

Mixed Villages in Cyprus A Teacher's Guide



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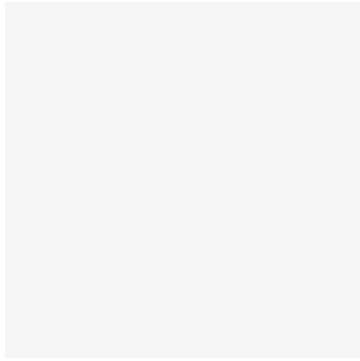
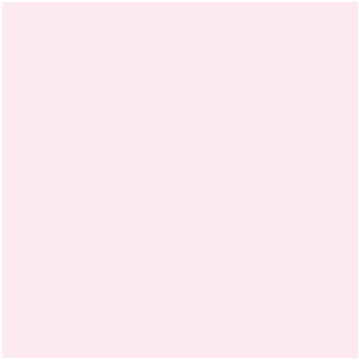
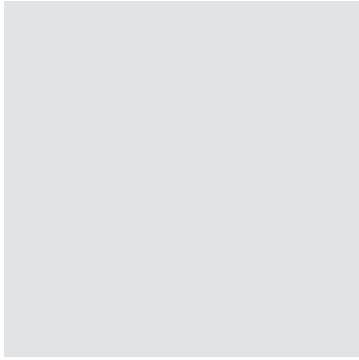
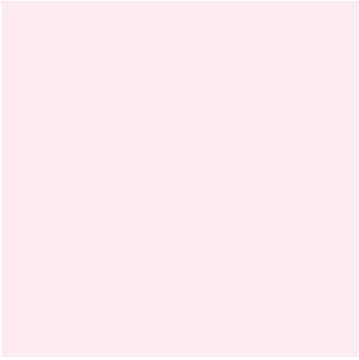
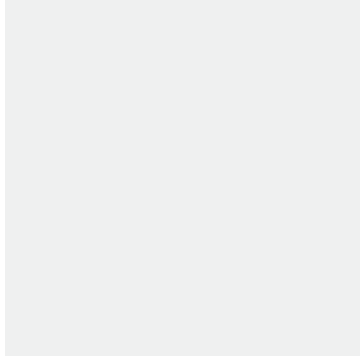
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AHDR is an intercommunal organization whose mission is to contribute to the advancement of historical understanding amongst the public and more specifically amongst children, youth and educators by providing access to learning opportunities for individuals of every ability and every ethnic, religious, cultural and social background, based on the respect for diversity and the dialogue of ideas. In doing so, AHDR recognizes the values of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the UNESCO aims on education, and the Council of Europe's recommendations relevant to history teaching. AHDR activities include research and dissemination of research findings; development of policy recommendations; enrichment of library and archives; organization of teacher training seminars, discussions, conferences; publication of educational materials; organization of on-site visits and walks; development of outreach tools; establishment of synergies between individuals and organizations at a local, European and international level.

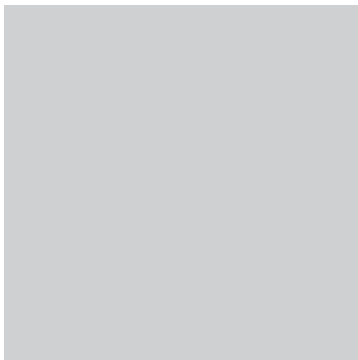


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Introduction to Mixed Villages in Cyprus

"Memories of memories...." (Canefe, 1998)

The issue of mixed villages is probably one of the thorniest and most contested in Cyprus' history. There is little evidence about what *really* (if one can ever claim such a thing) happened. The testimony we have, whether from *individual* or *collective memories*, is too ambiguous and contradictory to be taken at face value. But *communal memories* are not easy to ignore since, as noted by Canefe (1998), "*the different perceptions of the cultural heritage of its constitutive ethno-religious communities form the foundational paradoxes of national identity in Cyprus*". Notably, "remembrance of the communal/collective past is of key importance [in] both the construction and perpetuation of national identities". (Canefe, 1998)

Discussing remembrance, learning and ethics in "The Touch of the Past", Roger Simon (2005) points out that,

The historical memories enacted in a society are commonly constituted within two basic forms of remembrance. Both of these forms, in quite different ways, attempt to address the problem of social adhesion. In the first form, remembrance practices link meaning and identity within collective rituals that attempt to build a social consensus by invoking iconic memories that mobilise affective structures of identification... In the second form, remembrance practices are more overtly hermeneutic. They organise and legitimate discursive structures – the "lessons" of history" - within which basic corporate commitments might be rationally articulated (p.3).

Thus, our memories build on our identities – our sense of who we are and what we are. And our identities arrive, arise and shift throughout history. One cannot examine identities without examining history. And one definitely cannot ask questions about what and whom we are without raising questions about history itself.

This booklet takes a constructive approach towards the nature of as well as the critical examination of evidence about the history of mixed villages in Cyprus. Nowadays, deconstruction of long-accepted positions, as well as feelings of remorse, guilt and anger, directed both at oneself and the 'other', have become more and more fashionable on both sides of the ethnic divide. We decided to take a different approach: one that allows students to examine and comprehend the 'hows', 'whys' and 'whens' about life in mixed villages. Our purpose was not to leave students with feelings of either desperation about the present or apprehension about the future. Building on the bi-communal nature of the project itself, as well as on the multi-ethnic constitution of our team, we gave space to the human side of history and the individual threads woven into complex identities: being a man or a woman, being younger or older, owning property or working for someone who has property. At the same time, we highlighted the (shifting) nature of group identities and the issues surrounding them.

This booklet as a whole lends itself to 'a citizenship approach' by employing 'past referencing', 'temporal indexing' and 'comparative' approaches. At the same time, the booklet gradually raises questions about the logic and methodology of historical enquiry. Above all, the booklet enables students to understand why we need to use information about the past to make sense of and effectively address problems in the here-and-now present.

Citizenship-related questions addressed in the booklet include:

- *Is Group Identity multiple or singular?*

One of the things mixed village populations are certain to have in common is similar ways of defining identities within each community, e.g. male v female, children v adults, providers v dependants, rich v poor, devout v secularists, educated v uneducated.

- *Are group identities constant across time and space?*

Individual identities shift as the relative salience of groups 'y... n' increases or declines.

In addition, as group identities change over time, there are shifts in the meanings and implications attaching to them.

- *Who decides your Group Identity, you or other people?*

Many students might be able to understand that (a) we define our identities relative to others; (b) this process has two aspects: we define ourselves as like other members of 'group x' and different from members of 'group y... n' in critical respects.

- *Is there a problem with the ways in which Cypriots or people in general define group identities? If so, are there any comparable but less problematic cases?*

Group identities can lead to the creation of stereotypes and falsehoods about the 'other', to situations in which the 'other' is feared and hated on grounds that are patently false. Students are encouraged to explore this issue by questioning the reliability and bias of information and beliefs. An account of inter-communal relations in "Cypriot London" suggests that group identities do not have to be based on fear and falsehood.

At the beginning of each lesson plan a *key question* is posed. This is used to kick-start discussion and focus thinking on the central issues to be examined throughout the lesson. In the process, students are encouraged to formulate more specific questions about the past, about the situations in which historical accounts were produced and about implications for the present day. Key questions are revisited at the ends of lessons and students are asked to account for the fact that their answers usually differ from those given at the starts of lessons. As a rule, "this process only raises new questions" (Fines, 1983, p.21). This is as it should be since our purpose is to facilitate an ongoing process that will "help us revise our view of history" (Fines, 1983, p.22).

Today in Cyprus, as a bright and exceptional paradigm of mixed villages, stands Pyla (or Pile). Pyla/Pile could be used (or abused) to teach moral and political lessons. But, what is crucial about Pyla/Pile, is that it is a source of evidence about the fact and functioning of mixed villages. Pyla/Pile also demonstrates that a mixed village is not a simple community frozen in time. Mixed villages are complex and continuously evolve, just like every other living organisation. This also holds for personal and collective identities: these too have slowly shifted in various ways. Finally, what is magic about Pyla is that, on the one hand it tells us things we already know; while on the other hand, if we take a careful look, it can tell us things we never thought about yet were always there.

The account of "Cypriot London", together with other *disconfirmation exercises*, initiates an examination of second-order concepts of evidence and accounts. Students are gradually inducted into the logic and methodology of historical enquiry, something essential for anyone seeking to make sense of the past.

In this connection, as Sam Wineburg (2001) famously argues, in history there are unicorns and rhinoceroses. Wineburg bases this analogy on a story about Marco Polo. On his journey from China to India, Marco Polo ventured into Sumatra, where he came upon a species he had never seen: the rhinoceros. But Polo's diary says nothing about the rhinoceros. Instead, he described his disappointment at the poor quality of Sumatran *unicorns*. "They are very ugly brutes to look at," Polo wrote. Wineburg thus brings us face-to-face with the multiple realities of the past: the objective past (= how it is inter-subjectively defined by people today) and the *phenomenological* past (= how it was consensually or variously experienced by our predecessors). As Wineburg observes, our natural inclination is to focus on one reality:

"Our encounter with history presents us with a choice: to learn about rhinoceroses or to learn about unicorns. We naturally incline toward unicorns-they are prettier and more tame. But, it is the rhinoceros that can teach us far more than we could ever imagine" (p. 24).

This booklet aims to encourage young people to think beyond unicorns and embrace rhinoceroses as well. It might be that rhinoceroses, especially in the case of Cypriot history, seem even uglier and more difficult to tame than those described by Polo. But they are there. And they have much to teach us - perhaps as much or more than unicorns.

Guidance on teaching the Mixed Villages Unit of Work

1. Aims and Purposes

The unit of work described herein is intended for use with pupils between 12-15 years of age and above average attainment and ability. It must be emphasised that the purpose of the unit is **not** to change or re-orient pupils' social and political opinions or attitudes towards any particular end or direction. The sorts of communities in which they wish to live - whether mono-ethnic, mixed or fully integrated - are for pupils to determine not for teachers or curriculum developers to dictate. The purpose of the unit is rather to ensure that the grounds on which pupils' opinions about and attitudes towards inter-communal relations in general, and the 'other' in particular, are as well-informed and rational as possible. The intention is to enable pupils to think in more sophisticated and valid ways, not to persuade them to accept some and reject other conclusions.

The unit aims to achieve this purpose by:

- Enhancing pupils' understanding of differences between two sorts of stories told about the past - *academic accounts* studied in schools and *collective memories* encountered in everyday life. Much of what pupils think and feel about communal divisions and the character of the 'other' is based on what is said and written outside the classroom. Often there is complete ignorance of the past existence of the other community, and more often serious distortion and bias deriving from the prevailing ethno-political antagonism. Without in any way pre-judging what is true and false, pupils must understand why collectively recalled and recycled information cannot be taken at face value. The testimony of eyewitnesses is subject to errors of recall and recording, to post hoc rationalization and wishful thinking, and is necessarily selective in data capture and partial in perspective. Even photographic evidence, besides being vulnerable to manipulation before and after the event, is difficult to interpret in ignorance of off-camera contexts and purposes. This is not to suggest that such sources should be set aside, only that they should be treated as evidence in need of evaluation and interpretation not as *information* to be accepted uncritically. The methodologies used to analyse and interrogate evidence taken from sources exemplify, without exhausting, important differences between *academic accounts* and *collective memories* of the past.
- Helping pupils to understand that *collective memories* of the past impact on the ways in which people make sense of the socio-political situation of Cyprus much as the consequences of past events have shaped the physical, economic and administrative realities (the Green Line, disconnected infra-structures and duplicated institutions) with which they live. The 'shadow past' formed from collective memories and persuasive mythologies (as distinct from the more tangible consequence of the 'real past') informs the formation of group identities in opposition to those we attribute to a singular or multiple 'other'. The aim of the unit is not to modify, and still less to redefine, the ethnic identities pupils claim for themselves and attribute to the 'other', but to enable them to construe identities from the outside, to analyse identities as social constructs formed and reformed by history and, on occasions, synthetically created and imposed on people.
- Enabling pupils to contextualise in time and, to a lesser extent, in space the Cyprus of divided communities into which they were born. It is intended that pupils should realise that the Cyprus they accept as 'normal', and perhaps even as 'natural', ceases to be so when viewed over four or five centuries. Indeed, once a *long view* is taken, it becomes impossible to regard any arrangement for inter-communal relations as 'normal' let alone 'natural'. The only lesson to be taken from history is that the present state of inter-communal relations is impermanent, that things will change just as they've always changed in the past. But while change is guaranteed, its timing, nature and direction is not.
- Encouraging and enabling pupils to explore how and why things happen in human affairs, in particular how distinct ethnic communities evolved in Cyprus and why inter-communal relations have, at times, been very different than is presently the case. The role of intentional action, of the extent to which it is possible to recognise when uncongenial or catastrophic futures threaten and act to avoid them, is explored. This being said, pupils should learn that although people make history, they rarely make it as they hope and intend.
- Enabling pupils to inform and evaluate future possibilities with reference to what is (at present) known and understood about the past.

2. Unit Structure

The unit consists of five 45 minute lessons. Teachers should vary lesson duration and number as necessary to suit their circumstances and match pupil learning needs.

Lesson 1: Village Life in Cyprus – Past and Present

The unit begins with a special village: Pyla/Pile. Pupils learn that Pyla/Pile is special because it is the only *mixed village* in Cyprus, the only village with a mix of peoples. **All** villages have a mix of men and women, young and old, rich and poor, farmers and craftsmen, but Pyla/Pile **also** has a mix of ethnic communities – of Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Key markers of ethnicity are identified. Pupils learn that Pyla/Pile only became special in 1974 and did so because it remained mixed when all other mixed villages in Cyprus ceased to be so.

The question remains, *'Why did other mixed villages in Cyprus become mono-ethnic? Was it because people were unhappy about living in a mixed village? Were relations between the two communities uncooperative or even hostile?'*

Lesson 2: Inter-Communal Relations in Mixed Villages

Questions posed at the end of Lesson 1 are answered: inter-communal relations in mixed villages were generally co-operative and cordial **but** the two communities lived separately and members were easily identifiable as either Greek or Turkish Cypriots. Mixed villages became mono-ethnic because of events taking place outside villages **but** the clear separation of ethnic communities within villages made the expulsion of one or other community far easier than would otherwise have been the case. What were these events? How was that clear separation instituted? How did separation lead to conflict and expulsion? Testimony from villagers is used to analyse three categories of inter-communal contact: work and business; cultural and social; friendship and family.

The question remains: *'Since every village has its own character, is unique in certain respects, to what extent did inter-communal relations vary from village to village? Did inter-communal relations in mixed villages follow a common pattern or was every village 'special' in its own way, much as Pyla/Pile is today?'*

Lesson 3: Did Inter-Communal Relations Follow a Common Pattern?

Questions posed at the end of Lesson 2 are answered: analysis of testimony from two mixed villages suggests that inter-communal relations followed a common pattern. To be more precise, inter-village variation in witness perceptions is no greater than intra village variations. Pupils are asked to suppose this to be true for mixed villages in general, not just for the two sampled. Evidence also suggests sex based variations in inter-communal relations (social contacts between Turkish and Greek Cypriot women were less extensive than those of men), and shared inaccuracy of perceptions between ethnic groups with respect to power and wealth (each ethnic group tended to see itself as wealthier and dominant). More significant, however, are indications that the nature of ethnicity – how Greek and Turkish Cypriots defined group identities and differences – changed over time. The question remains: *'Have inter-communal relations changed over time and, if so, how and why?'*

Lesson 4: How and Why have Inter-Communal Relations Changed over Time?

Questions posed at the end of Lesson 3 are answered: inter-communal relations have changed over time but not in a consistent direction. On occasions, relations have been close and co-operative, as when Turkish and Greek Cypriots united to defend common interests or oppose a common foe. Factors driving change included economic and political threats and opportunities affecting one or both communities, and shifts in ethnic identities that impacted positively or negatively upon perceptions of the 'other'. In the recent era, co-existence and cooperation continued but gradually became more difficult as the logic of ethnic conflict prevailed and the violence of armed minorities in both communities raised fear and increased the tendencies for separation which was fully imposed in 1974. The question remains: *'Will inter-communal relations continue to fluctuate for better and worse in the future and, if so, can we stop things changing or even influence what changes take place?'*

Lesson 5: Do Mixed Communities have a Future as well as a Past?

Questions posed at the end of Lesson 4 are answered: change is certain but its pace and direction is unpredictable. In the past, human actions have influenced inter-communal relations, but not always in ways people wished and intended! We can hope to maximise intended and minimise unintended consequences of human action by improving our understanding of how and why things happen in human affairs. To this end, comparisons are made between divided and mixed communities in Cyprus and in 'Cypriot London'. Comparisons are also made between the ethnically based identities of Greek and Turkish Cypriots and the parochial place-centred identities of villagers in Ayia Paraskevi, a Greek village close to the border with FYROM. In conclusion: *before we can shape the future it is necessary to understand the past and, above all, to ensure that we are not trapped in some semi-mythological representation of it. To make sense of the past involves, first, working out why things happened that nobody wanted or expected (e.g. nobody wanted much of our everyday present); and second, appreciating the impact the past has on taken-for-granted assumptions that we make about ourselves and others.*

3. Assumed Baseline of Prior Learning

Assumptions are made about what pupils know, understand and are able to do at the start of the unit of work.

Baseline Knowledge

Pupils should know that:

- Cyprus is geographically part of the Middle East, between Asia, Africa and Europe, but politically in the last decades part of Europe.
- Neither Greeks nor Turks are indigenous to Cyprus. Along with other peoples, Turks and Greeks arrived as invaders, traders and colonists.
- Over the past three thousand years, Cyprus has been independent for only short periods of time. It has been part of great empires for most of its history, e.g. the Byzantine and the Ottoman empires.
- Cyprus was not divided until 1974. Prior to this date both Greek and Turkish Cypriots used to live in all parts of the island.
- Despite its current divisions, Cyprus is a single state within the European Union.

Baseline Understanding

Pupils should understand:

- The mediating role between the two sides of the divided country Cyprus, played by international agencies, primarily and officially by the UN.
- How certain kinds of ethnic marker – in particular religion, language, customs & festivals, food & drink, symbols & memorials – are used to define each group, some of them sometimes in opposition to the other. Pupils should understand that the value placed on such markers can transcend their utility or intrinsic worth because they define our group identities, our sense of who and what we are.
- How and why our knowledge of the past is derived from analysis of *historical sources*. (Pupils should be able to suggest what *sources* someone living two thousand years from now might use to write an academic history of twenty-first century Cyprus.)
- How and why *sources* of information about contemporary events, e.g. photographs, newspapers, TV and radio reports, eyewitness testimony in courts of law, government information broadcasts, can also deceive and mislead people.
- Why statements about *what changed* in the past \neq statements about *what happened* or about *what people did* in the past.
- Why statements about the causes of events/changes \neq statements about the reasons for actions.
- Why some answers are 'better' than others even when no single 'right' answer can be identified (or may not even exist).
- Why our ideas about and interpretations of the past have also implications on the present and the future.

