatives are alive? What other information may they have about these incidents? Can you conduct an interview with them? Compile a report about these incidents. If you can arrange for interviews with those who have direct information regarding the incident, relevant excerpts will become part of this story.

5. Greek Cypriots of Ayios Loukas are attacked on 23rd April 1956, marking beginning of troubles

Interview with Niccos Rossis, April 12th 2018, excerpt (06:25-10:07)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60680#segment385>

N: More than brothers. All together. Without any problem, until April 1956, 62 years ago. The Turks were there doing nothing. We were still very close friends but in April 1956, on the 23rd of April, 1956. Eh, the conflict started, from that day because they brought Turks from Paphos area, you know - in the quarter the British had put in force curfew, you know. They collected all the male citizens of the quarter, from 15 years old to 55, I think, and they took them to Ayios Kassianos school.

B: All the Greek Cypriots?

N: Not the Turks, just the Greeks.

S: Ayios Kassianos was their school.

N: From the quarter of Ayios Loukas they took them there and they left the women with the children.

B: The British government did this, why?

⁷²⁰ Ulvi Kesser, proceedings of İkinci Uluslararası TMT Sempozyumu, Mücahitler Derneği, TMT Derneği Ve KKTC Üniversiteleri, vol. Cilt II (2011), 34-35. Ulvi Kesser notes, based on the memoirs of General Grivas, that the police officer Abdullah Ali Riza was viewed as being especially dangerous to EOKA and that it was decided he needed to be killed. Abdullah Ali Rıza had taken an active role in seizing the Greek ship, by the name of Senjori, which was full of arms being smuggled in from Greece. Abdullah Ali Rıza also arrested a Greek student who was trying to smuggle an automatic weapon in his violin case. He was rewarded with a medal by the British Queen Elizabeth. On January 10th 1956, Abdullah Ali Riza was killed by EOKA members.

N: <i>Eh, why did they do that?</i>
S: <i>Because they thought they would be involved in EOKA activities.</i>
N: <i>They told them. Hopkinson was the minister of the British government. Hopkinson, I remember the name and he said to the Turks, “you don’t do anything, we are fighting EOKA, and you stay there without doing anything,” you see, “you have to do something” and they decided to appoint, to take into, the ... auxiliary police – they collected a lot of auxiliary police, Turks, to do something against the Greeks, you see, unfortunately, I mean, from here, this was the beginning of the conflict. Unfortunately.</i>
Segment Synopsis: The interviewee talks about the incident in the neighborhood on April 23rd 1956 when the Greek Cypriots of Ayios Loukas were attacked. He points out that during the time of the attack all the Greek Cypriot males were away as they had been taken to Ayios Kassianos by the British and it was only the women and children who were there. He recounts how it was Turkish Cypriots from Paphos who attacked them and he also recounts the British minister Hopkinson encouraging the Turkish Cypriots to join the auxiliary police to fight against EOKA. He says that this was the beginning of troubles. Subjects: governance--British colonial regime--curfew--1956; civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas--1956; April 23rd 1956; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; governance--British Colonial Government--auxiliary police; governance--leadership--Hopkinson Keywords: April 23rd 1956; eoka; Ayios Kassianos; curfew; Hopkinson; British; Paphos; petrol; arrested; sarayönü; police station; males; Greek Cypriots
Questions to Ask (5):
<i>The interviewee notes that all the Greek Cypriot men of Ayios Loukas were away on the day of the attack of Ayios Loukas, at a school in Ayios Kassianos, on curfew by the British. Consult the archives and find out on what day these men were sent on curfew? Why did the British government send them on curfew? How often was there curfew in Nicosia during that time period and what were the reasons? The interviewee also notes that the Minister of Interior encouraged the Turkish Cypriots to take up arms against EOKA. Consult the archives for speeches made by Hopkinson and find out what he said about Turkish Cypriots joining the auxiliary police. When was the auxiliary police force established? Why were Turkish Cypriots asked to join? Was it not obvious that the two communities would be pitted against each other? What do the British records say about this?</i>
6. I was the only young male Greek Cypriot adult in Ayios Loukas on the day of the attack
<i>Interview with Niccos Rossis, April 12th 2018, excerpt (10:07-12:56)</i>
<i>Segment of Interview in OHMS</i>

B: *The Greeks that were gathered from the Ayios Loukas quarter, did they keep them there?*

N: *For three days. It was curfew for three days, they kept them there and the other day they brought, Denktas, they brought Turks from Paphos area, they came with petrol, tins full of petrol, eh, ... wooden blocks and they came from Paphos to Ayios Loukas and they started burning the houses and the cars and ... stealing from the houses. You cannot imagine what I saw.*

B: *Was this when the Greeks were in the other neighborhood or after they came back?*

N: *No, when they were away.*

B: *So, the women and the children were in Ayios Loukas?*

N: *I was there because I was arrested the previous day and I was – they left me – I was in the police station – was in Sarayönu. I was there and they told me the morning of the 23rd of April, you are free – they did not find anything against me. They told me you are free to go home at 7.30 in the morning. It was dark. I told them I don't want to walk there, they will kill me and I told them I need a car to take me home. They took me to my home. Yes, and I saw all these things. I was the only young person, I mean I was 23 because all the other persons, I mean the male persons, from 15 to 55, I think were there in Ayios Kassianos. And they were making, you cannot imagine what I saw. They were putting fire.*

S: *They were looting.*

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts how he arrived in the neighborhood of Ayios Loukas that morning as he had been arrested and was let free that morning. On the day of the attack, he was 23 years old and the only male Greek Cypriot adult in the neighborhood as all men between the ages of 15 and 55 had been taken away by the British on curfew - to Ayios Kassianos school - where they remained during the attack. He recounts that the Turkish Cypriots who attacked the neighborhood had come from the Paphos district of Cyprus.

Subjects:

civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas--1956; governance--British colonial regime--curfew; civil strife--looting; civil strife--burning; 1956; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas

Keywords:

curfew; police; Sarayönu; fear; home; arrest; young; Paphos; Ayios Kassianos school; police station

Questions to Ask (6):

The interviewee was the only young adult Greek Cypriot man in the neighborhood the day of the attack because all others were on curfew. What do you think he felt as all the houses of his community were burned and looted? He was the only man and could not do anything to stop the attackers. What would you feel/think if you were in his shoes? Describe the feeling of helplessness. Have you ever felt

helpless? When? Why? Is there any way of finding out who the attackers were and who organized them? Is there something you could do or say if you were in his shoes which you think could mitigate the anger and help create a more peaceful atmosphere?

7. We were forced to leave our homes, our Turkish Cypriot neighbors helped us but the British did nothing

Interview with Niccos Rossis, April 12th 2018, excerpt (14:40-22:06)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60680#segment880>

B: So, what did you see?

N: Ah - the British and the fire brigade did not come for the fires. When everything was finished, I mean the fires were gone, I saw with Master Pavli, and the fire brigade coming, slowly slowly and behind this about 50 British soldiers with guns and each one of them, they were walking, one of them on one side of the road and the other one on the other side. Two meters apart, yes and they were fully with their guns and everything and each one British soldier was holding a small Turkish flag. Yes, each one of them was holding a Turkish flag.

S: Why?

N: Can you explain this?

B: Do you think it was a provocation?

N: I have written here. My uncle was a lawyer - and he sent an open letter to the British governor. Yes, let me see the date. This happened on the 23rd of April. A few days later, he wrote an open letter to the governor and he is asking him. That it came to his knowledge, but there is no reply. There are six paragraphs with six questions to the governor and you see there what is written - what I said to you is written there - and he is asking the governor that it has come to his knowledge - without any reply. And we had to leave.

B: Did you leave shortly after?

N: Oy yes. When they finished this job.

B: So, was there anybody from your neighborhood involved?

N: No. no. The Turkish persons were crying, with us and the Turks, there was a certain man called Asimis, yes, and he came - they put fire on the window of our house and started burning, you know, and he came - you know - his house was exactly opposite ours - and he came and he told them "what are you doing, this house belongs to me, I bought it, the people staying here are Greeks but the house is mine" and they put out the fire. I mean. Another place, a friend of mine who had an operation yesterday, A., could not come - he also tells us various things. His neighbors, Turks, put flags, Turkish flags outside his house, and his sister's house, Turkish flags, and they were telling to the Turks from Paphos, "everything belongs to us, don't do anything." To see how we were living with these people - I mean we were friends. Osman Örek, we were very good friends with Osman

Örek. His father, Ahmet Örek, was our Hodjas, our bakkalis, all the Greeks were buying things from him. And many times, Osman Örek used to come there to his father and help him, you know. And we were playing with Osman Örek, he was a friend of mine. Yes, also his brother, Asım beys had another grocery shop a bit further from there. Again, I knew very well. I knew a lot of Turks and we were playing football, without any problem, I mean. There was an Ali, but I don't remember, after 60 years.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts that the British did not come into the neighborhood to prevent the attack or put out the fires. Instead, their Turkish Cypriot neighbors helped prevent the burning of some of the homes by telling the Turkish Cypriot attackers from Paphos that the homes belonged to them. When everything was over, the British brigade marched into the neighborhood, fully armed, and holding Turkish flags in their hands, which he points out has no meaning other than sending a message to the Greek Cypriots, which they took as such, and left the neighborhood.

Subjects:

Governance--British Colonial Government; civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas 1956; civil strife--looting; civil strife--burning; civil strife--neighborliness

Keywords:

Pavlis; Turkish flags; British brigade; lawyer; uncle; Governor; British; neighbors; crying; Asım; Osman Örek; football; Ahmet Örek

Questions to Ask (7):

The interviewee recounts that the British did nothing to prevent the attack or extinguish the fires in Ayios Loukas. Why would the British march into the neighborhood with Turkish flags? What does this mean? How would you interpret this if you were a Greek Cypriot living in this neighborhood and just attacked? Is there any information in the British archives pertaining to this event? What do they say about it? Why do you think the British government acted the way it did? There is a person by the name of Asım, who is mentioned as his neighbor who prevented his home from being burned. Can you find out who this person is? Is he still alive, or does he have relatives who may remember the incident? If so, can you conduct an interview with them? Relevant interview excerpts will be made part of the story. What does neighborliness mean? Why do you think the Turkish Cypriots helped their Greek Cypriot neighbors? Would you help your neighbors if something like this happened? Why/why not? What does it mean to be a community? What are the advantages of living in a community? Do you think you are living in a community now? Would your neighbors also help you?

8. A Turkish Cypriot police officer with three stars cried with us

Interview with Niccos Rossis, April 12th 2018, excerpt (49:36-51:42)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60680#segment2948>

N: *This Ustapavli, on that 23rd of April 1956, they threw – he opened the door of his house to see- because he had too many friends, Turks, and they threw a stone and he had a stone on his head and at that time a Turkish police officer with three stars was passing by and stopped and he was crying. He saw me, Ustapavlis and his daughter, the three of us were standing – we were seeing the British soldiers passing by with the Turkish flags – you know – and this policeman stopped there and he was crying with us. He said “what can I do?” – he was crying with us. This unbelievable thing.*

B: *Did you watch what happened from inside the house?*

N: *Yes.*

B: *So, did they try to burn your house.*

N: *Yes, and my neighbor stopped it (Asım).*

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts how a Turkish police officer with a three-star ranking cried with them at the sight of the attack on the Greek Cypriots of Ayios Loukas and the British doing nothing to stop it.

Subjects:

civil strife--neighborliness; civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas--1956; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1956

Keywords:

Ustapavli; police officer; British soldiers

Questions to Ask (8):

The interviewee describes the sadness and sense of helplessness they felt in the neighborhood, both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, when it was attacked. Have you ever felt both sad and helpless? Have you ever seen and observed anybody who felt this way? Write a story where someone experiences these feelings and describe what this must be like? What are some ways of coping with such feelings?

9. I witnessed a lot of looting of Greek Cypriot homes on my street

Interview with İ. E. Y., March 30th 2018, excerpt (07:53-11:24)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60596#segment473>

İ: *Yani bizim içimizde öyle hep bir Türklük ateşi vardı, baskındı yani – sonra işte 1957’de 1963 hadiselerinden önce ansızın şey, yeraltı teşkilatına ait “Volkan” elemanları sokaklara girmeye başladılar silahlı olarak – ve orada yaşayan Rum ailelerini – evlere girdiler – sokağın başında - bizim sokağın - Ayluga’da hep böyle çalışan ailelerdi, evde iş yapan, mesela bademci vardı hatırlıyorum yani ben hala daha hatırlarım bademleri vardı çuvallarla badem kırarlar içini çıkarırlar öyle geçimlerini sağlardı.*

B: *Rum’du değil mi bunlar?*

İ: *Rum. Rum. O badem çuvalları yolda nasıl dağılmıştı görme – kayak kayardı. Ütüler kordonlarla yolda savrulurdu. Sonra, bisküvi ...*

B: Yani gidip, talan ettiler evlerini?

İ: Tabii. Tabii. Dondurma piskotları vardı kalıplan çıkar sonra kesilir makasla - bayağı tırnağını kestiğin makasla – biz onlarla büyüdük. O zaman ne mikrop vardı galiba ne bir şey. Yani inanır mısınız bizim tam karşımızda yani adlarını bile hatırlarım insanların iki tane Elena vardı biri zayıf, bir şişman. Bir tanesi terziydi ve yeni damat girmişti eve – çok iyi hatırlarım – geldi rica etti – “Volkan geliyor Gori Ayşe” dedi anneme – ha şey – “makinemi bana saklar mısın?” Annem aldı dikiş makinesini da sakladı, damatlık elbisesini de aldık da sakladık, içeriye koyduk. Sonradan gelip aldılar tabii onları - tabii ki.

B: Evlerini talan ettiler mi?

İ: Tabii. Onları hep attılar dışarıya. Zaten insanlar - mesela - diyelim 100-150 metre ilerden gelir kendilerine rahatsızlık verecek kişiler – bu taraftan onlar kaçıyor yani. Korkudan kaçıyorlardı. Yükte hafif pahada ağır ne varsa al yani – ama bunu anlatırken ben - bu bizim gördüklerimiz - tabii onların bölgesinde da yaşandı bunlar.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts the incident on Marmara street, where her house was, when Volkan, the precursor to TMT, came to her street, harassed the Greek Cypriots and looted their homes. She also recounts how they helped their neighbors and kept some of their valuables until the attack was over. She recounts the neighborhood as a working class neighborhood where many people worked from home doing simple work such as cracking almonds, ironing or cutting ice cream cones.

Subjects:

Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas--marmara street; work life--cutting ice cream cones; work life--ironing; work life--almond cracking; civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas--Marmara Street; 1956; civil strife--looting; civil strife--fear

Keywords:

Volkan; arms; Elena; Gori Ayşe; sewing machine; groom; iron; escape;

Questions to Ask (9):

The interviewee expresses both feelings of sadness at witnessing what happened in her neighborhood, recounting how they helped their Greek Cypriot neighbors, while also expressing how they were filled with very strong nationalistic feelings, of being and feeling “Turkish.” In this case, they felt free to help their Greek Cypriot neighbors, but can you imagine a scenario where they would be forced to make a choice between helping members of their own community to the detriment and harm of the “other” community? What happens, during war time, when people are forced to make such “difficult” choices that they are not happy making? Have you ever been in a situation where you were forced to make a choice you were not happy making? Describe the situation. If you have never been in such a situation, imagine a scenario and describe what this would feel like? Describe nationalism and patriotism. What is their usefulness or not?

10. The Greek Cypriot headmaster is dragged out of his house and Louizou's bakkal is burned
<i>Interview with S. D., January 24th 2018, excerpt (17:12-20:28)</i>
<i>Segment of Interview in OHMS</i>
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60681#segment1032
S: <i>Karşıdaki ilk evde yine bir Rum okul müdürü otururdu.</i>
B: <i>Hatırlar mısınız ismini?</i>
S: <i>Ha, yok hatırlamam. Yani dediğim gibi yalnız yaşayan bir adamdı. Dediğim gibi annem tutucu. Babam bütün gün çalışan, biz de işte ustaya gidip gelen, ama yani hatırlıyorum şimdi çok efendi - baştan başa çok kocaman bir kütüphanesi - ama ne yazık ki - ama şimdi hangi yıllardı onlar, 1958 yıllarında biz yeni gelmiştik - hani geçip da Rumları buradan kovmak için - o evi - mesela benim aklımdan hiç çıkmayanlar işte o evdir - adamı sürükleyerek çıkardılar o evden - köşeye kadar gidip bıraktılar - adam o günden sonra gelmedi - kitaplar dağ gibi sokaklara fırlatıldı, parçalandı - bu bir kültür zayıyatı.</i>
B: <i>Siz gördünüz bunları, çocuktunuz, 1958 gibi?</i>
S: <i>13, 14 veya 15 yaşında.</i>
B: <i>Sürüklediler. Çolakoğlu'nun oraya mı bıraktılar?</i>
S: <i>Yok, o tarafa. Birkaç aile daha vardı. Onların sadece kapılarını kırdılar, onlar da kaçtı. Tam bu yolun sonunda bir bakkal vardı Louziou'nun - karşısındaki şeyi meyhanecik olarak kullanırdı - ama hani bildiğimiz kavgalı gürültülü meyhane değil - bir iki bir şey içilip sohbet edilecek yerdi - tam köşede de bir bakkal dükkânı vardı. Hep oradan alırdık - zaten sayılıydı bakkallar.</i>
B: <i>Çolakoğlu da vardı o zaman hatırlarsınız herhalde?</i>
S: <i>Çolakoğlu daha sonra geldi. Yani bir iki yıl sonra.</i>
B: <i>Siz o zaman oradan mı alışveriş yapardınız?</i>
S: <i>Tabii ki. Eh Türkçe konuşurdu zaten. Köşedeki bakkal, karşıda da meyhanesiydi - şimdi Mustafa'nın pastırma yaptığı yer - o da meyhanesiydi. Ve dediğim gibi eskiden yağlar lamba suyu dediğimiz gibi şeyler hep varillerde tenekelerde satılırdı. Oraya, köşeye olduğu gibi döküp - meyhaneye dokunmadılar, diğerini hep yaktılar bütün malzemeleriyle - ya - bir daha da görmedik kendisini tabii.</i>

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts their opposite neighbor, a Greek Cypriot headmaster, a gentleman, she says, who had an impressive library and how the Turkish Cypriots who attacked the neighborhood dragged him out of his home and left him on the corner of the street while all his books were scattered in the street. She also recounts that they burned Louziou's bakkal and that they never saw these people again.

Subjects:

Civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas--Ege Street; civil strife--looting; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas--Ege Street; 1956

Keywords:

Ege Street; school headmaster; gentleman; 1958; books; doors; broken; Louizou; tavern; bakkal; Çolakoglu; seamstress

11. My father helped Rasgale, the Greek Cypriot teacher, escape
Interview with G. Ç., February 15 th 2019, excerpt (14:53-18:42)
Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60570#segment772
G: <i>Gene bir hoca vardı, Rasgale derlerdi, Rumca'da hoca demektir, babamın dükkânından Louizou'nun dükkânına giderken Cemil dayının evinde otururdu. Kısa boylu bir adamdı. Eh – hocaydı ve babama Rumca öğretirdi. Babam dükkânı kapattığında sonra gider Rumca yazı şey, babam Rumcayı yazamazdı ama güzel Rumca konuşurdu ve onu babam onu dükkânında sakladı ve şey ...</i>
B: <i>Öğretmen miydi o adam?</i>
G: <i>Öğretmendi ve evet.</i>
B: <i>S. Hanım var – onun karşısında mı otururdu?</i>
G: <i>Karşısında otururdu.</i>
B: <i>S. Hanım bana dedi ki karşımızda bir Rum öğretmen otururdu, odur herhalde.</i>
G: <i>Odur, odur. Kiliseyi yaktıkları gün adam korktu ve geldi dükkâna ve dükkânda babam korudu sakladı kendini ve gece karanlık olunca taksi çağırdı babam. Rifat diye bir taksici vardı, meşhur.</i>
B: <i>Taksici Rifat, papazı da o götürmüş Rum tarafına.</i>
G: <i>Bindirdi kendini taksiye – parasını da babam ödedi taksiye ve Ledra palastan kaçırdı kendini. Bundan on sene önce Rum tarafına gittim, hanım rahatsızdı bazı ilaçlarını oradan alırım. Murat diye esmer bir adam, Kıbrıslı Türk, “aha” dedi, “oğlu geçer” dedi, böyle beni gösterdi. Yaşlı biriyle konuşur beni gösterdi. Durdum dedim “nedir, ne var be Murat” dedim. “Gel gel” dedi, gittik – “bu adam kimdir” dedi bana – “Rasgale vardı” dedi – “hani baban kendini korudu” dedi – “Eh” dedim – “onun oğludur” dedi ve adam o olayı anlatırmış o saat ve ben de tesadüfen geçerim oradan – eczaneye gideceğim.</i>
B: <i>Rastlantı.</i>
G: <i>Uzun yolda. Ledra Palas sokağında. Ve bu olayı da yaşadım ben. “Sen” dedi “hangisisin, bir tane vardı” dedi “dükkânda bir moro” – moro dediği çocuktu – “eh o moru benim” dedim. Ya - ve hala daha adam söylerdi, “yani babamı” dedi “baban kurtardı” dedi, “öldüreceklerdi kendini.”</i>
B: <i>Yani korumuş zaten hep mahalleli Rumları – hep öyle duyarım. Peki yakanlar kimdi?</i>
G: <i>Affedersiniz it edevat deyim, açık konuşayım.</i>
B: <i>Yani TMT miydi?</i>
G: <i>TMT yoktu o zaman. TMT 1958'de kuruldu. Volkan vardı, Karaçete vardı. Karaçete de 5-6 tane affeden it kopuğun kurduğu bir çeteydi, onlar yapıyordu esas Volkan'la beraber – tabii TMT'nin da adamları vardı içlerinde.</i>

Segment Synopsis:

He recounts how his father helped Rasgale, a Greek Cypriot teacher, who also used to be his father's customer. Rasgale also used to teach his father Greek. During the attack on the neighborhood Rasgale took refuge in his father's shop and his father arranged for a taxi - a Turkish taxi driver by the name of Rifat - who took him out of Ayios Loukas the next day. He also recounts how he came across this person's son years later, who happened to be recounting this story to someone else at the particular instance that they met.

