



This paper is taken from

*Human Rights and Citizenship Education
Proceedings of the eleventh Conference of the
Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe
Academic Network*

London: CiCe 2009

edited by Peter Cunningham, published in London by CiCe, ISBN 978-0-9562789-6-8

Without explicit authorisation from CiCe (the copyright holder)

- only a single copy may be made by any individual or institution for the purposes of private study only
- multiple copies may be made only by
 - members of the CiCe Thematic Network Project or CiCe Association, or
 - a official of the European Commission
 - a member of the European parliament

If this paper is quoted or referred to it must always be acknowledged as

Chrysovalante, G. & Spinthourakis, J-A. (2009) Collective Identity in Greek Cypriot's Curriculum: The case of Primary Education's Curriculum, in Ross, A. (ed) Human Rights and Citizenship Education. London: CiCe, pp 89 - 96

© CiCe 2009

CiCe
Institute for Policy Studies in Education
London Metropolitan University
166 – 220 Holloway Road
London N7 8DB
UK

This paper does not necessarily represent the views of the CiCe Network.



Lifelong Learning Programme

This project has been funded with support from the European Commission. This publication reflects the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

Acknowledgements:

This is taken from the book that is a collection of papers given at the annual CiCe Conference indicated. The CiCe Steering Group and the editor would like to thank

- All those who contributed to the Conference
- The CiCe administrative team at London Metropolitan University
- London Metropolitan University, for financial and other support for the programme, conference and publication
- The Lifelong Learning Programme and the personnel of the Education and Culture DG of the European Commission for their support and encouragement.

Collective Identity in Greek Cypriots' Curriculum: The case of Primary Education's Curriculum.

Giannaka Chrysovalante and Julie- Athena Spinthourakis
University of Patras (Greece)

Abstract

The trouble history of Cyprus created different forms of identifications for both Greek and Turkish Cypriots and shaped Cypriots' collective identity through time. The collective identity of the people of the two communities has been a subject of interest for social scientists in the last years and many were those who supported a common identity, based on the model of citizenship (as proposed by Kohn, 1961; Smith, 2000) as a solution to the Cyprus Problem. Accepting the influence of education in the construction and formation of identity, the purpose of this study is to explore the collective identity of Greek Cypriots through the curriculum used in Primary Education. For the analysis of the Primary Education's Curriculum we used quantitative content analysis, descriptive and interpretive.

Theoretical Considerations

The term collective identity refers to a statement of membership in a specific group (Ashmore, Deaux and McLaughkin-Volpe, 2004; Chen, Chen and Shaw, 2004; Woodward, 2004; Arts and Halman, 2006) and is a multidimensional term that comprises of different identities. These identities coexist in a hierarchical manner that is determined from internal (Vural and Rustemli, 2006) and external (Yavuz, 1991) factors. Through history the collective identity of both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots incorporated different types of identifications.

In the early Ottoman Period, the collective identity of the two main communities of the island was determined on the base of socioeconomic status (Pollis, 1973; Morag, 2004). However, in the late Ottoman Period there was a rotation to religious classification (Pollis, 1973; Yavuz, 1991; Pollis, 1998; Fisher, 2001; Morag, 2004; Yilmaz, 2005), as the members of the two communities were classified either as Christians or Muslims. Some researchers claim that in the late Ottoman Period there was also an ethnic classification, but it was shared only by the elite of the two communities (Yavuz, 1991).

At the beginning of the British Era, the classification in religious terms remained the main policy in Cyprus due to the fact that legally Cyprus was under the control of the Sultan. In 1923, when the administration of the island was given to Great Britain, the British took some actions, especially through education (Pollis, 1973; Bryant, 2006), and created a new classification based on ethnic fundamentals (Yavuz, 1991; Morag, 2004; Bryant, 2006; Vural and Rustemli, 2006). This policy, combined with the desire of Greeks of Cyprus for *Enosis* (union with Greece) and the following desire of Turks of Cyprus for *taksim*, (partition of the island) created ethnic conflicts and led to an unwanted independence in 1960.