Baseline Competences

Pupils should be able to:

- Work collaboratively in pairs and groups, i.e. engage in productive debate as well as share materials.
- Make inferences from numerical and diagrammatic data.
- Make inferences from textual data (as opposed to searching for the 'right answer' in the data).
- Accept that a teacher may ask questions the answers to which have not already been taught.
- Accept that a teacher may ask questions in order to seek 'possible' or 'admissible' as well as 'right' answers.

In cases where the attainment of a significant fraction of a class (>10%) falls below the assumed baseline of prior learning, the teacher may **either**

- (a) Modify the unit in ways that secure an effective match between what pupils actually know, understand and can do and what the unit requires them to know, understand and be able to do.
- (b) Teach necessary information, concepts and skills prior to embarking on the unit of work.
- (c) Defer teaching the unit until pupils are able to meet unit entry conditions. It is anticipated that while some classes might be able to benefit from the unit at age 12, many others will not be ready to do so before age 15.

4. Intended Learning Outcomes (ILOs)

By the end of the unit, teachers should expect to register considerable variations in pupils' learning outcomes. Starting positions – what pupils know, understand and can do when they embark on the unit – vary considerably. Other things being equal, prior attainment correlates positively with learning increments, i.e. pupils who are in the lead at the start of a unit of work have usually increased this lead by the end. Variations in learning facility – commonly referred to as *ability* or general IQ – also enable some pupils to progress more easily and quickly than others. (N.B. although measurement instruments and procedures are never sufficiently valid or reliable for learning outcomes to be predicted for individual pupils, predictions may be viable for groups of class or year cohort size.)

Learning is also influenced by other factors, some of which are known, albeit difficult to measure or control (e.g. pupil attendance, effort and interest; relationships with particular teachers and other pupils; proactive and retroactive interference from other lessons) and by others about which we can only guess. These uncertainties notwithstanding, it is safe for all teachers to anticipate that by the end of the unit, first, a considerable range in the quantity and quality of pupils' learning outcomes; and second, that the range of learning outcomes will be greater than that of pupils' starting positions prior to the unit being taught. It follows that a wide range of ILOs should be specified for the cognitively challenging Mixed Villages unit. (N.B. the unit is cognitively challenging insofar as requires pupils to evaluate arguments, propositions and judgements in ways that they may find counter-intuitive or that lead to uncongenial conclusions.)

This recommendation is based on a simplistic but useful five-stage description of learning processes involved in concept change and acquisition:

- **Incrementation:** New learning takes place. Learning is almost invariably insecure and incomplete, error ridden and imperfectly integrated with what pupils already know and understand.
- **Consolidation:** New learning is slowly corrected and refined; gaps are filled and connections begin to be made with prior knowledge and understanding. This latter process usually involves modification – and perhaps elimination – of existing ideas, assumptions and values as well as personal interpretation, and possible distortion, of the new learning.

- **Reinforcement:** New learning becomes familiar, loses its novelty and acquires a wider range of convenience (= relates to a greater number of phenomena and situations). This takes place in two ways: by teachers increasing the number of relevant examples; and by 'layered learning' (= by pupils relearning/over-learning the same thing from varying perspectives and via different methods).
- **Application:** New learning is applied (reasonably if not always appropriately) to problems and in situations that differ in kind from those previously encountered. Pupils continue to require teacher correction and feedback but are beginning to make autonomous, albeit experimental, use of new learning – to explore its uses and limitations.
- **Integration:** New learning ceases to be new and becomes integral to a pupil's way of thinking, i.e. part of what might be termed the 'mind'. Pupils will defend what was originally new learning in their own words and by using their own examples. What was once difficult to learn is now thought to be "obvious", "commonsense" and borne out by experience. Pupils who are *meta-cognitively* aware are able to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the once-new learning, to identify its limits and comment on its utility (= to explain why they needed to learn 'x').

For pupils who only just meet the *entry conditions* specified in Section 3 above, appropriate ILOs are those listed for Lesson 1 (see below). Lesson 1 ILOs require such pupils to think in new and unprecedented ways that conflict with what and how they already think and feel. If, by the end of the unit, the substance of Lesson 1 ILOs has been *reinforced*, and – just maybe – if pupils are able to *apply* this learning without being directed so to do, teaching will have been successful.

For older, higher attaining and more able pupils, it may be that no learning *increments* occur until lessons 4 or 5 (see below). Before then, pupils may spend their time *reinforcing*, *applying* and perhaps *integrating* propositions, distinctions and arguments that strike them as "obvious" or of which they are able to make effortless sense on the first encounter (i.e. are implied by what they already know and understand). For fast learners starting from a high attainment base, teaching would be successful were lessons 4 or 5 ILOs to be *consolidated*, *reinforced* or *applied*.

As indicated in Section 1 the unit of work aims to enhance pupils' understanding of inter-communal relations in Cyprus. The extension of pupils' understanding is progressive with ILOs in each of lessons 2-5 having the potential to increment those achieved in previous lessons. (Note that the first lesson is designed to build on the baseline of knowledge, understanding and skills specified in Section 3.) As aforesaid, this potential is only likely to be fulfilled in full with pupils of exceptional ability. For the majority, learning progression will be slower with later lessons serving to *consolidate*, *reinforce* and enable pupils to *apply* (and perhaps to *integrate*) the incremental learning achieved in one or two earlier lessons. It should also be noted that the sequence of *incremental* steps between lessons 1 and 5 is both speculative and experimental. Nothing quite like the Mixed Villages unit of work has been attempted before and, in consequence, errors of structure and approach as well as of detail are certain to have been made. It follows that implementation by teachers will need to be more flexible and creative than is usually the case.

Core ILOs pertaining to understanding of Inter-communal relations are as follows:

ILOs re Inter-Communal Relations: Lesson 1

- **Know that** *there used to be many 'mixed villages' in Cyprus but now only one – Pyla/Pile – remains.*
- **Know that** *a village is 'mixed' if and only if it contains two or more ethnic groups. No other sort of mix - e.g. of male and female, young and old, rich and poor – signifies.*
- **Know that** *in Cyprus all 'mixed villages' contain two ethnic groups, Turkish and Greek Cypriots.*
- **Understand how** *'markers' of ethnicity are used by group members to define 'people like me with whom I belong' and 'people different from me with whom I don't belong'.*

- **Understand why** *'ethnic groups' are distinct from but may overlap with 'national' and 'racial' groups, i.e. ethnicity is a cultural concept while nationality and race are political and biological concepts.*

ILOs re Inter-Communal Relations: Lesson 2

- **Understand how** *valid accounts of inter-communal relations can appear to be inconsistent or even contradictory, e.g. Relations between individuals can be close despite those between the communities to which they belong being distant **and/or** relations can be cooperative with respect to matters pertaining to the common good or mutual advantage even when social, personal and kinship contacts are rigidly proscribed.*
- **Understand why** *judgements about inter-communal relations cannot be made in simple binary terms but necessarily involve gradations ranging from 'hostility and conflict' at one extreme to 'dissolution of boundaries and distinct identities' at the other.*
- **Understand why** *the dissolution of mixed villages was a result of ethnic conflict and was completed by the war of 1974 and that dissolution was precipitated primarily by events external to the villages but made possible by the rigidity and clarity of ethnic divisions within them.*

ILOs re Inter-Communal Relations: Lesson 3

- **Understand why** *differences in villagers' perceptions of inter-communal relations are as important as differences in the objective realities perceived. [N.B. realities are 'objective' to the extent that interpersonal consensus exists amongst a community of disinterested observers as to how 'realities' should be defined.]*
- **Understand why** *the objective realities of inter-communal relations in mixed villages may differ for male and female villagers.*
- **Understand how** *Greek and Turkish Cypriots may perceive the same objective realities in different and even contradictory ways.*
- **Know that** *neither ethnic identities nor inter-communal relations are fixed but have shifted and mutated across time.*
- **Understand why** *ethnic identities and inter-communal relations obtaining in the present day should not be considered either 'normal' or 'natural' but as products of history.*
- **Understand why** *ethnic identities are not the sole determinants of relationships between ethnic groups, i.e. because both ethnic identities and inter-communal relationships shift in response to changes in local situations and wider circumstances.*

ILOs re Inter-Communal Relations: Lesson 4

- **Know that** *the geographical origins of Turkish and Greek Cypriots include Lebanon, the Caucasus, the Balkans and other parts of Europe as well as what is now Turkey and Greece.*
- **Know that** *there was a time in the past when neither Greek nor Turkish Cypriot (and when neither Greek nor Turkish) identities existed, and when the ancestors of all living Turkish and Greek Cypriots identified themselves as something else.*
- **Know that** *at various times in the past, ethnic differences between Greek and Turkish Cypriots were secondary to other sorts of group difference, primarily socio-economic ones BUT, at other (more recent) times, ethnic differences took precedence over all others.*
- **Understand why** *ethnic identities are socially constructed and not natural categories.*
- **Know that** *at some times in the past, Turkish and Greek Cypriots were friends and allies; at other times, hostilities were so intense that they provoked fear and separation as inter-communal contacts became dangerous.*
- **Understand why** *inter-communal relations have oscillated between friendly cooperation and hostile separatism as identities changed, common enemies arrived or withdrew, shared problems and opportunities for mutual gain arose or were displaced by ones promising sectarian advantage.*

ILOs re Inter-Communal Relations: Lesson 5

- **Understand why** *much of what seems to be the natural order of things is contingent on what happened in the past, i.e. that the perceived benefits and penalties of living in a mixed village, the salience of ethnic markers, and opportunities for individual choice change over time in response to short-term events and long-term (often unnoticed) developments.*
- **Understand why** *choice is rarely free, why one choice may pre-empt other choices.*
- **Understand why** *choices beneficial to individuals can entail collective penalties. For instance, even if individuals feel safer and more comfortable in mono-ethnic villages, the economic, social and security penalties of living in an ethnically divided country must be offset against individual benefits.*
- **Understand how** *temporal contexts (the pasts that people remember about relations with the 'other') impact upon definitions of identities, especially when the remembered past is selective and partial in perspective.*
- **Understand why** *change is inevitable but its pace and direction is not. In particular, 'return to (how it was in) the past' is impossible because initial conditions for the occurrence of past states of affairs have been altered by intervening events.*
- **Understand how and why** *we can act to maximise the probability of more desirable futures but can never determine history nor eliminate unintended consequences flowing from our own actions.*

Teachers should note that the ILOs suggested above neither exhaust what may be learned from the unit; nor do they constitute a 'must know and understand' list applicable to each and every pupil. On the contrary, the ILOs listed indicate the sorts and range of learning outcomes consistent with the authors' intentions. At a maximum, no more than **one or two ILOs** is likely to be achieved by any **a typical pupil** in the time available but, give the range of ages, abilities and attainments of pupils taught in Cypriot schools, **all ILOs** are achievable by some pupils in **some classes in some schools**. To have restricted ILO specification to what is realistically achievable by a single pupil would have limited the relevance of the unit to a few pupils in a small number of schools.

Two further points need to be made about the ILOs listed above:

- They are transitive. Although specified lesson by lesson, lesson ceilings are permeable. Unless teachers ignore guidance and adapt materials, Lesson 5 ILOs are increasingly unlikely to be achieved in lessons 4 – 1; but it is perfectly possible that some pupils might not consolidate and reinforce a Lesson 1 ILO until Lesson 5.
- Numerous lines of progression may be traced between Lesson 1 ILOs and those specified for Lesson 5. For most pupils, lines of progression will end before Lesson 5 ILOs; and for some pupils, lines of progression will begin above Lesson 1 (because their initial attainment will be significantly above baseline entry conditions). Teachers must therefore use listed ILOs to trace lines of progression relevant to the classes they teach. Only they can judge what can be achieved with their classes. Materials should then be adapted and taught in ways that assure success.

ILOs are also specified for **historical thinking** but dealt with in different and more limited ways than those for knowledge and understanding of inter-communal relations in Cyprus. In particular, ILOs for historical thinking are:

- Restricted to aspects of historical thinking dealing with how and what we can know about the past.
- Selected for relevance to ILOs dealing with inter-communal relations and, in particular, with the formative role of collective memory in identity formation and determining perceptions of the 'other'. Pupils must be able to construe and evaluate the past from perspectives uncontaminated by false memories thereof. This is why evidence-based tasks are interpolated between exercises and materials focusing upon the history of inter-communal relations in Cyprus.

- Structured so that cognitive demands increase between lessons 1 – 4 but, in contrast with ILOs for inter-communal relations, those for historical thinking are not progressive, i.e. higher order ILOs neither presuppose nor build on learning specified for lower order ILOs. In particular, the hiatus between lessons 2 and 3 should be noted. ILOs for lessons 1 – 2 focus on the nature of historical sources and on the key distinction between the *information* that many purport to convey and the *evidence* that historians take from them. ILOs for lessons 3 –4 focus on elementary rules and procedures for making effective use of evidence taken from sources.
- Extend beyond what it is realistic to suppose that classes of high-ability 15 year old pupils might attain in the time allowed. It is for this reason that some of the more demanding tasks are reserved for homework. Teachers may follow up some of these ILOs and tasks as they see fit.

ILOs re Historical Thinking: Lesson 1

- **Understand why** *the value of sources about the past should be evaluated with respect to their security (= trustworthiness) as well as their utility (= the extent to which they help us to answer questions).*
- **Understand why** *the 'security' of a source is as much a matter of how we make sense of what it says or shows as of the source's intrinsic reliability.*
- **Understand how** *the answers that sources offer to questions invariably give rise to further questions.*

ILOs re Historical Thinking: Lesson 2

- **Understand how** *different kinds of source, e.g. photographs and witness testimony, pose different problems with respect to trustworthiness. The first problem with photographs pertains to authenticity: is it a photograph of what and when it purports or seems to be? Photographs can be staged, cropped and digitally manipulated. The authenticity of witnesses may also be challenged: are they whom they claim to be? The second problem relates to bias: by whom and for what purpose were photographs taken? Is the memory of witnesses false or impaired; to what information and experience did they have access; and what impression are they attempting to give or avoid giving? The third problem pertains to interpretation: is our interpretation of photographs manipulated by the captions attached to them? What questions were put to witnesses or was testimony unsolicited?*
- **Understand why** *evidence ≠ information. Information = what sources purport to say or show about the past. Evidence = the grounds we have for making statements about the past. Information demands accurate comprehension. Evidence demands mastery of logical operations which can be commonsensical but are often complex and subtle.*
- **Understand how** *evidence is taken from sources, i.e. first by determining what, if any, information explicitly presented can be accepted and why this is so; and second, by extracting evidence from a source to justify statements about the past that a source does not explicitly state or show.*
- **Understand how** *false and biased information contained in sources can yield valuable evidence once the nature of the falsehood, reasons for and directions of bias are understood.*
- **Understand why** *the fact and nature of evidence yielded by any source is contingent on the questions posed. Sources yield no evidence until properly interrogated.*

ILOs re Historical Thinking: Lesson 3

- **Understand how and why** *problems with the consistency of evidence taken from, for example, witness testimony may arise. In particular, pupils should understand that some inconsistency reflects the complexity of social realities and/or variations in individual experience and perception rather than error (of whatever kind) in the sources from which evidence was taken.*
- **Understand how** *(once sources have been evaluated and evidence extracted), historians seek to match patterns in evidence with data relating to source provenance, time, place and situation in order to make statements valid at different levels of generality (e.g. what can be said about*

mixed villages as a whole, about differences between mixed villages with evenly and unevenly sized communities; about the perceptions of Greek versus Turkish Cypriots, about inter-communal relations between women versus those between men, and so on).

- **Understand how and why** evidence is used **to test** what we think we know about the past as well as to answer questions and learn more about it.
- **Understand how and why** hypotheses about the past are formed and then tested against evidence derived from previously unconsidered sources (and different sorts) of evidence.

ILOs re Historical Thinking: Lesson 4

- **Understand why** we can only investigate the past by making certain assumptions about it, e.g. a source can only be assigned a provenance and checked for authenticity by assuming a past of which the source is part but about which it yields no evidence.
- **Understand why**, although everything we think we know about the past can be called into question, it is only possible to do so bit-by-bit.
- **Understand why** hypotheses are either disconfirmed or sustained (= not disconfirmed) but can never be proven.
- **Understand why** we can never claim 'to tell it like it was' (= to offer a single 'true' picture of the past) only 'to work out what we are entitled to say' about the past. We can, however, distinguish between evidentially and logically 'admissible' and 'inadmissible' statements; and we can determine that some 'admissible' statements are more reasonable, more powerful and more secure than others.

ENQUIRY QUESTIONS FOR THE WHOLE UNIT: How and why has inter-communal village life changed in Cyprus? Can we influence how it might change in the future?

Aims and purposes:

The activities described in this chapter are intended for use with students between 12-15 years of age. Pyla / Pile is used to exemplify what some mixed villages might have been like had they survived into the present day. In order to work out what can and cannot be said about how mixed villages functioned and changed in the past, students are required to develop some understanding of how historical sources of evidence are evaluated and used.

Lesson Plan 1: Village Life in Cyprus – Past and Present

Lesson Plan 2: Everyday Life in Mixed Villages

Lesson Plan 3: Are all “mixed villages” in Cyprus the same as each other?

Lesson Plan 4: Do “mixed villages” stay the same over time?

Lesson Plan 5: What makes mixed communities and group identities?

Teaching and learning materials:

Lesson Plan 1

- Photographs of Pyla/Pile
- A big map of Cyprus indicating formerly mixed villages before 1974 (for classroom display)
- A copy of the map of Cyprus displaying formerly mixed villages before 1974 (one copy for each group of students)

Lesson Plan 2

- Pictures of buildings in formerly mixed villages
- A big map of Cyprus displaying mixed villages before 1974
- Interview abstracts from inhabitants of formerly mixed villages

Lesson Plan 3

- The catalogue of mixed villages
- Interview abstracts additional to those used in LP2

Lesson Plan 4

- Census data
- Source materials

Lesson Plan 5

- Abstracts 1 and 2 (photocopied on separate sheets)
- Facebook link for Ayia Paraskevi

Assumed baseline of prior learning:

From LP1:

- Pupils know what a mixed village is.
- Pupils know that mixed villages were common in Cyprus before 1974.
- Pupils know the ways in which TCs and GCs differed from each other.