Subjects:

Civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas--Ege Street; civil strife--neighborliness; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1956

Keywords:

Language; Greek; Rasgale; headmaster; teacher; tmt; Karaçete; Volkan; children; rascals; Ledra street; Rifat; taxi driver; Cemil Dayı

Questions to Ask (10 & 11):

Both interviewees recount the incident of a Greek Cypriot teacher being forced out of the neighborhood and helped to escape. A Turkish Cypriot by the name of Murat knows the son of this teacher, whose name is remembered as Rasgale. Can you find the son of the teacher and conduct an interview with him? How did his father recount this incident to him? What did he say? Relevant interview excerpts will be made part of this story. Both interviewees also talk about the attackers on the neighborhood as rascals and renegades. Is there any written information available on these underground organizations such as Karaçete and Volkan which were founded before TMT? What other sources can you consult? When, why and by whom were they established? What was their mission? Who were their members? What activities did they carry out? Were they trained anywhere?

12. My father was the priest of Ayios Loukas and we had a good life here before they started harassing us

Interview with K. P., May 29th 2018, excerpt (18:57-21:45)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60658#segment1137>

B: *When they came, did they just come to your house and not the other houses?*

K: *No. The first house they came due to my father because he was a priest. They thought that my father was mixed up with EOKA. But he wasn't. Really, if he was, I was going to tell you. He was a very quiet person, he liked everybody, he was singing. You know actually he was not a priest, he was very modern. You are sleeping night time they are banging the door – or sometimes they were throwing because the house is in the front and the yard in the back and they were throwing things into the yard.*

B: *So, this went on for some time?*

K: *Yes, from 1955 when EOKA started till 1957 we had a very horrible time. We always loved, you know with the neighbors together, “don't be afraid, we are*

here” and so on, then everything is exhausted they are afraid to talk because they were killing people. I remember Osman Örek - he said “keep your car in there K. and I will pass it over to you” because I was in the army at that time but when I put it on next morning I went with a bicycle – I had a bicycle - and bought bicycle and the woman told me “where is the car,” I said “I left it in the Turkish sector” – he told me “give me the keys”- I said “you can’t go” and he said “no, I can go and he went and got the car and brought it to me.” And I continued there and I went to Dikelya and this house was already here so we moved everybody here but my father all the time he was crying. He wanted to die because he did not see - because he was very unhappy. But the days, generally, I was very happy. I didn’t mind if I stay with them, they were very good. My mother was sewing for everybody. There was a family called kasapudes, he was a butcher the man, all of them you know they were spending money, not like this but she was a very good sewer. Never mind.

B: *I spoke with your neighbor, Ü., and she told me that everybody had their stuff sewn by your mother.*

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts how they had a good life in the neighborhood before they started feeling uncomfortable and experienced great difficulty, from the establishment of EOKA in 1955 until the time that they left in 1957. She talks about how her mother used to sew for many people and that her father was a quiet and gentle man who used to sing and quite modern. She also recounts the incident when their neighbor Osman Örek hid her car for her until they could have it picked up afterwards, which saved it from being burned by the Turkish Cypriots who attacked the Greek Cypriots in Ayios Loukas.

Subjects:

civil strife--neighborliness; civil strife--harassing; civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas--Ali Yüzbaşı Street; 1956; 1957

Keywords:

eoka; modern; Osman Örek; priest; harassing; Dikelya; Kasapudes; car; bicycle; Ü.

Questions to Ask (12):

The interviewer recounts that they were harassed from 1955 onwards because her father was a priest and they thought he was involved in EOKA. She says this is not true. Have you ever been in a situation where you are blamed for something you did not do? You are innocent but everyone else around you thinks you are guilty of a wrongdoing just because you are friends with those who are guilty or belong to the same group as those who are guilty – and they harass you because of your affiliation. What does this feel like? Describe. If you have never been in such a situation, create a scenario where this happens and describe what it feels like.

13. Turkish Cypriots from outside attacked our house and I almost left my 2 year old daughter behind

Interview with K. P., May 29 th 2018, excerpt (02:48-07:29)
Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60658#segment168
K: <i>It's not the local people making the troubles, it was the people coming from abroad. So, they chased us out. And the point is, and I will never forget that, a friend of my father by the name of Rifat - he had a taxi - he was the one who came to Ayios Loukas from Sarayönü - and he put us – everybody - in the car. My father has showed me... They put us in the car and he told me "look K., if they ask you something don't answer, just keep quiet". I said okay. We went, all of us in the car, except my husband who was curfew.</i>
B: Who was what?
K: My husband,
B: Right,
K: <i>He was curfew, he could not come out. They were somewhere, I don't know where. So, he says "get in," we got in. Since 1957, I have never been to that place. I left everything behind. My father, after that, he got a shock - he had shiver - how do you say, diabetes, and he got blind for 14 years.</i>
B: Right afterwards?
K: <i>Yes, because he had a very big shock. He was very good friend to everybody. All his friends were Turkish. All the people coming in. My mother was a very very good sewer.</i>
B: Yes, I heard
K: Did she tell you about it?
B: <i>Everybody in the neighborhood that I interviewed told me how good of a sewer she was.</i>
K: <i>About 25 people. But the people were afraid because the others were with guns and these were without guns. So, they told us "we shall help you to go." And that's it. It was finished. But my father was very sorry for the church. Very sorry. I said "Never mind we change the place, it's finished". He said "no, no, no" all the time. He stayed 14 years blind completely. And he died. My mother was with me, my father was with me. I have another sister in Limassol younger than me but unfortunately (I told madam) we are not in a good mood. I don't know. She made the trouble, I made the trouble, I don't know. So, we don't talk to each other. That's the point, since then I have never been to Ayios Loukas.</i>
B: Okay, so you left.
K: 1957.
B: Not 56?
K: <i>No 57. My daughter was only 2 years, and I forgot her in the bed sleeping and I jumped the wall and I came back and picked her up.</i>
B: Oh my god
K: <i>She was calling me all the time "Anne" not mother... (Greek to Soula). But honestly with the neighbors we are very happy. Nobody tried to touch like this.</i>

Nobody! Especially in front of us there was somebody with left union. Mister... I forgot the name. And he had two sons...

S: Turkish?

K: All of them Turkish, there were no Greeks there. The Greeks were on the other side. And when they came and were banging the door, and he took a very big piece of... *amiyondos* (Greek) how do you call it? - a piece of ...

S: A piece of metal, anyway

K: And he banged the door and closed it - so that we can jump next door to the man with the pistol, the revolver - the policeman - and they were outside his door shouting "you are a traitor, you do this" and he said "you go away because I will shoot" and the other one, the left-wing person came in front of the door and said "look we are very happy with these people, why do you want to kill them" but they were shouting, screaming and so on.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee describes the attack on her house and how they had to jump over to their Turkish neighbor's house who was a policeman. She recounts how her opposite Turkish Cypriot neighbor whom she describes as belonging to the left union, boarded up the door of their house so that the angry crowd would not be able to get in and how her next daughter neighbor stood in front of his own house with his revolver in hand (he was a policeman) and prevented the crowd from entering his house where she, her father, her mother and her 2 year old daughter had jumped over to. She recounts how a Turkish taxi driver by the name of Rifat took them out of the neighborhood and how her father became blind afterwards because of the shock they experienced, living blind for the remaining 14 years of his life.

Subjects:

Civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas--Ali Yüzbaşı Street--1957; civil strife--anger; civil strife--harassment; civil strife--safety; civil strife--neighborliness; 1957

Keywords:

Taxi driver; Rifat; Sarayönü; curfew; diabetes; blind; sewer; escape; left union; policeman; revolver

Questions to Ask (13):

The level of fear experienced by the interviewee and her family was so great that she even forgot to take her 2 year old daughter with her when she escaped and she had to go back to pick her up. Have you ever been so scared? Describe what it feels like to be afraid? Have you ever feared that someone you love will die? How does this make you feel? What do you do when you experience such extreme feelings of fear? If you have never experienced extreme fear in your life, imagine a scenario where you do and write about it. Ask your parents if they ever experienced extreme fear and how this felt?

14. They wanted to burn the priest's house and other places were burning in the neighborhood
Interview with Ü. B., May 28 th 2018, excerpt (23:32-27:07)
Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60716#segment1412
Ü: 1955,1956'larda daha liseye giderdik. Geldiler bir gün, papazın evini yakacaklar. Bomboş bir ev – küçük bir ev yani. Papaz, yok, papazı o gün biz kaçırdık damdan.
B: 1956'dır değil mi bu?
Ü: 1956'da.
B: N.'la tanıştım, 1956'da iyi hatırlar, yakmışlar evleri.
Ü: Ben da çok iyi hatırlarım, babam yardımcı olmuştu – bak tarihine kadar bilir. Yani 1956'dıydı çünkü daha evvel da kaçtılardı 55'lerde yani ama bak daha iyi tarihi şimdi şey ettim. O gün nasıl oldu bilmem – arka taraftaki bakkaliyeler yanar, Rum bakkaliyeleri falan.
B: Louizou'nun bakkaliyesi?
Ü: Evet, doğru oydu. Çünkü bizim daha önde bu tarafta Ahmet Örek'in Osman Örek'in bakkaliyesi vardı – o bizim yolun tam karşısındaydı. Louizou, Louizou galiba, tam arka tarafta Minnoş'un orda ama biz Minnoş'un fırınıyla duvar aşırıydık ve bakarım bakkaliyeler yanar, itfaiye ya gelir ya gelmez, geldi birkaç kişi bizim evi yakacak. Çıktım yalvarırım, ay oğlum dedim yakarsan bizden hep şey – o zaman mertekliydi hep çatı falan, gelmeyecek itfaiye biz yanacağız. Papazın evini yakacaklar, ama bomboş ev canım – ne anlayacaklar – sonra büyük bir ev değildi papazın evi. Yatak odaları falan, bahçe ve arkada da birkaç küçük oda, biz yanacayık dedim, gelmeyecek itfaiye ve gücün önlediydin onu yani düşüncesiz şey ederlerdi.
B: Tanır mıydınız kimdi gelen?
Ü: Yok, genç yani, çoluk çocuk. Çünkü yazlık sinemalar vardı o zaman bir şey duyulurdu ansızın ellerinde tahtalar şeyin bahçenin tahtalarını mı keserlerdi ne, bizim mahalleden geçip giderlerdi – ne oluyor diye ellerinde birer sopa birer bilmem ne – işte – o Tahtagala olayları oldu.
B: Papazı arkadan kaçırdık dediniz, o nasıl oldu?
Ü: Babam da şey yaptı, yani geldilerdi kapıya herhalde yani o zaman ben de çok iyi hatırlamam bizim evden duvardan arka mahalleye atladılar işte Louizou'nun tarafına ve kim kaçırttı kendilerini bilmem.
B: Yani o gün kaçtı onlar da?
Ü: O gün kaçtılar ve Korallia bunu bilir - ağlardı kız – hatırlar ya - benden büyüktür Korallia, ama Athenulla kız kardeşi, dediğim gibi sana - bir gün sorduydum Athenulla nerede diye, Limasol'da dedi, ama hiç buluşamadık – ne o istedi, demek ki küstürler.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts how an angry mob, which she describes as "kids" came and wanted to burn the priest's house. She recounts vaguely remembering her father trying to help the priest and his family, how they jumped over to their house and escaped through the back street. She also remembers other places burning in the neighborhood, like Louizou's bakkal.

Subjects:

civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas--Ali Yüzbaşı Street; civil strife--harassment; civil strife--fear; civil strife--neighborliness; civil strife--pain

Keywords:

1956; priest; Ahmet Örek; Louziou; Minnoş; house; Athenulla; sister

Questions to Ask (14):

The interviewee recounts that their neighbors had to leave due to the attacks. How would you feel if neighbors whom you like were attacked because they are different and some people don't think they should live in your neighborhood? Even brothers and sisters are different from each other and think and believe different things. Can you think of some people whom you like, especially because they are different from you? What is it that you like about them and why? Have you ever met someone who at first you did not like because they were different, but then you started liking afterwards? Describe how and why? What do you think about people who are very different from you and your community?

15. I was extremely scared when they banged on the door looking for the priest

Interview with S. A., May 29th 2018, excerpt (04:09-05:50)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60689#segment249>

B: 1956'da bir olaylar olmuş galiba. Onu hatırlar mısınız?

S: Hatırlarım, hatta bir gün, Ü.'a acaba bana bir şeyde yardımcı olsun diye mi gittiydim, bazen giderdik zaten, annesi de çok sevecendi, giderdik.

B: Ü. şey dedi, ben herkesin derslerine yardım ederdim dedi.

S: Ha, bana da matematikte yardımcı olurdu.

B: Hatta dedi şey koyardım da yardım ederdim dedi, çocuklarına mahallenin.

S: Niçin gittiğimi hatırlamam ve o gün yalnızdık evde Ü.'la. Ben bunu Ü.'a da anlattım ve hatırlamadı bilmem sonradan hatırlayıp size söyledi mi.

B: Yook

S: Türkler geldiler- papaznan dip dibe otururdu Ü.'lar.

B: Evet, siz de Ü.'ların yanında-

S: Ha, evet. Bizim zaten aynıydı evlerimizin şekli de, hep sarı taştan.

Papazın evine saldırdı Türkler, bir şey yapacaklar - vururlar kapılarına. Sonra papaz korkudan atladı Ü.'ların evine, oradan da arka yoldaki eve atladı ve oradan kurtuldu. Fakat, anlayıncalar papaz geçti şeye - Ü.'lardan öbür tarafa - bu defa geldiler bizim kapıya.

B: Ü.'ların evine?

S: Yani şey Ü. 'ların kapısına. Ve ben küçüktüm. Öyle korktuğumu hatırlarım. Hala daha tüylerim kalkar yani. Tabi yani papaza da acıydık doğrusu, bir şey yaparlarsa diye. Eh çünkü yıllarca, orada beraber yaşadık hep birlikte... Ve o günü hiç unutmam yani.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts the day that the priest's house was attacked and how he escaped through the neighbor's house. She was at that moment in the neighbor's house and remembers the priest jumping over and escaping through the back. Once the attackers understood that they had helped them escape, they started banging on their doors and she remembers this as one of the most terrifying memories of her childhood.

Subjects:

civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas--Ali Yüzbaşı Street; 1956; 1957; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; civil strife--fear; civil strife--anger; civil strife--harassment; civil strife--neighborliness

Keywords:

priest; Ü. B.; escape; memory; fear

Questions to Ask (13 & 15):

The interviewee recounts the incident of the gang of Turkish Cypriots banging on their door because they thought the family was protecting the priest inside. She recounts re-experiencing that fear when she thinks about the incident today. Has there ever been an incident in your life, that when you think back, you still experience the same kind of fear? How do you think such fear influences the rest of your life? What is the description of trauma? Do you think this kind of fear, also recounted in excerpt 13 is trauma? How does trauma affect the rest of one's life? Has anyone in your family experienced a traumatic event? How has it affected them?

16. A Turkish Cypriot was killed and an angry crowd wanted to kill the Ayios Loukas priest

Interview with V. H. T., Recording 1/2, January 24th 2018, excerpt (50:14-51:51)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60718#segment3014>

V: 1958'lerde o zaman nümayişler olurdu. Rumlar ansızın bir Türk vururdu. EOKA kuruldu, daha TMT kurulmadı. Tüm Kıbrıs Türkü toplanırdı Sarayönü'nde ve Rum tarafına saldırırdı, kırar dökerdik, kavga ederdik - bilmem ne - gene bir Türk vuruldu - Ziya diye, mahallemizin bir insanıydı bu - Ziya'nın gardaşıydı hani motorda vurdular, kendisini - kebab satan Nazım dayının oğlu - tam Zafer sineması - Ziya'nın kardeşini vurdular, unuttum onun ismini ve tam toplandık bütün Kıbrıslı Türkler napacaklar hepsi toplandı bizim mahallede, Ayluga - şeyini - papazını öldürecekler - ve bütün mahalle toplandık, Emin dayı, Mehmet Emin kunduracı, Hilmi'nin babası, Ahmet dayı vardı gene kunduracı, hep

bu insanlar gittik papazın evinin önünde durduk. Yüzlernan da - 1958-1959. Biz o papazı koruduk, babatyayı (papazın karısı) koruduk, yani dokunmayın – döveceklerdi papazı, kimi yakarlarsan - sen Rumları yakalan - onlar da Türkleri – Tahtagala'yı nasıl yaptılar bilin, aynı şekildeydi ve papazı koruduk.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts that a Turkish Cypriot had been killed and an angry crowd of Turkish Cypriots had gathered, as was most often the case after such an incident, and they came to his neighborhood and wanted to kill the priest of Ayios Loukas, who used to live on his street. He recounts that he, along with some other of his other neighbors, protected the priest and did not let the crowd harm him.

Subjects:

civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas--Ali Yüzbaşı Street; civil strife--anger; civil strife--neighborliness; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1956; 1957

Keywords:

Ziya; murder; Nazım dayı; brother; Mehmet Emin Kunduracı; 1957; priest; Ayios Loukas; Emin dayı; Hilmi

Questions to Ask (16):

The interviewer recounts of the killing of a Turkish Cypriot before the attack on the priest of Ayios Loukas. He is recounted as the son of Nazım Dayı and the brother of Ziya. Consult newspaper archives for the year 1957 (the priest's daughter recounts that they were attacked in 1957) and find out when this incident happened. Who was this person? When was he killed? Why was he killed? Who are his relatives? Find them and conduct interviews with them to see what other information they have about the incident. Relevant excerpts will be included as part of this story. The interviewer also talks about Mehmet Emin Kunduracı and Ahmet Dayı as people who helped protect the priest that day. Find out if any of their relatives are alive and what other information is available on that day? Conduct interviews with them. Any relevant interview excerpts will be included as part of the story. Dr. Hilmi Reşat, whose father is recounted as helping to protect the priest, lives in Nicosia and can be contacted. The interviewer also talks about frequent demonstrations held at Sarayönü in those days in the aftermath of killings. Consult newspaper archives and document the dates of such demonstrations for the year 1956 and 1957 as they may be indicative that certain significant events had happened right before them.

17. We were kids and we burned the Ayios Loukas Church

Interview with A. A., October 19th 2017, excerpt (14:57-18:42)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60540#segment897>

B: Çocukken bir huzursuzluk var mıydı?

A: <i>Yo, biz o kadar şeydik ki – kilise yandı – kiliseyi işte bizim ekran insanlar yaktı – abilerimizdi – gidin yakın şeyi – 58’lerde ben 11 yaşındaydım – küçük çocuk.</i>
B: <i>Eh sizin ekran mı yaktı?</i>
A: <i>Evet. Çocukların eline verdiler, yaktılar – e bunlardan da biri benim – ve korkumdan kaçarken işte demirleri vardı sivri uçlu kilisenin – demirlerden atlayıp kaçarken, çıkarken oradan, ben kalçamın üzerine düştüm ve hala daha kalçamda kilise demirinin izi var. Ha bunlar anılar – yani hiçbir şey yokken ben niye gittim orayı yaktım? Abilerimiz dedi gideceksiniz da yakacaksınız kiliseyi –</i>
B: <i>Benzin verdiler size?</i>
A: <i>Evet. Karşılıklı işte – Rum bize falan yeri yaktı – biz da bunu yakacayık. Abilerimiz, onlar da bizim abilerimiz, yaptık – e noldu işte bu toplum bir anda – Rumlar, işte bizim bu bölgedeki Rumlar büyük bir paniğe kapılarak hepsi kaçtı gitti – evlerini terk etti – o dönemden sonra da şiddetle Kıbrıs’ta süratle bir toplumsal ayrılık oldu işte bu günlere geldik - hala daha da bir araya gelemiyoruz.</i>
B: <i>Acılar ve şeyler ...</i>
A: <i>Bu bizim abilerimiz dediğimiz da size söylediğim Sönmezler Ocağı var ya, eh – işte onlar ve onların bir büyükleriyle bu işi ...</i>
B: <i>Bu abiler dediğiniz da herhalde 18, 19, 20?</i>
A: <i>Eh tabi, tabi.</i>
B: <i>Sizin o olayda yaşıt aranızda olan hatırladığınız arkadaşlarınız var mı hala görüştüğünüz?</i>
A: <i>Vallahi o anıyı hiçbirimiz birbirimizle hiç paylaşmadık.</i>
B: <i>Hmm - acı anı çünkü.</i>
A: <i>Evet, yani hep o mahalle çocukları, biraz önce söyledim, ama hiçbirimiz bu anıyı, orada ben da vardım, paylaşmadım. Belki de bu anımı ilk kez da ben size anlattım.</i>
B: <i>Ama çok kritik bir anı – yani ben çok etkilendim - 11 yaşındasınız çünkü.</i>
A: <i>Küçük çocuk – alet olduk – aynı şekilde biz alet olduğumuz gibi karşı taraf da aynı şekilde 10 yaşında 11 yaşında düşmanlığı tatmış, aşılalmış ve bu düşmanlık her geçen gün yukarıya doğru çıkmış ama bazı yerlerde bu kırıldı veya kırılma eğilimi gösterdi.</i>

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about the incident where they burned the church with his friends, when he was around 11 years old, noting they were directed by older kids in the neighborhood to do so. He makes a note that none of his friends have ever talked about this incident and this is most likely his first time ever talking to someone about it.