During independence (1960-1974) ethnic terms remained the core self - classification for both communities. According to the constitution of 1960, members of the Greek Cypriot community were those who were Greek in origin, spoke Greek; they were Christian Orthodox and shared a Greek culture. Similarly, members of the Turkish Cypriot community were those who were Turkish in origin, spoke Turkish; they were Muslims and shared a Turkish culture (Philippou, 2007b).

In all these critical periods of Cyprus history there were no efforts to create a common identity for the two communities. On the contrary, all efforts were directed towards enhancing two separate ethnic identities.

After 1974 and the partition of the island, there were some interesting shifts in the collective identity of the two communities. For the Greek Cypriots the only way of unifying the island was reapprochement and thus the enhancement of a common identity (Stamatakis, 1991; Mavratsas, 1997; Ramm, 2005). Therefore, in 1970s Greek Cypriots faced the dilemma of choosing between an exclusive Greek or an exclusive Cypriot Identity (Papadakis, 1998). In 1980s, the concerns of cultural extermination turned

Greek Cypriots to the adoption of a Greek Cypriot identity that promotes the Greekness of Cyprus within an independent state (Mavratsas, 1997; Calotychos, 1998; Peristianis, 2006).

On the other hand, Turkish Cypriots were more attached to Turkey as they saw it as a rescuer from the Greeks. However, the unsure economic dependence on Turkey (Fisher, 2004), the increase of Turkish settlers (Calotychos, 1998; Faustmann, 2003) and the inability of Northern Cyprus to be recognized as a formal state (Lacher and Kaymak, 2005) detached Turkish Cypriots from Turkishness. Thus, a Turkish Cypriot identity (Killoran, 1998; Lacher and Kaymak, 2005; Vural and Rustemli, 2006), similar to that of Greek Cypriots, emerged.

The European Identity as an option of self – categorization emerged when the Greek Cypriot community applied to be a member of the European Union. Greek Cypriots saw the European Union as a guaranty for security and human rights with some economic benefits (Calotychos, 1998, European Commission, 2006). On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriots saw the European Union as an opportunity to lessen economic restrictions and the influence of Turkey (Vural and Rustemli, 2006). Although positive attitudes towards the European Union exists in both communities, the attachment with Europe as an option of self – categorization is limited (UN Office of Services, 2001).

Table 1
Variables of partition and variables of unity

Variables of partition	Variables of unity
Religious Identity	Civic Identity
<i>Is related with the use of religious significances in the process of someone self – categorization (Vural and Rustemli, 2006). It presupposes an entirety of symbols, that create respect or awe and is connected with a community participation in rituals (Giddens, 2002.) These symbols and rituals, which substantially constitute coding of values, fables and traditions; are the basis of religious identities (Smith, 2000). The sovereign religion in the Greek-Cypriot community is Christianity (orthodoxy).</i>	<i>It “is the idea that Cyprus has its own character and therefore should be considered as an entity which is independent from the respective homeland of the two main communities (Mavratsas, 1997). Cypriot identity does not abolish the Greek and Turkish nationality of the residents of the island (Calotychos, 1998; Mavratsas, 1997; Vural and Rustemli, 2006), but it is refer to a common culture and a unique character of two communities, that separate them from the residents of Greece and Turkey. This form of identity rises in the frame of the western model of nations (Kohn, 1961; Smith, 2000) and thus does not include the existence of a Cypriot nation, (Mavratsas, 1997) but a common territory with accent in the person as a citizen (Calotychos, 1998; Mavratsas, 1997). In extension, Cypriot identity corresponds in civic identity (Kohn, 1961; Smith, 2000).</i>

Ethic Identity	European Identity
<i>Was developed after 1974 and aided in establishing the Greekness of Greek Cypriots within the frame of an independent state (Calotychos, 1998; Mavratsas, 1997). The Greek-Cypriot identity corresponds to the eastern model of nations (Kohn, 1961; Smith, 2000) and thus includes all those elements of ethnic identity.</i>	<i>Was created after the realization of the significance of the social and cultural aspect within the EU, not only the economical one. In Cyprus European identity made its appearance mainly after the beginning of the integration process in the European Union, which was combined with the solution of the Cyprus problem. However, there are indications of precocious presence of European identity in the years of the British domination (Bryant, 2006). European identity refers to the identification with Europe (Kuščer and Prosen, 2005) and its values.</i>

Therefore, we have four major types of self identification for the two communities: ethnic, religious, civic and European. These types were created through time and constitute the sub-identities of the collective identity of the people of the island. Although, these identities are neither inclusive or exhaustive nor stable and consistent, they work as variables of unity (Cypriot and European Identity) or of partition (Ethnic and Religious identity).