From LP2:

- Pupils know how everyday life in mixed (bi-ethnic) villages used to be and how it is today (occupations, traditions, etc.)
- Pupils know what is distinctive about the village of Pyla/Pile.

From LP3:

- Pupils know that NOT all mixed villages were the same across Cyprus.
- Pupils know that TCs and GCs have different perspectives about everyday life used to be in mixed villages.
- Pupils can identify factors that impacted on everyday life in mixed villages.

From LP4:

- Pupils know that human relations in mixed villages changed in response to local, national and international developments.
- Pupils can identify the important landmarks in the history of Cyprus with regard to TCs-GCs relations.

From LP5:

- Pupils form their own ideas about how inter-communal relations develop in time.
- Pupils realise that mixed communities exist throughout the world and are NOT all the same.

Intended learning Outcomes:

All learners: Know that the term “mixed village” refers to villages in which there is an ethnic mix of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, a mix of ages, sexes, occupations or any other sort of mix. They also know about Pyla / Pile and what makes this village unique today.

Most learners: Know that in mixed villages Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots are likely to differ in religion, language, festivals & holidays, food, dress and symbols of identity.

Some learners: Know that in certain respects – such as age, sex, wealth and occupation – individual Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots will have more in common with some members of the ‘other’ ethnic group than with most members of their own ethnic group.

Instructional objectives:

1. Historical Thinking.
2. Historical Consciousness.
3. Inter-communal relations.

Intended learning Outcomes for Particular Lessons:

Lesson Plans 1, 2 and 3:

All learners: Know that there were in the past and there might be again in the future mixed villages and that in mixed villages Greek- and Turkish- Cypriots are likely to differ in religion, language, festivals / holidays, food, dress and symbols of identity.

Most learners: Know that in certain respects – such as age, sex, wealth and occupation – individual Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots will have more in common with some members of the ‘other’ ethnic group than with most members of their own ethnic group.

Some learners: Know that in mixed villages people would socialize and co-operate with villagers in the ‘other’ ethnic group BUT not to the same extent or in the same ways as they would socialize and co-operate with villagers in their own ethnic group. And, **know that** although they are usually more similar to each other than to mono-ethnic villages, each mixed village (e.g. Pyla) has unique characteristics distinguishing it from other mixed villages.

Lesson Plan 4:

All learners: Know that there are landmarks in history influencing TCs-GCs relations, and that in the decades prior to 1974 these deteriorated as the ethnic conflict prevailed.

Most learners: Know that demography has changed over time with regards to the population of mixed villages.

Some learners: Know that in mixed villages there were different factors that affected relations and the development of such relations amongst different ethnic groups.

Lesson Plan 5:

All learners: Know that there are mixed villages elsewhere in the world.

Most learners: Know that inter-communal relations change and develop over time.

Some learners: Know that there are concrete factors that influence relations in mixed villages, which can be explained both historically and socially.

Lesson Plan 1: Village Life in Cyprus – Past and Present

PREPARATION

The coloured map of Cyprus (showing mixed villages before 1974) and enlarged photographs of Pyla/Pile are displayed or projected to enable quick and easy reference during whole-class teaching. Photocopies of these materials may also be distributed to the class (one set of each for each pair of pupils) if appropriate.

STARTER: Timing 10 minutes. Whole Class Teaching

It is important that the **Starter** is given cold, i.e. that the class does **not** know what the unit-of-work or the lesson is about. Pupils should **not** even know the titles of unit or lesson! This proscription follows from the aims, purposes and instructional logic of the unit.

How the unit and lesson are introduced to a class must be left to the judgement of individual teachers. The only prescription that can be made is that teachers should (a) take account of the learning needs and characteristics of pupils (which only they will know); and (b) work towards the end-points of lesson and unit. For example, given that we wish students to appreciate how difficult it is to 'know about' the past, and to realise that much of what people think they know is manifestly false and/or suspect, we might begin with a question about trust:

'If you had to choose between a holiday in Ibiza or in Vladivostok and wondered which place was more attractive, had the best weather and sandiest beaches, what sort of information - written descriptions by tourist boards or photographs taken by visitors - would you trust more? Why?'

Most pupils are likely to claim that photographs are more trustworthy than written descriptions because, 'You can see for yourself'. A teacher might respond:

'That's a good argument! But how much can photographs really tell you? Might you have some questions that it's hard to answer if we only use photographs? Let's put this to the test and see how far you get. Here we have photographs of one or more villages somewhere or other taken at some time since 1910. I'll ask a few questions and we'll see how many of you can work out the right answers.'

Look at the photographs of a village in Cyprus.

(ANSWERS)

- The photographs were taken very recently.
- They were taken in Cyprus.
- All photographs were taken in one village.
- The village is in the south. It is here! [Points out location on map]
- It is called 'Pyla' and 'Pile'. [Write names on board]
- Pyla/Pile is special because it is a mixed village.

Note that it does not really matter how many, if any, pupils offer the desired answers!

What matters is:

- (a) **that pupils learn how to distinguish more from less valid answers.** It follows that the teacher should use Socratic methods to explore the reasoning behind pupils' answers and, thereby, model the reasoning processes that they should use;
- (b) **That pupils understand and accept the answers endorsed, or given, by the teacher and move towards the conclusions agreed at the end of the lesson.** It follows that, if appropriate, STARTER questions can serve as rhetorical questions used to 'set-up' what will be said and asked during the Plenary Session.

At this juncture it is appropriate to ask pupils if they can guess what the lesson and unit-of-work are about. They should be steered towards the correct answers!

ACTIVITY 1: Timing 5 minutes. Group-work

The teacher puts pupils into groups of 3-5 and asks them to agree a definition of “*mixed village*”. **It is vital that the teacher has NOT used the phrases ‘Greek Cypriots’ or ‘Turkish Cypriots’ before debriefing the task.**

What is mixed about a mixed village?

(ANSWER)

Although all villages are mixed in various ways, a ‘*mixed village*’ has a mix of Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot villagers. We might say that Cyprus is a ‘*mixed island*’ for the same reason! Another name for ‘*mixed village*’ might be ‘*multi-ethnic village*’.

It is likely that some pupils will know that a *mixed village* is one that contains a mix of Turkish and Greek Cypriots and, in consequence, that this fact will emerge early during debriefing. In this eventuality, the teacher should seek answers to two further questions:

- First, ‘Why is a village **only** thought to be *mixed* when it has a mix of Greek and Turkish Cypriots? Why don’t we call it *mixed* if it has a mix of males and females, young and old, rich and poor?’
- The obvious answer to this question is, ‘**A village couldn’t easily survive without a constant supply of young people to replace those who grow old and die, and for this you need both sexes. It would be very difficult to avoid some of the other differences between people, e.g. even if everyone started off with the same amount of money, after a while some would be richer than others.** A less obvious but more interesting and useful answer would be, ‘**Because people like, or at least accept, some sorts of difference but are frightened of or upset by other sorts of difference – people can be unreasonable and irrational!**’ Teachers must take account of learner needs and characteristics when deciding how far to press this question.
- Second, ‘Does this mean that *mixed villages* cannot exist in any other country? Or do you think that there might be villages full of Turkish and Greek Cypriots in the USA or in Sweden or in Egypt or somewhere else?’
- With luck pupils will explain that a village can be *mixed* if it contains two or more groups of people with different religions and/or languages etc. It is possible that the answer may need to be taught. ‘**A village is mixed if it contains a mix of ethnic groups.**’

By the end of the unit pupils should understand that,

- (a) Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots are two distinct *ethnic groups*.
- (b) There are many other *ethnic groups* whose diacritical features differ from those of Turkish and Greek Cypriots.
- (c) *Ethnic groups* (including Greek and Turkish Cypriots) are **not** what philosophers refer to as *natural categories*. Within-group variation, both genetic and cultural, is greater than between-group variation. It follows that any and every ethnic group should only be categorized as such for as long as its members recognize themselves as belonging to and collectively forming a group.

An ‘ethnic group’ is a group of people whose members identify with each other through a common heritage that is real or assumed, and who share certain cultural characteristics. (Smith 1987) This shared heritage may be based upon putative common ancestry, history, kinship, religion, language or shared territory. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic
It is vital that concepts of ethnicity are not confused with those of ‘*nation*’ or the far more dubious concepts of ‘*people*’ or ‘*race*’.

Exactly how far teachers should attempt to explore and clarify the concept of *ethnic group* during Lesson 1 cannot be determined without reference to the class in question.

ACTIVITY 2: Timing 5 minutes. Whole Class Teaching

This episode of question-and-answer (Q&A) teaching introduces the important idea that: *The answer to any one question about the past always breeds other questions.*

You have offered some interesting answers to this question. We'll need to look at the map and a list of villages to work out which (if any) of your answers is correct.

In this connection, knowing **that** Pyla/Pile is 'special' because it is a *mixed village* raises the secondary question, 'Was Pyla/Pile always special or did it become so?' And the answer to this question raises the tertiary question posed here, '**How** did Pyla/Pile become special?' This process continues until questions cease to be important or become impossible to answer.

As before, how far a teacher should go when exploring possible answers to the questions cannot be predetermined. What is essential is that students should realise that there are many possible answers to the question, 'How did Pyla/Pile become special?'

ACTIVITY 3: Timing 5 minutes. Whole Class Teaching

This Q&A session should follow seamlessly from ACTIVITY 2. It is considered separately in order to highlight the hinge on which Lesson 1 turns. Thus far, pupils have been allowed (and perhaps encouraged) to suppose that something must have happened in or to Pyla/Pile in 1974 for it suddenly to have become special – to become the only mixed village in Cyprus. Even if they know full well what happened in the whole of Cyprus in 1974, most, if not all, pupils are likely to make this assumption. Now they learn that Pyla/Pile is not special because it changed; it is special because everything changed around it.

This is realisation is the hinge on which Lesson 1 turns because it is the point at which pupils realise that answers to questions about Pyla/Pile give rise to bigger questions about other villages and the history of Cyprus in general. We move from the particular to the general!

We also begin to challenge what many, and perhaps most, pupils are likely to take for granted. For them, the separation of Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities is a *normal* state of affairs, and whatever is *normal* tends to be considered *natural*, and perhaps even *necessary*. Historians know that history does not do *normal*, that when looked at over a long enough span of time almost every aspect of contemporary life is *abnormal*. But pupils rarely view the present in the context of the past.

(ANSWERS to the first 3 questions leaving the last 2 for later)

- They were common.
- Before 1974, mixed villages existed in both north and south Cyprus.
- Pyla/Pile was NOT special before 1974 because it was one of many mixed villages. It is special now because it is the ONLY mixed village left in Cyprus. So Pyla/Pile suddenly became special in 1974 because *it did NOT change* when every other mixed village changed from *multi-ethnic* to *mono-ethnic*!
- We have many interesting answers. But, before we can work out which is the best answer, we need to find out how to distinguish a Turkish Cypriot from a Greek Cypriot.

The essential step in ACTIVITY 3, therefore, is that pupils seriously wonder *why* so many Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived in *mixed villages* before 1974 when this is not now the case. Could it be that they chose to live together – perhaps because this was ‘the least worst option’ open to them or perhaps because they had just become accustomed to doing so? Or did someone or something force them to live in the same villages?

ACTIVITY 4: Timing 15 minutes. Group Work plus Whole-Class Briefing & Debriefing

Although it is necessary that pupils are able to use markers of ethnicity when analysing inter-communal relations and, later in the unit-of-work, understand something about the historical origins of these *markers*, ACTIVITY 4 is high-risk in that it could expose prejudices and bigotry latent in many divided communities.

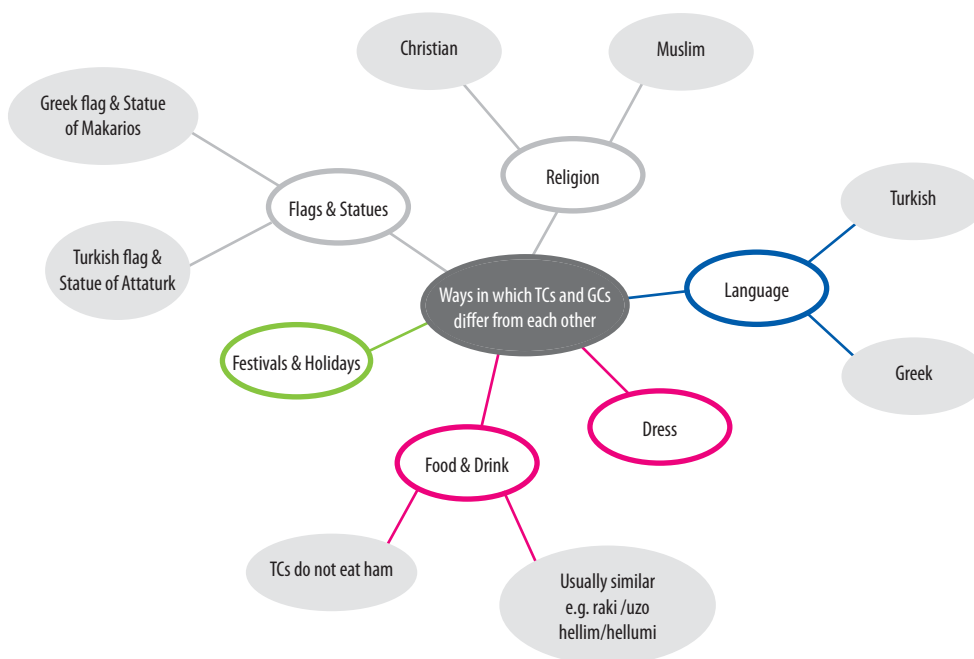
Teachers must be prepared to deal with ignorant and bigoted comments and, above all, able to convince pupils that, while everyone is entitled to their feelings and opinions about the 'other', we must describe ethnic *difference* from a detached, third-person standpoint – as, for instance, a Hindu or a Martian might describe them. Thus, for example, it is acceptable to use *Moslem – Christian* or *Sunni Moslem – Orthodox Christian* as labels of religious difference but unacceptable to use the labels *Believer v Infidel*.

Rather than ask groups to report to the whole class, it might be faster (and safer) for the teacher to debrief by completing a concept map on the board or projector.

It is important that the teacher does NOT write down any unacceptable or incorrect *markers* of ethnic difference since to do so, even for purposes of discussion and refutation, might inadvertently reinforce dangerous ideas and opinions.

Discussion should be limited to allow time for students to record the concept map given below OR photocopied copies of the completed concept map should be distributed prior to the PLENARY SESSION. **It may also be prudent for the teacher to collect concept maps completed by students during the group work session.**

An acceptable and useful concept map might approximate to the following:



The whole-class question-and-answer (Q&A) session about the relative importance of ethnic markers should be conducted in whatever ways individual teachers deem most appropriate and effective. Likewise, teachers are in the best position to judge how far discussion should be taken with given classes.

(ANSWERS)

- **Language.**
- **Because it makes it more difficult for Greek and Turkish Cypriots to communicate with and understand each other!**
- **Eating habits and dress, festivals and holidays. Because they do not influence the ideas and behaviour of people towards each other.**
-

It is essential for all pupils to realise that:

- **Some ethnic markers are more significant than others**

This idea enables analysis of data presented later in the unit.

It is also desirable – though not essential – for pupils to grasp that some ethnic *markers* are more significant than others because they:

- **Make it more difficult for the two groups to understand and co-operate with each other.** For example, differences in *language* impede effective communication. Differences in *religion* can sometimes affect judgements about what is “proper” and “acceptable” personal and social behaviour. Although specifically in this case, the Christian and the Muslim religions have essentially similar and comparable codes of moral conduct. In contrast, differences in *dress* and *food* are usually less significant. (After all, men and women, young and old tend to dress differently with little disruption to family life or social cohesion. And, within any community, variations in dietary preferences are considerable.)
- **Underpin and inflate the importance of other markers.** For example, differences in *religion* lead to at least some differences in *dress*, *food & drink* and *festivals & holidays*. Connections with *religion* make otherwise trivial differences feel important to people – they become visual and behavioural signs of religious affiliation.
- **Assert ‘difference’ and provoke fear of ‘otherness’.** For example, *flags & statues* serve little purpose other than to call attention to differences between ‘us’ and ‘them’, and to remind people of crucial points in history when ‘our’ greatness was manifest to all or, worse still, when ‘we’ triumphed over the ‘other’. [N.B. of course, such symbols serve to foster in-group identity and cohesion as well as to exclude those who do not belong.]

PLENARY: Timing 5 minutes. Whole-Class Teaching

The question as to whether Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived in *mixed villages* by choice, compulsion or necessity before 1974 is left open until later in the unit. This question serves as a hook connecting the first and second lessons!

At the start of the lesson we looked at photographs of the village of Pyla/Pile. (follow student booklet)

As well as fulfilling a bridging function, the PLENARY should make pupils think about why, given a free choice, villagers might prefer to live in *mixed* or *mono-ethnic* villages, to speculate about the advantages and disadvantages of so doing. This, in turn, forces pupils to apply knowledge and understanding of *ethnic differences* gained earlier in the lesson.

Warning: This plenary discussion has its dangers and teachers must be careful not to propagandize, to teach the conclusions of arguments that pupils have yet to understand and accept. Pupils whose entire lives have been spent as members of one or other of the two divided communities (trapped in a prevailing political antagonism) will have difficulty in accepting that the advantages of living in a *mixed village* could ever outweigh the disadvantages of so doing. They will do well to admit that there could be any advantages to put on the other side of the scale! So if pupils conclude, 'Yes, there are one or two advantages but there are more and bigger disadvantages to living in a mixed village', the lesson has been as successful as could have been hoped and expected.

So where is this going? It is important to take the long view, to keep in mind what we wish pupils to know and understand by the end of the unit-of-work and to work out how to get them as close to these end-of-unit objectives as possible. In this connection, it is important for pupils to learn that:

- The historical contingency of much of what seems to be the natural order of things, i.e. that the perceived benefits and penalties of living in a mixed village, the salience of ethnic markers, and opportunities for individual choice change over time in response to short-term events and long-term (and often unnoticed) developments.
- That choice rarely presents in simple binary forms. For example, I might choose to live in a mono-ethnic village BUT also choose to have good relations with my neighbours AND choose to remain in the village in which I was born and bred.
- That a choice beneficial to an individual may entail collective penalties. This is because individuals are significantly part of larger communities and there are impacts and implications in individual actions to the broader community and vice versa. For instance, even if, on balance, people feel safer and more comfortable in mono-ethnic villages, the economic, social and security penalties consequent on living in an ethnically divided country might outweigh those advantages. Having to be tolerant towards, to understand the perspective of and to co-operate with the 'other' on a daily basis could be a good thing however irritating and tiresome we may find it.