Subjects:

Ayios Loukas Church; civil strife--burning; childhood & youth--militantism; militant struggles--activities--youth; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; mid-late 1950s

Keywords:

"Abi"; "Sönmezler Ocağı"; burning; church; shame; enemy; hatred

Questions to Ask (17):

The interviewer recounts being involved in the burning of the Ayios Loukas Church as a child and having never talked about this to anyone before. Have you ever been ashamed of something you did, regretted it and never told anyone about it? What does shame feel like? What does it mean to be responsible for your actions? What do you think it feels like to live with shame? What can be done if you have done something you are ashamed of? What do you suggest this person do to deal with his feelings of guilt for having done something which he now regrets? What are some of the ways to avoid experiencing such feelings of shame and regret later on in life?

18. They damaged the Ayios Loukas Church's garden railings the day they attacked the priest's house

Interview with S. A., May 29th 2018, excerpt (52:36-54:02)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60689#segment3156>

S: Bir da erkek çocukları, Rum ve Türk, çok iyi hatırlarım, o kilisenin yanında hep kavga ederlerdi, değnekler, taşlar, yani bir şey yokken yani küçük çocuklar, bu Veli ve arkadaşları ve mahallenin Rum erkek çocukları hep o yaşlarda birbirlerine taş atarlardı, değneklerle falan, kavga ederlerdi.

M: O önemli bir şeydir yani o kilise orada önemli bir şeydi etrafında bir şeyler olduysa değil mi?

S: Tabii, kilisenin parmaklıklarını kırdılardı o gün, hani papazın evine geldiklerinde kilisenin parmaklıklarını da hep devirdilerdi.

M: Yani hep o olaylar oldu, hep öyle şeyler anlatılır.

B: Siz tabi görmediniz ama hep duydunuz bunları.

S: Eh, görmedik, ama biz işte Ü.'la hep evdeydik ama ondan sonra gördük ki hep parmaklıklar devrilmişti – taşın içinden söktüler.

B: Kilisenin içine de girilmiş miydi?

S: Orasını bilmem tam olarak hatırlamam, yanlış bir şey ...

B: Ben çünkü kilisenin yakılmasını da duydum çok ...

S: Doğrudur, bir şeyler işte o günlerde bir şeyler yaptılar.

B: Arada bir kilise yakılırdı, yani, taştır tabi bina kilise yanmazdı herhalde da içindeki şeyler.

M: Tepki için bir şeyler yapılmış.

S: İşte daha ziyade ondan korktu Rumlar bizim mahalleden da kaçtılar – başlarına bir şey gelmesin diye hepsi toparlanıp kaçtılar.

Segment Synopsis:

She remembers the children of the neighborhood, around the same age, fighting around the Ayios Loukas Church with sticks and stones and that in the aftermath of the attack on the priest of Ayios Loukas, the railings of the garden of the church were all damaged.

Subjects:

Civil strife--forced to leave home--ayios loukas; Ayios Loukas church; 1957; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas

Keywords:

fight; railings; Ünal.; Veli

Questions to Ask (18):

The interviewer recounts that the church was also damaged the day that the priest's home was attacked. It appears that this is the same incident recounted by the previous interviewer (excerpt 17) A. A. and his friends who were involved in the burning of the church that day. Re-contact A. A. and confirm, if indeed, this incident took place on the day that the priest's home was attacked and whether his friends would be willing to talk about the incident as a group or individually. Were his friends involved in the attack on the priest of Ayios Loukas? Conduct an interview with them. Relevant excerpts of the interviews will be included as part of the story.

19. We had no choice but to leave; a Turkish Cypriot taxi driver, Rifat, helped us get out of Ayios Loukas

Interview with K. P., May 29th 2018, excerpt (36:47-41:38)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60658#segment2207>

K: You know, for me, they came everything turned upside down when we left. When we came here, but I said "I don't want to stay I want to go back." How can I go back?

B: So, when they last came in 57...

K: We were the last to leave I think

B: You were the last to leave... hmm

K: My father, he did not want to leave. I say "if you want to stay and be a statue you stay. (Greek) Either you stay and be a statue or you come with us." He said "no, I don't want to leave the church." Ee, you don't want to leave what are you going to do? They don't want you to come out of the door. They were throwing stones, they were shooting in the air.

B: So, did you actually leave that day? How did it happen? They came to your house, there was harassment...

K: Yes, yes... and the man next to us closed the door and ...outside

B: He put the plaka (plank) on

K: Yes, and... jumped next house. And when we jumped there I said where is my daughter (laughs) I said where is my daughter, I forgot her and she was sleeping. I jumped back and I took her. That's the last time.

B: And then you stayed in the house for some time?

K: We stayed till night time and then Rifat... They sent me to get the taxi from Sarayönü. The only person who could go is me, with the curfew pass.

B: I see, okay

K: And my father telling me, “do you want to go, or are you afraid or do you want to,” I said “I’m not afraid I will go” - and I got my bicycle and I went to Sarayönü. And I found Rifat and Rifat told me “What are you doing here?” I said “I came here to ask you to take us out of that place because they will kill my father.” And he says “how did you come?” - “with my bicycle” - I remember the car with a very big trunk. I put my bicycle inside - “you sit next to me and don’t open your mouth.” I said “I can understand.” He said “never mind if you can understand, the pronunciation is different. You keep quiet.” I said okay. And he told me, I remember, “K., I go with you and I risk my life for that. Because they might kill me.” I said okay – “do you want to go or should I go back.” He said “no you are not going back, I go with you.” And we were all together; I put my sister, my mother, my father me – my husband was not in. And he says okay sit here - and you know my father was not like this, beard shorter and he put the “moff” thing and he was sitting at the back. I remember this. My mother my sister and me in front and when we got to the opening of Çağlayan, I remember he told me “K., shut your mouth. If they ask you something you will not know, I will answer - this is our last chance, either we go, or all of us will be shot down.” I said okay, there’s no choice - so we get into the car, we came to Çağlayan place, “stop - where are you going?” he was asking him in Turkish I don’t know what. He told him something, he saw his identity, his pass. That pass was the last one.

B: That’s it. So, you didn’t take anything with you?

K: Nothing [but] a flip flop! Nothing! Nothing, nothing.

B: Did anybody go back from the family after that?

K: Nobody...Nobody, nobody. My father went only for the picture. That’s all. We don’t know. What is in the house, who took them, who burned them. Nothing, nothing, believe me I didn’t want to get anything. You know, it gives you something to remember what a nice time I had with the school, with the friends - and it was a pity really, it was a very very nice place. But, it was written down maybe...

B: Well, Cyprus.

K: Somebody else is deciding for us, not us.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts how a taxi driver by the name of Rifat, at great risk to his own life, smuggled them out of Ayios Loukas and to the Greek quarter across the Green Line. She recounts the details of this journey and how given that she was the only one with a curfew pass, she had to ride her bicycle from home to Sarayönü to get help. She recounts leaving in a great hurry and without taking anything from home.

Subjects:

Civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas--Ali Yüzbaşı Street; civil strife--fear; civil strife--safety; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1956; 1957

Keywords:

Ladder; policeman; Asaf Onbaşı; Rifat; Sarayönü; taxi driver; bicycle; Çağlayan; curfew pass

Questions to Ask (19):

The Turkish Cypriot taxi driver Rifat risks his own life to help the priest and his family escape. Taking risks involves doing something despite the negative consequences it may lead to, but often people take these risks. When is a risk worth taking? Have you ever taken risks in your life, even if little ones? How did this feel? Why did you take these risks? Have you ever regretted taking a risk? Recount your experiences with taking risks. How would you describe risk?

20. I was in school when they attacked Ayios Loukas and had a terrifying journey back home

Interview with Athena, June 22nd 2018, excerpt (20:34-27:49)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60542#segment1234>

A: When we leave the place there, I was in school at that time, when they make the troubles...They say to me, the roads are closed, you cannot go inside.

B: What did they say?

A: They say you cannot get into Ayios Loukas

B: Because it's closed?

A: Because it's curfew, yeah it's closed.

B: Were you coming back from school?

A: Ne- Yes. So, I went back again to the school. There was no telephone, or mobile, or just - but you know I was just asking people to see what's happening and they said to me "oh they kill your mother and father, everybody" - and I was crying - and I went -ah - back to the school I found Şefika.

B: Şefika?

A: That was the name of the teacher – and I begged them, you know? To help me to go back. They said to me "don't worry," pick up from Ayios Kassianos, from there, people, the military they will take you.

B: The military, the British soldiers?

A: The British military, and they... yes the British soldiers. About 9 o'clock at night, that time, the soldiers they came and they picked us up

B: From the school?

A: From the school

B: From the American Academy

A: Yes, and they take us one by one, in our house - but because my mother and father they move from our house and they went to my uncle's house - and when I went there (home) and I saw all this, you know I begged them to take me back. Where is my uncle?

B: So, you went home and there's nobody home? Now, which year is this?

A: (Greek)

B: 56, or 57?

A: <i>(Greek)</i>
S: <i>13, 14 years</i>
B: <i>13, 14 years, so.</i>
S: <i>When she was going to the American Academy.</i>
B: <i>So, it should be around 1955 then.</i>
A: <i>55,56</i>
S: <i>(Greek)</i>
A: <i>Second-</i>
S: <i>Second class of American Academy, which means 13 years old.</i>
B: <i>So, this is more like 1954, 54-55.</i>
A: <i>And they take me back and when I saw my father, you know, my mother and stay with them</i>
B: <i>Where was your uncle's house, that you went to?</i>
A: <i>It was on the other side of our house, the other street</i>
B: <i>Ah, same neighborhood</i>
A: <i>That's why I said Sofulla can help you.</i>
B: <i>So, your uncle also lived in Ayios Lukas</i>
A: <i>And she (Sofulla) was speaking fluently Turkish</i>
B: <i>Is anybody of their family alive?</i>
A: <i>Ah, no, my father died, my mama di Sofulla - I don't know - I have a long long time to see them. The only thing, it's just ...</i>
B: <i>Your uncle was your mother's brother?</i>
A: <i>No, my father.</i>
B: <i>Your father's brother, okay.</i>
A: <i>Ah, my mother's family is in Limassol. My mother's family...</i>
B: <i>So, when the British soldiers left you to your house you didn't find anybody</i>
A: <i>No, they leave me to my house and in our house nobody was there. Just the opposite family says to me you go to your uncle until you stay - when I went there I asked, I saw my sister and everybody was crying what to do, how will we move out? The next morning, I forget to tell you that my sister has a Volkswagen car.</i>
S: <i>Yes, she told us, she was working at the bases.</i>
A: <i>And Hocas eh, man who was the grocery, he says to my father "bring the car to put it in the garage to close it because they are waiting to burn it" - my sister's husbands was, curfew in Ayios Kasionos - I think he stayed one week. I don't remember.</i>
B: <i>So, they took the ...</i>
A: <i>All the men - the Greek men, the Greek men</i>
B: <i>All the Greek men of the neighborhood, the British ...</i>
S: <i>N.</i>
B: <i>N. told us this - so this, what he told us was in 1956.</i>
A: <i>eh, there</i>
B: <i>So, it must be that incident.</i>

S: <i>You see, it was after EOKA started</i>
B: <i>One year after it started</i>
S: <i>The actual effects</i>
B: <i>So, your uncle was not there, was not in the house.</i>
A: <i>No, nobody was there.</i>
B: <i>Nobody was in your uncle's house?</i>
A: <i>In my uncles' house my mother my sister, my father, the small baby, and - they told you that they forget the baby?</i>
B: <i>Yes, they told us. She forgot</i>
A: <i>(laughs)</i>
B: <i>Wow ...</i>
A: <i>After my mother, you know, we have to move. Otherwise they were going to kill all of us. The next morning, they bring a taxi, Turkish taxi. And they take us outside of the place there.</i>
B: <i>When your sister told me the story, I recorded it as 1957, kind of a year after the curfew where they took all the men, but maybe it's the same time.</i>
S: <i>You have to check these dates because people don't have...</i>
A: <i>(Greek)</i>
B: <i>Was your family one of the last ones to stay in Ayios Lukas or did all the Greek Cypriots move at the same time</i>
A: <i>All the - all the Greek Cypriots move at the same time</i>

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee describes how she heard about the attack on the Greek Cypriots of Ayios Loukas while she was in school, the difficulty she had finding her way back into the neighborhood and eventually finding her family hiding in her uncle's house within the same neighborhood. She recounts fearing her family was killed, how their car was protected by their Turkish Cypriot neighbor, and how they were rescued out of the neighborhood by the Turkish Cypriot taxi-driver.

Subjects:

civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas--Ali Yüzbaşı Street; civil strife--fear; civil strife--safety; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1956; 1957

Keywords:

Şefika; teacher; Greek Cypriots; Sofulla; Volkswagen car; Hodjas; curfew; Ayios Kassianos; eoka; driver; Rifat

Questions to Ask (20):

The interviewer recounts fearing her parents had died until she finds them hiding in her uncle's home. Have you ever feared you would lose your parents or thought about it? During war time, many children lose their parents and live the rest of their lives without a father or a mother, or both. Do you know anyone who has lost their parents? What can you say about their lives? What do you think it is like growing up without a parent? Describe your thoughts on this.

21. Our Turkish Cypriot neighbors protected us and prevented our homes from being burned
<i>Interview with A. I., May 29th 2018, excerpt (28:59-35:14)</i>
<i>Segment of Interview in OHMS</i>
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60431#segment1739
A: <i>I think that he told you about the story of the attack on Ayios Loukas</i>
B: <i>In 1956 April. He told me about it but you can tell your experiences</i>
A: <i>I have some very very important details. Beside our house, as I told you, we've been minority as N. told you before. Our neighbor was Turkish, but excellent people, and among them it was an officer. You know to be an officer with the English army, with one star, and the name it was Salime.</i>
S: <i>Salime is a woman</i>
A: <i>Salime is a woman and the daughter was Jale and the boy it was Erdiñç.</i>
B: <i>Ah, I know them</i>
A: <i>And Erdiñç when they finished and opened the boundaries I went there and I asked about Erdiñç because Erdiñç was smaller than me, probably 4-5 years younger than me and they told me that he is at Istanbul as a doctor, as a dentist.</i>
B: <i>No, he is an orthopedist. His daughter is my best friend.</i>
A: <i>I would like to see him.</i>
B: <i>He is fine. I am very close with them. I know them very well.</i>
S: <i>Such a small world.</i>
A: <i>We were 5 houses, we owe to them.</i>
B: <i>His father was a police.</i>
A: <i>When the Turks attacked to us my mother, my sister, it was there. For myself, I was not there. I was – and Salime and the policeman, the policeman with the uniform and Salime put small flags, Turkish flags at our doors and my mother and my sister they went to the house of Salime and we had four houses - one was as we are living, one was of my uncle, the other one was of my sister and the other it was from our grandmother.</i>
B: <i>So, you are a family there, next to one another.</i>
A: <i>And Salime she was with us because it was the husband there and Salime, she climbed the wall and she went beside the Church and she saw the house of my sister and my yaya, my grandmother.</i>
B: <i>So, what did she do? Salime came out of her house. You were next to one another so she jumped.</i>
A: <i>And it was and she jumped, and she came to the other house because those two buildings were beside the church and she put against the window the Turkish flag. I don't know if it was Jale, but Salome. Jale it was so young - and as N. told you the people who burned the houses was not Turkish from our place. They brought from Paphos and it was among the English soldiers because the English soldiers they thought that somebody would shoot but nothing happened. Anyway, and so it's obvious that the English people wanted to divide to do this solution.</i>

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts that on the day of the attack he was not in the neighborhood but his sister and mother were there and how their Turkish Cypriot neighbor Salime protected the 5 houses they had in this neighborhood by putting small Turkish flags in front of them so they appeared to be Turkish homes. He recounts how Salime climbed out of her home to reach one of their homes by the church, to put a flag on this house as well. He views the attack as a British plot.

Subjects:

Civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas--Toros Street; civil strife--neighborliness; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1956

Keywords:

Turkish neighbor; policeman; Salime; Jale; Erdinç; orthopedist; neighborliness; outsiders; English; division; brother; houses; repair

Questions to Ask (21 & 22):

The interviewer describes how his Turkish Cypriot neighbors helped protect them and their property. Even though it has been 60 years, he is still very grateful for this and has never forgotten his neighbors. What does it feel like when you help a friend and do them a favor and realize that you have made them happy? Describe the feeling. Has anyone helped you with something and how did this make you feel? Can we survive as a species if we do not help each other and co-operate? Examine some animal species who co-operate and help each other in order to survive. Are we any different as a human species? Can you imagine a world where every person is alone, lives alone and never receives help from anyone?

22. Our Turkish Cypriot neighbors helped fix my brother's house in one day

Interview with A. I., May 29th 2018, excerpt (35:14-37:40)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60431#segment2114>

A: But I will tell you another thing, the house of my brother - in the other side, they burned the house, it was only one bedroom, bathroom and kitchen because it was very very poor and for myself I am from a very very poor family, I've been from a very very poor family and my brother was very very poor but he was working for the English bases. Anyway, they burned the house. The next day, the next day, you have to write this, they came, from our place, Turkish people, with paintings and carpenters and they repaired in one day, everything, everything, everything. You see, we didn't have anything against the Turks in Ayios loukas, this is the story which I know. I don't know if I have any other things.

B: So, when did you leave? Did you leave the next day?

A: Oh no no, because I was working at Dikelya.

B: Erdinç, Jale is also still alive.

A: She is eh - she is here? I want to see her. She was playing the piano and she been very beautiful, very beautiful.

B: And Erdinç had two daughters and I was a classmate with one of his daughters.

A: Yeahh - send my greetings. I have not anything other to tell you about Ayios Loukas.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about how his brother's home that was burned during the attack on the neighborhood and how the Turkish Cypriots of this neighborhood brought all the necessary equipment and fixed it in one day.

Subjects:

Civil strife--neighborliness; civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1956

Keywords:

Neighbors; friendship; community; Jale; piano; Selin; Erdinç

23. They attacked our street and I convinced them not to burn the Greek Cypriot homes

Interview with Dr. E. İ., October 20th 2017, excerpt (12:05-15:35)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60578#segment725>

E: 1956'da oldu. Hatta şöyle diyeyim, bu dur bakayım seneyi karıştırmış olabilirim çünkü yaşı 13,14 olduğu zamandı. Ben 40 doğumlu olduğuma göre, 54'de olması lazım, veya 55'de. Yani gene böyle sürtüşmeler, İngilizlerin Türkleri polis yapmasından sonra e oldu böyle karşılıklı çarpışmalar ve işte o taksi şoförünü de öldürdükten sonra Türkler galeyana geldi ve bizim sokağa gelip Rum evlerini yakmak isterler. Hiç unutmam Milu bizim eve sığındı ve hiç unutmam yarım Türkçesiyle "Erdincimu kurtar bizi" – onun kocası Lefteri diye bir adam vardı bir de oğlu Dagi. Bunlar, Dagi okuldaydı, Lefteri da Ermou'da dondurma satardı. O da yoktu.

B: Kaç yaşlarındaydı oğlu?

E: Oğlu, benim yaşlarımdaydı ve ona dedim ki "merak etme" – çıktım – dedim ki – "neyi yakacaksınız yahu" – "Rumların evini yakarsanız bizim evler da yanacak" – bunun üzerine o liderleri döndü dedi "doğru" – o zaman dedi "söyleyin Rumlara eşyalarını alıp kaçsınlar ve evleri boşaltsınlar" - "tamam" dedim, "söylersiz, siz şimdi evlerini yakmayın" – gittiler. Böyle deyince.

B: E. amca sen çocuktun o zaman.

E: Çocuktum, aklım kesti, o kadarını söyledim.

O günkü halimle – bunlara – akılları yattı. Yani bunlar Rum evlerini yakarsa, evler yan yana, Türk evleri da yanacak, onun üzerine vazgeçtiler, "eşyalarını alıp gitsinler" dediler. "gelip kontrol edeceğiz." Biz dedik Milu'ya kocana haber ver – haber verdi, aldılar, gittiler – ben o insanları hayatımda bir daha görmedim. Gidiş o gidiş onların nereye gittiğini ne olduğunu hiç bilmiyorum artık.

B: Topladılar bütün eşyalarını?

E: Topladılar, Ayluga'dan bütün Rumlar kaçtı. Ondan sonra onlar da gitti Tahtagala'daki Türklere – Türkler da oradan kaçtı geldi bu tarafa – dolayısı ile Lefkoşa ikiye bölündü. Nerede bölündü, nedir o cadde, Ermou, uzun yolda işte bizim arasta dediğimiz yerde, oradan bölündü – şeyler kuruldu, karşılıklı mevziler gundu – mevziler doğu taraf – Tanti'nin hamamına kadar olan taraf – Mağusa Kapısına kadar – şeyde batıda Ledra Street dediğimiz bölge ve işte Dereboyunda o şekilde dediğimiz gibi mevziler – bizim bir tek açık yönümüz Girne'ye (doğru) boğaza kadar. Böyle başladı – yani Rumlarla şeyin münasebetler bu şekilde bitti.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts remembering the attack on the neighborhood and how their neighbor across the street, Milu, came to their door asking for help. He recounts going outside and reasoning with the crowd that if they burned the Greek Cypriot homes the Turkish Cypriot homes would burn too - convincing them not to do it but how in return they were asked to tell their Greek Cypriot neighbors to take their belongings and leave – which they did.