Methodology

On the basis of the above observations and accepting the influence of education in the construction and formation of identity, through ‘social interaction (Scourfield, Dicks, Drakeford and Davies, 2006)’ and ‘socialization (Scheibe, 1995)’, we formed our research question as follow: which one of the identities – ethnic, religious, civic and European – that constitute Greek Cypriots’ collective identity is promoted through the Republic of Cyprus’ Primary Education Curriculum?

To analyze the Republic of Cyprus’ Primary Education Curriculum, we use quantitative content analysis, descriptive and interpretive. The categories for the variable ‘Collective Identity’ were systematically formed before being examined in the research material. As code unit we use the symbolic unit ‘theme’ (Holsti, 1969; Berelson, 1971) and as a content unit we use the ‘paragraph’ (Holsti, 1969; Krippendorff, 1980).

To establish ‘Inter-coder Reliability’, besides the researcher, three more coders were used to code all material under examination. One of those was a primary teacher in Cyprus. Percent Agreement, Scott’s Pi, Cohen’s Kappa (Cohen, 1960), and Krippendorff’s alpha were all used to assess Inter-coder Reliability for each variable coded. A beta version of the software package PRAM was used to calculate the first three of these. Due to technical problems in calculating Krippendorff’s alpha, Klaus Krippendorff run the data to an unpublished program¹. For the coding of a variable to be considered reliable it was required that the indexes should be .895 or higher (Weber, 1990; Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 1998; Lombard, Snyder – Duch and Bracken, 2002; Krippendorff, 2004). The reliability results are reported in Table 2. The validity was established through face validity and social or external validity.

Table 2
Reliability between and among coders

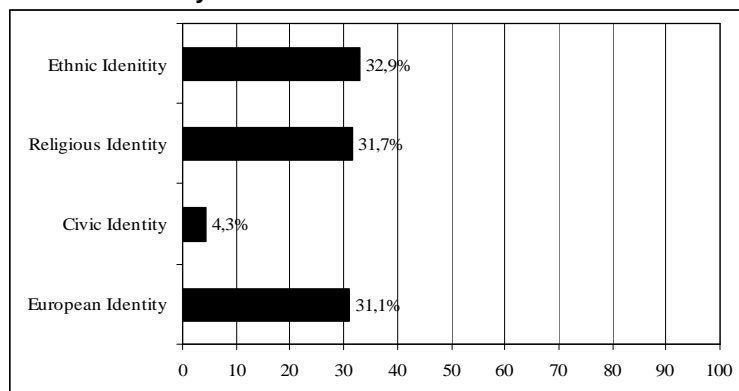
	Coders						
Variables	C1-C2	C1-C3	C1-C4	C2-C3	C2-C4	C3-C4	Average
Collective Identity							
Percent Agreement/Holsti*	.909	.954	.950	.864	.900	.949	.921
Scott's Pi	.887	.817	.941	.831	.967	.941	.897
Cohen's Kappa	.888	.817	.941	.831	.967	.941	.898
Krippendorff' s alpha	95% Confidence Interval .907 to .945						.927
Greek Cypriot (Ethnic) Identity							
Percent Agreement/Holsti	.929	.971	.950	.928	.906	.949	.939
Scott's Pi	.916	.967	.941	.916	.890	.941	.928
Cohen's Kappa	.917	.967	.941	.916	.890	.941	.928
Krippendorff' s alpha	95% Confidence Interval .907 to .945						.927
Religious Identity							
Percent Agreement/Holsti	.992	.992	.992	.984	.984	.985	.988
Scott's Pi	.991	.991	.991	.982	.982	.983	.987
Cohen's Kappa	.991	.991	.991	.982	.982	.983	.987
Krippendorff' s alpha	95% Confidence Interval .979 to .995						.987
Cypriot (Civic) Identity							
Percent Agreement/Holsti	.909	.963	1.0	.864	.900	.960	.933
Scott's Pi	.887	.955	1.0	.831	.873	.952	.916
Cohen's Kappa	.888	.956	1.0	.831	.873	.952	.917
Krippendorff' s alpha	95% Confidence Interval .881 to .974						.931
European Identity							
Percent Agreement/Holsti	.962	.954	.978	.947	.971	.964	.963
Scott's Pi	.957	.948	.975	.941	.967	.959	.958
Cohen's Kappa	.957	.948	.975	.941	.967	.959	.958
Krippendorff' s alpha	95% Confidence Interval .947 to .974						.961