Of course, not all pupils will get there. But many will get close if we keep our eye on the ball and remember where the goal is!

HOMWORK

The homework task is designed to be easily explained to pupils. But this might not be the case for all pupils (for the generality of pupils in every class). Should teachers feel it would take too long or be too difficult to explain at the end of the lesson, they should rewrite it to suit the needs of their classes.

The task is designed, **first**, to consolidate not to extend existing learning; and **second**, to provide data that should enable teachers to identify specific misconceptions and impediments to learning. This being so, it is important that the homework task is **not** rewritten in ways that render it too easy, that guarantee all pupils are able to complete it to a good standard. The task is successful if and only if it yields evidence about:

- The accuracy of the teacher's judgements about the baseline of prior learning. In teaching Lesson 1 judgements were made about what pupils already knew, understood and were able to do. How accurate were these judgements? Is corrective teaching required prior to Lesson 2? Does some of Lesson 1 need to be re-taught (by other means) before moving on to Lesson 2?
- What **has not** as well as what has been learnt about ethnic markers and the historical contingency of what pupils usually assume to be the normal and natural state of affairs? Has sufficient been learnt for Lesson 2 to work? Or does some of Lesson 1 need to be re-taught (by other means)?
- How pupils make personal sense of what they've been taught, i.e. their tacit assumptions as well as explicit beliefs and ideas.
- Obstacles to learning, i.e. what if anything must be 'unlearned' for significant progress to be made towards unit objectives.
- The range of attainment in the class.

Given the above, the homework task **should not** be marked as though it were formally assessed coursework. *Formative feedback* should be given to each pupil. In the best of all possible worlds, this would include:

- Correction of factual and other errors.
- Identification of what a pupil has learned (= important ideas that s/he has understood; how to make valid and effective use of information).
- Questions or problems that the pupil should think about (in particular with reference to significant gaps, to inconsistencies in ideas, to unconsidered implications of what s/he has written).

Lesson Plan 2: Inter-Communal Relations in Mixed Villages |

PREPARATION

- Photographs and interview abstracts from inhabitants of formerly mixed villages (students' booklet)
- Provide one map of Cyprus showing formerly mixed villages for every four students

STARTER: Timing 10 minutes. Whole-Class Teaching

Remind pupils about the photographs used and questions posed at the start of the previous lesson. Remind them that the photographs helped them to answer some questions about the village but were of little use when other sorts of question were posed. The photographs were of Pyla/Pile, a village in Cyprus that is special because it is the only *mixed village* remaining in Cyprus.

Remind pupils that while the photographs studied at the start of Lesson 1 were useful sources of evidence, their utility was conditional on the questions asked. For some purposes, the photographs yielded no evidence whatsoever; and for most other purposes, the evidence yielded was limited and/or inconclusive.

At this juncture, an explicit link between lessons 1 and 2 should be made. Last lesson, pupils discovered that prior to 1974 *mixed villages* were commonplace. But they did not discover whether Greek and Turkish Cypriots chose to live together and did so amicably or whether they were compelled to live as neighbours. This question will be investigated further in Lesson 2. As before, photographs will be used as sources of evidence.

(ANSWERS)

- Yes, photographs of Pyla/Pile.
- It is a mixed village!
- The answer is 'Yes' because we could see a mosque and a church close together.
- The answer is 'No' because the photographs show nothing about other Cypriot villages!
 - No, because the photographs could have been taken in the same village or in two different villages!
 - In the lower photograph a church and mosque are located a short distance from each other. (The upper photograph could be of the same village, but this is uncertain.) Although both church and mosque are in good condition, which suggests that inter-communal relations are peaceful, we cannot be sure when the photographs were taken – in Pyla/Pile after 1974 or in a mixed village (which may or may not be Pyla/Pile) before 1974.
 - No, because we don't know where, when or why the photographs were taken, or whether the people shown are Greek and/or Turkish Cypriots.
 - Yes, many people who lived in mixed villages before 1974 are still alive. So we could ask them what life was like in a mixed village! This type of source is called *testimony*.

As with LP1, the starter question and analysis of photographic sources can be made as simple or sophisticated as necessary in order to challenge pupils without leaving them utterly bewildered. For example:

- Comparisons might be made between *mixed villages* and Cyprus as a whole. Before 1974 Cyprus was a 'mixed island'. In 1974 it became a 'divided island' with two political systems, Turkish Cypriots living in the north and Greek Cypriots living in the south. In reality, might *mixed villages* have been 'divided villages' with a northern Turkish Cypriot half and a southern Greek Cypriot half. Might each mixed village have functioned as two villages joined at a Peace Line? Could we find out by looking at photographs? **More sophisticated classes might understand that mixed villages could have been mixed and divided in various ways and to different degrees depending on the balance of populations, power and wealth as well as on the fortunes of history.**
- The evaluation and interrogation of photographic sources of evidence, could lead to agreement on a simple provenance check that should be applied to all photographs: (1) *Where taken?* (2) *When taken?* (3) *By whom taken?* (4) *Why taken?*
- Pupils might be asked how, without recourse to computers and Photoshop, photographs can be made to deceive? They should be able to identify three simple ways: (1) *Photographs can be staged in various ways.* (2) *Photographs can be cropped (with scissors).* (3) *Captions can be falsified.* Pupils should appreciate that although the photographs they've studied are difficult to use because they have no captions, they are safer to use **because** there is no risk of being misled by false captions.
- The three essential points that pupils should learn from their study of photographs are: (1) *The information contained in a photograph ≠ The evidence we take from a photograph;* (2) *The evidence we take from a photograph is **not** fixed but varies according to the questions we ask;* and (3) *For some questions, a photograph will yield **no** evidence at all – it is a 'dumb source'.*
- A more sophisticated class may be also ready to engage with the concepts of "codes" and "meaning" which are context dependent and subject to different and multiple interpretations.

The need for an alternative source of evidence should be explained and the appropriate jargon – *testimony* – taught.

ACTIVITY: Timing 15-20 minutes

- A** *"My aunt had a two-storey house at our next door. Then she sold it to a Greek Cypriot family and they became our neighbours."*
- B** *"Greek Cypriots did not mind working in the factories, but Turkish Cypriots preferred not to work in a factory."*
- C** *"Greek Cypriots were good at trade; they were better at it than Turkish Cypriots."*
- D** *"People [Greek and Turkish Cypriots] all went to each others' coffee shops."*
- E** *"We [Turkish and Greek Cypriots] always greeted each other on the street"*
- F** *"We [Greek Cypriots] liked them and they [Turkish Cypriots] liked us but we didn't do much business together."*
- G** *"We had no problem with the Greek Cypriots; neither with our villagers nor with other Greek Cypriots. Turks and Greeks were equal."*
- H** *"Water was given to the Turkish Cypriot community for 4 days and 4 nights but Greek Cypriots had water for only 2 days and 2 nights."*
- I** *"I remember one particular night, my dad came to tell us to be careful as there were lots of strangers in the village and we all went up to the roof top of our house. We took our bedding as well and slept there. Nothing happened that night but it was the presence of strangers in the village that scared us. "*
- J** *"My dad had Greek Cypriot friends and he spoke good Greek but mum didn't speak any Greek."*
- K** *"I remember our neighbours giving us Easter çörek [Greek Cypriot bread] and we gave them bayram çöreği [bread baked for a Turkish Cypriot religious celebration]."*
- L** *"My mum told me that when she was a child her family had Greek Cypriot workers, who came from other villages to their house and worked in their fields, usually spending a month there. That was how she learned Greek."*
- M** *"We exchanged wheat [with our neighbours from the other community] and got apples in return. We agreed on an amount. We said 'işşa, işşa' [we are even]."*
- N** *"There was no conflict in the village. We had many Greek Cypriot neighbours. For instance even now I speak good Greek."*
- O** *"I remember our neighbour Elengu [from the other community]. She always came to our house, and she was very friendly with my mother. She didn't have an oven so she always used my mother's oven for bread-making."*
- P** *"When our Greek Cypriot neighbour's son got engaged, my mother went there to help them with the food. We also went to the wedding."*
- Q** *"We had good communication with the Greek Cypriots. I had friends in the village, I remember Dagi very well. Then I met him after the opening of the borders."*
- R** *"We didn't have friendships in the sense we have today. Life was different back then. People were busy; contact [with villagers from the other community] was good but it was limited."*
- S** *"We had good times: we sat on the same table, drank cognac and ate kebab together but it went no further. We greeted each other on the street but we didn't visit them [Greek Cypriots] in their houses that often."*

Explain the nature of the data and the task to pupils. With weaker or less confident classes it may be advisable, first, to use the first question as a whole-class activity; and second, to debrief each of the remaining items as soon as pupils complete it. With stronger and more confident classes, pupils may work through all four questions before answers are checked and debriefed.

Task debriefing should emphasise the following points:

- The function of Question 1 is twofold: First, to make pupils read and discuss each excerpt. Second – for more able and confident pupils - to help them realise that decisions about testimony evidence depend on (a) interpretation and evaluation of the source; and (b) what they are looking for, e.g. in the first instance this might be criteria to determine whether the evidence taken from a source gives a positive or negative impression of inter-communal relations. Pupils might be asked, *‘For the first question, did you always agree which excerpts gave **positive** or **negative** impressions of inter-communal relations? Did you ever disagree about **why** an impression was **positive** or **negative**? How did you resolve these arguments? How did you recognise ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ impressions when you read them?’*
- The function of Question 2 is to clarify that positive and negative impressions may relate to different aspects of inter-communal life, e.g. Control and use of village resources and facilities; work and business links; social and cultural contacts; ties of kinship and friendship. The four aspects identified are crude and simplistic but there is insufficient time for more sophisticated analysis. Nor does time permit resolution of all disagreements about which excerpts relate to which aspect. Provided that all (or nearly all) pupil pairs demonstrate the ability to group excerpts into four overlapping sets, the item has fulfilled its primary purpose – to enable pupils to describe inter-communal relations in general terms, i.e. to set-up Item 3.
- Question 3 is critical. It demands the ability to adjudicate between evidence-based generalisations about inter-communal relations in mixed villages. In brief, pupils must be able to reject generalisations (i) and (iv) in favour of either generalisation (ii) or (iii) and **do so with precise and valid reference to the sources provided**. Note that, at this juncture, it is of little consequence which generalisation, (ii) or (iii) is preferred. Less able/lower attaining pupils will tend to cherry pick sources to justify the selection and rejection of generalisations. More able and higher attaining students should be able to weigh the balance of evidence; and those with the best grasp of historical methodology may begin to reconstruct the forms of village life likely to have generated such testimony.
- Question 4 is aimed at above-average students and ‘fast finishers’. It demands the ability to improve on the best of the evidence-based generalisations supplied in the materials. Given the number of sources provided and the time allowed for pair work, this task would challenge 16-18 year-old students. It follows that too much should not be expected in a 45 minute lesson (60 minutes would be more appropriate).

Key learning outcomes with respect to inter-communal relations in mixed villages include: (a) The realization that it is only possible to portray much of what went on by using shades of grey, e.g. language differences were a barrier to communication, but a permeable barrier that divided some people (women in particular) more effectively than others. (b) Barriers to communication and contact affected some villagers more than others, e.g. women more than men. (c) Although there is clear evidence of division between communities (i.e. of separateness) there is minimal evidence of unfairness and resentment and none of threat or conflict. In an ideal world, all pupils would come to these conclusions.

- Key learning outcomes with respect to the nature of historical enquiry include: (a) Testimony includes both statements of fact (e.g. Source A about cross-community property sales) and statements of opinion/perception (e.g. Source B makes assertions about Greek and Turkish Cypriot work preferences). The truth status of B is more complicated than that of A. For instance, if author of A were lying we could reasonably dismiss the statement about this property sale as false. However, B could be lying (about his/her own perceptions) but the statement could nonetheless be true (because B’s perception of TC & GC work preferences could be mistaken). (b) We can often infer perceptions from statements of fact. From A we can reasonably infer that A’s family was willing to have a neighbour from the ‘other’ community and vice versa. (Strictly speaking, we might also infer that A wished to give this impression to the interviewer, but it could be counterproductive to alert pupils to this possibility at this juncture.) The key point is that we make **inferences from sources – use them as evidence for things that are not directly said**

or shown. Hence, **evidence \neq information.** (c) Sources of evidence are used **to reject statements (generalisations) about the past as well as to support them.** It is essential for pupils to grasp (a) – (c) before moving on to Lesson 3.

- A few pupils might be able to understand why statements about the past are never true in an absolute sense. They are simply more defensible than other statements that we could make. It follows that the ‘truth’ of all statements about the past is only ever provisional in the sense that we must be prepared to change what we say if, because of new evidence or improvements in methodology, it becomes more reasonable to assert a new or modified proposition. The key distinction here is between the **truth** (*of that which is the case*) and the **validity** (*of what we are entitled to say about the case*). Other distinctions follow, e.g. between inadmissible (= invalid) and admissible statements about the past, and between ‘more valid’ and ‘less valid’ statements. Once students break into this conceptual territory, the logic and methodology of history as an academic subject begins to make sense to them. For all but a small minority of students, such breakthroughs are slow to come and made with difficulty.

Ask students to compare their notes and comments about the abstracts with another pair. Then get them to share their notes and comments with the rest of the class. The aim here is to elicit information about how TCs and GCs living in mixed villages used to engage with each other (e.g. family visits, eating together, participating in public events, playing together, helping each other, working for each other, trading with each other, etc.). Another aim is to get across the fact that the inter-communal environment in mixed villages was usually peaceful, that people worked together for the common good.

Extension Activities: Timing 10-15 minutes (if time allows)

Activity 1:

(students booklet)

Put students into pairs and give each pair a text with village names in both Greek and Turkish. Ask them to match the Greek and Turkish names for each village. (5 minutes).

(ANSWER)

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Akrotiri : Ακρωτήρι, : | f) Agrotur |
| 2. Ayia Napa, : Αγία Νάπα, : | c) Aya Napa |
| 3. Bellapais, : Μπελλαπαΐς, : | g) Bellabayis |
| 4. Dhekelia, : Δεκέλεια, : | h) Dikelya |
| 5. Lapithos, : Λάπηθος, : | i) Lapta |
| 6. Latsia, : Λατσια, : | a) Laçça/Laçia |
| 7. Polis, : Πολις, : | b) Poli |
| 8. Pyla, : Πύλα, : | d) Pile |
| 9. Rizokarpaso, : Ριζοκάρπασο, : | k) Dipkarpaz/Karpaz |
| 10. Argaki, Αργάκι, : | l) Akçay |
| 11. Kalyvakia, Καλυβάκια, : | o) Kalavaç |
| 12. Kanli, Κανλί, : | j) Kanlıköy |
| 13. Kazivera, Καζιβερά, : | e) Gaziveran |
| 14. Kioneli, Κιόνελι, : | m) Gönyeli |

Activity 2: (group work)

Students can be divided into two groups. Teacher gives a village name to a group and asks the group to locate it on the map of Cyprus. If they locate it correctly, they get a point. (10 minutes)

Activity 3: (group work)

Put students into groups of 3-4. Provide students with photos taken from mixed villages and encourage them to discuss answers to questions such as the following. (5-10 minutes)

What does the photo below tell us about religion in a mixed, multi-ethnic village?

Provide students with the following information to make them aware of current conditions in a mixed village: ***No religious incidents or conflicts have been recorded in the last twenty years or so. The priest and the Imam are heard by both Turkish and Greek Cypriots, but people have stopped even noticing.***

PLENARY: Timing 5-10 minutes. Whole class work

The purposes of the PLENARY SESSION are to offer a provisional answer to the question left dangling at the end of LP1, to introduce the HOMEWORK task and to provide a bridge to LP3.

Teacher asks students to answer the following questions. Different opinions may be stated here. The aim is to make students think critically about everyday life in mixed villages.

(ANSWERS)

- Yes, Excerpt I is correct. Strangers came into the village and some of the villagers were frightened.
- The frightened villagers will have belonged to one community and the “strangers” to the other. We cannot tell whether the “strangers” were Greek Cypriots and the frightened villagers Turkish Cypriots or vice versa.
- It suggests that something happened on another night or nights!
- Arson... attacks... ethnic cleansing! Something that got rid of all members of one community from the village.
- Yes, Excerpt Q! A man talks about his friend, Dagi, in the past tense – “I had a friend, Dagi.” It is clear that he had not seen this friend for a long time, not until “the borders” were opened. This suggests that for a long time he was prevented from seeing his friend.
- Yes, you are old enough to remember the opening of passages through the borders in 2003. So we know that before 1974 there were a large number of mixed villages in Cyprus and then something happened.
- Excerpt I indicates that there was a clear external threat (from “strangers”) to an ethnic group in at least one village. And Excerpt Q indicates that friendships across communities were broken. There is also considerable evidence that inter-communal relations in mixed villages were peaceful, often cordial and sometimes close. All of this suggests that ‘events outside the villages forced Turkish and Greek Cypriots to live apart’. But there is also evidence of a clear division between communities and this doubtless made it possible for one or other to be easily identified and forced to flee in 1974. So, a mix of internal factors and external events best explains why the 1974 catastrophe was possible and why it happened when it did!

This conclusion is too simple, however. It is too simple because we’ve assumed that inter-communal relations were very similar in every mixed village, that most of what can be said about one village holds true for all villages. If this is true the fact that Pyla/Pile remained mixed is difficult to explain and may be a matter of luck! But, if inter-communal relations varied from village to village, it can be explained why some mixed villages became mono-ethnic before 1974 and why, with the exception of Pyla/Pile, none remained mixed after 1974. So how great were variations amongst mixed villages? We’ll try to answer this question next lesson.

Note that rhetorical questions might be necessary to focus pupils’ attention on excerpts I and Q in the first instance. In addition:

- Other excerpts might validly be cited, e.g. Excerpt N in which a Turkish Cypriot comments that, “*Even now [35 years after 1974] I speak good Greek.*” Like Excerpt Q, this indicates how complete (and catastrophic) the separation of communities was for some people.
- In deciding which of three explanations of the 1974 schism is to be preferred, many pupils are likely to ignore previous conclusions about inter-communal relations in mixed villages. The teacher may need to explain why answers to previous questions signify for succeeding ones, to show how some questions and answers connect with other questions and answers!
- Note that most classes are likely to decide that mixed villages became mono-ethnic in 1974 because of events external to them. This is a reasonable and acceptable conclusion. Only the most able and high attaining pupils/classes are likely to distinguish between explanation of

why the catastrophe was possible and why it happened when it did, between **necessary but not sufficient conditions** and **proximate/trigger causes**. Pupils able to understand that internal factors and external events work in different ways should be encouraged to do so, but learning progression does not depend upon this.