Subjects:

Civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas--Toros street; civil strife--burning; civil strife--fear; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1956; 1957

Keywords:

Milu; Dagi; Lefderi; fear; help

Questions to Ask (23):

The interviewer recounts reasoning with the attackers and convincing them not to burn the Greek Cypriots homes - explaining to them that if they burn the Greek Cypriot homes, the Turkish Cypriot homes which are next to them, will also burn. Have you ever reasoned with someone and convinced them not to do something that was harmful? What is the significance of persuasion? How can one become a good persuader and help avert dangerous situations? What skills are necessary? Which skills do you think the interviewer had? How do you think your skills of persuasion are ? Have you ever used them? When will such skills be necessary?

24. My father, the priest of Ayios Loukas, went blind because of the shock

Interview with K. P., May 29th 2018, excerpt (44:12-46:12)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60658#segment2652>

B: So, your father, as soon as he came back...

K: He could not see. As soon as he came back, in three months, he started seeing white. You know, we went to a doctor. We went to Greece to a specialist, Doctor Havarnis. Doctor Havarnis told me that in two or three months he will completely.

B: Go blind

K: I said “why?” Because the plaque bringing the side in front destroyed. Because of the shock.

S: Diabetes
K: Shock
S: Shock, which caused diabetes
B: Being upset about something
K: He was very young. He died when he was 60.
B: Ah, very young
K: But he was always crying for that church. And I said to him several times - God forgive me. "Why don't they do something to them? - and you are always afraid of this, afraid of that. He has to punish them." He was telling me "keep quiet, I know you don't believe too much this." I said "I believe my own way, you cannot tell me what I believe. I believe this with all my soul but you are not to tell me what to do," I said - "I am going to do whatever I like." He said "okay" - I said "they have to be punished. Why Ayios Loukas did not punish them - they did this" - "maybe later," he said...

Segment Synopsis:

She recounts how her father went blind three months after they returned back, recounting how he died when he was 60 years old, how he cried for the church and was very sad to leave it behind. She recounts feeling those who did this to them needed to be punished and her father saying "maybe later."

Subjects:

Ayios Loukas Church; civil strife--anger; civil strife--forced to leave home--Ayios Loukas; civil strife--loss; civil strife--pain; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1950s; 1960s; 1970s

Keywords:

Blind; punishment; Dr. Havarnis; Greece; pain; anger

Questions to Ask (24):

The priest of Ayios Loukas went blind shortly after being forced to leave his home in Ayios Loukas. He became diabetic and lost his eye sight. Research the relationships between stress, diabetes and eye sight, and document the process through which one can lose their eye sight due to shock and stress. What other physiological changes does stress cause in the human body? The interviewer also talks about feeling that she wanted those responsible for the attack on the neighborhood to be punished. Have you ever felt like you wanted someone punished for what they did? What did this feel like? Do you think you would be satisfied if they were punished? How would you describe the feeling of revenge? Do you think this feeling might cause people to do things they would later regret? Do you know any examples of this happening around you? What do you think is the best way of coping with such feelings?

A Place in Ayios Loukas; the Ayios Loukas Church



Photograph: Ayios Loukas Church
(Photograph are by author.)
Figure 28

According to an inscription above its entrance, the Ayios Loukas Church was erected by Archbishop Philotheos in 1758. It has a nave and a north aisle separated by two columns. It has two entrances, one in the north and the other in the south, and the doors are Neo-Gothic. It is thought that the original church consisted of a single nave covered by four cross-vaults and an open portico in the south and that it was later enlarged through the addition of a narrower north aisle which has no apse. The wooden iconostasis is noted as being carved in 1780, at the time of Archbishop Chrysanthos. The Church of Ayios Loukas was noted for its exceptional collection of icons thought to have come from an earlier church. These icons were later

transferred to the Archbishopric for safety and formed the main collection of the Byzantine Museum of the Makarios III Foundation.⁷²¹

While the above account highlights some of the architectural features and material significance of the Ayios Loukas church, the oral history project conducted with the past residents of Ayios Loukas, reveals its importance for the people of this neighborhood. The church had meaning for all the residents of Ayios Loukas, not just for the Greek Cypriots for whom it had additional religious significance. The fairs held in the garden of the church every year, the Turkish Cypriot children sneaking in to taste some of its savories on religious holidays and weddings, residents filling their buckets with water from its fountain just outside its garden, Turkish Cypriot children trying to burn it when they were filled with nationalistic sentiments and anger directed towards the Greek Cypriots, a Greek Cypriot revisiting the church years later for religious consolation; these are all memories associated with this church and part of its significance as a place. The local place and people-based methodology employed in the museology of peacebuilding reveals all the importance that islanders associate with particular places which leads to an altered and more multifaceted perception of these places. Significant monuments, such as the Ayios Loukas Church, cease to be defined solely through their architectural features and already known explicit functions but begin to acquire new meanings and significances as recounted through the lived experiences of people for whom these places were important.

⁷²¹ Euphrosyne Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou, "Chapter V Nicosia under Ottoman Rule 1570-1878 - Part II," in *Historic Nicosia*, by Dēmētrēs Michaēlidēs (Nicosia, Cyprus: Rimal Publications, 2012), 285-286.

Each neighborhood of Walled Nicosia had significant landmarks where people interacted with each other. For the Ayios Loukas neighborhood, the Church of Ayios Loukas, from which it receives its name, was one of the most significant landmarks, not only for the Greek Cypriots but for the Turkish Cypriots as well. Although restored and used as a cultural center today, it does not appear to have the same kind of significance for its current residents because it is not used actively on a daily basis. Although some events are held occasionally in its garden, it appeared empty and out of use every time I visited the neighborhood. My proposal to utilize this space for peace education is intended as a way of revitalizing this site as a meeting point for Turkish and Greek Cypriots as it used to be in the past, albeit for a function that although different, serves the same purpose of bringing the communities back together. Such a renewed function, would not only create a public gathering space for the neighborhood, it would also constitute a meaningful act of re-use that is congruent with the past significances of this place.

Although the church was indeed a significant landmark for Ayios Loukas, the oral history project revealed that there were other landmarks in the neighborhood that were just as significant. The “bakkals” (small grocery stores also called “bakkalis” in Greek) such as those owned by Ahmet Örek, Cahit Örek, Louziou,⁷²² and Andricco, where people bought their daily food, the water fountains where people lined up for water, coffee shops such as “Enver’in Kahvesi” where men socialized over coffee, Louizou’s tavern where they socialized over alcohol, the neighborhood ovens where people brought their meals to be cooked, the bakeries such as Minnoş where they got

⁷²² The son of Louizou apparently later married the daughter of the priest of Ayios Loukas and was a very good football player but died at a young age of a heart attack. His wife, the priest’s older daughter Korlia recounts how all his old Turkish Cypriot friends from Ayios Loukas came to visit her afterwards, after the division of Nicosia, and shed tears at the death of their friend.

their daily breads, “çöreks” and “pilavunas,” were all located within a couple of city blocks, and were significant places for the people who lived in this neighborhood. These were the public spaces of the neighborhood, besides its streets, where daily life unfolded. In fact, during the course of a single day, these “small” places were more significant than the “big” places such as the mosques and churches which defined the neighborhoods because it was in these “smaller” places that daily public life took place, exchanges between people occurred and a sense of community was established.

While the local, place and people-based methodology employed in the museology of peacebuilding revealed that the religious landmarks such as churches and mosques had significances beyond their apparent ones, it also revealed that the less well-known “small” landmarks of a neighborhood were just as significant, if not more, for the residents who lived here.⁷²³ In his article titled *The Politics of Memory and Peacebuilding*, Marc Howard Ross notes that a society’s symbolic landmarks “frame social and political messages, communicate power and belonging through how they represent inclusion and exclusion, hierarchy, and portray dominant and subordinate groups in particular ways.” He writes that collective memories are created and sustained through these landmarks and “a more inclusive symbolic landscape can powerfully communicate mutuality and a shared stake in society.”⁷²⁴ The local place and people-based methodology reveals that this kind of inclusive symbolic landscape

⁷²³ David H. Harvey, "Chapter 1 The History of Heritage," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* by Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Place of Publication Not Identified: Routledge, 2016), 21. These “small” heritages are of the kind referred to by Harvey and claimed as the way forward in creating more inclusive understandings of heritage.

⁷²⁴ Marc Howard Ross, "Chapter 7 The Politics of Memory and Peacebuilding," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* by Roger Mac Ginty (London: Routledge, 2015), 97.

did in fact exist in the mixed neighborhoods of Cyprus, at the scale of buildings and streets. Even the most potent religious landmark of the Ayios Loukas neighborhood, the Ayios Lukas Church, was a shared landmark where every year during the month of October, a fair (*panayır* in Turkish and *panayiri* in Greek) was held during which villagers from all over the island brought their produce to sell. It was a date everyone in the neighborhood looked forward to as it constituted the “most fun” event of the year. All of the interviewees had pleasant memories of this “panayır.” While a superficial view of this church would see it as “contested” heritage because it is a religious monument that became the target of looting and burning during the mid to late 1950s, the local, place and people-based methodology reveals that it was much more than this and simultaneously constituted the *shared* heritage of both communities.

The 16 interview excerpts below illustrate the significances of the Ayios Loukas Church, as recounted by its past residents. They reveal the multifaceted nature of the significances of this church; a place of prayer, a symbol for a community, a place of entertainment, a playground, a place of socialization, an aesthetically pleasing monument and more. Underneath the excerpts are questions that are suggested by them which I propose constitute entry points into the peace education program. The types of questions suggested are diverse as in the rest of the interview excerpts and raise more questions related to the heritages of the island, including the types of goods sold yearly in the fairs, the types of entertainment provided, the nature and meaning of religious ceremonies and weddings amongst others. Another area of inquiry raised, which would appeal to visually oriented individuals concern the architectural features of the church, its aesthetics, functions as well as its icons. Finally, many questions eliciting self-knowledge are suggested as in the earlier

mentioned excerpts which deal with regret, anger and identity issues. Taken together, the wide compilation of questions reinforces and supports the assertion made earlier that the *CHHP of Cyprus* has potential to provide rich content for peace education.

1. My father had the church renovated when he got appointed as Priest of Ayios Loukas
<i>Interview with Athena, June 22nd 2018, excerpt (57:10-59:40)</i>
<i>Segment of Interview in OHMS</i>
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60542#segment3430
A: <i>When my father – you know when we moved from Limassol to this church, this church was a ruin you know – my father has to find people to fix it again – but he tried – when he was appointed to this church, the church was not in good condition so he applied to some rich people for some donations to rebuild and he fixed it. My father spent a lot of effort. Yes, he cared very very much for this church.</i>
S: <i>I will ask if he can put it in the program (Technical Committee on Heritage). Now they are fixing the archaeological monuments. They are fixing Turkish Cypriot monuments, religious sites.</i>
B: <i>Yes, I know. The guy who is the head of the Turkish side is a classmate of mine. Ali Tuncay. He is a very nice guy.</i>
S: <i>You can ask Tuncay if they can put it into their program.</i>
A: <i>Why they don't put it in their program.</i>
B: <i>It looks like it's in good condition.</i>
S: <i>I don't know the inside.</i>
A: <i>It was a monastery before the church, that's what my father said, long long time ago. It was just a monastery and afterwards they ...</i>
B: <i>From what I read, there was most likely something else underneath and they built the church on top of it.</i>
Segment Synopsis: She recounts that her father spent a great deal of effort having the Ayios Loukas Church restored when they first moved into the neighborhood as it was in a very poor condition.
Subjects: Ayios Loukas Church; work life--restoration; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas
Keywords: appointment; priest; monastery; Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage; Limassol; restoration
Questions to Ask (All excerpts):

Make a list of all the goods mentioned being sold at the Ayios Loukas Fair. Inquire about how each one is made and create a recipe book for the goods sold at the Ayios Loukas Fair. Choose one of them, prepare it with your family or friends at home and bring it to class to taste.

2. The Ayios Loukas Church was restored by Has-der from its previous derelict state

Interview with M. Ş., January 24th 2018, excerpt (14:30-16:05)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60672#segment870>

B: *Bu şeyi, panayırları iyi hatırlar mısınız?*

M: *Tabii hatırlarım, niçin hatırlamayım? Gelirdi, hep Türkler gelirdi, sana dediğim gibi mahra vardı, kerpiç duvar vardı, son bu Has-Der yaptı bunları – böyle havlı yaptı – Türkiyeli çocuklar var, oynarlar, pislerler, bilmem neler vardı, kokudan durulmazdı – büyük bir temizlik yaptılar işte kiliseyi alınca.*

B: *Kullanılmıyor gerçi.*

M: *Bunlar sonradan ekilmişti, tek bir ağaç yoktu.*

B: *Şey, girişi gene oradan mıydı?*

M: *Oradandı.*

B: *Ama bunlar kerpiçti?*

M: *Burada da küçücük bir oda vardı, papazları kalırdı. Yeni yaptılar, Has-Der yaptı, evvela bunun içinde oyun oynarlardı. Oyun, Has-Der'in.*

B: *Halk oyunları?*

M: *Burası papaz odasıydı, gelir sohbet yaparlardı burada. E kiliseye ait, öyledir, papazlar var, bilmem ne – bazıları günahlarını çıkardılar işte bir şeyler.*

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about how the church has been repaired by Has-Der and is in much better condition than it used to be. He describes its previous condition as derelict, smelly and deserted. He also mentions how the trees in the gardens were also planted by Has-Der since it was barren before that. He describes the small room, which he calls the priest's room where people made confessions.

Subjects:

Ayios Loukas Church; work life--restoration; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas

Keywords:

Has-Der; restoration; priest's room; adobe; wall; trees; derelict

Questions to Ask (1 & 2):

Re-contact the daughter of the Priest of Ayios Loukas and ask if they have any photographs and additional information regarding the church. Inquire also at the Archbishopric about any information regarding the church. Interviewer already asked Has-Der and was told they had no photographs but they should be asked again. Can you ask all the people interviewed as part of this study for any

photographs they have of the neighborhood? Would you like to be involved in any work concerning the renovation of the Ayios Loukas Church? A photography archive can constitute an aid for future restoration work on the church.

3. The Ayios Loukas Church had an underground prayer area that was entered from the garden

Interview with M. Ş., January 24th 2018, excerpt (00:11-01:42)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60672#segment11>

M: Burası hep duvardı.

B: Kilise? Yani yüksekti buraları?

M: Yok yüksek değildi, böyleydi, duvardı. Panayır olurdu Eylül'de, yanlışım yoksa, 15'inde falan, her taraftan gelirlerdi, sucuk, şudur budur, yemiş memiş, bir zaman bunlar Rumlar gelirdi bundan (buradan) kapıdan tabii – biz da giderdik beraber, onlar ne yaparlarsa, bu mermerin şeyinde yeraltı bir şeyi vardı – onun içine girerlerdi, onun içinde ibadet yaparlardı.

B: Yani bu dışardaki bahçeden aşağıya inerlerdi?

M: Ha o mermerler, şeyler onun altında mahra vardı, yeraltı?

B: Öyle mi?

M: Onun içine girerlerdi, ibadetleri vardı.

B: Buradan mı girerlerdi yoksa kilisenin içinden mi yol vardı oraya?

M: Dışardan girerlerdi. Kiliseye bağlı değildi. Tabi onlar oturur papaz şey yapar mum yakarlar, onlar otururlar, bizim gibin (gibi) değiller. Sandalyelerde falan, onlarda otururlar. İşte en fazla, her köyden yemiş satarlar, şunlar bunlar, onlar gelirdi. Çoğu Rum'du, Türk azdı.

B: Siz hangi sene geldiniz buraya?

M: Ben 76'da burayı satın aldım. 63'de hadiseler başladığında, buraları hep Rum'du, çok az vardı Türk, hep kaçtılar. Burayı bir kadın aldı

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee mentions how the present railing of the church used to be an adobe wall in the past. He also talks about the functioning of the church and how there was an entry point from the garden of the church down into an underground space that they used for prayer. He recounts that most of the area around the church was Greek.

Subjects:

Ayios Loukas Church; work life--architecture; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas

Keywords:

"sucuk"; "ymış"; "mahra"; underground; prayer; fair

Questions to Ask (3):

The interviewee talks about an underground prayer area that once existed that was entered through the garden. Ask all previous interviewees if they remember such an area. Also ask Has-Der if they remember such an area. Such an area is currently not visible in the garden of the Ayios Loukas Church, but it may be

hidden. Can you lead an investigation into this area by getting the help and permission of Has-Der to find out the validity of this assertion?

4. Life was hard for us; we had to carry water in buckets from the Ayios Loukas Church fountain

Interview with V. K., March 30th 2018, excerpt (1:24:40-1:27:49)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60717#segment5080>

B: İlk geldiğinizde buraya mahalleye 58'de daha mı rahattı?

V: E - rahattık yani Rumların şeyinden sonra onlar kaçtılar, sığındılar, biz da geldiydik evimize, eski veran evimize. Eh komşularla suyumuz yoğudu verirdi bu bitişik komşu bana su – bu fakir (miş).

B: Onlar nerden alırdı suyu?

V: Onların suları vardı evinde Hisardan gelirdi - da bu (kendi evlerinde daha önce kalan) fakirmiş bize satan, – demişler ona sen da al – yok demiş – sizden alırım siz koyun da – ama ben zor çektim geldiğimde çocuk kucağımda - komşu yani nur içinde yatsın – derdi – “gel da su geldi,” derdi, “taşı” – çocuğumu tutardı onun kızı, ben de su taşırdım, depo yapıydık, varilleri taşırdım - da evimize - neler çektik. Kilise avlusunda vardı, böyle bir basamak inerdin aşağıya, gene oradan taşırdım.

B: Kilisede su deposu vardı?

V: Kilise avlusunda çeşme vardı, ha ondan taşırdım.

B: En yakın çeşme o muydu?

V: Eh sokak çeşmesi yoktu çok. Kilisenin hemen da orada, bir basamak inerdim da alırdım suyu.

B: herkes alır mıydı oradan?

V: Eh hangisi giderse!

B: Sıra olur muydu?

V: Eh ya – birikirdi ya.

B: Bidonlara koyardınız?

V: Eh ben tenekeyle, saplı tenekelerle getirirdim, variller vardı, avluda boyadıydık varili - da çeşme da koyduyduk –

B: Ama bir taşımada çok taşıyamazdınız, yani.

V: Yo - çamaşır yıkaycan – yıkanacan -

B: O zaman birkaç defa gidip gelirdiniz?

V: Eh nöbet alasin taa - kadar birkaç defa – e sonunda – biz bir yerden borçlandık da aldıydık evi – o dedi ben da aldım evimde benim var – sonra bu Ferhanların dedeleri “benim evimin suyu var dedi ama benim suyum da köşeye kadar gelmiştir – ondan buraya da siz ödeyin dedi – eh 69 lira ödedik da asfaltı yırttık da getirdik suyu evimize.

B: Hangi sene getirdiniz suyu evinize?

V: Eh 60-62'ler gibi.

B: Su önemli, susuz olmaz.
V: Eh ya. Varilleri yaptık da çeşme koyduk, variller de içi boyalıydı.
B: Nasıl yağmur yağdığına temiz miydi sokaklar?
V: Eh işte giderdi sokak kuyularına, ondan var iki tane, oradaki Hisaraltına çıkardı.
B: Öyleymiş.
V: Hisaraltı deniz gibi olurdu, su ...
B: Evet, anlattılar onu. Tabi şimdi kanalizasyon var diye başka yere gider.
V: Onlardan birikir giderdi Hisaraltına.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts the hardship they experienced until they were able to get water connected to their house in 1962. In the meantime, she had to carry water in buckets from the Ayios Loukas Church, where there would be a line of people waiting. She recounts how she had very good neighbors who would give her water and help her out in general while she was raising her baby.

Subjects:

home life--house work--water; Ayios Loukas Church; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas--streets--drainage; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas--fountains; late 1950s; 1960s

Keywords:

Ferhan; 1962; "Hisaraltı"; fountain; water; rain; carrying; bucket; baby

Questions to Ask (4):

The interviewee talks about the hardship of not having water in the house and having to carry it from elsewhere in the neighborhood. Can you find the kind of bucket she describes carrying water in? Have you ever had no water in your house? What difficulties did you experience? What do you do to save water? Find out where the water in your house comes from and how much you pay for it? Find out also where the waste water in your house goes to and what happens to it? Ask V. K. where the fountain in front of the Church was and see if anything remains of it today. Do you think it is important to mark this location? Could other people also have significant memories associated with this fountain? Ask the interviewees if any of them remember this fountain and have memories associated with it.