Results

The results (Giannaka, 2008) demonstrate that the curriculum promotes all four options of identification, ethnic, religious, civic, and European identity. These identities represent different frequencies of promotion, with ethnic identity to be the most apparent variety of identification.

Chart 1

Collective Identity's References



For the variable 'Collective Identity' 347 references access perfect agreement between coders ($R=1$). Ethnic identity is represented at 32.9%, religious identity at 31.7%, civic identity at 4.3%; and finally, european identity at 31.1%. The results should not be taken at face value. Although, the references of ethnic and European identity seem to be very close (1.8%), actually the percentage of ethnic identity is almost double (64.6%), because religious identity is an inseparable part of someone's ethnic identity (Smith, 2000).

Therefore, the Primary education's curriculum adopts an ethnic orientation that aims in the cultivation of the ideals that are important for the maintenance of the nation, thus, the cultivation of a strong Greek ethnic identity, the widening and preservation of Christian – Hellenic values; and the enhancement of a historical consciousness that proves the stability of the Greek nation (Koutselini - Ioannidou, 1997; Christou, 2006; Koutselini and Michaelidou, 2004). Thus, the current education curriculum would appear to represent an impediment to the creation of a common Cypriot identity for both communities, in which people give priority to the territory and not to nationality, religion and language.

On the other hand, independent documentation demonstrates that the purpose of education in the Turkish Cypriot's community was and still is the promotion of the Turkishness as an option of self – categorization (Navaro – Yashin, 2006; Vural and Rustemli, 2006). Education in Cyprus has previously played a significant role in widening the gap between the two main communities of the island (Pollis, 1973; Yavuz, 1991; Mavratsas, 1997; Calotychos, 1998; Bryant, 2001; Koutselini and Michaelidou, 2004 Morag, 2004; Peristianis, 2006), enhancing two dissimilar and opposing identities.

Furthermore, ethnic identity incorporates religious identity (Smith, 2000) which is promoted in a high percentage (31.7%) through the curriculum. This may be justified by the fact that religion has historically played an important role in the history of Cyprus and was many times connected with ethnic and natural survival of Greeks Cypriots (Mavratsas, 1997), as well as with the survival of the Greek nation.

References to citizen identity and thus logically to a common Cypriot identity between Greek and Turkish Cypriots are very few in the Primary Education Curriculum. According to the survey of UN Office Services (2001) there is confusion about the term citizenship in both communities. This survey explains that both Greeks and Turkish Cypriots incorporate in the term citizenship elements of ethnic identity such as the language, religion and nationality of their parents. This statement appears to explain to a great extent why a common civic identity has not yet developed between the two communities. Cypriot identity becomes possible when people give priority to territorial dimension rather than to membership in ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups (Smith, 2002; Peristianis, 2006; Vural and Rustemli, 2006).

Referring to the two communities, Faustmann (2003) states that Cypriotness was never the chosen majority identity. Most of them point out that they are Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots to distinguish themselves from their brothers on their respective ethnic mainland. Thus, most Cypriots

still think that they are a kind of Greek or Turkish that belongs, at least culturally, to their respective nations.