The lesson might end with new questions being posed:

- (a) 'Do you think that the people whose testimony we used as evidence about inter-communal relations all came from the same village or from different villages? What difference might it make if we found that the testimony from one village was less positive or otherwise different than that from another village?' We'll explore this question in LP3.
- (b) 'What questions do you think the interviewer asked the people whose testimony we read? What difference might this make to the answers they gave? Why does this matter?'

HOMework

As with LP1, the homework task is designed to be easily explained to pupils. But this might not be the case for all pupils (for the generality of pupils in every class). Should teachers feel it would take too long or be too difficult to explain at the end of the lesson, they should rewrite it to suit the needs of their classes.

Teacher provides students with photos taken in Pyla and asks them to answer the stated questions (see Students booklet).

The task is designed to consolidate learning and enable the teacher to monitor the ways in which pupils make sense of source-based work.

When marking work, it is important that formative feedback is offered (see notes re LP1 Homework).

When monitoring pupil progress and diagnosing errors note:

- Re Task 1, witness testimony is usually a superior source of evidence about inter-communal relations in mixed villages. BUT more can be learned from pupil justifications of whatever answers they give. Pupils should note that:
 - (a) Sources provide evidence not information (This is so even when the evidence taken corresponds with the information stated or shown.)
 - (b) The utility of evidence is always relative to the question to be answered or hypothesis to be tested.
- Re Task 2, alternative A is the better of the two, first because it invites interviewees to make comparative judgements and second because B is a 'leading question'. This notwithstanding, as above, more can be learned from how pupils explain and justify their answers than from the answers themselves. Their explanations and justifications should reveal understanding of:
 - (a) The difference between solicited and unsolicited testimony. The reasons for the former being given are easier to define and, in consequence, allow for when interpreting and evaluating testimony as a source of evidence.
 - (b) The ways in which even solicited testimony can be biased by interviewees' perceptions of situation ('Why am I being asked these questions?'), desire to please ('This person will think better of me if I answer in ways of which s/he approves') and fear of consequences ('Is this some sort of test? What happens if I give the wrong answers?')
- Re Task 3, pupils who recognise that false testimony – especially where falsehoods are deliberate – can be valuable provided that an historian identifies or suspects falsehood are likely to understand more than pupils who take the contrary view BUT, as ever, the quality of a pupil's explanations provide the acid test. The key points are:
 - (a) **Evidence ≠ Information.** It is vital that students understand this point. It should be taught and re-taught over and over again to enable pupils to grasp its implications. Parallels may need to be sought in everyday life. For instance, a teacher may pick up a pupil's exercise book (or test paper) and say, 'You want proof that pupil X is good at history? Here is the evidence! This is how I know that X is good at history. Look at this book (test paper). Do you agree?' Once the other pupils agree that X (the smartest in class) is good at history, the teacher changes tack and asks, 'But how do you know? In this exercise book (test paper) a lot is written about the history of Cyprus but there is not a single sentence about X or about how good he is at history. So how do you know that X is good at history?' The point is simple: there is no **information** about how good X is at history BUT a great deal of **evidence** to this effect. Of course, the teacher would need to clarify how the **evidence** works and the assumptions on which it is based, e.g. that the exercise book/test paper belongs to X, that X is responsible for its contents and that these contents represent 'good history' for someone of X's age.
 - (b) **Historians can allow for bias (and outright falsehood) when evaluating and drawing inferences from sources.** If the historian is able to identify limitations in an author's access to information, the reasons for source production, an author's personal interest in **outcomes (reward, vengeance, ideology etc.)**, then s/he can compensate for these factors. Analogies can be made with a

shooting athlete compensating for range, wind speed, barrel wear and barometric pressure (air density) when shooting at target.

- (c) **Useful and valid inferences can be drawn from errors of omission and commission, distortions and glosses, irrelevancies and reductions betraying purpose and intent**, i.e. these are elements of the evidence with which historians work.

N.B. teachers should note that many of the methodological concepts invoked in LP2 are likely to be fully mastered by average pupils following years of sustained and progressive instruction rather than in a single lesson or unit-of-work.

Lesson Plan 3: Did Inter-Communal Relations Follow a Common Pattern?

PREPARATION

- Have some more abstracts available, relating to or contrasting with the given abstracts. Keep them short!
- Have a photocopy of LP3 Activity 1 abstracts for students to have handy for connections and comparisons.
- Have a couple of whole interviews available.
- Get familiar with patterns of demographic change as well as differences between districts.
- Have the sets of testimonies photocopied and distribute them to the students if necessary.
- Ask the students to reserve the last 6-8 pages of their notebooks for use as 'Reflection' pages. These pages will be used by the students for noting down anything new that strikes them, anything that makes them think/feel differently or that they would like to explore further.

STARTER: Timing 5 minutes

The purpose of LP3 is to build on the knowledge that students have gained in the previous lessons. Here students will be exposed to a number of abstracts that build on statements which they have encountered in LP2. In LP2 students examined how people experience their everyday lives differently. In LP3 students are expected to specifically identify the factors that affect human relationships in mixed communities and be able to support them with specific examples. By the plenary at the end of the unit, they should be able to identify the ways in which power relations impact on mixed communities.

Questions on the contradictory statements about life in a mixed village aim to introduce the idea that some statements are valid generalizations about mixed villages in general whereas others are true singular particulars pertaining to the experiences of individual villagers/villages. Students should demonstrate, in the plenary, their ability to discriminate between generalisations and statements about singular particulars. Some students might also be able to explain how facts and interpretations differ.

Excerpt H says that Turkish Cypriots were given water for four days whereas Greek Cypriots only had water for two days. That's not "equal". And some other excerpts are difficult to reconcile with each other.

Inconsistencies in testimony can be explained in four ways:

- (a) *At least some (and perhaps all) testimony is false – because witnesses genuinely misremember and/or because witnesses are selective in reporting or misreport what they recall.*
- (b) *Witnesses perceive common experiences in different ways.*
- (c) *Witnesses in the same villages had different experiences. For instance, men and women might have had different kinds and levels of inter-communal contact.*
- (d) *Inter-communal relations were significantly different in different villages.*

All four explanations are likely to be true to varying degrees, but we are interested in the last one.

As with LP1-2, LP3 begins by addressing problems in methodology, specifically problems associated with the consistency of evidence and the validity of generalisations. (*N.B. evidence for statement Y may be deemed consistent even when what is stated in or shown by the 'sources' from which said evidence was taken is manifestly inconsistent but, for present purposes, this complication should be ignored.*)

Prior to recapping conclusions from LP2, the teacher might wish to consider problems of consistency and inconsistency in everyday life. *'Suppose I told you that X (a person best chosen by the teacher) had led a very sad and unhappy life. And suppose that one of you disagreed because you'd seen him/her laughing (or a photograph of him/her looking jolly). Would you agree that X cannot have led an unhappy life because we've evidence that he was once amused or had fun?'* Pupils should agree that, when talking about people, a single exception does not disprove the rule since statements about human affairs rarely, if ever, imply Aristotle's **universals**. (Contrasts might be made with the analytical truths of mathematics or with covering laws in physics.) It is possible that some pupils will take a hard-line on this issue and assert that X cannot have had an unhappy life unless s/he was consistently miserable. In such cases, a teacher might riposte that the converse also holds, namely that X cannot have had a happy life unless s/he was consistently jolly. We quickly arrive at the conclusion that all we can say about everyone we know about is that their lives were *neither happy nor unhappy*, i.e. we can say nothing about our lives overall only about whether we are happy or unhappy at given instants of time. Most pupils will take the point, however, that statements about happy/unhappy lives are statements about the balance and intensity of joy and misery in people's lives. This point is more pungently made in the famous aphorism attributed to Solon!

A similar generalisation might be made about school classes: *'Class 14B is really lazy, nowhere near as hardworking as Class 14A! Is this statement necessarily false if two of the pupils in Class 14B work harder than any pupil in Class 14A? If not, why not? What would we need to find out to prove that this statement is false? Explain.'*

Conclusions should now be applied to problems of generalisation pertinent to mixed villages. It is essential for pupils to understand that variations in testimony follow from: (a) inaccuracies in the reporting of experiences and perceptions; (b) genuine differences in experiences and perceptions of life in mixed villages; and (c) variations in the realities experienced and perceived across a range of mixed villages

Should time permit, pupils might be asked to explain:

- Why we need to find out whether variations in inter-communal relations across mixed villages were large or small. **The point is simple but needs to be clear to pupils: 'Will one explanation of what went wrong in Cypriot mixed villages in 1974 work for ALL mixed villages or do we need different explanations for groups of villages (or even for each and every village)?' If inter-communal relations in all mixed villages were similar to each other – if variations were small – then ONE explanation will do!**
- How we might find out if variations were large or small. **The point should be made that while we need to look at more than two mixed villages, time does not permit this. (Likewise, historians would use sources of evidence additional to testimony and photographs.)**

The activity enables pupils to explore connections between substantive questions and methodological problems. More precisely, pupils should understand that the seemingly simple question, *'Were inter-communal relations the same in all mixed villages'* can only be answered if we can solve the problem of what counts as 'the same'. Judgements about what is 'the same' must allow for two things: first, error, selectivity and falsehood in sources of evidence (= testimony in the present case); and second, the fact that sameness (= similarity) \neq identity. All generalisations about inter-communal relations in the set of mixed villages are second-order generalisations about first-order generalisations particular to individual villages. It follows that inter-communal relations can be expected to vary from village to village just as, within any one village, reported (and misreported) perceptions thereof will vary from villager to villager. The extent to which pupils can be expected to grapple with and solve this problem must be determined by the teacher. Some classes may need to be led carefully through tasks 1-5, each task being debriefed before pupils move onto the next one (tasks 6-8 being abandoned). Others may be allowed to work through tasks 1-8 without support or interruption.

MAIN ACTIVITY: Timing 35 minutes

Purpose of this activity is to help students understand that “mixed villages” vary from place to place not only due to factors such as age, social class, occupation, gender, but also due to wealth and power distributions affecting interactions across the two communities.

- It is better to have students working in pairs or in groups as it might be quite difficult for them to accommodate the fact that patterns exhibit variations as well as regularities.
- Most probably students will not find it easy to go through this activity unless they have done something similar before. It is advised that the teacher goes through the first 2-3 abstracts with the students so as to make sure that they have understood what the activity is about.
- This is a quite demanding activity and it may take a long time for students to compare their results. The purpose of the activity is not to scrutinize students’ results but to discuss why students’ answers agree or disagree.
- Conclusions that students might draw:
 - i. Inconsistencies exist where people are positioned differently in terms of status:**
 - They were together most of the time, they had their flocks, their stuff. They had a very good time, a very good time (Afanía, male, Greek-Cypriot, Thanasis, 56)
 - I remember G/Cs were poor. For instance there was Arif Bey’s farm very close to our village and 2000 donums of Kırklar farm. These two farms were both Turkish farms and 80% of the workers were G/Cs. Turkish Cypriots had more land (Afanía, Turkish-cypriot, male, Kahil,70)
 - Our people [the Greek-Cypriots]... they were richer than the Turks and they [the Turkish-Cypriots] came to us to shop... (Afanía, Greek-Cypriot female, Lenia, 60)
 - ii. Establishing the superiority of ones position. This is often done by highlighting language dominance:**
 - Ehm... we went to their businesses as workers....I didn’t learn Turkish, because they knew Greek and they talked to us only in Greek. (Afanía, Greek-Cypriot female, Anna,77)
 - Greeks were poor, therefore Greeks had to learn Turkish. That is why we didn’t know Greek. (Afanía, Turkish-Cypriot male, Kahil, 70)
 - iii. Inconsistencies in the same person’s narrations:**
 - Not many G/Cs met T/Cs as I remember. . . .but my mother had G/C friends. . . . For instance, when our neighbor’s son got engaged (Peristerona, Turkish-Cypriot female, Melek, 62).
 - Despite the fact that the narrator talks of “friends” in the plural, she only refers to one single example: “For instance when our neighbor’s son got engaged, my mother went there to help them with the food. We also went to the wedding but usually T/Cs did not go to a G/C wedding”.
- Facilitating question for Task 3: *Did people actually live together?* This question naturally leads to the housing patterns 1-4 given in Homework 1. But don’t show them the patterns just yet!
- The main purpose of this activity is to introduce the idea that the passing of time often makes people think and feel differently about what happened in the past. Students are not expected to pick up this notion immediately, but should be able to note at least one of the following key-points:

- *My grandfather....*: This is the first clue that the author was quite little.
 - *Those were the years when...*: the author makes it obvious that he considers the period he's talking about to be quite distant in time
 - Among the *"The Oldest-The furthest" memories that I remember.....*: the author indirectly acknowledges the limitations of his memory. Students will return to this concept in LP5.
- This activity also aims to introduce the concept that not all narratives have the same status as sources of historical evidence; e.g. fiction does not have the same status as a diary or letter.
 - **Tasks 1-2** focus attention on inconsistencies in testimony that, on the basis of probability, may be attributed to differences in perception (or to witnesses reporting what they'd prefer to have been true) rather than to different experiences/realities. It just cannot be true that, in the same village, both Turkish and Greek Cypriots were more powerful and/or prosperous. Nor can it be true that, whatever exceptions obtained, both Greek and Turkish were the dominant language for cross-communal communication. Pupils should appreciate that some testimonies **contradict** each other – they are not merely inconsistent or contrary! Pupils should identify contradictions between A1-A2, A1–A4 and B1-B4. (*N.B. pupils should note that B1-B5 say nothing about language dominance in Peristerona/Cengizkoy.*)
 - **Tasks 3-4** may be simplified by reducing options from four to two. Should this be advisable, whether to save time or to simplify decision making with younger/less able/lower attaining classes, options should be reduced to **Divided and Hostile** versus **Separate but Friendly**. If four options are offered to pupils, it is important that those used to characterize inter-communal relations in the two villages are identical or contiguous. If two options are offered, the same option must be selected for both villages.
 - **Task 5** allows no room for compromise. If pupils conclude that inter-communal relations in the two villages are either **exactly the same** as or **very different** from each other then the testimony has been misinterpreted and/or the nature of historical generalizations is not understood. Pupils must accept that, on the basis of the sources provided, inter-communal relations in the two villages were not identical but were *similar* to each other. This distinction begs many questions but, for many classes, it will do – progression to lesson 4 is now viable.
 - **Tasks 6-8** explore problems of historical generalization one stage further. Task 5 evades a critical question: *'If inter-communal relations in the two villages were not identical, they must have been dissimilar in some respects as well as similar in others. So how do we decide whether or not they were sufficiently similar for generalizations to be valid and useful?'* There are many ways of answering this question.

That adopted here involves contrasting the variability of inter-communal relations between villages with the variability to be found within villages, i.e. comparing the scale of differences between villages with those of differences *within villages*. Pupils are asked to decide whether differences in perception of inter-communal relations across villages appear to be greater than differences across ethnic and gender groups. Although somewhat artificial and simplistic, this task introduces pupils to some important methodological problems and solutions. If successful, pupils should be able to work out that in both villages: (a) cross-communal contact and socialization was more frequent amongst men than amongst women (e.g. in cafes); and (b) there was a 'shared inaccuracy of perception' with respect to ethnic ascendancy (i.e. both Greek and Turkish Cypriots perceived their own ethnic group as the more powerful, richer and/or linguistically dominant).

N.B. with respect to estimates of land distribution, there were significant discrepancies in testimony: Turkish Cypriots claimed that about 45% of land, livestock and agricultural machinery belonged to their community, whereas Greek Cypriots said that only 25% of land etc. Belonged to Turkish Cypriots.

Most pupils equipped to tackle tasks 6-8 should realise that there are several orders of generalisation – across individuals to make general statements about women, about men, about Turkish Cypriots and about Greek Cypriots; across different ethnic and gender groups to make general statements about a particular mixed village; and across a number of villages to make statements about mixed villages in general.

Provided that generalisations do not become more tenuous as their order increases, we are as justified in generalising across villages as in doing so across a group of individuals in a given village. The most able pupils might realise that, as the order of generalisation increases, new patterns become observable – that what appears to be inconsistent and disordered within a single village is seen to be an interesting phenomenon if replicated across a number of villages. For example, testimony with respect to ethnic wealth and power is manifestly contradictory if only a single village is studied but, were this to be repeated across all or most villages, it could no longer be attributed to *error* (of whatever kind) but would constitute rock solid evidence of an interesting socio-historical phenomenon – *shared inaccuracy of perception*.

An aspect of difference within a single village becomes a common feature of the population of mixed villages.

- It is important that pupils are aware of the methodological limitations of the tasks undertaken. In particular, they should understand that (a) all mixed villages should be studied, not just two; (b) complete transcripts of testimony need to be analysed, not just excerpts; and (c) other sources of evidence should be used, not just testimony taken thirty years after the event.

PLENARY: Timing 5 minutes

(ANSWERS)

Like everything else, they've changed over time. In fact, a Turkish Cypriot today is more different from a Turkish Cypriot in 1600 than s/he is from a Greek Cypriot today! And the same can be said about Greek Cypriots today and in 1600.

The answer is that contact sometime speeded up and sometimes slowed down changes in ethnic markers. Overall, however, contact tended to accelerate changes in ethnicity.

By the end of this lesson, students should have concrete ideas about how different factors affect human contacts and power relationships. Students should also be able to link these factors to specific examples.

At this point all learners should know that in certain respects – such as age, sex, wealth and occupation – individual GCs and TCs will have more in common with some members of the 'other' ethnic group than with most members of their own ethnic group.

Most learners should know that in mixed villages people would socialize and co-operate with villagers in the 'other' ethnic group BUT not to the same extent or in the same ways as they would socialize and co-operate with villagers in their own ethnic group.

And some learners should know that although they are usually more similar to each other than to mono-ethnic villages, each mixed village (e.g. Pyla) has unique characteristics distinguishing it from other mixed villages.

The purposes of the PLENARY SESSION are to offer an answer (in reality a provisional answer) to the question posed at the end of LP2, to introduce the HOMEWORK task and to provide a bridge to LP4. Fulfilment of these purposes with most, if not all, classes should be straightforward.