5. We looked forward to the Ayios Loukas Fair every year; it was our biggest entertainment

Interview with E. Y., January 23rd 2018, excerpt (05:22-11:02)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60592#segment322>

E: Ayluga kilisesi yaklaşık bir bölü dört futbol sahası büyüklüğünde bir alana inşa edilmiş, o alanın en kuzeyine inşa edilmiş bir kiliseydi ve kocaman geriye kalan da

avlusu vardı. Bu kilisenin en büyük özelliği Rumlara dini hizmet etme dışında - yılın belirli zamanlarında panayırlar tertiplemesiydi. Bu panayırlar, eh o çocuk hafızamda hiç silinmeyen, harika bir olaydı. Biz bu panayırın yapılmasını dört gözle beklerdik, çünkü takdir edersiniz ki o zaman Kıbrıs'ta o tarihlerde – ki bu sözünü ettiğim tarihler - 50'li yıllar olsa gerek – henüz radyo dışında bir eğlencemiz yoktu, televizyonumuz yoktu. Dolayısı ile biz bu Ayluga kilisenin tertiplelediği panayırları dediğim gibi büyük bir hasretle, dört gözle beklerdik. Bunun özelliği neydi? Özelliği şuydu. Civar köylerden, Lefkoşa'ya yakın civar köylerden çok sayıda belki de 100-200'e yakın Rum otobüslerle, kendi özel arabalarıyla buraya gelirler ve beraberlerinde getirdikleri Kıbrıs'ta üzüm suyundan yapılmış ortasında ceviz veya badem olan sucuk, yine üzüm suyundan yapılmış köfter ve paluze – eh türü – tatlılar satarlardı. Bunun yanında yine üzüm suyundan yapılmış veya başka bir şeylerden yapılmış çok hoş güzel tatlılar vardı, bunların kimisinin üstünde susamlar vardı, yuvarlak, onlardan alırdık, çok sayıda reçel, macun, cam şişelerin içerisinde, fındık fıstık torbalar içerisinde bütün bu saydığım ve belki hatırlayamadığım birçok yiyecek maddesi, yumurtalar, hellimler, norlar da olması lazım bunların içerisinde, kilisenin o avlusuna dizilirdi. Rumlar kendi mallarının başında bulunurlardı ve gerek Ayluga mahallesinde yaşayan Türkler, gerek civar köylerde, Kaymaklı başta olmak üzere çok sayıda Türk gelip orada hem yeni yüzlerle tanışır hem o havayı, o otantik havayı teneffüs eder ve sevdikleri bu köfter sucuk ve buna benzer şeyleri satın alıp yerlerdi. Biz da hatırlarım o yaşlarda ben herhalde 10-12 yaşlarındaydım, ben de arkadaşlarımla beraber bu eğlenceye katılır ve bayağı güzel bir zaman geçirirdik. Hatırladığım kadarı ile tam emin değilim, yanlış söyleyemim, bu panayır, üç gün mü beş gün mü yoksa bir hafta mı, böyle bir süre devam ederdi – bu dediğim gibi bizim için dört gözle beklenen eh- çok güzel bir vaktin geçtiği – çok güzel şeyler yediğimiz – bir panayır idi.

B: Tanışır mıydınız yeni kişilerle, yoksa arkadaşlarınızla takılırdınız?

E: Dediğim gibi ben 10-12 yaşlarındaydım için kendi arkadaşlarımla dışında diğer kişilerle arkadaşlık kuramazdım. Mesela civar köyden gelen Rumlara, Rumca da bilmediğim için o zaman Türklerin hemen hemen birçoğu Rumca konuşurdu. Ben bu panayır vesilesi ile pek bir yeni arkadaşlar edindiğimi yaşıma gereği söyleyemem. Yaşım biraz daha ileri olaydı, arkadaşlar edinmiş olabilirdim. Çok güzel, çok güzel bir anı olarak hafızamda bütün tazeliği ile yaşıyor.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks in detail about the Ayios Loukas Fair organized every year during which the villagers from across the island brought their goods to sell. He talks of this as their biggest entertainment of the time, something they looked forward to, which he remembers with all its clarity, to this day.

Subjects:

customs--fairs; Ayios Loukas Church; childhood & youth--memories; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1950s; social life--fairs

Keywords:

"panayır"; 1950s; radio; entertainment; "sucuk"; "köfter"; "paluze"; sesame; "macun"; "ceviz"

Questions to Ask (5, 7, 13 & 14):

What kinds of entertainment was there at the Ayios Loukas Fairs, besides the food? Ask the interviewees. Make a list of what these were. Is there anything that looks like fun to you? If so, arrange it so that you play it with your friends in class one day. What do you do for entertainment today? How do you think it is different from the past? Would you have liked to live during those times in this neighborhood where the biggest entertainment were the Ayios Loukas fairs held yearly?

6. I attended both the Ayios Loukas fair as well as religious ceremonies, out of curiosity

Interview with S. D., January 24th 2019, excerpt (20:28-23:40)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60681#segment1228>

S: Yani onu yaşamak bana çok güzel geldi.

B: Yani neyi yaşamak güzel geldi.

S: Şey, güzel geldi dediğim şey, Ayluga'da bunu çok az insan bilir zaten, Kıbrıs'ın o zamana göre en güzel - ki özellikle Lefkoşa'da - panayırı yapılırdı. Rum Türk beraber giderdik, hatırladığım o vardı, hatta gizlice bazı arkadaşlarla, Rum arkadaşlarla, ayinlere bile girdiğimiz olurdu yani.

B: Panayırların olduğu gün ayinler olur muydu, yoksa başka günlerde?

S: Yok, olmazdı çünkü eh, sanırım 7 gün sürerdi öyle bir şeydi, eh hatta annem şöyle hesap ederdi, "sen panayırdan 7 gün sonra doğdun" derdi bana.

B: Ha, ne zamandı acaba, Nisan'da falan mı?

S: Yok, ben 11 Ekim, 11 Ekim doğumluyum. Yani bizim en güzel zamanımız zaten Eylül Ekim aylarıdır panayırlar için. Yani festival dediler, değiştirdiler ama, panayırın amacı herkes kendi ürününü paraya çevirmek için gelirdi.

B: Çok güzel. Rum arkadaşlarınız var mıydı?

S: Vardı, vardı tabii. Mesela ...

B: Ayinlere girdiğinizde mesela bilirler miydi sizin Türk olduğunuzu.

S: Eh tabii. Herkes tanır. Kimse kimseye engel olmazdı, gider seyrederdik. Çok özel görürdük, örneğin bu kilisenin bir de, ne derler ... hani zeytin dalıyla çocuğu yıkarlar ... vaftiz bile yapılırdı ki çok az yerlerde yapılırdı, belirli yerlerde, o çok önemliydi ve görürdük işte süslü hanımlar gelir çocuklar hep giyinmiş, ve girerdik ve görürdük. Ne onlar bize itiraz ederdi ...

B: Onlar hiç camiye gelirler miydi, merak edip, gerçi kız çocukları ...

S: Onu bilemem, o kadar hatırlamam belki görmedim belki giderler fakat bunu söyleyim bugün teknoloji bu kadar değişti, uzaklar yakınlaştı internetle beraber, Rum dostlar vardır o tarafta tanıştığımız bayramlarımızı kutlar.

B: <i>Hala?</i>
S: <i>Hala kutlarlar. Namazı bile, ki Türkiye’de tatildir, bizde de tatildir o gün. Üç ayların başlangıcı “kandiliniz mübarek olsun Müslüman arkadaşlar” diye ...</i>
B: <i>Ama o zamandan yoktur değil mi hiçbir Rum irtibatta olduğunuz?</i>
S: <i>Yok, yok, çünkü çok eski ...</i>

Segment Synopsis:

She talks about the Ayios Loukas Fair and how they used to go to these together with her Greek Cypriot friends. She recounts how her mother used to tell her she was born a week after⁷²⁵ the Ayios Loukas Fair. She also talks about attending prayers and baptismal ceremonies in the church as a child, out of curiosity.

Subjects:

Customs--fairs; customs--religions--prayer; Ayios Loukas Church; customs--religions--celebrations; 1950s; childhood & youth—memories; social life—fairs;

Keywords:

Prayer; baptizing; panayır; fair; religion; “bayram”;

7. The Turkish Cypriots also participated in the Ayios Loukas Fair

Interview with A. I., 29th May 2018, excerpt (25:53-26:42)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60431#segment1553>

A: *And even when we have panayiri, when we have fair on 18th of October, two Turks families, the one had with rabbit playing and another one with shooting, you see among with the people from the village we had Turks with us – without any discrimination ha – without any discrimination – this - it was the life about us with the Turks.*

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks in general about how they lived together with the Turkish Cypriots and how even *they* participated in the fairs and there was no discrimination between them.

Subjects:

Customs--fairs; Ayios Loukas Church; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1950s

Subjects (Translation):

Keywords:

“Panayırı”; “panayiri”; games; rabbits; shooting; discrimination

8. I went to fairs and weddings at the Ayios Loukas Church with my Greek Cypriot friends

⁷²⁵ From the date of the Ayios Loukas Fair held every year, 14th of October, it is understood that S. D. misremembered her mother’s remark that she was born 7 days after the fair – it is apparent that her birthday, 7th October, is instead 7 days *before* the Ayios Loukas Fair, not after.

<i>Interview with Ü. B., 28th May 2018, excerpt (31:50-32:51)</i>
<i>Segment of Interview in OHMS</i>
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60716#segment1910
B: <i>Panayırları hatırlar mısınız?</i>
Ü: <i>İşte bu kilisenin şeyinde, geçip gördün mü yerini, bilir misin?</i>
B: <i>Bilirim, bilirim.</i>
Ü: <i>Panayır olur giderdik, eh panayırları bırak ben işte küçükken alıştım Rumcayı, düğünler olurdu kilisenin içinde, giderdik, giderdik yani ne bileyim – onlarla beraber giderdik.</i>
B: <i>Tabi, aynı mahallede.</i>
Ü: <i>Aynı mahallede oynardık.</i>
B: <i>Hiç şeyi hatırlar mısınız, yani bir olumsuzluk, şeyi hatırlar mısınız - hani yakmaya geldiler ama...</i>
Ü: <i>Bir tek onu hatırlarım.</i>
B: <i>Ondan önce bir şey oldu mu?</i>
Ü: <i>Yok, hiçbir şey olmadı ondan önce. Hiçbir şey, hiç hiç. Hiçbir şey olmadı doğrusu.</i>
B: <i>Kilise yakılma olayı var falan var derler arada bir ama o sonradan mı oldu acaba?</i>
Ü: <i>Vallahi bilmem. Bizim Asaf'ın da söylesek, bir ara kilitlediler, hiç bilmem, yoksa bizim burada olmadığımız dönemlerde miydi? –</i>
B: <i>Olabilir, olabilir.</i>
Ü: <i>Fakat o zaman ne kadar büyük görürdük o kilisenin avlusunu – şimdi geçerim bu kadarlık – her yer öyle görünür.</i>

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts how they went to the fairs in Ayios Loukas together with their Greek Cypriot neighbors and how they even attended their weddings in the church. She recounts no problems at all with their Greek Cypriot neighbors before the troubles started and remembers at some point that the church was locked, after the Greek Cypriots left.

Subjects:

Ayios Loukas church; customs--weddings; customs--fairs; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1950s; childhood & youth memories

9. As a child I liked attending the Greek Cypriot weddings at Ayios Loukas Church
<i>Interview with İ. E. Y., March 30th 2018, excerpt (21:28-23:02)</i>
<i>Segment of Interview in OHMS</i>
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60596#segment1288
B: <i>63'e gelmeden önce, şeyi hatırlar mısınız, bu Ayluga kilisesiyle ilgili ne gibi anılarınız var?</i>

İ: Şimdi Ayluga kilisesi orda büyük bir heybetinan dururdu ve Rumlar her Pazar oraya gider ve ibadetlerini yaparlardı ve tabi Rum komşularımız da aynı şekilde giderdi, hep siyah giyinirlerdi, şeyli peçeli, şapkalı, şu bu, falan, bunları hayretle seyrederdik yani bu şekilde. Düğünleri olurdu gelin mesela, gelin çıkacak, kiliseye gidilecek – yürüyerek, akrabaları da arkasından. Mesela oğlan tarafı mesela koluna beyaz mı takardı, siyah mı, öyle bir şey – kız tarafı ayrı – biz kiliseye gidip onların içi dolusunu yemek için aralarına girer ve kiliseye giderdik.

B: Düğündeymişsiniz gibi?

İ: Çocuktuk ama ... kiliseye giderdik beraber ve seyrederdik onları. Mum yakarlardı, şeylere ibadet ederlerdi, Meryem, o şekilde yani. Güzeldi, ikram ederlerdi zaten bize. Yani, komşu bilirlerdi.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts the Greek Cypriots going to church every Sunday, their weddings and how, as children, they used to like walking to church with them on their weddings and attending the ceremonies, it was nice, she says.

Subjects:

Customs--weddings; Ayios Loukas Church; childhood & youth--memories; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1950s

Keywords:

"İçi dolu"; wedding; dress; "içi dolu";

Questions to Ask (8 & 9):

Why did the Greek Cypriots have their wedding ceremonies in churches? Ask the Greek Cypriot interviewees what was done in the church during the ceremony? Are weddings still held in churches? Are there any photographs of weddings held in the Ayios Loukas Church? Is there a comparable custom with Turkish Cypriots? How did they celebrate their weddings? Compare traditional Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot weddings during this time period. What is similar and dissimilar about them? What kinds of savories were served? What kinds of ceremonies were performed? What were their meanings?

10. We used to go to Ayios Loukas Church through underground drainage canals, to throw stones at the priest

Interview with V. H. T., January 24th 2018, excerpt (01:04:52-01:09:26)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60718#segment3892>

V: Anlatayım başka bir şeyler?

B: Anlatın.

V: Yani iyi anlatırım?

B: Çok güzel anlatırsınız?

V: Bir hatam yok ya?

B: Hayır. Yani şeyi da merak ederim. Specific olaylar varsa mahallenin içinde böyle aklınızda kalan iz bırakan

V: Şimdi olaylarımız, bir düşününüz ki Boyacı'nın evinin önünde, bir lağım – nedir o lağım? Yağan yağmurların akıp da içinde girip da stadyuma, Yusuf Kaptan sahasına akışıdır. O zaman bütün Lefkoşa İngiliz'den kalmaydı diye bunlar yapılmıştı, şimdi bir yağmur yağar, modern mahallelerde sular alır götürür. Bizim sokağımızda, kapaklı, demir kapaklı, açılır, altına girdiğinde o kuyularda, mesela o kanalizasyonlara biz girerdik, EOKA başladığında, mesela papaz şimdi konuşma yapacak Ayluga'da – gidip onu taşlamamız gerekir. E nasıl gideceyik yoldan? Girerik lağıma – altı çok büyük, bizi rahat rahat yürüyerek bile sığar – taşlar maşlar içinde – giderik, cik cik cik cik – döne döne Ayluga'ya bulduğumuzda kapağı açan –Ayluga kilisesinin tam duvarının yanına gelin –tak tak tak tak atan taşları tam bunlar ayin yaparken, dönen. Bu olaylar - bunların o kapağını aç, bak S. Bey'in evinde, görecen zaten, onu görmen lazım.
B: Yani yerde kapak görmedim ama.
V: Lağımdır o, kapağı var, belki şimdi değiştirdiler de - el olarak böyle çizgi çizgi.
B: Şey, kilisenin duvarının yanına mı yoksa bahçenin duvarının yanına mı çıkardınız?
V: Bizim mahalleden başlar bütün Lefkoşa içi bunlardandır. Lefkoşa içi, hep Rum ve Türk tarafı.
B: Yürüyüp çıkardınız, ve anlamazlardı? O kadar çabuk?
V: Nereden anlayacak? Lağıma giren suyun altına, inen, bir metre enen (inersin), bir metre ve altı asıl kanalizasyondur, şu nasıl ki mağarayı açan da giden, o şekilde – rahat – bunu unutma.
B: Şimdi papaz, mesela bunu söylediğinizde, papazın böyle şey konuşmalarıydı bunlar? Kışkırtıcı konuşmaları?
V: Yahu, o zaman ne zaman ki başladıydı Rum Türk çatışmaları – 58, 59. Büyüklerimiz nasıl, mesela ansızın vurulur büyüklerinden bir Türk - içinde kalır o - senin büyüklerinin konuşmasının etkisi altında kalın.
B: Siz o zaman kaç yaşındaydınız?
V: O zaman çoçuğduk.
B: 14 yaşında falan?
V: 14 bile yoktuk.
B: 11, 12 yani. Yani hıncınızı almak için?
S: Bol bol da fare vardı onların içinde.
V: Fare mareler vardı ama biz gündüz girdiğimizde – vallahi girdiğimizi hatırlarım – yani hiç yalanım yok – benim de girip Ayluga'ya kadar gittiğimi hatırlarım. Aslında yürünür - bir düşünün ki Yusuf Kaptan Sahasını - o ağaçları düşün – Anibal'ın karşısındaki alan- her yağmur yağdığında, ağaçlar beline kadar su dolardı. O saha – işte bütün Lefkoşa'nın suyu oraya akardı. Sonra da stadyum yaptık orasını da yarısıdır su toplayan, ağaçlık olan kısım. Ya
B: Bu enteresan bir hikaye.
V: Bir götürsem seni – Anibal'in altından akar da geçer şeye – Yusuf Kaptan Sahasına ve o kapakları açasın ve bakasın – inanaman (inanamassın) ne kadar büyüktür. Büyük.

B: <i>İnmek için merdiven falan vardı?</i>
V: <i>Yoktu – ama tutan ve enen. Yani benim boyumdan çok yüksektir basacağın yer. Bunlar kesindir, yani bu söyledğim.</i>
S: <i>Buri taşındandı.</i>
B: <i>Buri taşı dediğiniz, sarı taş?</i>
V: <i>Su taşması hiç olmadı, o daracık sokaklarımız, su taşması hiç olmadı. Hiçbir ev suyla boğulmadı çünkü bütün sular çaaaar der akar gider, nereye? – Yusuf Kaptan Sahası'na – İngiliz öyle yaptı zamanında. Ha - şimdi git Köşklüçiftliğe bak bakalım nasıldır kanalizasyonlar.</i>
B: <i>Çok kötüdür, her yer su dolar.</i>

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about the presence of a lid on the street where his house was - that connected to the underground water system through which he was able to go to the Ayios Loukas Church. Whenever they were filled with feelings of revenge, as kids, they would go through this canal which came up right by the church, they would then get out and throw stones at the priest during prayer. He also recounts how the underground drainage system worked perfectly with all the water draining into the moat of the city walls, very contrary to the poor drainage system of the city today.

Subjects:

civil strife--anger; Ayios Loukas Church; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas--streets--drainage; 1950s; childhood & youth—memories; Ali Yüzbaşı Street;

Keywords:

street; water; drainage; Yusuf Kaptan sahası; "buri taşı"; underground; stones; anger

Questions to Ask (10):

The interviewee recounts travelling through underground canals and coming up at Ayios Loukas Church? Can you locate where this place could have been? Has it been closed off or is there still access to the underground canals? What would make a child go through all that trouble just to throw stones at someone? What kinds of feelings do you think motivated him to do this? Is it hatred for someone or what they represent? Do you feel hatred for anyone? Why do you hate? How do these feelings make you feel? How do you think these feelings can be modified so that they are a constructive rather than destructive force? Have you ever hated someone? Why? Do you still hate them? Have you benefitted in any way from these feelings?

11. The burning of the Ayios Loukas Church was a personal mistake

Interview with, V. H. T., January 24th 2018, excerpt (56:48-57:58)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60718#segment3408>

B: *Kilisenin yakılması olayı var.*

V: Şimdi bakın biz kiliseyi Kıbrıslı Türkler yakmadık. Kişisel hatalardır bunlar, bilinçli hatalar değil. Yani Kıbrıs Türkü öyle bir şey yapmadı. Şahıstı bunu yapan o kiliseye bir Molotof kokteyli attı, yani şişenin içinde olan bir şey.

B: Organize bir şey değil yani?

V: Yani bundan şüphe ederiz biz ki, Rumlar bunu bilerek yaptı, ki onlar da cami yakardı. Bazı şeyler yapardı, bunlar karşılıklıydı ama biz mahalledeki Rumlarla çok dostane geçirirdik günlerimizi – hiç Rum Türk kavgası yoktu – sonradan bu EOKA kuruldu, ve neydi EOKA'nın gayesi, Kıbrıs Türkünü ortadan kaldırmak, milli görevleri buydu. Herkes buna uymak mecburiyetindeydi. Nasıl ki Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı da kurulduğunda bazı hatalar da oldu ilk. Bazı Türkler vuruldu. Vatan haini diye. Bazı insanlar buna yakın değildi, bunları da ortadan kaldırmak gerekmezdi. Biz da TMT'ci olarak bunu söylerik.

Segment Synopsis:

In reference to the incident of the burning of the Ayios Loukas church, the interviewee says that these were personal mistakes, not something the Turkish Cypriots did. It was a person who did this, he says. He states that mistakes were also made by TMT but EOKA's goal was to exterminate the Turkish Cypriots.

Subjects:

civil strife--burning; Ayios Loukas Church; militant struggles--activities; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas

Keywords:

“molotof”; mistakes; tmt; eoka

Questions to Ask (11):

The interviewee recounts that mistakes were made during militant struggles. Have you made big mistakes in your life? What do you think is the best way to make up for wrongdoings? Is there a mistake you have made, which you think you can make up for now? How? Is it possible to learn/not learn from one's mistakes? Explain. Are there any examples around you where people have learned/not learned from their mistakes? What do you think determines this crucial difference?

12. We burned the Ayios Loukas Church a few times

Interview with A. B., Recording 3 of 3, excerpt (04:56-07:50)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60465#segment296>

B: Bu kilisenin, bir defa mı yakılmıştı Ayluga Kilisesi yoksa birkaç kez mi?

A: Bir kundakladık, daha evvel, iki üç kez.

B: Aynı sene içinde miydi, hatırlayabiliyor musun?

A: Onu hatırlamıyorum. Aynı sene içinde bir iki defa. Evet.