European identity is promoted in a significant percentage through the curriculum. There is a rationale for the promotion of a European identity which can be located to Greek culture, history, religion and political life (Flouris, 1998) that could be connected with the Greek Cypriot's education. The main values of Europe are considered by the Greeks and the Greek Cypriots as deriving from the Greek – Christian values (Bryant, 2006). Especially, in the case of Cyprus, since their everyday experiences with continuous violation of human rights leads to the need for establishment of human values, democracy, freedom and peace which are fundamental parts of a European identity.

Conclusion

The results of our research illustrated that the curriculum adopts an ethnic orientation. It continues advancing the legitimizing arguments for the right of Greek Cypriots to self – categorization as Greeks and legalising the place of religious studies via the connection between the Orthodox education and the formation of ethnic identity.

The enhancement of Greek ethnic identity constitutes one of the core objectives of Greek Cypriots' primary education curriculum (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2007). Ethnic identity is one of the identities, which the acquisition of, could or should be included in the aims of education, with the condition, however, that the curriculum gives the students the possibility of developing a sense of their self as shareholders of a democratic way of life that includes the comprehension and the respect of other identities (Enslin, 2002). Moreover, the acquisition of ethnic identity constitutes a precondition for the development of a higher level of identification, such as European identity.

What we propose is the promotion of a European orientation aiming at the development of a European identity that will not replace but respect the particular national, religious and cultural diversity of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Through this European identity, we argue that the creation of a common Cypriot identity is feasible. This Cypriot identity will be common for the two communities, without the Greek and Turkish origin of two communities being erased. On the contrary, the two communities will learn to give priority to the territorial aspect and not in their national, religious and cultural differences. In this frame, the knowledge of history, religion and culture of the 'other' community is essential, so that students will understand that despite any differences, there are common elements, that is a common Cypriot reality.

Certain positive steps have been taken towards this direction, as the pre-text of the new curriculum focuses on citizenship (Curriculum Committee, 2008). The comparative analysis between the present curriculum and the new one has many to offer. All the above lead us to the conclusion that the role that education is called to play in the wanted rapprochement of two communities, is decisive. In the present study we tried to look at the role of the curriculum, without implying that the curriculum is the only source of message transmission for children at school. Other important factors are the school textbooks (Flouris, 1998; Philippou, 2007a) and the ideological background of the teachers (Spyrou, 2006). However, the examination of the curriculum constitutes a starting point.

Bibliography

- Arts, W. and Halman, L. (2006) Identity: The Case of European Union. *Journal of Civic Society*, 2, 3 pp. 179 – 198
- Ashmore, R. D., Deaux, K. and McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004) An organizing Framework for Collective Identity: An Articulation and Significance of multidimensionality. *Psychological Bulletin*, 130, 1 pp. 80 – 114
- Berelson, B. (1971) *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York: Hafner Publishing Company
- Bryant, R. (2001) An Aesthetic of Self: Moral Remaking and Cypriot Education. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 43, 3 pp. 583 – 614
- Bryant, R. (2006) On the Condition of Postcoloniality in Cyprus, in Papadakis, Y., Peristianis, N. and Welz, G. (eds) *Divided Cyprus. Modernity History and the Island in Conflict*, (pp. 47 – 65) USA: Indiana University Press