All pupils should accept that, for their purposes, general statements can be made about mixed villages in Cyprus (even though only two have been studied, in inadequate detail and on the basis of insufficient evidence). As and when appropriate, however, older, more able and higher attaining pupils should learn that all such statements are necessarily **provisional** (and hence may be modified in the light of new evidence and/or following re-evaluation of sources from which evidence has already been inferred) and **valid within limits set by the methodological and logical assumptions on which they are grounded** (e.g. it is assumed that distinctions between the social realities encountered/experienced in a mixed village and individual perceptions of those realities are methodologically sustainable.) Given sufficient time, we would wish pupils to understand that it is possible to answer the question, 'Can we assert 'x, y and z' about mixed villages in general **or** must we say 'p, q and r' about one village but assert 's, t and u' about another village and so on?' in other and more rigorous ways. We would also wish them to understand that the question has only been half-answered by the method used in the lesson.

As well as establishing that variability in inter-communal relations between villages was no greater than variability in intra-communal relations within villages (supposing that all or a representative sample of mixed villages had been studied), we must also establish that (i) the social dynamics of mixed villages differed significantly from those of mono-ethnic villages; and (ii) that differences in social dynamics are not attributable to factors unrelated to the ethnic diversity of mixed villages. In short, we must have good reason to believe, not only that inter-communal relations in mixed villages follow a consistent pattern, but that this pattern is distinct from any typical of mono-ethnic villages and cannot be explained with reference to other variables. For example, our conclusions about mixed villages would need to be revised were we to find similar patterns of social relationships in mono-ethnic villages split between fundamentalist and liberal believers, between radical socialists and hard-line

conservatives, between villagers who lived by farming and those who depended on business and tourism etc. [N.B. understanding of why this is so demands mastery of both (no-formal) logic and historical thinking that is two or three years beyond 15 year-old pupils, but the general point – that everything we are entitled to assert about the past is predicated on certain (ontological, logical and methodological) assumptions – can be taken by able 25 year-olds.]

A second learning outcome relates to the significance of ethnic distinctions in mixed villages. Pupils should understand that people would socialize and co-operate with villagers in the ‘other’ ethnic group BUT not to the same extent or in the same ways as they would socialize and co-operate with villagers in their own ethnic group. It is also essential that pupils recognise ethnic differences to be comparable to those based on age, sex, occupation, wealth and so on. It follows that in certain respects – such as age, sex, wealth and occupation – individual Turkish and Greek Cypriots have more in common with some members of the ‘other’ ethnic group than with most members of their own ethnic group. This is important because the relative salience of such differences shifts according to circumstance. For instance, in times of economic hardship, poor Greek and Turkish Cypriots may find they have more in common with each other than with richer members of their own ethnic groups. In subsequent lessons, they will discover that the extent to which Turkish and Greek Cypriot villagers co-operated and even socialised with each other varied across time as needs, opportunities and events dictated. For instance, when faced with a common foe or hard times, co-operation and social solidarity tended to increase. When a colonial power (i.e. Britain) pursued a ‘divide and rule’ policy, ethnic divisions and suspicions were aggravated. When new opportunities arose, e.g. in the wake of Cypriot independence or accession to the EU, divisions could be either intensified or mitigated.

Refer to the PLENARY statements & questions in LP3

By the end of the lesson more able pupils should have taken a few key messages from history. These include but are not restricted to the following:

- Ethnic identities are not fixed. They shift and mutate across time.
- Ethnic identities are not the only identities. Like those based on ethnicity, other identities change over time. This even holds for identities with firm bases in biology – like gender and age-based identities. (What it means to be ‘a woman’ today is very different from what it meant even 100 years ago; and the age at which someone was deemed to be an ‘adult’ have varied by as many as 10 years either side of the age accepted today.)
- Ethnic identities are not the sole determinants of relationships across ethnic groups. Both ethnic identities and inter-communal relationships vary as situations change and circumstances alter.
- What we do not understand we cannot control. What we do understand, however imperfectly, we can at least attempt to control. This holds for our sense of individual and collective identities, ethnic and otherwise. It also holds for intra- and inter-communal relations. Understanding history is a precondition for empowerment. The uses to which knowledge and understanding are put are up to us.

By the end of LP3 a teacher should be in a position to determine whether or not, by the end of LP5, these learning outcomes are likely to have been attained (= at least incremented, consolidated and reinforced) by the majority of pupils in the class. If this appears unlikely, one or both of two courses of action is recommended: **either** slow the pace of teaching and aim to fulfil unit objectives over an extended sequence of lessons (perhaps ten rather than five) **or** aim for less ambitious targets by the end of LP5. For instance if, by the end of LP5, most pupils in a class knew that the rigid ethnic divide obtaining since 1974 is exceptional, not normal, in the history of Cyprus since the late sixteenth century, they might then question why they live in unusual not normal times and speculate as to what could be done to restore inter-communal relations to a more historically even keel. Given such outcomes, unit teaching would be successful! For success to be possible, however, it is essential that teachers substitute attainable for unobtainable objectives and/or, as aforesaid, increase the number of lessons scheduled for unit teaching.

HOMWORK

H.1. The purpose of these schemes is to help students realise that there were different patterns of interaction, housing and power in mixed villages. The (perceived) patterns of housing, as well as population data for each community given above, affected work and power relationships and account for many of the abstracts given in Task 1. A piece of information on property that could further illustrate Task 3 and Homework 1 is:

With respect to estimates of land distribution, there were great divergences: TCs claimed that about 45% of land, livestock and agricultural machinery belonged to their community, whereas GCs said that only 25% belonged to TCs.

These abstracts do not represent specific villages. They represent how people remember their villages' housing; these representations can be categorised as shown in the schemes.

H.2. This can effect a useful revision of what was learned from LP1-2, helping students to reflect on what they have learned and about what they now think differently.

[Some liberties have been taken and assumptions made about source materials. First, the fact that housing patterns summarise the ways in which ex-villagers remember housing patterns in their villages has been suppressed. If the diagrams summarise witness testimony they are even more difficult to use than interview excerpts and cannot stand as independent correlates thereof. Hence it is more appropriate to use them as representations of what could, in principle, be discovered about housing patterns in mixed villages. Second, it is suggested that property records could serve as (testimony independent) sources of evidence about housing patterns on the assumption that at least some records have survived events in and following 1974.]

Homework tasks are designed to consolidate learning and enable the teacher to monitor the ways in which pupils make sense of source-based work. When marking work, it is important that formative feedback is offered (see notes re LP1 Homework). It is also important not to expect many 'correct' answers. There are several reasons for this. First, some pupils are likely to hit on 'correct' answers by means of highly defective reasoning whereas the reasoning behind many 'incorrect' answers might be far more advanced. Second, tasks are designed on the 'traps and tripwire' principle, i.e. to ensnare and expose common misconceptions and lazy thinking. Third, tasks are also designed on the 'no visible ceiling' principle, i.e. They would discriminate effectively amongst a population of undergraduate historians and, in consequence, test levels of understanding higher than those likely to be attained by secondary students. In other words, tasks impose 'low entry fees but high exit charges'.

Task 1 has an especially 'low entry fee'. Most pupils should be able to link patterns 1 and 4 to the *integrated/co-operative and divided/hostile* modes of inter-communal relations discussed in the lesson. Challenges for more able pupils include analysing the implications of unequal Turkish and Greek Cypriot numbers in Pattern 2 (numbers are split 50:50 for all other patterns), of the enclave distribution of households in Pattern 2 and of the alternative explanations of Pattern 3 (alluded to in the exemplary caption). The main function of Task 1 is to force pupils to analyse housing patterns and to serve as a relatively gentle introduction to more demanding tasks.

Task 2 contains snares for the unwary. For example, pupils may look for direct reference to housing patterns and, in consequence, focus upon a single source – A1 – as though it contained unambiguous and necessarily trustworthy information. Some students may even relate this information to housing patterns in both villages. Likewise, pupils may make simple inferences from a limited number of sources, e.g. from B4 they may infer that a rich Turkish Cypriot villager had at least two Greek Cypriot neighbours and elect for Pattern 1 or 3. (Although this inference is invalid in two respects, it demonstrates that interview excerpts are treated as *sources* of evidence not of true information.) With luck, pupils will evaluate and analyse sources in the round and consider whether people who co-operated and socialised as they appear to have done were likely to have lived

as close or distant neighbours. More able pupils may draw inferences about probable housing patterns from the fact that villagers appear to have had diverse experiences and perceptions. The most able might draw inferences from evidence that women had less inter-communal contact than men and that male social contacts tended to take place in coffee shops. More able pupils might also conclude that while no firm conclusions can be drawn, the balance of evidence suggests that the housing pattern in neither village is likely to conform with patterns 1 or 4.

Task 3 sets tripwires for pupils who fail to understand what is going on, i.e. why predictions about housing patterns in the two villages are made and tested. In response to task 3(a), pupils who fail to grasp the distinction between information (*that can be accepted as true*) and evidence (*as a basis for valid inference*) will conclude that confirmation of predictions proves the truth of witness testimonies. Those who understand the *information – evidence* distinction will, however clumsily, conclude that confirmation of predictions about housing patterns suggests witness testimonies to be valuable/useful sources of evidence about inter-communal relations. More able pupils might explain why confirmation of predictions says as much about the validity of our methodology (procedures for evaluating, interpreting and using sources of evidence) as it does about the value of the sources. In response to task 3(b), pupils who fail to understand the point of making and testing predictions and/or who don't realise that housing patterns are used as one of many possible indicators of inter-communal relations, **either** assert that the prediction was about where villagers lived not about inter-communal relations or draw inferences about inter-communal relations directly from the proven housing patterns, e.g. *'Relations between the two communities were close because Turkish and Greek Cypriot houses were completely mixed up'*. Pupils who understand the point of the exercise will conclude that we know no more than we did to start with **but** now have more confidence in what we know (or think we know). Teachers of older and more able pupils might refer to Karl Popper and the logic of disconfirmation as applied to empirical forms of knowledge.

Task 4 also sets tripwires. Unless explanatory text yields unequivocal evidence to the contrary, selection of options (i) and/or (ii) indicates failure to understand that and/or how hypotheses about inter-communal relations are being tested. Provided that explanatory text suggests that pupils understand the significance of disconfirmed predictions, selection of option (iii) is a good and acceptable response. Option (iv), the best answer, is likely to be selected by few pupils – in part because it demands far more thought. Very able pupils might realise the significance of the fact that a prediction about housing patterns can be disconfirmed in any one of three ways, i.e. disconfirmation data are themselves potential sources of evidence. Taken in conjunction with testimony and other sources, disconfirmation data about housing patterns may make little sense. In which case, we may decide to test our original hypothesis against another indicator of inter-communal relations, e.g. levels and patterns of economic activity and transfer between the two communities. Should the several sources of evidence – property records, witness testimony and so on – suggest a modified or new hypothesis about inter-communal relations, this might be the 'something else' advanced as an expansion of option (iv). For example, suppose that Pattern 1 was predicted on the basis of testimony sources and Pattern 2 found to obtain from examination of property records. We might, on reflection, expect realignment of housing patterns to lag behind improvements in inter-communal relations and, on this basis, hypothesize that housing patterns were in the process of realignment from Pattern 3 to Pattern 1 with Pattern 2 representing an intermediate stage in this process. We would end with a more sophisticated and genuinely historical hypothesis about inter-communal relations in mixed villages. Thus does the process of disconfirmation take us forward, advancing knowledge by the progressive elimination of error in source evaluation and interpretation, and in inference from evidence.

Lesson Plan 4: How and Why Have Inter-Communal Relations in Mixed Villages Changed Over Time?

PREPARATION

- Have the Census data available.
- Sources may be photocopied and distributed to students.
- Get familiar with the sources for Activity 1 and have them photocopied. It might be easier for students to work on sheets.
- Be clear about definitions of the terms *accurate*, *reliable* and *accurate*.
- Definitions given in this Teachers Guide could be photocopied, or simpler definitions could be negotiated with students.

STARTER: Timing 5 minutes

Unlike starters for LP1-LP3, that for LP4 focuses attention on inter-communal relations. It alerts pupils to the distinction between two sorts of change:

- Changes woven into the fabric of each and every life. These are often *cyclical*. The example explored is that of change in the scale and nature of inter-personal relations as we mature and age. Pupils should note that the same pattern of change applies to them all. This sort of change is visible (they could all answer the teacher's questions) and influenced to a certain extent by their wishes and actions. Other examples, e.g. the cycle of seasons, may be mentioned. The weather on any particular day may be unpredictable but the cycle of change from spring to summer to autumn to winter is entirely predictable. Change in the scale and nature of social relationships from the dependency of infancy to the dependency of old age is also fairly predictable
- Changes to the cycles and patterns described above. Climate change is a topical instance of this. We don't see it coming or happening, but it can move the start of spring, reduce winter rains and devastate grape harvests. In short, climate change can change the meaning and nature of the seasons. Likewise, events – technological and economic, social and political – can change the scale and nature of our relationships.

These changes, which we may call *historical*, impact across generations. It follows that we don't always see, or soon forget, that things have changed, that they were once very different. We tend to assume that the way things are now is how they ought to be, must be and always will be. But what seems to be normal and enduring can and will change. What is uncertain is when change will come, how big it will be and whether it will be for better or for worse.

(ANSWERS)

- The number of people with whom you have some sort of relationship has increased – and increased several times over – since you were four.
- From outside the family!
- Not so important, certainly far less important than relationships with family.
- Very important!
- One hundred years ago nearly all of your social relationships would have been drawn from a very small area centred on where you live. Now you travel more widely, use the telephone and – more important – the INTERNET.
- So your relationships are different than they would have been 100 years ago because circumstances have changed – e.g. we now have electronic communications and greater opportunities for travel.

- Fifty years ago many of you would have lived in mixed villages and formed relationships with people from the other ethnic community. We read testimony that Greek and Turkish Cypriot children in mixed villages played games with each other. So events that your grandparents may remember have restricted your opportunities to form relationships with people of your own age!

By now, students should have a clear idea about how different factors might affect people's experiences and interpersonal relationships. LP4 aims to teach students that people's lives differ not only from place to place but from time to time. LP4 will introduce the concept that people's lives are highly influenced by turning points in history as well. Extension activities will explore the problems and limits of generalisations.

Pupils should be made aware that we study the past in an attempt to understand **historical change**, to prepare ourselves for it and – just maybe to learn how to influence it, how to ride the tiger rather than be eaten by it.

The sources used in this activity raise methodological issues that could be explored over two or three lessons. The existence of these issues may be signalled with reference to Source 1 BUT, for the most part, they should be left to one side. The central and overriding ILOs (intended learning outcomes) are:

- At various times in the past, ethnic differences between Greek and Turkish Cypriots were secondary to other sorts of group difference, primarily socio-economic ones BUT, at other times, ethnic differences took precedence.*
- At some times, Turkish and Greek Cypriots were friends and allies; at others, hostilities were so intense that contact was dangerous.* The problem for teachers is twofold.

First, these ideas threaten simplistic notions of identity and may be resisted by some pupils.

Second, although generalisations (a) and (b) are known beyond peradventure (i.e. can be asserted with as much confidence as the vast majority of statements about the past and accord with what is known about intercommunal relations in most times and places), they cannot be safely inferred from the sources provided. To teach propositions (a) and (b) on the basis of adequate evidence would require detailed analysis of a huge body of source material. Even if we had the time necessary for this to be done, pupils lack the mastery of historical methodology for it to be possible. Pupils must therefore take sources 1-7 (or 2-7 at least) at face value. Critical scrutiny of the sources would offer many, and perhaps most, pupils with a fire escape from ideas that threaten long-held and comfortable conceptions of what they are and where they stand relative to the 'other'. When briefing and debriefing this activity, it is important that no such fire escape is made available.

MAIN ACTIVITIES: Timing 35 minutes

- The purpose of the activities is to help students locate chronologically the historical developments including the origins of mixed villages as well as to realise that mixed villages changed over time.
- By the end of LP4, students should have a clear idea about what each source refers to, as well as the sequence of events in the 20th century, since they will have to use these sources when making a timeline.
- Source 1 is extremely important as it refers to the origins of the Turkish-Cypriot community in Cyprus.

Helpful questions for interpretation of the table:

- Study the above table carefully.
- What do you notice?
- Can you give an explanation?
- At this point the terms *primary* and *secondary* source are introduced. Although students should get familiar with these terms, the principal function of supplied sources is to enable them to construct a chronology of events in the modern history of Cyprus. However, this should not preclude use of sources for other purposes or extension activities suitable for and appropriate to the student group. Following, are comments on sources that might facilitate alternative uses by teachers.

Source 1:

- Before 1571 we can see a homogeneous population whereas, after that there is reference to two different groups (other groups are not mentioned).
- The terminology used in the census:

Christians and “Turks”: The Greek-Cypriot population of the time did not define itself as Greek, but as Christian or Rum. The term “Turks” is used here to identify this new community whereas in the literature of the time this population is referred to as both “Turkish” and “Muslim”. With the passing of time, the term “Muslim” became more common as the community gradually integrated, and communal distinctions were made on the basis of religion rather than ethnic group. [In the new circumstances created by the mid 20th Century the term “Turk” reappeared (in a national and secular form) and replaced the term “Muslim”.]

Source 2 and 3:

Show how class/economic identities can assume greater importance than ethnic identities under certain conditions. Students should be asked if they’ve heard of the Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labour before.

Source 4:

Should be given special emphasis. Source 4 shows how identities may be manipulated.

Source 5:

This picture, showing the consequences of conflict, was taken by the UN forces. For this reason it could be suggested that the picture was staged to provide ‘evidence’ of how the UN engineered the situation whilst maintaining peace, i.e. by keeping the two communities apart. What this picture does not show is the role that the UN played (or didn’t play) during the conflict.

Source 6:

This is a man we have encountered before: he suggested that people from the two communities lived like brothers. Students should be cautioned that, in old age, people often wish to relive memories of happy times and are hence selective in what they choose to recall and forget.

Task 1: In order to save time, this 'orienting' task may be completed as a whole class activity with the timeline drawn on the board or projected on the IWB. Pupils should note that Cyprus has only recently become an independent state. Do pupils suppose Cyprus to have been independent before 1489? Might long periods of overseas rule by the Byzantines and Ottomans have any connection with the weakness of a Cypriot (as distinct from a Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot) identity?