B: Şeyi hatırlıyor musun, yani o günleri – yani o yakıldığı günlerde, hani nasıl oluyordu da yakıyordunuz, daha detaylı hatırlayabiliyor musun şeyini, gelişmesini olayların, yani arkadaşların, beraber yaktığınız kişiler, nasıl gelişti?
A: Hatırladığım şey var - evden yastık gibi bir şeyler alıp götürüp - şey döktük üzerine, eh gaz yağı döktük, attık, yukardan aşağıya doğru kilisenin merdivenleri vardı, oradan aşağıya doğru attık.
B: Dışarda mıydı merdivenleri, yoksa içinde?
A: İçinde. Öyle yaktık işte. Yani aslında.
B: Kaç kişiydiniz, çok muydunuz?
A: Yok, 7-8 kişi falan. Öyle - çocuk yani – biz kaç yaşındaydık, öyle, 12, 13, 14. O yaşlardaydık.
B: Birisi mi gelip derdi size yani bugün kiliseyi yakacağız diye. Nasıl gelişirdi?
A: Yani bu kiliseyi yakalım, korkup kaçsınlar buradan – korkup Türk mahallelerinden kaçsınlar diye yaptık bunu. Yoksa ille de kilise şey değil.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about how he was involved in the burning of the Ayios Loukas Church as a child, as a group of 7-8, on a couple of occasions and that he remembers doing this so that the Greek Cypriots would leave their neighborhood.

Subjects:

Ayios Loukas Church; civil strife--burning; childhood & youth--militantism; childhood & youth--memories; militant struggles--activities--youth; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; mid to late 1950s

Keywords:

gasoline; children; anger; pillow;

Questions to Ask (12):

The interviewee recounts that they were part of the efforts to force the Greek Cypriots out of Ayios Loukas. Why do you think the church was chosen as a place to vandalize? Are there any places which are equally meaningful for you and your community? Which places are these? Explain why? How would you feel if someone vandalized and damaged these places? Why would you feel the way you do? What makes certain places very special for you and/or your community? What is your most special place now? Explain why?

13. The Ayios Loukas Fairs were a lot of fun and we attended each other's religious places

Interview with A. A., October 19th 2017, excerpt (11:41-14:57)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60540#segment701>

B: Belki birazcık bana çocukluğunuzdan başlayarak anlatabilirsiniz yani, eh ne gibi hikayeler vardı bu sokaklarda, Rumlarla var mı hatıralarınız, ne gibi hatıralar aklınızda kaldı, belki bir çocukluğunuzdan başlayıp ...

A: <i>Tabi var. Şimdi çocukluk hatıralarından en önemlisi her türlü oyunu birlikte oynardık. En büyük zevkimiz panayırlarda olurdu. Mesela, eh meşhurdu Ayluga panayırları işte sucuk köfter falan olurdu, orada hırsızlık yapmak en büyük zevkimizdi, aletimiz da toplu iğnesine veya dikiş iğnesine bağlı bir iplikti. Birimiz konuşurken öbürümüz sucuğa iğneyi saplar şey bittikten sonra adam başka tarafa bakarken diğerimiz sucuğu çekerdi, öyle hırsızlık alemleri yapardık – bu üzüm sucuğu, köfter, yani bizim eğlencemizdi bunlar, o devirlerde çok eğlendirdik.</i>
B: <i>Rum çocuklarla beraber? Rumca konuşur muydunuz?</i>
A: <i>Küçükken evet - da şimdi unuttuk.</i>
B: <i>Rum çocuklarla nasıl anlaşırdınız?</i>
A: <i>Onlar Türkçe çat pat Türkçe biz çat pat Rumca. En önemli anı olarak anlatabileceğim kilise ve cami olayları vardı. Her pazar günü kiliseye giderdik hep beraber Rum Türk çocuklar – işte Rum çocuklar girer papazın elini öper, biz da sıraya girerdik, papaz bize elini vermezdi – derdi bize siz seyirciniz siz balkona sizin hocanız var – falan – önce elini öptürmezdi yani dinsel olarak bize hoşgörüyle yaklaşırdı – cuma günleri da hep beraber camiye giderdik Rum çocuklarla beraber – camideki hoca onları namaza müsaade etmezdi – siz derdi pazar günü gideceksiniz –</i>
B: <i>Eh onlar naparlardı, camiye girerlerdi?</i>
A: <i>Evet, girerlerdi, ama namaz kılmazlardı. Onlar seyredelerdi bizi. Bir yer bulur otururlardı. Kenarda, nasıl biz, kilisede bir yerde geçir irseydik vakit, onlar da camide geçirirlerdi.</i>
B: <i>Ama gelirlirdi camiye.</i>
A: <i>Gelirlerdi – arkadaşlık çünkü. Bu işte 50’li yıllar öncesi Kıbrıslıların yani Rumların Türkler arasındaki mesafeyi gösteren şeylerdi bunları – sonradan bu mesafe ayrıştı –</i>

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about the best entertainment being the Ayios Loukas Fairs where they used to entertain themselves stealing savory goods to eat. He talks about how they went to the church every Sunday with his Greek friends but that the priest would not let them kiss his hand and on Fridays they would go to the mosque altogether and in a similar way the "imam" would have his Greek Cypriot friends sit somewhere and wait.

Subjects:

Customs--fairs; social life--fairs; childhood & youth--memories; Ayios Loukas Church; 1950s; Walled Nicosia—Ayios Loukas

Keywords:

"Sucuk"; "köfte"; mosque; church; scar; “abiler”; tmt members; 1958; Yenicami

14. Some Turkish Cypriot children used to do naughty things at the Ayios Loukas Fair

Interview with A. Ö., March 30th 2018, excerpt (39:34-41:53)

Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60697#segment2513
A: <i>Bu panayır, bütün Rum, her semtten, gelir kilise idare eder bunu, kilisenin avlusunda, şimdiki o kilise durur orada yıkılmış duvarları şekilde.</i>
S: <i>Folklor şeyidir.</i>
A: <i>Tarihti orası. Bizim gençliğimizde en fazla eğlendiğimiz o panayırdıydı çünkü o kadar kalabalık var her şey gelir – sucuklar köfterler – ne yetişirse orada pazarlanır ve bizim yezidler, yapmadığı kalmazdı, yani Türk'ün, iğnelerle mısıralar – bir mısıra alır böyle, sarılı, sokar iğneyi, mısırayı bırakarak gider o tarafa – hiç – yavaş yavaş sucuk yerde sürünerek gelir. Mesela.</i>
B: <i>Çocuktunuz tabi o zaman, çocukluk bunlar, muziplik.</i>
A: <i>Ha bunlar fiili - bizim gördüğümüz ve yaşadığımız ve bizim tip insanların – en yezid- çünkü Yenicaminin da kuvvetli yezid insanları vardı.</i>
B: <i>Yezid dediğiniz?</i>
A: <i>Yezid dediğim, yaramaz – eski kelime – yani her türlü, yani gözünün rengini çalacak tipte- baktığında kendine bir türlü konuşmasıyla hareketiyle seni çelmeye çalışır - öyle yapar öyle yapar ve hiç unutmam – tabii bunların özel kişileri bunlar – yani bunlar her insan değildi – o tip, böyle ve ...</i>
B: <i>Siz yapar mıydınız?</i>
S: <i>Yok.</i>
A: <i>Ve bunları gördüğünde Rum koşturarak – bırakarak ipi koşar kaçardı – gene tutulmazdı - hiç de bir tanesinin tutulduğunu görmedim. Yani bu şekil. Yani demek istediğim Türk Rum'a, Rum Türk'e elinden geldiği kadar bazı densizlikler yapar – fakat bu ordaydı, aileye intikal etmezdi – büyümeydi, devam etti.</i>

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee recounts how some kids, the naughty ones, he says, used to steal food at the fairs by sticking a needle with a thread on it onto one of the savories and then pulling that thread, with the savori dragging on the floor. He recounts that such “naughty” incidents between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot children would take place but families would never get involved.

Subjects:

customs--fairs; childhood & youth--memories; Ayios Loukas Church; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1940s; 1950s; social life—fairs;

Keywords:

"yezid"; "yaramaz"; string; needle; stealing; food

15. At the Ayios Loukas Fairs, I remember the date collector's wife who was dressed like a circus player
Interview with S.Ö., March 30 th 2018, excerpt (02:27-06:01)
Segment of Interview in OHMS
https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60693#segment147

S: Ayluga panayırları çok meşhurdu. Bütün Rumlar köylerden kentlerden Rum tarafından gelirlerdi. Papazlar ayin yapar kapısında bahçesinde panayır kurulur – sucuklar cevizler susamlı bittalar hurmalar – ki hurmacılar Türk'tü. Hurmacı öldükten sonra oğlu üstlendi bu işi, tam da o zamanlar demek ki hurmaların hasat zamanıydı, panayırın kurulduğu zaman – ne zaman olur, bilmem. Hurmaların piştiği zaman. Bunların bir da anneleri vardı böyle, çok süslenmiş ama bir şey gibi – bir sirk oyuncusu gibi süslenen bir hanımdı, hurmacının karısı derlerdi – mesela krepon kağıtlarından allık yapar yüzüne sürerdi, ıslatır (ıslatır) ruj diye dudaklarına sürerdi, gözlerine kömür gibi rimel çeker boyardı – saçına böyle kağıt, krepon kağıtlarından, kurdeleler takardı ve oğlunun hurma sattığı arabanın yanında arzi endam otururdu. Kapıdan girdiğimizde panayıra önce onu görürdüm. Ona bakardım hep sonra içeride çok zengin nedir o banklar kurulurdu. Üzümler sucuklar, papazlar ayin yapardı kapısında. Ayin bitince bütün Rumlar sıraya girer papazın elini öper ikon resimlerini öper papazın salladığı tütsüden tütsülenirler ve bir kurabiye alırlardı. Biz de çocuklar kaçamak yapıp bazen gittiğimizde, arkadaşlara uyar giderdim, anne babadan ayrı, çok merak ederdim nedir bunların dini inançları, içeri girerdim bakardım, böyle iğrenirdim. Böyle bir Rum kızı gibi yaklaştım böyle tütsüden tütünürdüm ondan sonra papazın yanına gelince ikona hiç değmeden yaklaştım ve papazın önüne geldiğimde ne yapar yapar bir kurabiye alır kaçardım.

B: Papazın elini öpmezsiniz?

S: Hayır. İğrenirdim. Herkesin öptüğü resmi, papazın elini öpmezdim. Yani bu benim gözümün önünde bir pano gibi kaldı. Evet.

B: Yani onlar kimin Rum kimin Türk çocuğu olduğunu bilemez.

S: Yok, hep karışık.

B: Bir tek Rumlar giderdi tabi Papaza?

S: Yok, hep Türkler Rumlar hepimiz. Tabi giderler ama papaza yaklaşmazlardı pek. Belki sıraya girip bir kurabiye alırlardı ama alışveriş yeme içme eğlence – Türkler bazı açık gözlükler da yaparlardı mesela – eşim daha iyi bilir onu. İğnenin ucuna bir iplik takıp saplarılarmış susamlı bittalara ve uzaklaşırlarmış ve düşerler yerden yavaş yavaş sürüklenir gelir ve bu şekilde.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about the Ayios Loukas fairs and the details she remembers from it. She remembers in particular the person who collected dates, called "hurmacı," and his mother who reminded her of a circus player. She recounts her memories of walking into the church and walking all the way up to the priest - to get a cookie offering - but not kissing the icon or the priest's hand - because everybody else was kissing it.

Subjects:

work life--date collecting--"hurmacı"; customs--fairs; Ayios Loukas Church; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1950s; childhood & youth--memories; social life--fairs

Keywords:

dates; "hurmacı"; make-up; costume; banks; grapes; prayer; priest; cookies; icons; needle

Questions to Ask (15):

The interviewee is so impressed with the look of the date collector's wife that she remembers her very clearly to this date. Has anyone impressed you this much with their looks? Why do you think you were impressed? Do you think looks are important? Why/why not? Have you been surprised by the mismatch between the look of someone and the personality of that person/? Do you like the Ayios Loukas Church? What do you like/not like about it? How do you think it could be improved? Would you be willing to help in its improvement?

16. My father, the priest of Ayios Loukas, went back after 1974 to get the icons

Interview with K. P., May 29th 2018, excerpt (23:42-26:01)

Segment of Interview in OHMS

<https://ohms.uky.edu/preview/?id=60658#segment1422>

K: My father, when he was blind completely, he asked from the United Nations to go and get the Saint.

B: The icons

K: And he brought it there. There was a church (Ayios Spherinos) And I told him don't go, don't go. No, he says, I want to go. But you don't see, how can you go? He says somebody will accompany me, "are you coming with me?" I said "no! I'm not going with you." He says "Okay, I find somebody else with the United Nations." He went there and found the icon and he brought them here and from here there is an Ayios Loukas – refugee camp – new Ayios Loukas and he brought it back – and he told me it became a dancing hall.

B: A dancing hall?

S: The church, called cultural center.

B: Has-Der, Halk Sanatlari Dernegi, folk dancing association. So, it's like an association, I haven't seen anything there, I think they use it as a storage, I was told.

K: You know when you go back and you remember what a nice time - there was a fair in Ayios Loukas 18th of October - too many people together, dancing, singing. And I see one by one is dead, one by one is dead. I left behind.

B: That's why I'm trying to find people and get their stories.

S: My mother was living there, 3 years, in Ayios Loukas. She's 92 now.

K: My mother died 82 or something - not long ago - and my father died very early but you know.

Segment Synopsis:

The interviewee talks about her father, the priest of Ayios Loukas, going back after the 1974 war, accompanied by the UN, to get the icons from the Ayios Loukas Church, which were put in another church in South Cyprus in a neighborhood called New Ayios Loukas. She recounts how nice the yearly fairs held in the church were.

Subjects:

Ayios Loukas Church; customs--fairs; social life--fairs; New Ayios Loukas; Walled Nicosia--Ayios Loukas; 1940s; 1950s

Keywords:

icon; refugee camp; new ayios loukas; united nations; Has-Der

Questions to Ask (16):

Are there still icons in the Ayios Loukas Church? Do you know what they mean? Are they being taken care of? Are they displayed properly? Would Greek Orthodox Cypriots be able to pray if they visited the church? Do you think they would be happy with how the church is being used?

My proposal *The CHHP of Cyprus* has an all-encompassing view of the worthiness of our various heritages, natural and cultural but adheres, in so far as cultural heritage is concerned, to the paradigm of the human being as a “creative as well as retentive steward,” put forth by Lowenthal, who states that “things are in perpetual flux” and the “time-honored goals of eternity, stability, and permanence” are increasingly being “discarded as unreachable.” According to Lowenthal, the physical as well as perceptual aspects of this flux include “chemical decomposition, physical disintegration, shifting environment ambience, perceptual awareness and symbolic import” which he claims “ceaselessly alter all heritage.”⁷²⁶ He states that “cultural heritage involves replacement as well as retention” and destruction is both “deeply embedded in human nature” as well as part of “economic and creative life.”⁷²⁷ Further, he emphasizes that change is integral to heritage such that what is handed down to us by our ancestors includes their “alterations and additions” and what we will hand down to the next generation will also be “reshaped” by us. He concludes that only in becoming “creative as well as retentive stewards”⁷²⁸ can we “inculcate” a

⁷²⁶ David Lowenthal, *Stewarding the Past in a Perplexing Present*, report, Values and Heritage Conservation, Getty Conservation Institute (2000), 20.

⁷²⁷ Ibid., 21.

⁷²⁸ Ibid., 22.

“regard for the future” which we do through an “active concern for legacies we do not simply save but refashion.”⁷²⁹ I view the refashioning of the Ayios Loukas Church into a peace education center for the neighborhood of Ayios Loukas as an action which is based on a deep understanding of the past, and respectful of this past while also having a deep understanding of the needs of the present.

Lowenthal imagines people becoming endowed with “prudent confidence,” becoming in this way capable of making decisions so they become “at once innovators and stewards,”⁷³⁰ deciding on the appropriate preservation needs at any given point in time. Based on Graham and Howard’s assertion that heritages are “less about the tangible material artefacts or other intangible forms of the past” and more about “the meanings placed upon them and the representations which are created from them,”⁷³¹ I imagine that the fate of the other small landmarks of Ayios Loukas to be evaluated by the current residents of the neighborhood and their fate decided accordingly as they become familiar with the significances associated with these places through the *CHHP of Cyprus*. As such, the museology of peacebuilding also becomes a *tool* for placemaking and urban planning, equipping the islanders with the necessary background information that they need in order to act with the kind of “prudent confidence” espoused by Lowenthal, thus empowering them to also become designers of their own communities.

⁷²⁹ Ibid., 23.

⁷³⁰ Ibid., 24.

⁷³¹ Brian Graham and Peter Howard, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 2.

Related Approaches to Understanding People, Places & Events

Based on the context of Cyprus, the local, place and people-based methodology appears to be the most effective and appropriate methodology for making new histories and heritages on the island. These have the power to dismantle the authorized heritage discourses of the North and South. Moreover, looking at the troubled past of the island through the window of “histories” and “heritages” avoids any essentialism that could result from a position which foregrounds the cultures of each community as *distinct* entities. The micro-scale approach I take in my dissertation privileges incidents and sentiments that relate to the more private spaces of the islanders, their particular households, streets and neighborhoods, which exhibit significant variety from one to the next and reveals the more intimate relationships amongst various sub-groups.

In his attempt to understand the nature of sub-cultures within nations, namely the nation of Greece, anthropologist Michael Herzfeld conducted a detailed inquiry on the island of Crete. Based on his observations, he argues that sub-cultures seemingly oppositional to national ideology are in fact part of a complex relational mechanism where various cultural exchanges and transactions take place resulting in the very propagation of these state ideologies. He explains that such relational mechanisms can also be observed within other kinds of seemingly opposing communities such as the colonized and the colonizer where there are in place “obscure complex processes of creative cooptation in economic, political and administrative practices.”⁷³² I have observed, during my field studies in Cyprus, similar relational mechanisms amongst

⁷³² Michael Herzfeld, *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-state* (London: Routledge, 2014), 2-3.

Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities, their “motherlands,” the former British Colonial Government as well as different factions within each particular ethnic community. Although I have not probed deeper into the nature of these relational mechanisms, my preliminary observation suggests that Herzfeld’s relational approach to understanding various sub-cultures can be useful in terms of better understanding the various sub-communities in Cyprus as a complex whole instead of distinct entities. Such a holistic understanding would provide invaluable material for the museology of peacebuilding which, at its core, strives to understand *and* bridge the distance between the island communities.

Herzfeld argues that the analogy made by the state between nations and families is effective because people intuit from this analogy that similar to how families are flawed yet loved, nations too should be loved *despite* their flaws. He argues that for this reason people are often prompted to “rally” to the defense of their particular nation.⁷³³ In the context of the island of Crete, Herzfeld makes use of a conceptual construct he calls “cultural intimacy” to describe the intimate relations within and amongst sub-cultures which in turn help explain the relational mechanisms which perpetuate national ideology although seeming to oppose it on the surface. He states that the seemingly contradictory (to state ideology) actions of these sub-cultures take place in a kind of “compromising but warmly familiar intimacy”⁷³⁴ akin to the family environment. This intimate environment in which such actions take place simultaneously validates the distinctiveness of these sub-cultures while also solidifying and supporting national ideology through a process where people accept

⁷³³ Ibid., 18

⁷³⁴ Ibid., 18

their own “perceived social flaws” but also give “persuasive explanations” for why their actions diverge from national ideology.⁷³⁵ As an illustration of what he means Herzfeld cites Kligman’s (1989) studies in Romania where people are observed to adhere to older practices associated with Catholicism within the “intimate spaces” of their everyday lives despite their surface allegiance to formal Orthodoxy.⁷³⁶ He notes how, in this way, the secrets of the house are protected from “the glare of the public space by householders who are busily probing the defenses of their neighbors.”⁷³⁷

Herzfeld argues that the focus on cultural intimacy enables a deeper and more accurate understanding of a place and its people by working against “the static, elitist and conflationary reading” of the nation state.⁷³⁸ He states that an understanding of cultural intimacy is an “antidote to the formalism of cultural nationalism” and enables the anthropologist to express “in more directly political terms” the dynamic that exists between official self-presentation and “what goes on in the privacy of collective introspection.”⁷³⁹ It is this intimate space, or in Herzfeld’s term, the space of cultural intimacy, which I propose to unravel through the museology of peacebuilding. In Herzfeld’s terms, I propose to unravel “the tangle of multiple pasts”⁷⁴⁰ on the island of Cyprus, one utterance at a time, and I suggest that the local,

⁷³⁵ Ibid., 9.

⁷³⁶ Ibid., 18

⁷³⁷ Ibid., 172.

⁷³⁸ Ibid., 11.

⁷³⁹ Ibid., 14.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid., 12.

place and people based methodology is the most appropriate methodology towards this end. Significant to note is that the overall picture which Herzfeld paints is not exclusive of human agency. He explicitly states that “sensitive actors can negotiate the tensions of social identity and daily life within the turbulent context of the modern nation-state” and adopt a stance of being both “fiercely patriotic” and “fiercely rebellious at one and the same time.” He terms this stance an “epistemological militant middle ground” entailing the recognition of “agency” instead of “regress or reification.”⁷⁴¹ This somewhat optimistic outlook with regard to “human agency” for change is promising for the museology of peacebuilding as delineated in this dissertation.

While Herzfeld proposes a unique way to understand the mosaic of cultures that inhabit a given place, another ethnographer and cultural anthropologist, Clifford Geertz, proposes a theory of knowledge for understanding these cultures which is equally applicable to my dissertation. In his book *The Interpretation of Cultures* published in 1973 Geertz indicates a distrust towards analysis, abstraction and reduction as methods of arriving at knowledge. He gives the example of the act of playing a violin, explaining how it cannot be reduced to its parts of habits, skills, knowledge, mood of playing, or the violin,⁷⁴² stating that it needs to be grasped and understood instead as the whole act of playing the violin. He asserts that “cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete and the more deeply it goes the less complete it gets.”⁷⁴³

⁷⁴¹ Ibid., 55.