- Calotychos, V. (1998) Interdisciplinary Perspectives: Difference at the Heart of Cypriot Identity and its Study, in Calotychos, V. (ed.) *Cyprus and its People. Nation, Identity, and Experience in an Unimaginable Community 1955 – 1997*, (pp. 1 – 34). United States: Westview Press
- Chen, S. Chen, K. Y. and Shaw, L. (2004) Self – verification Motives at the Collective Level of Self – Identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 86, 1 pp. 77 – 94
- Christou, M. (2006) A Double Imagination: Memory and Education in Cyprus. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 24 pp. 285 – 306
- Cohen, J. (1960) A Coefficient of Agreement for Nominal Scales. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 20, pp. 37 – 46
- Curriculum Committee (2008) *Curriculum for the Public Schools of Cyprus Government*. Nicosia [in Greek]
- Enslin, P. (2003) The position of Ethnic Identity in the purposes of Education, in R. Marples (ed) *The purposes of Education* (pp. 159 – 177). Athens: Metehmio [in Greek]
- European Committee (2006) *Eurobarometer 65. Public Opinion in the European Union. Ethnic Analysis Cyprus (Territories Controlled by the Government of Cyprus Republic)*. Cyprus [in Greek]
- Faustmann, H. (2003) *Cypriotness in Historical Perspective*. Found 23.9.2007 in: http://www.dzforum.de/englischeVersion/projects/papers_uedersee_may-2003/hubert_faustmann.htm
- Fisher, R. (2001) Cyprus: The Failure of Mediation and the Escalation of an Identity – Based Conflict to an Adversarial Impasse. *Journal of Peace Research*, 38, 3 pp. 307 – 329
- Flouris, G. (1998) Human Rights Curriculum in the Formation of a European Identity: the Cases of Greece, England and France. *Intercultural Education*, 9, 1 pp. 93 – 109
- Giannaka Chrysovalante (2008) *Collective Identity of Greek Cypriots in the Primary Education Curriculum used in the Greek Cypriot Community*. Found 12. 03. 2009 in: <http://nemertes.lis.upatras.gr/dspace/handle/123456789/1042> [in Greek]
- Giddens, A. (2002) *Sociology*. Athens: Gutenberg [in Greek]
- Holsti, O. R. (1969) *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Reading, M.A. : Addison – Wesley Publication Company
- Killoran, M. (1998) Nationalism and Embodied Memory in Northern Cyprus, in Calotychos, V. (ed) *Cyprus and its People. Nation, Identity, and Experience in an Unimaginable Community 1955 – 1997*, (pp. 159 – 170). United States: Westview Press
- Kohn, H. (1961). *The Idea of Nationalism*. New York: The Macmillan Company
- Koutselini – Ioannidou, M (1997) Curriculum as Political Text: the Case of Cyprus (1935 – 1990). *History of Education*, 26, 4 pp. 395 – 407
- Koutselini, M. and Michaelidou, A. (2004) The Meaning and Rationale of Greece – Cyprus Unified Education: A Teachers’ and Parents’ Beliefs Study. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 10, 2 pp. 183 – 203
- Krippendorff, K. (1980) *Content Analysis. An Introduction to its Methodology*. London: Sage Publication
- Krippendorff, K. (2004) Reliability in Content Analysis. Some Common Misconceptions and Recommendations. *Human Communication Research*, 30, 3 pp. 411 – 443
- Kuščer, M. P. and Prosen, S. (2005) Different Identities and Primary School Children, in Papoulia – Tzelepi, P., Hegstrup, S. and Ross, A. (eds). *Emerging Identities Among Young Children: European Issues*. (pp. 9 - 25). England (Staffordshire): Trentham Books Limited
- Lacher, H. and Kaymak, E. (2005) Transformation Identities: Beyond the Politics of Non – Settlement in North Cyprus. *Mediterranean Policies*, 10, 2 pp. 147 – 166
- Lombard, M., Snyder – Duch, J. and Bracken, C. C. (2002) Content Analysis in Mass Communication. Assessment and Reporting of Intercooder Reliability. *Human Communication Research*, 28, 4 pp. 587 – 604