Task 2: Evaluation of Source 1 stands as a token for that of other sources in this activity. Although a valuable source of evidence in many respects, the population figures reported cannot be taken at face value for any number of reasons:

- In early modern times, population data was only compiled for purposes of taxation, levies, military or labour conscription. Figures were either guesstimates or demand-led projections.
- Archbishop Kyprianos must have presented these figures in or soon after 1777. His source(s) for 1571 – a year of crisis and conquest – are likely to have been speculative. Likewise, his intention to contrast data for 1777 (his own time) with that for 1571, the year of conquest, may have been politically motivated.
- The precision of the 1571 figure with the three round numbers (to the nearest thousand) in 1777 is suspicious.
- In 1777, many Christians by faith were Muslims for 'accounting purposes', i.e. to evade taxation and other exactions and disabilities. This practice, common throughout the Ottoman Empire, would have distorted the ratio of Christians to Muslims in favour of the latter. Even allowing for such distortions, however, the 1777 reported population ratio strains credulity given that, in the late eighteenth century, the island would have been denuded of soldiers to fight numerous wars in the Balkans and Caucasus.

With respect to population decline (task 2b), pupils should understand that although a Christian population collapse on the scale reported by the Archbishop is dubious, some measure of depopulation is credible. In the Mediterranean region, population flat-lined between 1450 and 1700 – growing in some areas but falling away in others. Possible reasons for decline included climatic cycles, shifts in trade patterns and recurrent visitations of plague.

The terminology used in Source 1 (see task 2c) highlights the mutability of identities. First, distinctions between ethnic and religious identities during the early modern period were not clear cut. Christian Cypriots would have thought of themselves as Orthodox first and foremost, and then perhaps as Rum (as subjects of the Eastern Roman – or Byzantine – Empire). Venetians, Franks and other invaders and settlers from the west would have been called 'Latins', semi-barbarian members of the Western Church who acknowledged papal supremacy. *Pupils should understand that, for Cypriots and other Byzantines, the crusades – and in particular the seizure and sacking of Constantinople in 1204 – were as unwelcome as later campaigns by the Ottomans.* They should also appreciate that the Ottoman Empire was dynastic not national. (Comparisons might be made with the Habsburg Empire which was dynastic not Austrian!) All those who served the sultans and pashas, whether newcomers to the island or native Cypriots, devout Muslims or Christian whose conversion to Islam was motivated by self-interest to a lesser or greater degree, are designated 'Turks' by Archbishop Kyprianos. With the passing of time, religious and ethnic distinctions became more systematic.

Task 3: The secondary status of Source 2 should be ignored for the time being. Teachers should note, however, that the author's focus on the history of the Turkish Cypriot masses (or "community") and, in consequence, on their fellowship with the Greek Cypriot masses (tenant farmers and peasants), might lead him to downplay something which was perhaps more systematic and more obvious: the explicit and/or tacit co-operation of Turkish and Greek elites (landlords and higher clergy) against to the masses.

The task requires pupils to make some fairly elementary inferences from the source:

- Many, and perhaps most, landlords would be Turkish Cypriots.
- The Orthodox Church held property and derived a substantial fraction of its income from the labour of Greek Cypriot peasants.
- Ethnic divisions certainly did exist between Turkish and Greek Cypriots but socio-economic divisions between rich and poor, 'rentier' and peasant classes, had a bigger impact on people's lives and consciousness.

- A more advanced look on the socio-economic divisions could bring into the discussion issues of land ownership and land use, the control of trade and the staffing of the administration personnel as well the phenomenon of artisans and apprentices, masters and domestic servants.

Task 4: Elementary inferences from sources 3 and 4 are required. The intention is to make pupils aware that in the twentieth century the class struggle in Cyprus spread beyond the peasantry to include an emergent proletariat. Whereas in the 18th and 19th Centuries farm land and agricultural production, its ownership and control that is was the key field upon which class conflicts were waged, in the 20th Century, wage labour and manufacturing production (including mining extraction and construction) constituted the basic realm of class antagonism. Thus the size of the wage and of the working time, the availability of work and working conditions, the right to organise in trade unions and challenge the absolute authority of the employers became the main issues of contestation

Task 5: One answer is obvious, namely that the colonial power manipulated Turkish Cypriot anxieties about what life might be like in an independent Cyprus. This, however, begs any number of questions. Why was the Greek Cypriot community less susceptible to comparable manipulation? Why was it unable to reassure the Turkish Cypriot community? What was the reason for Turkish Cypriot anxiety and to what extent was it justified? The one firm inference that can be made is that, co-operation in the Pan-Cyprian Foundation notwithstanding, significant ethnic divisions remained.

Had this not been the case, the British would not have been able to exploit them. More able students might draw some obvious conclusions from the fact that inter-communal relations deteriorated following independence. With some, but perhaps not all, classes, it may be appropriate for teachers to comment on demographic and socio-political factors – the numerical superiority of the Greek Cypriot community and the potential implications of *Enosis with Greece*.

Task 6: Sub-tasks (a) and (b) are intended to point a paradox: between 1960 and 1974 tension and hostilities between the two communities led to ethnic cleansing and rigid separation BUT the opening of borders in 2003 was welcomed and led to nostalgic fraternisation amongst members of formerly mixed villages. Can both statements be true? If so, how can they be reconciled and explained? This paradox sets up the Plenary Session. Sub-task (c), in returning to the methodological concerns raised in Task 2, reminds students that sources cannot be taken at face value, should always be treated as sources of evidence not as sources of information. This links with the homework task.

More able classes may be allowed to complete all tasks before debriefing responses. With classes of average and lower ability pupils, it may be preferable for teachers to debrief each task as it is completed.

PLENARY: Timing 5 minutes

Students should demonstrate with specific examples why mixed communities do not stay the same over time. Also, they should be capable of starting a discussion about how external factors, whilst not totally decisive, can impact on the life of a mixed community (a concept they will further examine in LP5). As Source 6 demonstrates, the fact that people share their lives in mixed communities can be more significant than external factors. (A supporting example of this will be given in the LP5 source on “Cypriot London”).

(ANSWERS)

- Inter-communal relations have fluctuated, sometimes getting better but getting worse at other times. Neither. They're certainly better than they were between 1960 and 1974 but not so good as they usually were between 1750 and 1960.
- Economic hardship can lead to the two communities co-operating against a common enemy or to solve a shared problem. The formation of the Pan-Cyprian Federation is one example.
- To oppose the peasants who wanted lower rents and land reform! They wanted to resist change because they'd have lost some of their wealth and power.
- From the UN and the EU! Membership of the EU was in the interests of both Cypriot communities and improvement to inter-communal relations was a price worth paying. Both communities also wanted the UN to reduce its profile and eventually withdraw from Cyprus. Turkish Cypriots protested in support of peace and reunification and this put pressure on their leadership to take up some sort of action. That took the form of opening the checkpoints and allowing movement to and from the south. Greek Cypriots welcomed the opening of the checkpoints and they also flooded the checkpoints. So inter-communal relations improve when there is a common enemy, a shared problem or a mutual advantage to be had!
- No! What it means to be a Turkish or a Greek Cypriot has changed over time. The people who settled in Cyprus following the Ottoman conquest of 1571 came from many lands – from the Balkans, North Africa, Lebanon, Syria and Palestine as well as from Anatolia. This was typical of colonization by any large empire. For example, the colonization of Cyprus following the conquests of Alexander and assimilation into the Roman and Byzantine empires would have been by peoples whose origins were no less diverse. We also know that significant numbers of Jews, Greek Orthodox, Armenian and other Christians 'converted' to Islam and were assimilated into what came to think of itself as the Turkish Cypriot community. In sum, two groups were initially defined against an externally imposed criterion: those liable for punitive taxation, exactions and penalties versus those not so liable. Over time, these groups became distinct communities, in part by redefining themselves with reference to religion (Orthodox v Muslim) and language (that of the Orthodox faith v that of imperial power). As more time passed, the two communities increasingly defined themselves with reference to myths of (ethno-national) origin and a shared history of mutual opposition and grievance. There is nothing unique to Cyprus about this process: essentially similar stories can be told for all communities, peoples and nations throughout the world.

At this point all learners should know that: *in mixed villages people would socialize and co-operate with villagers in the 'other' ethnic group BUT not to the same extent or in the same ways as they would socialize and co-operate with villagers in their own ethnic group.*

Most learners should know that: *although they are usually more similar to each other than to mono-ethnic villages, each mixed village (e.g. Pyla) has unique characteristics distinguishing it from other mixed villages.*

And some learners should know that: *the quantity and quality of relationships and interactions between ethnic groups in mixed villages varied across time and place.*

The purposes of the PLENARY SESSION are to offer an answer (in reality a provisional answer) to the question posed at the end of LP3, to introduce the HOMEWORK task and to provide a bridge to LP5. Meeting these purposes with most classes should be straightforward.

Under teacher guidance, pupils should work from sources 1-7 as a set, rather than source by source, in order to draw summative conclusions about the directions and causes of changes to inter-communal relations since 1571.

Teachers should be aware that pupils may have ideas about the origins of mixed villages – and perhaps about the presence on the island of their own ethnic group and that of the ‘other’ – that are selective and/or distorted in comparison with academic accounts. For example, pupils in either group may assume themselves to be indigenous to the island and/or to have been the original and founder members of any and every mixed village. Such assumptions may colour judgements and, as far as possible, should be pre-empted.

The Origins of Mixed Villages in Cyprus

South-western Eurasia, of which region Cyprus is part, has for long been a melting pot of peoples. For a while it fell under the control of Egyptians and Phoenicians. Then, for much longer periods of time, the island was ruled by one or other of the Hellenistic successor states to the empire of Alexander the Great. It then became part of the Roman and Byzantine empires. Following the decline of Byzantine power, Cyprus was dominated by Franks, by Venetians and then by the powerful and long-lived Ottoman Empire. Administrators and merchants, soldiers and settlers arrived with each wave of conquerors. These settlers came from all parts of the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman empires. For example, large numbers of Armenians were settled in Cyprus by the Byzantines; and the Ottomans settled people from Lebanon, Roumania and the Balkans as well as from Anatolia. Most people settled by the Ottomans were identified, in terms of religion rather than ethnicity, as “Muslims”. In addition, many Christians converted to Islam to escape heavy taxation and other penalties.

In 1570, when the Ottomans first occupied Cyprus, they gave *timars* - land grants - to soldiers under the condition that they and their families would stay there permanently. This was an action of far-reaching importance because these soldiers were the nucleus of what was to become the island's Turkish community. During the 17th century the ‘Turkish’ population grew rapidly, partly by conversion. Most people who had settled on the island or converted to Islam during the three centuries of Ottoman rule remained when control of Cyprus - although not sovereignty - was ceded to Britain in 1878. Many, however, left for Turkey during the 1920s. By 1970, ethnic Turks represented 18% of the total population of the island, with ethnic Greeks representing the remainder. The distinction between the two groups was based on both religion and language. Greek, the language of the dominant Christian liturgy, was gradually adopted by all non-Muslim groups. Turkish was the language of empire, of power and governance. It was also a language of faith – the only language other than Arabic into which the Quran could be translated. This attests to the hegemony exerted by Ottoman sultans in the Islamic world. It therefore became a second marker of Turkish ethnicity in Cyprus.

Refer to the PLENARY statements & questions in LP4

Following the Ottoman conquest, many Christian Cypriots (Orthodox and Catholic, Armenian and Maronite) had converted to Islam. Some remained Christians in secret. These were called “*linobambaki*”. According to a view expressed for the first time in 1863 AD, this term was a metaphor taken from a cloth woven with linen and cotton, the two different sides of which corresponded to the two aspects of their faith. The “*linobambaki*” turned up during daytime as Muslims but in the evenings they appeared as Christians, conforming with its customs and rituals.

For two reasons – time constraints and the sensitive nature of the material – teachers may have to drive debates towards desired conclusions. In particular, it may be necessary:

- To postpone consideration of issues about ‘who did what to whom’ and ‘who was to blame’ to another occasion. Pupils should be reminded that, at various points in the past, just about every group of people in the world has done unspeakable things unto others and had unspeakable things done unto them, but we need to establish that and understand why two groups of people in Cyprus have oscillated between friendly co-operation and fearful isolation.
- To distinguish between (a) what we think ought to be the case now and in the future and (b) what is and has been the case now and in the past. As to the former, there is no right answer (just more and less stupid answers). With respect to the latter, we should defer to evidence and logic. Pupils may have difficulty in applying this distinction to questions about national identity. Two facts in particular may be difficult for them to accept: that what it means to be a Greek or a Turkish Cypriot has shifted over time; and that these identities are socially constructed not natural categories (i.e. that the main difference between Turkish and Greek Cypriots – and between both groups of Cypriots and most other Eurasians - is that they think they’re different, have been socialized differently and, in consequence sometimes behave differently, rather than that they are different in any essential or irreversible sense). It is important that, however determined they may be to preserve or purify national identities in the present and future, pupils accept that there was a time when Greek and Turkish Cypriot identities did not exist – even though they all had ancestors with some identities or other – and that Turkish and Greek Cypriot identities have changed over time. These ‘facts’ can be asserted with as much certainty as we can say anything about a past beyond direct experience.
- To emphasise that inter-communal relations in Cyprus were or are exceptional. Similar stories have been and continue to be played out in the rest of the world. Some have ended well and others badly. We should learn from these cases as well as from Cypriot history.

HOMEWORK

Introduction:

Students should be able to understand that the distribution of mixed villages varied across Cyprus and across time. [Paphos, for example, until the 1970s had a big Turkish Cypriot population and can be described as a mixed district.] They should also be able to point out how numbers change over time; in this connection, it might be useful were students to be asked questions like, “What happened in this period?” “How did this lead to the relocation of people?”

The purpose of the homework activity is to induce students to think about inter-communal relations by means of population data. Using aggregated and single village data and comparing historically and temporally the variations. At the same time students are invited to think about possible reasons behind changes in numbers and proportions and examine whether such reasons are valid or not and whether they can be justified by the data at hand or not.

To make homework more challenging, students could be invited to imagine how a person of the opposite sex might experience events, e.g. *‘Do you think that boys and girls would experience the events in the same way? Justify your answer.’*

Pupils are likely to find the LP4 homework task challenging in several respects:

- They may have little experience of using quantitative data in history. For instance, some may be tempted to calculate the average percentage population growth in mixed, mono-ethnic Greek Cypriot and mono-ethnic Turkish Cypriot villages. This is not unreasonable provided, first, that pupils understand sufficient to calculate geometric not arithmetic mean percentages; and second, realise that with small and/or small samples, mean scores are likely to be deceptive measures of central tendency.
- Pupils may approach records of this type (census data, tax records, bills of lading, etc.) much as they would any descriptive accounts of events and situations (eyewitness testimony, personal letters, diaries, newspaper reports, etc.). In reality, census records are a species of paper (or documentary) artefact comparable to train tickets, maps, charts, tally sticks, measuring devices and so on. A census record can be a good or a bad tool in the same way that a ruler or spirit level can be a good or bad tool, but a ‘tool’ it is and the people who make and use it as such (usually) have a vested interest in its accuracy. Of course, census data can be falsified for political purposes – for example, to misrepresent the relative numbers of people belonging to two ethnic groups – just as a ladder can be designed to fail when used by someone above a given weight, but these are atypical purposes for creating any tool, a census as much as a ladder and, in the absence of good reasons to the contrary, historians typically take censuses, ladders and other artefacts at face value. In sum, pupils may attempt to evaluate census data in exactly the same way as they would evaluate records of eyewitness testimony. This would be a significant error. Like eyewitness testimony, census data must be evaluated but by different means and against different criteria.
- As with the homework task in LP3, pupils may have difficulty in using sources of evidence to test and refine conclusions that have already been agreed. The idea that historical sources do (or should) tell or show us ‘what happened when...’ or ‘what it was like then...’ is commonsensical and difficult to dislodge from consciousness. (Pupils frequently hold comparable and equally erroneous views about the role of experimentation in science.) Teachers should be aware that even pupils who ‘appear to get it’ at the time are likely to revert to less counterintuitive ideas and assumptions and may need to be taught about the logic of disconfirmation, hypothesis formation and testing over and over again by different methods and from various perspectives, i.e. the homework tasks in LP3 and LP4 are just the beginning of a much longer teaching and learning programme.

Task A1: Pupils might be misled into supposing that because 3 of 5 villages were less mixed (= less evenly split between the two communities) in 1960 than in 1901 that the conclusion is falsified. Apart from the fact that the 3:2 split between less v more mixed villages is certainly attributable to random variations in population movements, the point that pupils need to understand is that this outcome is insufficient to disconfirm our initial conclusions – just as a 3:2 split in the other direction would be insufficient to confirm (= to strengthen our confidence in) them. In sum, pupils must understand that this test **neither** undermines our initial conclusions about inter-communal relations in mixed villages **nor** increases the certainty with which these conclusions may be asserted.

In response to sub-task (b), pupils should answer that inter-communal relations were friendly, close and – just possibly – that ethnic differences signified less in 1960 than in 1901.

In response to sub-task (c), pupils should answer that inter-communal relations were cold, distant and – just possibly – that ethnic differences signified more than in 1901.

Task A2: Yet again pupils must deal with a 3:2 split in favour of the hypothesis but, in this case, villages in which the 1901 majority population is an even larger majority by 1960 only make modest shifts in population ratios. One of the two exceptions to this pattern is exceptional to dramatic extent. This should complicate pupils' judgements!

On the basis of these data, the hypothesis cannot be sustained.

In response to sub-task (b), pupils should conclude that changes in population ratios are probably attributable to local factors, but the inference that the Turkish Cypriot population grew more slowly than the Greek Cypriot population has sufficient weight to merit closer investigation.

Task A3: Optimum conclusions are:

- Generalisations about inter-communal relations in mixed villages are not disconfirmed but cannot be asserted with greater confidence.
- There is no evidence to suggest that inter-communal relations in 1960 are better or worse than in 1901.
- It is possible that the balance of community populations in mixed villages shifted in favour of Greek Cypriots between 1901 and 1960. (*This might have occurred because of events 1918-23 rather than due to inequalities in birth rates.*)

Task B1: The hypothesis assumes that 'the influence of all other factors impacting on population growth are equal, i.e. cancel to zero'. This is an unreasonable assumption for an historian to make but, for present purposes, may be disregarded. In practice, the assumption 'seems' to be true. (*The caveat 'seems' is significant in that the hypothesis may be false in ways that compensate for the impact of 'other factors.'*)

In response to sub-task (a), pupils should explain, first, that if inter-communal relations in mixed villages were peaceful life should be no more stressful than in mono-ethnic villages. It follows that people should have no more reason to leave mixed than mono-ethnic villages. Second, if inter-communal relations in mixed villages were co-operative, these villages should be as economically efficient as mono-ethnic ones and, in consequence, as able to sustain a similar inward migration and birth rates.