⁷⁴² Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (Basic Books, 1973), 12.

⁷⁴³ Ibid., 29.

This understanding of the incomplete nature of knowledge is an understanding useful for the museology of peacebuilding, recognizing the fact that the knowledge created with the *CHHP of Cyprus* will continue to deepen as long as new information and interpretations arrive, as well as through recognition of the fact that the knowledge thus created will change in accordance with the shifts in perception that take place in the meantime. Geertz further reiterates the incomplete nature of knowledge creation by stating that a profound discovery in any field “does not explain everything, not even everything human, but it still explains something.”⁷⁴⁴ He admits that he has never “gotten to the bottom of anything he has ever written about” and that “it is not necessary to know everything in order to understand something.”⁷⁴⁵ The museology of peacebuilding is based on this understanding that it may not be possible, or even desirable, to arrive at a shared meta narrative of the histories and heritages of Cyprus that would be agreeable to all but it is possible to understand “deeply,” some of the complexity of the dispute through exposure to the local, place and people-based stories of the islanders.

Geertz recognizes, through the practice of ethnography, that a single artifact and/or event can reveal a great deal about a culture when examined in depth. He begins his formulation of the theory of culture from a description of man as “an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun” which leads to his description of culture as “a collection of these webs.”⁷⁴⁶ His methodology of arriving at a knowledge of culture is to focus on one particular web of culture

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., 4.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid., 20.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid., 5.

(symbols, rituals, events) at a time, examine it in detail, and derive from it whatever is directly suggested by it without forcing any uncalled for conclusions or abstractions. Hence, Geertz's starting point of inquiry is a significant event, ritual or practice which takes place in a particular culture, in a particular place and time.

This is very similar to the local, place and people-based methodology of creating histories and heritages I practice in the museology of peacebuilding where I propose that specific events taking place in specific places be investigated in as comprehensive and exhaustive a manner as possible. Building on Gilbert Ryle's conception of "thick description,"⁷⁴⁷ Geertz asserts that only a very thorough and detailed understanding of any event and/or ritual ensures that its meaning is properly understood, in this way avoiding confusions that could result from more superficial understandings where a "wink," for example, is likely to be confused with "the rehearsal of a fake wink."⁷⁴⁸ Nuances in gestures and language are necessarily part of cultures which is a sensitivity shared by the museology of peacebuilding and made apparent through the proposition to base the histories and heritages of Cyprus on the islanders' accounts of lived experiences. It is within these voices that such specific nuances of culture are embodied; what Freire refers to as "the idiom and structure of language" of a people.

Geertz claims that a theory of culture will grow gradually out of many such "thick descriptions;" not as "a rising curve of cumulative findings" but instead in the form of the growth of knowledge that becomes more "incisive" over time due to insight

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid., 6.

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid., 9.

provided by previous ethnographers.⁷⁴⁹ I envision that the *CHHP of Cyprus* will evolve in a similar fashion as each generation of peace educators and students create deeper histories and heritages of the island as they are handed down the insights of previous investigators. While Geertz's objective is to arrive at a deep understanding of culture at a particular place during a particular time period, the museology of peacebuilding's objective is to arrive at a deep understanding of lived experience at a particular place during a particular troubled time period. Both methodologies acknowledge the significance of nuances within a culture and investigate what is specific as opposed to what is general, which is very similar to the micro-approach suggested by Herzfeld. Geertz's methodology of "thick description" and the museology of peacebuilding's local, place and people-based methodology are very similar to one another: even though the former is based on the work of an ethnographer while the latter is based on the collaborative work of the islanders, and the former is based on the unit of "culture" while the latter is based on the unit of "lived experience." Hence, Geertz's theory is another overriding theory that could constitute a guide in the further development of the museology of peacebuilding.

The two curated stories compiled out of the islanders' accounts and illustrated in this chapter, best exemplify the specific yet multifaceted nature of the histories and heritages that begin to emerge out of the practice of the museology of peacebuilding employing the local, place and people-based methodology and encompassing the "lived experiences" of the islanders. It is expected that these histories and heritages will deepen the understanding of the contestation and disagreement amongst the

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid., 25.

estranged communities on the island, initiating in this way a new episode of conversation and communication between them.





CONCLUSION

The Museology of Peacebuilding in Cyprus & Beyond

CONCLUSION

THE MUSEOLOGY OF PEACEBUILDING IN CYPRUS & BEYOND

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A “New” Hybrid Domain of Practice

In my PhD thesis, I propose a new discipline and practice: the museology of peacebuilding. My dissertation is the first study in which a “specific” type of museology, the objective of which is peacebuilding, has been delineated. As such, the museology of peacebuilding stands apart from previous approaches to museology although it selectively borrows from and builds upon diverse theories, disciplines and practices and integrates these in a meaningful way. My dissertation posits the museology of peacebuilding as a multi and cross-disciplinary, collaborative, bottom-up endeavor, the practice of which is facilitated by recent advances in digital technologies.

Museology has evolved within the past century into a flexible discipline and practice. Accordingly, museums which are the practical manifestation of museology, have taken many different forms. They have been compared to department stores and libraries.⁷⁵⁰ They have been regarded as institutions for education and entertainment, for adults and children; they operate as businesses and non-profits, are oriented as elite as well as grass-roots institutions. Congruent with this flexibility, museums have meant different things to different people, including visitors, curators,

⁷⁵⁰ Gurian, Elaine Heumann. *Civilizing the Museum: The Collected Writings of Elaine Heumann Gurian*. London: Routledge, 2006.

exhibition designers, museum educators, directors, funders and activists. While museologists argued for the role of museums as agents of social change in the 1970s, in the 21st century, they are also promoting these institutions for their role as agents of justice.

Bernadette Lynch argues that museums have traditionally avoided conflict “in the name of peace and impartiality.”⁷⁵¹ Towards this end, they have exhibited images of conflict and suffering while avoiding “anger as a legitimate response to injustice.”⁷⁵² She notes that this is worse than doing nothing because the insufficient and insincere way in which peacebuilding is addressed, hiding such occurrences as discrimination, non-recognition and violence, turns people into “dependent victims” and “blunt(s) political resistance.”⁷⁵³ Lynch posits that museums need to embrace “risk, uncertainty and conflict” if they are to remain socially relevant.⁷⁵⁴ Diana Walters is another author who argues that museums fear that their image as “neutral and trustworthy authorities on truth” will be compromised if they get involved in peacebuilding work which in turn prevents them from addressing and taking positions on “particularly contentious subjects.” She puts forth that such avoidance makes these museums “bystanders” to peacebuilding⁷⁵⁵ and they should instead become, what she terms, “agitators” for peacebuilding.⁷⁵⁶ James Clifford, whom I

⁷⁵¹ Bernadette Lynch, "Chapter 10 Disturbing the Peace: Museums, Democracy and Conflict Avoidance," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 122.

⁷⁵² Ibid., 111.

⁷⁵³ Ibid., 121.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid., 112.

⁷⁵⁵ Diana Walters, "Chapter 4 Can Museums Build Peace? The Role of Museums in Peacebuilding and Internationalism," in *Heritage and Peacebuilding* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017).

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., 46.

mentioned in the Introduction to my dissertation, argues similarly that museums need to act as “contact zones” between estranged communities helping them to begin communicating with each other and better understanding their differences.⁷⁵⁷

The museology of peacebuilding which I proposed in my dissertation shares the activist stance of the above authors and describes both the nature of this “agitation” and the processes through which dialogue amongst the estranged and geographically separated communities of Cyprus can be achieved. Based on my investigation, I describe the museology of peacebuilding as: *the discipline and practice of an empowering pedagogy that uses museological strategies to re-establish the individual’s perception and relationship to reality to improve relations amongst estranged communities.*

As I indicated in my Introduction, I employ the “design-thinking” methodology throughout the dissertation. I also view the inquiry as scholarly and a problem to be solved. Towards this end, in Part I of my dissertation, I establish the building blocks of the museology of peacebuilding by indicating how it relates to theories, concepts and insights within the disciplines of peacebuilding, museology, heritage, and education. I conceptualize the museology of peacebuilding as an extension of the new museology movement, guided by Freire’s theory of a liberating education and the social psychological peacebuilding paradigm. I examine the context of Cyprus and establish that the authorized heritage discourses on both sides across the geographical divide are major obstacles to peacebuilding. I establish that the diversification of these narratives needs to be the major objective of the museology

⁷⁵⁷ James Clifford, “Museums as Contact Zones,” in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA,: Harvard Univ. Press, 1999).

of peacebuilding. I determine that the embedded, local, place and people-based methodology is the most effective approach to creating new histories and heritages on the island that will dilute these dominant meta-narratives.

Subsequently, in Part II of my dissertation, I establish the building blocks of the *practice* of the museology of peacebuilding. *The Collaborative Histories and Heritages Platform of Cyprus, the CHHP of Cyprus*, is my design response to the museology of peacebuilding in Cyprus. It is a practical manifestation of the museology of peacebuilding, an intentional practice the major objective of which is to facilitate reconciliation amongst the estranged communities on the island. The *CHHP of Cyprus* is conceptualized, from the start, as a collaborative endeavor which brings together the older generation with the younger generation, former residents with current residents and various estranged communities with each other around a renewed interest in the shared histories and heritages of Cyprus. The *CHHP of Cyprus* is a museological intervention and it is also an educational, social and psychological one. Congruent with the description of what is within the scope of museology, the *CHHP of Cyprus* involves “sensory display” and “creates a separate space for display and communication.”⁷⁵⁸ This sensory display is in the form of “orality” composed of the islanders’ voices as they recount their experiences and memories in particular localities on the island. As for the spaces of “display” and “communication,” they exist within the virtual platform of the *CHHP of Cyprus* as well as the physical neighborhoods where the voices of the islanders are embedded.

⁷⁵⁸ André Desvallées and François Mairesse, *Key Concepts of Museology* (Kopie: Armand Colin, 2010).

In my dissertation, I focus as much on the question of “how” the museology of peacebuilding is to be practiced as I do on the question of “what” it is. Asking the question of “how” involves an approach that is necessarily “flexible even nimble” because it “privileges design, experimentation, risk-taking and creative problem-solving.”⁷⁵⁹ I also use design “as an *intellectual* method to pose and frame questions about knowledge,”⁷⁶⁰ an emerging mode of scholarship which is claimed to be “the preferred” mode of scholarship within the digital humanities where “theory has no traction” without practice and “practice has no critical purchase” without theory.⁷⁶¹ In other words, in this mode of scholarship, design and theory develop simultaneously and are informed by one another. Additionally, given the multi and cross-disciplinary nature of the work, in this mode of scholarship, individual work is replaced by “communities of scholars” who are organized, not according to disciplinary lines of work, but “according to domains of practice.” In the museology of peacebuilding, design becomes “the new foundation for the conceptualization and production of knowledge.”⁷⁶²

I view the future discipline and practice of the museology of peacebuilding to progress along these lines; where boundaries between disciplines as well as those between theory and practice blur in the work of the emerging “communities of scholars” within the “hybrid domain of practice” I call the museology of peacebuilding. I also foresee that the *CHHP of Cyprus*, which is the practical

⁷⁵⁹ Anne Burdick et al., *Digital-humanities* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016), 57.

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid., 13.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid., 119.

⁷⁶² Ibid., 116-117.

manifestation of the museology of peacebuilding, will act as the foundation for further theorization about the production of knowledge.

The Museology of Peacebuilding as Curation

In curating the museology of peacebuilding out of the existing body of knowledge, I selectively tapped into insights and findings from various disciplines as I highlighted throughout my dissertation. In this concluding section, I summarize the relationship that the museology of peacebuilding has to former developments in the field of museology. Congruent with the activist stance of the museology of peacebuilding, the notion that museums ought to be “public” institutions has been the starting point of my PhD dissertation. Lisa Roberts compares museums to public gathering places such as ritualistic spaces, festivals and even theme parks, and reasons that “all traditional spaces for gathering have disappeared,”⁷⁶³ and it is necessary to think of museums as fulfilling this need for new public places.⁷⁶⁴

The museology of peacebuilding, as I envisioned it, is additionally tasked with the objective of bringing together as many people as possible. In this regard, the notion of the open-air museum constitutes a significant precedent for the museology of peacebuilding. The outdoor aspect and informal nature of exploration which is a characteristic of the open-air museum model is well-suited to the mild climate of Cyprus and the informal lifestyle of its residents. The notion of “popular” education practiced in some of these open-air museums, the content of which covers aspects of daily life in the past, is also a precedent in terms of creating relevance for people.

⁷⁶³ Lisa C. Roberts and Lisa C. Roberts, *From Knowledge to Narrative: Educators and the Changing Museum* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 148.

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid., 150.

Despite these major similarities, however, the museology of peacebuilding is also different from the open-air museum in significant ways. To begin with, instead of a separate place, site or building which makes up the “museum,” the museology of peacebuilding envisions the entire island of Cyprus as an open-air museum with an understanding that the museum is brought *into* the daily lived environments and experiences of people. To this end, instead of selected artifacts from the past that are exhibited in the museum, the museology of peacebuilding uses digital technologies and embeds these and the contents of its collection within the daily lived environments of people. Consequently, the museology of peacebuilding becomes a “public” undertaking par excellence; both in its spatial aspects as well as its collections by merging the “form” of the museology into the daily public spaces of the islanders and compiling a collection that consists of the eye-witness accounts of the islanders themselves, the people of Cyprus.

The museology of peacebuilding also borrows from the model of regional museums such as heimat museums and ecomuseums in its focus on “the small,” “the particular,” and “the local.” The major difference between the museology of peacebuilding and these regional museums concerns the extent and objective of this focus, both of which are more specific in the museology of peacebuilding. Regional museums focus on the general histories and heritages of a given locality while the museology of peacebuilding focuses on the *recent* histories and heritages of a given place that are recountable through living memory because it views these as capable of contributing to the objective of peacebuilding. Regional museums set out to achieve a better understanding of a given particular place based on the smaller size/scale of inquiry, while the museology of peacebuilding sets out to achieve the

same kind of deep understanding of the “local” but does this primarily as the *means* for better understanding the “global,” in this case the dispute between the two communities on the island of Cyprus. In other words, while the museology of peacebuilding shares with regional museums the understanding that only a focus on the small, particular and local can lead to deep understanding, it views this understanding as the *only* means of dismantling the authorized heritage discourses of the North and South of Cyprus, as highlighted in Chapter 2 of this dissertation and hence the *starting point* of achieving the much larger overriding objective of peacebuilding. For the museology of peacebuilding, the local is not an end in itself but the means towards the larger end of peacebuilding.

Neighborhood museums constitute yet another model which the museology of peacebuilding borrows from. This museum model most faithfully adopted the notion of “relevance” which was a key attribute of the new museology movement of the 1970s highlighted in Part I, Chapter 3 of this dissertation. Inspired from the neighborhood museum model and aspiring to serve the needs of particular neighborhoods, the museology of peacebuilding is conceptualized as not only located within particular neighborhoods but as embedding content *about* these neighborhoods within its lived spaces. In this way, the museology of peacebuilding establishes relevance both at the level of “place” as well as “people” by layering the recent past, as recounted by its former residents about the particular neighborhood, onto the present environment of *that* neighborhood. Additionally, it conceptualizes the peace education aspect of the museology of peacebuilding as a neighborhood-based practice shaped in accordance with the specific needs and interests of the residents of *that* particular neighborhood. In effect, the museology of peacebuilding

takes the idea of the neighborhood museum to a different level by augmenting it with additional layers of relevance and meaning from the recent past of the neighborhoods which it serves.

Finally, in so far as the education component of the museology of peacebuilding is concerned, it is informed by the vision of a museum as a resource that is available at all times for consultation and inquiry; a vision which carries the “public” nature of the museology of peacebuilding into its manifestation as a public place of learning.

In this respect, Elaine Gurian’s idea of the “essential” museum constitutes a significant reference. She describes the “essential” museum as a place of education endowed with an extensive catalogue of objects and information related to these objects. She imagines that similar to how one goes to a library or shopping mall, users could casually visit this museum and “pick and choose” what they want to investigate. Gurian also envisions that users would be able to upload their own learning experiences onto the digital platform of the museum, turning it into a kind of communication platform amongst learners.⁷⁶⁵ Gurian’s idea of the essential museum as a public place which provides content on a variety of topics of interest to choose from and a place where users can upload information and contribute to the ongoing making of new knowledge is very similar to the envisioned functioning of the *CHHP of Cyprus* as outlined in Part II of my dissertation. Moreover, the museology of peacebuilding carries Gurian’s notion of the “essential” museum one step further by incorporating the collaborative knowledge creation as an integral aspect of its structure. Knowledge is created through the compilation of the

⁷⁶⁵ Gurian, Elaine Heumann. *Civilizing the Museum: The Collected Writings of Elaine Heumann Gurian*. London: Routledge, 2006.

islanders' accounts concerning the recent past of the island of Cyprus which continues to be built upon through the sustained involvement and contribution of the islanders. As such, the "new" histories and heritages of Cyprus are continuously re-created by a collaborative endeavor of knowledge creation conceptualized as constituting the practice of the museology of peacebuilding. In effect, the new hybrid domain of practice which I term the museology of peacebuilding *also* becomes a tool where "diffuse systems of knowledge creation" are made possible.⁷⁶⁶

Overall, I liken the process through which I delineated the museology of peacebuilding to a kind of curation where a meaningful whole is created out of compiled parts. In the publication *Digital Humanities* (2012), it is argued that during earlier time periods when data was scarce "bits of information were valuable a priori" but during the present digital age where there is a proliferation of information, "data from the past can no longer be assumed to possess a priori value." It is noted that while "knowledge is necessary for the production of new knowledge," it no longer "constitutes its substance."⁷⁶⁷ What will create value in newly produced knowledge is not "the mere existence of vast quantities of data, artifacts, or products," but the process through which this information is curated. This is termed "enhanced critical curation" and described as the scholarly practice of "filtering, organizing, crafting, and, ultimately, caring for a story composed out of (even rescued from) the infinite array of potential tales, relics, and voices."⁷⁶⁸ This kind of curation which I employed while delineating the building blocks of the museology of

⁷⁶⁶ Anne Burdick et al., *Digital-humanities* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016), 34.

⁷⁶⁷ Ibid., 32-33.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid., 34.

peacebuilding will also become very significant in its practice. As data accumulates in the *CHHP of Cyprus* it will become necessary to find ways of enabling the islanders to effectively curate their own stories based on the content of the platform. As such, I envision the future practice of the museology of peacebuilding to be firmly situated within the new area of scholarly work described as the domain of “the digital humanities” where “enhanced critical curation” is of prime importance.

In this dissertation, I curated a “new” hybrid domain of practice, the museology of peacebuilding, to which other parts will undoubtedly be added which will further develop and enrich this new discipline. I have employed this process of curation as an aspect of the design thinking methodology, from the macro-scale of outlining the discipline and practice down to the micro-scale of cataloguing and indexing the interviews. My claim and expectation are that the whole thus created is larger than the sum of its parts.

Future Directions for the Museology of Peacebuilding

The embedded aspect of the museology of peacebuilding, manifested through the *CHHP of Cyprus* mobile application imbues the landscapes of Cyprus with the voices of the islanders recounting their past lives associated with these landscapes. Whether these places are streets, neighborhoods or individual buildings, they acquire additional meanings composed of the islanders’ significant memories and eye-witness accounts associated with them. A kind of biography of these places thus emerges, including the many significances associated with them *across* the geographical divide and communities of Cyprus. The museology of peacebuilding becomes, as such, a practice of place-making. Nevertheless, this place-making is not

just any kind of place-making. It is place-making, the objective of which is to alter our perception of these places such that they acquire the complex sentiments of those who inhabited them during the troubled decades on the island; sentiments of regret, love, hate, fear, friendship, brotherhood, neighborliness, anxiety, safety, freedom and more, as revealed through their accounts and illustrated in Chapters 5 and 6 of the dissertation.

Schulz wrote extensively on the meaning of places and notes how, in common language, we often say that acts and occurrences “take place,” which he posits is proof that it is “meaningless to imagine any happening without reference to a locality.” He makes a distinction between space and place describing the former as “abstract geometry alone”⁷⁶⁹ and the latter as “the dense coil of memory, artifact, and experience that exists in a particular space.”⁷⁷⁰ Based on Schulz’s understanding of place, the practice of the museology of peacebuilding adds additional layers of meaning to this dense coil. Based also on Schulz’s claim that we identify with places to the extent that they have meaning for us,⁷⁷¹ the museology of peacebuilding facilitates the processes through which islanders can begin to identify themselves with particular environments. Given that the museology of peacebuilding proposes to layer places with meanings from the recent past of the island, it additionally functions as a tool for linking the present to the recent troubled past of the island.

⁷⁶⁹ Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Architecture: Meaning and Place: Selected Essays* (New York, NY: Rizzoli International Publications, 1988), 5.

⁷⁷⁰ David J. Bodenhamer, *Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of Humanities Scholarship* (2010), vii.

⁷⁷¹ Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Architecture: Meaning and Place: Selected Essays* (New York, NY: Rizzoli International Publications, 1988), 5.