- Mavratsas, C. V. (1997) *Politics, Social Memory, and Identity in Greek Cyprus since 1974*. Found 22.01.2008 in: <http://www.cyprusconflict.net/-www.cyprus-conflict.net/mavrat-sas.html>
- Ministry of Education and Culture (2007) *Curriculum of Primary Education*. Nicosia: Primary Education Department. Curriculum Development Services
- Morag, N. (2004) Cyprus and the Clash of Greek and Turkish Nationalism. *Nationalism and Ethnic Policies*, 10, 4 pp. 595 – 624
- Navaro – Yashin, Y. (2006) De – ethnicizing the Ethnography of Cyprus: Political and Social Conflict between Turkish Cypriots and Settlers from Turkey, in Papadakis, Y., Peristianis, N. and Welz, G. (eds) *Divided Cyprus. Modernity History and the Island in Conflict*, (pp. 84 - 99). USA: Indiana University Press
- Papadakis, Y. (1998) Greek Cypriot Narratives of History and Collective Identity: Nationalism as a Contested Process. *American Ethnologist*, 25, 2 pp. 149 – 165
- Peristianis, N. (2006) Cypriot Nationalism, Dual Identity, and Politics, in Papadakis, Y., Peristianis, N. and Welz, G. (eds) *Divided Cyprus. Modernity History and the Island in Conflict*, (pp. 100 – 120). USA: Indiana University Press
- Philippou, St. (2007a) Re – inventing Europe: the Case of the European Dimension in Greek – Cypriot Geography and History Curricula. *Curriculum Journal*, 18, 1 pp. 57 – 88
- Philippou, St. (2007b) On the Borders of Europe: Citizenship Education and Identity in Cyprus. *Journal of Social Science Education*, 6, 1 pp. 68 – 79
- Pollis, A. (1973). Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy: The Case of Cyprus. *Comparative Policies*. 5: 4, 575 - 599
- Pollis, A. (1998) The Role of Foreign Powers in Structuring Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict in Cyprus, in Calotychos, V. (ed). *Cyprus and its People. Nation, Identity, and Experience in an Unimaginable Community 1955 – 1997*, (pp. 87 – 102). United States: Westview Press
- Ramm, C. (2005) *Construction of Identity beyond Recognized Borders: The Turkish Cypriot Community between Cyprus, Turkey and the European Union*. Nation-building through policies of inclusion/exclusion: Sources of Transnational identities? Oxford Symposium 17-19th June, 2005. Found 17.9.2007 in: <http://www.saut-ox.ac.uk/esc-lectures/ramm.pdf>.
- Riffe, D., Lacy, St. and Fico, F. G. (1998) *Analyzing Media Messages Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Scourfield, J, Dicks, B, Drakeford, M and Davies, A. (2006) *Children. Place and Identity. Nation and Locality in Middle Childhood*. Great Britain: Routledge
- Scheibe, K. E. (1995) *Self Studies. The Psychology of Self and Identity*. Westport: Praeger
- Skymeg Software (2002) Program for Reliability Assessment with Multiple Coders (PRAM) [Computer Software]. Found 12.04.2008 in: <http://www.geo-cities.com/skymeg-software/pram.html>
- Smith, A. (2000) Ethnic Identity. Athens: Odysseas [in Greek]
- Spyrou, S. (2006) Children Constructing Ethnic Identities in Cyprus, in: Papadakis, Y., Peristianis, N. and Welz, G. (eds) *Divided Cyprus. Modernity History and the Island in Conflict*. (pp 121-139). USA: Indiana University Press
- Stamatakis, N. A. (1991) History and Nationalism: The Cultural Reconstruction of the Modern Greek Cypriot Identity. *The Cyprus Review*, 3, 1 pp. 59 – 86
- UN Office of Project Services. (2001) *Understanding Bicomunal Perceptions and Attitudes: A Survey on Political and National Perceptions*. Cyprus
- Vural, Y. and Rustemli, A. (2006) Identity Fluctuations in the Turkish Cypriot Community. *Mediterranean Policies*, 11, 3 pp. 329 – 348
- Weber, R. P. (1990) *Basic Content Analysis*. London: Sage Publications
- Woodward, K. (2004) Questions of Identity, in Woodward, K. (ed). *Questioning Identity: Gender, Class, Ethnicity*. (pp. 5 – 41). London: Routledge
- Yavuz, M. H. (1991) The Evolution of Ethno – Nationalism in Cyprus under the Ottoman and British Systems. *The Cyprus Review*, 3, 2 pp. 57 – 79

Yilmaz, M. (2005) The Cyprus Conflict and the Question of Identity. *Journal of Turkish Weekly*.
Found 27.9.2007 in: [http://www.turkishweekly.net/
/printedfriendly/printerfriendly.php?type=article&id=144](http://www.turkishweekly.net/printedfriendly/printerfriendly.php?type=article&id=144)

ⁱ We would like to thank Mr. Klaus Krippendorff for his contribution to the calculation of Krippendorff's alpha index.