Looked at through another perspective, the museology of peacebuilding also enriches the “haptic” experience of places. For Juhani Pallasmaa, “hapticity” is the central aspect through which we experience places. He even describes vision as a haptic experience stating how “a delicately colored polished stone surface is subliminally sensed by the tongue.”⁷⁷² This tactile or haptic experience is described as what we experience when listening to music where we subconsciously transform the sounds of the music into bodily sensations. He claims that the same “mimesis” takes place in our experience of space where we “unconsciously mimic its configuration with our bones and muscles.”⁷⁷³ Pallasmaa claims that we experience places through what he terms “peripheral vision,”⁷⁷⁴ a form of seeing and sensing those things which are behind us as well as in front of us, resulting in an experience of place which he describes as being “enveloped in the flesh of the world.”⁷⁷⁵ The layer of “orality” which this dissertation proposes to add to places through the embedded museology of peacebuilding enriches this “haptic” experience of place.

As such, through its functioning as a tool for place-making the practice of the museology of peacebuilding embedded within the streets of Cyprus becomes related to the field of the everyday⁷⁷⁶ and urban studies in which *the street* is “the

⁷⁷² Pallasmaa Juhani, *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses* (Chichester: Wiley, 2014), 59.

⁷⁷³ Ibid., 67.

⁷⁷⁴ Holl, Steven, Juhani Pallasmaa, and Alberto Pérez Gómez. *Questions of Perception: Phenomenology of Architecture*. San Francisco: William Stout, 2008. He notes that peripheral vision includes our five senses and more and is primarily a tactile, bodily experience.

⁷⁷⁵ Pallasmaa Juhani, *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses* (Chichester: Wiley, 2014), 10.

⁷⁷⁶ Michael Sheringham, *Everyday Life: Theories and Practices from Surrealism to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 4. Sheringham notes that the field of the everyday “draws on the body of thought put forth by seminal figures such as Henri Lefebvre (1901-91), Roland Barthes (1916-1980), Michel de Certeau (1925-1986) and Georges Perec (1936-1982) who interacting with each other as well as the Situationists, Edgar Morin, Jean-Luc Godard, Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault from the 1950s onwards,” ... “transformed a disparate set of often contradictory

quintessential space of the everyday.”⁷⁷⁷ I will briefly mention the nature of this relatedness, at the concept level only, as a means of illustrating the potential of the field of the everyday to contribute to the development of the museology of peacebuilding. Michel De Certeau, for example, views everyday activities as having the potential to affect change in urban life.⁷⁷⁸ The museology of peacebuilding is an intervention embedded within the daily lived environments of people and as such a part of the everyday activities mentioned by De Certeau. Another thinker, Lefebvre, asserts that neither architects nor sociologists can create social relations in cities on their own and the only means through which urban life can be improved is through social life itself, seen as “praxis.”⁷⁷⁹ In other words, according to Lefebvre, the practice of social relations is paramount to the improvement of urban life. The museology of peacebuilding is premised and designed around the central notion of improving social relations amongst estranged communities by creating conditions that inspire people to come together as well as work together. As such, the museology of peacebuilding shares Lefebvre’s notion that relations will improve through social life seen as “praxis” in the form of everyday practices.

As mentioned previously, the museology of peacebuilding is conceptualized as a digital intervention embedded within the public spaces of the island. As such, it is

intuitions into a relatively cohesive, if still far from homogenous body of theories and practices” that is referred to as the field of the everyday. Sherignham further states that these thinkers “drew on the earlier Works of Marx, Freud, Lukacs, Heidegger, Surrealism, Bataille, Leiris, Queneau and Benjamin.”

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid., 19.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., 387.

⁷⁷⁹ Henri Lefebvre, Eleonore Kofman, and Elizabeth Lebas, *Writings on Cities* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 151.

also related to the notion of smart cities described as “places where information technology is wielded to address problems old and new”⁷⁸⁰ and “social cities” which are said to embrace “the ideals of citizenship and connection.” The museology of peacebuilding uses digital technologies to address the personal interests of people and facilitate social encounters through shared interests and as such it is related to both smart cities and social cities, both of which are enabled through digital technologies.⁷⁸¹ Ratti notes that the city of today is fundamentally a different kind of space because the digital systems which dominate them “have a very real impact on how we experience, navigate and socialize” within them.⁷⁸² He points out that tools invented by humans have traditionally been “a modification of the physical self, extending such capacities as speed and strength” which essentially performed what the human body could not. He further notes that today’s tools, in the form of digital technologies, are no longer extensions of the “anatomy” of human beings but rather extensions of their “mind – of memory, identity and social function.”⁷⁸³ The museology of peacebuilding, which is conceptualized as an embedded and digital practice, is thus linked with all research concerning the various ways in which digital technologies affect our lives as social beings and how these technologies will influence the museology of peacebuilding in its capacity to function as a *tool* for peacebuilding.

⁷⁸⁰ Anthony M. Townsend, *Smart Cities: Big Data, Civic Hackers, and the Quest for a New Utopia* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014), xii.

⁷⁸¹ Martijn De. Waal, *The City as Interface: How New Media Are Changing the City* (Rotterdam: NAI010 Publishers, 2014), 11.

⁷⁸² Carlo Ratti, *The City of Tomorrow Sensors, Networks, Hackers, and the Future of Urban Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 21.

⁷⁸³ Ibid., 59.

While the museology of peacebuilding is related with the above areas of inquiry and therefore with potential to be informed by them in the future, the museology of peacebuilding as I envisioned it is also related to the notion of *the urban* as a distinct place which can facilitate processes of peacebuilding. Anita Björkdahl states that the city is “both globalized and localized;” that it is both “firmly placed in the national and global context” yet also a “distinct territorial unit with municipal boundaries and a specific local government.”⁷⁸⁴ She argues that the city encompasses every scale of intervention that is significant for peacebuilding and more importantly, that it is an “an authentic arena of everyday life” where peacebuilding can be practiced in a “contextualized” manner.⁷⁸⁵ She suggests that “without being based in concrete places peace is simply an abstraction.” Her argument that peacebuilding is most effectively addressed at the “local” and hence “tangible” level is very similar to the premises of this dissertation; an argument which proposes that peacebuilding be practiced at the scale of the city, in a practice which she calls “context-sensitive urban peacebuilding” which will lead to city dwellers owning the peace process equipped with a sense of “urban agency.”⁷⁸⁶ Given that the museology of peacebuilding is piloted within Walled Nicosia, Björkdahl’s idea of “urban peacebuilding” begins to suggest that the museology of peacebuilding be taken beyond its present scope as described in this dissertation and imagined as the starting point of a revised way of thinking about peacebuilding on the island of Cyprus.

⁷⁸⁴ Annika Björkdahl, "Urban Peacebuilding," *Peacebuilding* 1, no. 2 (2013): 213, doi:10.1080/21647259.2013.783254.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., 220.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid., 219.

Zones of Peace (ZOP) are manifestations of Björkdahl's notion of accomplishing peace in a defined and limited area smaller than the size of the nation-state. Hancock explains the concept of "sanctuary" as "a place or type of person which is held as inviolate and protected from harm," an ongoing theme in humanity, and suggests that the idea of ZOP is a "new sanctuary movement."⁷⁸⁷ This movement began in the Philippines and was inspired by a small village that was able to convince the leftist guerillas to withdraw from their village, in this way also preventing the military from occupying their village. The first actual zone of peace was created in Naga City in 1988 and was declared a Freedom and Neutrality Zone (ZOPFAN). Zones of peace took many different forms around the world towards the end of the 20th century as communities of peace, safe havens, truce corridors and days of tranquility.⁷⁸⁸

While zones of peace that are place-based have the basic characteristic that they "produce negative peace by removing the threat and use of violence," they have recently expanded their activities "into the realms of positive peace, seeking to create improved social relations, participatory governance and economic capacity" at the level of particular places.⁷⁸⁹ Hancock puts forth that zones of peace that are "grassroots-driven" are more successful because they do not limit themselves, as top-down initiatives do, to ameliorating violence but work instead on a variety of projects including "increased democratic representation, educational initiatives, economic initiatives and social and cultural activities."⁷⁹⁰ Such participatory

⁷⁸⁷ Landon E. Hancock, "Chapter 18 Zones of Peace," in *Routledge Handbook of Peacebuilding* (London: Routledge, 2015), 237.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid., 237.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., 239.

processes may sometimes slow the decision-making process but it does give the organization a “sense of individual agency.”⁷⁹¹ He argues that these grass-roots driven ZOP draw their strength from “internal cohesion” and suggests that they constitute a viable alternative to peacebuilding because they have the potential to give voice to the “oppressed, persecuted and forgotten” sections of society in regions of conflict⁷⁹² establishing links once again between peacebuilding and Freire’s theory of a liberating education.

Hancocks’s conceptualization of ZOP as manageable places within given boundaries enabling the practice of democracy and justice has close parallels with Björkdahl’s concept of urban peacebuilding, both of which suggest the study and execution of peacebuilding within the tangible and limited context of a city. Both thinkers emphasize the small, manageable and tangible as a starting point for the study and practice of peacebuilding, as I have also emphasized in my dissertation. The trajectories of these various lines of inquiries delineated above cross with those of the museology of peacebuilding and it is in those places of intersection that the potential for the further development of this “new” hybrid domain of practice lies.

Concluding Remarks

The museology of peacebuilding is a multi and cross-disciplinary domain of practice, the outlines of which I have delineated in this dissertation. As a “new” hybrid domain of practice there is ample opportunity for its further development through

⁷⁹¹ Ibid., 242. Citing a ZOP in Columbia, the Columbia Peace Community of San Jose de Apartado, Hancock mentions how the community even founded its own university in partnership with 15 local communities.

⁷⁹² Ibid., 247.

various other areas of inquiry with which it intersects. As a bottom-up collaborative endeavor, it has the potential to evolve into other forms of activism capable of leading to a proposition as bold as treating Walled Nicosia as a ZOP itself; jointly administered by Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The bounded nature of Walled Nicosia, its small size, rich and diverse histories and heterogenous demographic make-up make it a perfect laboratory for exploration, not only for the museology of peacebuilding, as I have outlined in my dissertation, but also for the larger goal of peacebuilding on the entire island.

As such, the museology of peacebuilding can constitute the drop which creates the ripple effect in the entire pond, seemingly starting small but with potential for impact beyond its original scope. If peacebuilding is to be taken as a serious endeavor within the context of Cyprus, why not pilot it within Walled Nicosia? Why not treat this small area as a place to pilot what co-existence might mean in a united Cyprus by privileging it as an independently and jointly administered area on the island? Why not imagine a way of life within Walled Nicosia that can constitute an example for the rest of the island? If change begins by first imagining what this change will look like, why not first imagine it and apply it within the confines of Walled Nicosia? Why not imagine a new community within Walled Nicosia, encouraged, empowered and equipped to become a model for the future communities of Cyprus? Why not first test what peace may look like within a small area before drafting and executing grand plans for the entire island? Why not use the case of Walled Nicosia as the place where the islanders begin to become acclimatized to peacebuilding?

I propose that the museology of peacebuilding constitutes a good starting point for such a journey as well as the means for testing the potential of the new domain of practice to contribute to peacebuilding. If proven successful, the methodologies and approaches suggested and illustrated in this dissertation can pave the way for similar ones to evolve in other regions of conflict where a series of specific “museologies of peacebuilding” emerge, each one particular to the context it addresses. Therefore, although I do not propose that the museology of peacebuilding delineated in this dissertation be applied, as it is, to other regions of conflict, I do suggest that its methodologies can be applied in delineating specific museologies of peacebuilding for particular regions of conflict in the world. The potential for the further development of the museology of peacebuilding is thus immense. Nevertheless, this inquiry needs to happen parallel to the *practice* of the museology of peacebuilding where assumptions are tested and adjusted based on outcomes.

My dissertation also suggests that other types of specific museologies are possible and would be useful, especially those that have particular objectives which they aspire to fulfill in particular locations. The future of museology may be a future made up of specific types of museologies, each one a particular “new” hybrid domain of practice, informed by myriad disciplines but guided by an overriding objective; specific in nature and as such capable of affecting “real” change in the world. Such a scenario would enable the practice of museology to become a more intentional endeavor and allow it to realize, in a more systematic way and on a grander scale, the kind of social relevance it has been longing for since the beginning of the 20th century.

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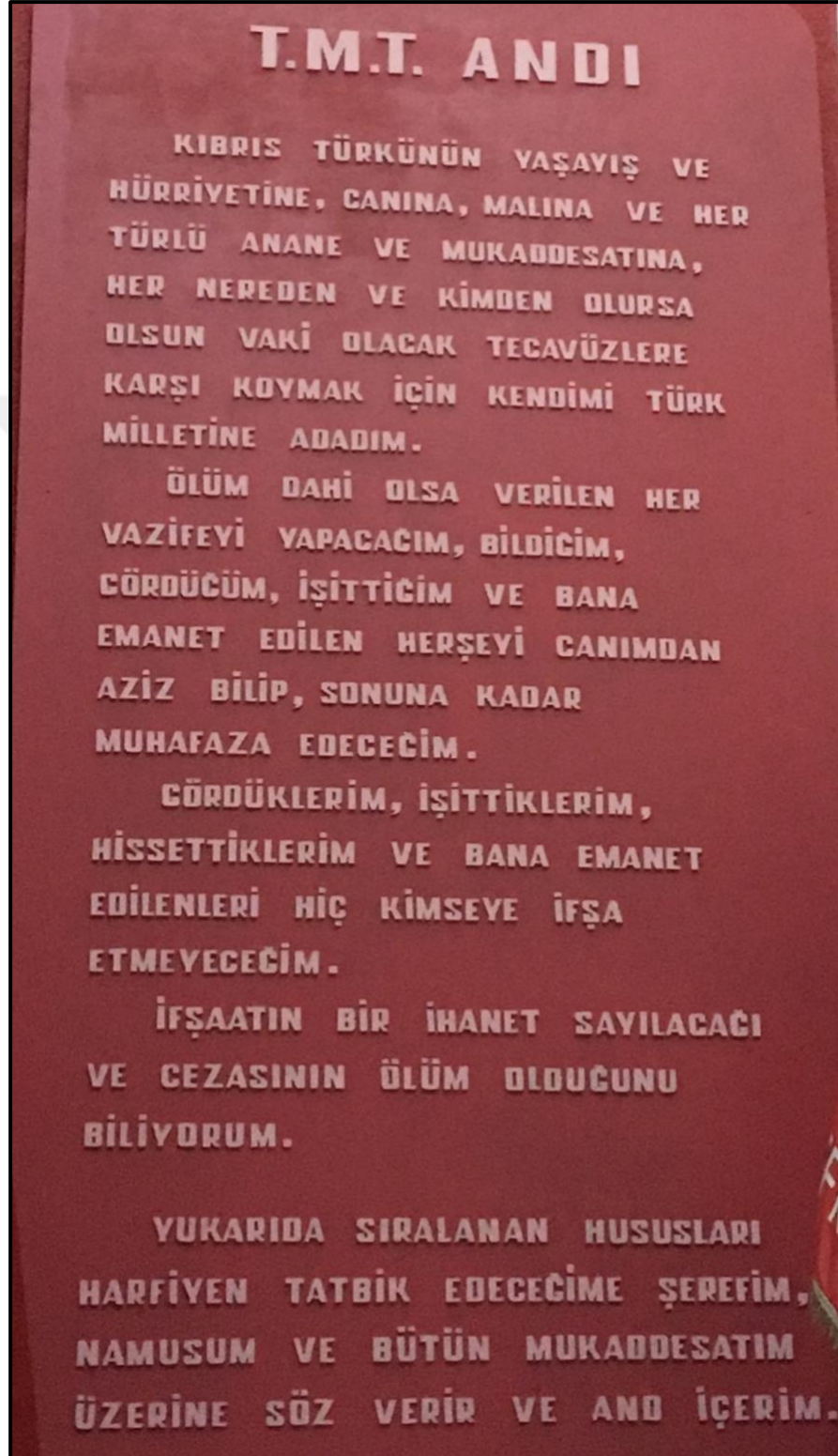
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APPENDIX 1

OATH OF TMT



OATH OF EOKA

Ο ΟΡΚΟΣ ΤΗΣ Ε.Ο.Κ.Α. ΠΟΥ ΕΔΙΝΕ ΤΟ ΚΑΘΕ ΥΠΟΨΗΦΙΟ ΜΕΛΟΣ ΠΡΟΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΥ
ΝΑ ΕΝΤΑΧΘΕΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΟΡΓΑΝΩΣΗ

Ο Ρ Κ Ο Σ

(ΕΘΝΙΚΗΣ ΟΡΓΑΝΩΣΕΩΣ ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ ΑΓΩΝΙΣΤΩΝ)

Ὁρκίζομαι ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος ὅτι:

1. Θὰ ἐργασθῶ μὲ ὅλας μου τὰς δυνάμεις διὰ τὴν ἀπελευθέρωσιν τῆς Κύπρου ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀγγλικὸν ζυγόν, θυσιάζων πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ζωὴν μου.
2. Θὰ ἐκτελῶ ἄνευ ἀντιρρήσεως ἀπάσας τὰς ἐντολάς τῆς Ὁργανώσεως αἵτινες θὰ μοῦ ἀνατεθοῦν καὶ δὲν θὰ φέρω οὐδεμίαν ἀντίρρησην, ὅσον δύσκολαι καὶ ἐπικίνδυναι καὶ ἂν εἶναι.
3. Δὲν θὰ ἐγκαταλείψω τὸν ἀγῶνα παρὰ ἔάν λάβω διαταγὴν παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τῆς Ὁργανώσεως καὶ, ἀφοῦ ἐκπληρωθῇ ὁ σκοπὸς μας.
4. Δὲν θὰ ἀποκαλύψω ποτὲ εἰς οἰονδήποτε, μυστικὸν τῆς Ὁργανώσεως, οὔτε τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν προϊσταμένων μου, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων μελῶν τῆς Ὁργανώσεως, ἔστω καὶ ἂν συλληφθῶ καὶ βασανισθῶ.
5. Δὲν θὰ ἀποκαλύψω, ἐπίσης, ἐντολάς, αἱ ὁποῖαι μοῦ ἀνατίθενται καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀδόμητοὺς συμμαχητάς μου.
6. Ἐάν παραβῶ τοὺς ὅρκους μου θὰ εἶμαι ἄξιος πάσης τιμωρίας ὡς προδότης, καὶ θὰ μὲ καλύψῃ ἡ αἰωνία καταφρόνησις.

Ε. Ο. Κ. Α.

THE E.O.K.A. OATH THAT EVERY PROSPECTIVE MEMBER WAS OBLIGED TO TAKE
IN ORDER TO JOIN THE ORGANISATION

O A T H

(NATIONAL ORGANISATION OF CYPRIOT FIGHTERS)

I swear in the name of the Holy Trinity that:

1. I shall work with all my powers for the liberation of Cyprus from the English yoke, sacrificing even my life for this.
2. I shall perform without question all the instructions of the Organisation which may be given to me and I shall not bring any objection, however difficult or dangerous these may be.
3. I shall not abandon the struggle unless I receive instructions from the leader of the Organisation, and after our aim has been accomplished.
4. I shall never reveal to anyone any secret of our Organisation, neither the names of my chiefs nor those of the other members of the Organisation, even if I am captured and tortured.
5. I shall not reveal any of the instructions which may be given me, even to my fellow combatants.
6. If I break my oaths I shall deserve every punishment as a traitor, and may eternal contempt cover me.

E. O. K. A.

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is your name, where and when were you born?
2. What address did you live in during your childhood, tell me about your childhood, what was life like back then? (open street address should be asked)
3. Which school did you go to, how did you go to school, what was your school life like?
4. Is there anything about your family life that you'd like to share?
5. What was your social life like, what did you do for entertainment?
6. Did you have any Turkish/Greek Cypriot friends?
7. How did the troubles between the Turkish/Greek Cypriots affect your life?
8. Did you witness any events in your neighborhood pertaining to this period?
9. Do you have any memories from this period that you'd like to share?
10. What were some of the buildings in your neighborhood that were important in your life, why?
11. When did you move from this house and where did you go? (open street address should be asked and same questions above asked for the different places lived in)
12. What was your work life like? Did you work with Turkish/Greek Cypriots?
13. Do you have memories/incidents from your work life that you'd like to share?
14. Is there anything else that you'd like to add to what you've already said, which you think is important to record regarding the histories and heritages of the island of Cyprus.
15. Anything else you'd like to say to the younger generation who will be listening to these stories?

General Note: ALWAYS take the address or location of the events and memories being recounted, time period that they refer to, as well as the full name of any persons mentioned. The place could be a street, a building, a neighborhood or the city itself, depending on how clear that person's memory is and the time period could be a specific date like November 21st 1965, a year like 1956 or a range like early 1950s, mid 1950s or late 1950s.

RELEASE FORM

RELEASE FORM

ONAM FORMU

I, _____ (name of narrator), hereby give this interview recorded on _____ (date) to **Bengi Atun & Koç University Oral History and Memory Archive** as a donation. With this gift, I transfer to **Bengi Atun & Koç University** legal title and all literary rights, including copyright.

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I understand the interview may be made available for research and such public programming as **Bengi Atun and Koç University** may determine. This may include use of the interview material in live or recorded programs for radio, television, cable, exhibition or any electronic publishing that is not for profit.

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Narrator's Signature *(Mülakat Edilen Kişinin İmzası)* _____

Address *(Adresi)* _____

Date *(Tarih)* _____

Interviewer's Signature *(Mülakatı Gerçekleştiren Kişinin İmzası)* _____

Addressi *(Adres)*: Çağdaş Sok. No. 11 Saban Çengeköy Evleri, A1-1, Güzeltepe Mah., Çengelköy, İstanbul 34668.

Date *(Tarih)*: _____

Comments *(Notlar)*