In response to sub-task (b), pupils should report that, on the basis of figures supplied, population growth rates in mixed and mono-ethnic villages are similar – more similar in fact than might be expected given the small numbers of villages for which data are provided. Differences can be attributed to chance with confidence. This is difficult for pupils to determine, however. They must allow for differences in growth rates of monoethnic Greek and Turkish Cypriot villages as well as for variations in the numbers of villages sampled. They must also allow for variation in growth rates

within each of the three categories of village. (*This is not to suggest that pupils should get the statistical procedures and operations right, merely that they should identify these issues.*)

In response to sub-task (c), pupils should explain that, while no new 'facts' about inter-communal relations in mixed villages can be stated, those that we already know (= think we know) can be asserted with greater confidence, i.e. we have fewer grounds to doubt previous findings about inter-communal relations in mixed villages, fewer reasons to suppose that we might be mistaken.

Task B2: This open question trawls for assumptions about 'how we know about the past'. Most responses are likely to yield clues and indications about the ways in which pupils make sense of school history.

Before they leave school – or abandon their study of the past – they should understand something about the nature of historical knowledge.

What Karl Popper claimed for science is also true for history (and for all empirical subjects): knowledge progresses by disconfirmation of what is already known (= thought to be known). Some of what we know may resist disconfirmation for generations, centuries or millennia but nonetheless remains open to examination (= testing by whatever means) and hence to ultimate disconfirmation. Of course, there is a true past but whatever we say about this can only ever be more or less valid, i.e. our right to make any statement about the past is **either** unjustifiable **or** justifiable to some degree. On every occasion that we test a proposition about the past and fail to disconfirm it, our right to assert it becomes stronger. *N.B. the distinction between 'true' (= beyond question) and 'valid' (= justifiable) statements about the past is simplistic. But it is a distinction that must be grasped before pupils can explore more subtle and complex arguments. It is also a distinction that pupils find difficult to grasp and accept without distorting its meaning and evading its implications.*

Two other points may be made about the LP4 homework:

- Pupils are confronted with an especially stark illustration of the principle that *the evidence historians take from sources ≠ the information that sources purport to state or show*. Population data contain information about numbers of people. Nothing more! They neither say nor show anything about population growth over time. Historians work this out by comparing sets of records. And they come nowhere near saying or showing anything about inter-communal relations. Historians frame 'if... then...' hypotheses which enable raw data to be used as evidence of things they say nothing about. It is important that pupils are made aware of this. They should be asked simple questions like, '*How can these records tell us anything about inter-communal relations in mixed villages? They say nothing about what went on! Would the number of olive trees in a mixed village tell us anything? So why should the number of people?*' Of course, the answer is that historians never sit back and wait for any source to tell them anything about the past. Some sources, like eyewitness testimony, do say things about the past but historians never begin by assuming the accuracy of what any source states or shows. So we might as well say, '*How can these eyewitness reports tell us anything about inter-communal relations in mixed villages when the eyewitnesses might be mistaken or lying?*' The answer is the same as for population records: historians don't just accept and repeat what eyewitnesses tell them. Historians work out what we are and are not entitled to say about the past. As before, this deceptively simplistic distinction is difficult for pupils to understand and accept, but is an essential first-step towards more complicated and subtle ideas.
- The LP4 homework is both a diagnostic exercise and a learning experience. No more than a minority of pupils will offer anything approximating to 'right answers for right reasons', but the homework can be of value nonetheless. It should force pupils to think in new ways and offer insights into their assumptions and reasoning processes that teachers can exploit in subsequent teaching.

Extension activity

- This could be given as an activity for homework or take the form of a long term project: Each student could start a portfolio, take regular feedback from the teacher on his\her research and deliver/ present the project at the end of the term. If used as a long term project, it could also be useful for reflection – students could write in their reflection pages about the research process and their thoughts/ feelings about their research.
- Students could also join forces with a group of students of the other community so as to give more accurate and reliable findings!

Lesson Plan 5: Do Mixed Communities have a Future as well as Past?

PREPARATION

- Teachers should be able to answer questions about “Cypriot London” and its Cypriot community. Some students might be quite familiar with this as they have relatives in London, whereas some others might be totally unaware of this community.
- Teachers should be familiar with the webpage of Ayia Paraskevi and some of the discussions as well.
- The table for the STARTER should be drawn on the board before the lesson **or** be available for projection via OHP or IWB **or** be photocopied with at least one copy for every two pupils.
- Material and questions on Cypriot London should be photocopied with a minimum of three copies made available for each group of four or five pupils.
- The diagram for the PLENARY SESSION should be drawn on the board before the lesson **or** be available for projection via OHP or IWB **or** be photocopied with at least one copy for every two pupils.
- Questions and material on Ayia Paraskevi should be photocopied for HOMEWORK: one copy per pupil.

STARTER: Timing 10 minutes

The STARTER comes full circle and returns to the special case of Pyla/Pile with which LP1 began. The implications of this special case are explored. Does Pyla/Pile belong to the past, much like the contents of a museum, or could it – and other mixed villages – be part of the future?

Ask students the following question:

- **Have you ever thought whether inter-communal relations always have been and always will be as they are now?** (Write it on the board. This is the main question to be answered in LP5).

Following up with the exercise in the student booklet:

- *Pupils and teacher debate where lines should be drawn. Some lines may be drawn and then erased*
- *Pupils are asked to justify each of the four majority decisions.*
- Connect to the knowledge gained in the previous LPS.
- If your class has done really well so far and you think they could take a challenge, you can add here the following questions. Write these two questions on the board and ask students to have them in mind as they are the core questions of the lesson:
 - Have inter-communal relations been as they will be and have to be for all time?
 - Have inter-communal relations in the past and present always been as they should be?

The intention is to provoke thought about connections between past, present and future and, thereby, about the value of knowledge about the past. The table may be photocopied and issued to pupils individually or one-between-two. It may also be drawn on the board, or projected by means of an OHP or IWB. The teacher should use the right-hand list of probabilities to force pupils to consider imaginable futures as a set rather than one-by-one.

For instance:

- No more than two imaginable futures may be deemed to have a *50:50 probability of occurrence* **and**, in this eventuality, both of the two remaining futures must be dismissed as *impossible*.
- If one imaginable future is deemed to be *highly probable* and a second is thought to be *possible but highly unlikely*, then both of the two remaining futures must be dismissed as *impossible*.
- If one imaginable future is deemed to be *certain to happen*, all other futures must be dismissed as impossible.
- All four imaginable futures may be deemed to be *possible but highly unlikely* **or** to be *impossible*. In either case, pupils should then be asked to specify *possible* and/or *more likely* futures of their own invention.

Should time permit and pupils thought likely to benefit from at this juncture, the teacher might ask more challenging questions:

- How far into the future are we imagining? Were we to define the future as 'the end of next week' I'd wager my pension that every one of these imaginable futures is *impossible* (or so close to impossible as makes no difference). And were we to define the future as 5 billion years from now I'd say that life on Earth would be *impossible* because by then the oceans will have evaporated and the surface will be hotter than toast.
So are we thinking about a future ten years, one hundred or a thousand years hence? **It is important to accept that causal possibilities and probabilities are limited by timescale (as well as by initial conditions and intervening events). A simple illustration might be, 'It's impossible that any of us will be in San Francisco by 18.00 this evening but perfectly possible, albeit highly unlikely, for all of us to be there by tomorrow evening'.**
- Is it possible for the future to be exactly as it was at some time in the past, say as it was in 1960 or in 1570? **No! We must distinguish between changes in the direction of trends and 'returns to the past'. We can no more return to 1960 than to 1570 because the initial conditions that obtained in 1960 – when the British withdrew and Cyprus became an independent state - have been reset by the flow of history just as much as they have for 1570 when the final Ottoman assault on Venetian Cyprus was launched. What can happen, however, is for one turning point to reverse the direction set by a previous one. Inter-communal trends towards isolation can reverse and move towards greater integration, from hostile rivalry towards friendly co-operation and so on. Such reversals have occurred several times in the history of Cyprus and can do so again. But such turning points do not occur without cause!**

The STARTER should finish by referring pupils yet again to the special, and arguably strange, case of Pyla/Pile: *'In this village Turkish and Greek Cypriots get on with each other perfectly well. Here there is no need for a Green Line to keep people apart. So are the Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Pyla/Pile different from those in the rest of the island? Are they just nicer and more tolerant people? Are they much smarter and better educated than other members of their communities? Are they more like people used to be in the past than the rest of us? If not, how can we explain their ability to do what people in the rest of the island seem unable to do – to live together?'*

This leads into the main activities of the lesson.

MAIN ACTIVITIES: Timing 25 minutes

Activity 1: Timing 20 minutes

- The purpose of this abstract is to introduce to students the idea that mixed communities of Cypriots is not a phenomenon that exists exclusively in Cyprus! ("We live in the good old days of Cyprus here in London").
- This abstract also aims to show students that this "mixed community" - just like Cyprus' mixed villages - is affected by many factors (as was demonstrated and examined throughout the LPs).
- Here students could take on an extra challenge: they should be able to answer Task 1, and if so, they could be also introduced to the issue of accuracy (see Appendix 2 at the end of Teachers' notes LP5). Again, as with concepts of primary and secondary sources, that of reliability is not to be examined thoroughly.
- (The concept of reliability *could* be also introduced, however, as students are not expected to be familiar with all aspects and issues relating to historical enquiry. Given that students will be no more than 15 years old, reliability might prove too difficult a concept to explain thoroughly. What is more, *Mixed Villages* is a sensitive and demanding topic, and the introduction of complexities relating to source reliability entails risks of misinterpretation and misconstruction that could distract students' attention from the main enquiry question of LP5).

Facilitating question: *Some people talk of "accurate", and non-accurate sources. What do you think that the term 'accurate' means? Is our source accurate?*

In previous lessons we sought to dispel the (perfectly natural) assumption that 'the present' is both normal and exceptional, the sense that how things are is how they must and ought to be and, somewhat paradoxically, that now is a special and privileged time towards which the past has been working. [N.B. Research in the UK suggests this latter to be a relatively advanced assumption. Assumptions held by many pupils may be more primitive.] In LP5 we attempt to challenge parochialism of place, the tendency to view Cyprus as unique and separate from the rest of the world.

Just as pupils have begun to learn that ethnic identities and distinctions, divisions and conflicts in Cyprus have a long and complex history with many twists and turning points, so they must now begin to contextualise their multi-communal heritage within a broader as well as a longer story. This broadening begins in the present with consideration of an area within a foreign city to which Greek and Turkish Cypriots (together with some Turks and Greeks) have moved in order to be close to each other. [At the risk of over-complicating a simple scenario, pupils might be told that although London is a city in Britain it is a cosmopolitan not a British city, i.e. a city of many minority communities with no majority community. This information may aid some pupils to explain why inter-communal relations are more relaxed in Cypriot London than in Cyprus, i.e. the subordination of one community to another is not feared because, in a city wherein the combined Cypriot community is but one of many minorities, the issue is less likely to arise.]

It is proposed that the ACTIVITY be undertaken in groups of four or five pupils in order to increase chances of disagreement and, thereby, provoke discussion and argument. In some classes, however, pair work could be more appropriate. As always, it is important that groups (or pairs) be as homogeneous in attainment and ability as possible to minimise the likelihood that decisions will be determined by one or two pupils.

Task 1: Pupils are obliged to confront a situation in which inter-communal relations between Turkish and Greek Cypriots abroad are contrary to domestic norms. They are then required to evaluate possible causes of this situation: expatriate Cypriots are essentially different from those who did not emigrate and/or their expatriate status causes them to perceive and value things in different ways and/or their new environment creates new pressures and eases old ones.

Pupils are also required to suggest other possible causes of inter-communal harmony in Cypriot London. These may be expected to range from the inconsequential (e.g. pupils paraphrase arguments already presented) through the bigoted (e.g. pupils exploit negative conceptions of the 'other') to the historically insightful (e.g. a few pupils might realise: (a) That in a cosmopolitan city of minorities, Greek and Turkish Cypriots have much to gain and little to lose from membership of as large and significant a minority as possible. This might also account for the adhesion of non-Cypriot Turks and Greeks to the Cypriot community. (b) That identities are defined as much by distinctions as by similarities and, in a pluralistic city, small differences appear inconsequential in the context of larger differences. Pupils might consider the extent to which differences of culture and creed would signify were humankind forced to accommodate to species differences in the wake of extra-terrestrial colonisation. *This is a fanciful but useful thought experiment.*)

Task 2: This task is diagnostic not pedagogic. *[It has pedagogic potential but exploiting this would be time consuming and likely to distract pupils from core objectives.]* Task 1 is structured in ways that commit pupils to endorsing a minimum of two causes – the two they themselves suggest – and up to seven causes, should they take the easy way out and agree with all that is suggested. This task poses a simple-minded question and, in so doing, explores pupils' understanding of a key distinction, namely, that *explanations of why people act as they do* ≠ *explanations of why things happen*. If we combine all the *reasons* individuals have for joining and forming (and for not joining) the multi-ethnic Cypriot community in London, we do not have an explanation for the creation and continued existence of this community. Reasons for actions are not equivalent to the causes of events, *of changes or of states-of-affairs*. *Selection of options (a) and (b) suggest that pupils fail to grasp this distinction, perhaps because they assume causal factors and occurrences to be purposeful, to occur in order to bring about some state of affairs, or perhaps because they assume the consequences of actions to be restricted to those we intend. [Note that option (a) presents the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities as reified individuals. Pupils often think of groups – Romans, peasants, communists etc. – as though they are many-headed individuals rather than collectives organised and unified in various ways and to several degrees.]* Option (c) is, of course, the historically correct answer albeit one which pupils may offer on the basis of limited understanding. Their reasons for choosing option (c) should be investigated.

As aforesaid, on the basis of diagnostic data yielded by this ACTIVITY, teachers may plan subsequent units of work intended to clarify pupils understanding of how and why things happen in human affairs. Pupils may need to grasp the nature of multiplier effects (i.e. multiple causes are not simply added to each other), how to identify the *necessary (but never sufficient)* conditions for events, and to consider theories related to critical states and emergent properties which appear to link – in ways we do not fully understand as yet – explanations of the human past with those of certain phenomena in the material world.

Task 3: This task aims to connect pupils' ideas about *Cypriot London* with their assumptions about inter-communal relations in Cyprus. A few might realise that the question can be turned around, i.e. that *Cypriot London* implies no more about the future of inter-communal relations in Cyprus than the state of affairs in Cyprus does for the future course of inter-communal relations in a London district. But this leads to an understanding of the ways in which contexts of time and place, of past histories and locations within more extensive socio-economic and socio-political structures, impact on the ways in which people think, behave and define group identities in relation to the 'other'. In this connection, the operations of international agencies and the political (and economic) systems of the EU might modify the real and perceived interests of Cypriot nationals as much as – though not necessarily in the same ways as – location in a foreign country and cosmopolitan city has influenced those of Cypriot migrants. The impact of past history is more problematic. As well as creating 'facts on the ground' that cannot be ignored – the Green Line, missing and dispossessed persons, duplicate political and economic structures and so on – the shadow of the past hangs over hearts and minds.

We can either learn from the past or be trapped by it, forever seeking to reverse past losses and to avenge past wrongs. Learning from the past is more than a hypothetical possibility. Entire nations have succeeded in doing so, most notably Germany, Japan and Italy since 1945. For these nations, post-war recovery and regeneration has been as intellectual and spiritual as material and organisational.

So the optimum answer to sub-task (c) is, *'No because... but it suggests that, as it becomes increasingly tied into supra-national economic and political structures, Cyprus may have the opportunity to move towards more mixed communities. However, much depends upon how it makes sense of its past.'*

Task 4: This task is diagnostic. From the ways in which pupils respond, and also how they debate with each other, teachers can gauge the extent to which the unit of work has enabled them to analyse and (just maybe) rethink their positions. Note that by positing emigration to London, students are forced to accept that change is inevitable and then to consider whether attitudes and behaviour should change in consequence. Were they to be asked whether they would wish to join a mixed community in Cyprus, many would demur simply because they can live with the devil they know and regard any leap into the unknown with understandable apprehension.

Activity 2: Timing 5 minutes

- Students will be asked to what degree we can make generalisations about people's relationships in mixed communities. The intention is to get them to realise that particularities of situations and past histories impact on the ways in which people think, behave and define group identities in relation to the 'other'.
- Teacher should connect to the starter questions, adding the question:
 - Are external factors/situations or local particularities more powerful on people's lives in mixed villages?

At this point all learners should know that: *although they are usually more similar to each other than to mono-ethnic villages, each mixed village (e.g. Pyla) has unique characteristics distinguishing it from other mixed villages.*

Most learners should know that: *the quantity and quality of relationships and interactions between ethnic groups in mixed villages varied across time and place.*

And some learners should know that: *particularities of situations and past histories impact on the ways in which people think, behave and define group identities in relation to the 'other'.*

PLENARY: Timing 10 minutes

The plenary is used here to sum up and review the whole unit. The plenary discussion naturally leads to H1 and to the closing of the unit.

It is that most members of these communities were born in Cyprus. Whether Turkish or Greek Cypriots, the people in Cypriot London came from the island, speak its languages, know its customs, eat its foods and miss its sunshine. We can write, 'London & Cyprus have the People in Common' on the diagram.

(ANSWERS)

- Things change! Even when we try to stand still the ground eventually moves under our feet.
- Much depends on what we consider 'better' and 'worse'. One of the things that often changes is our values, what we think is 'better' and what we think is 'worse'.
- People made a difference to what happened in the past and will make a difference to what happens in the future. But this 'difference' is not always what people want it to be. Many consequences of our actions are unintended as well as (or rather than) intended. So we need to act in ways that are smart not just well-intentioned. To be smart we need to understand how and why things happen in human affairs, and the best way to do this is to understand the past – to understand why and how our predecessors sometimes succeeded in making things better and at other times made things worse.

The purpose of the PLENARY SESSION is to relate the dual presents represented by inter-communal relations in Cyprus and Cypriot London to the known past and the determinate (but yet to be determined) future.

The diagram may be drawn on the board, projected by OHP or IWB, or photocopied and issued one-per-pupil.

The diagram is used to emphasize what Cypriot London has in common with Cyprus, namely people who were born in Cyprus and, as far as their situation allows, continue to follow the traditions and enjoy the lifestyle of their homeland. Differences are summarized: first, the Cypriot London community is *mixed* (and pupils should understand distinctions between *mixed*, *multicultural* and fully *integrated* communities); second, although people still think of themselves as Turkish or Greek Cypriots, the inhabitants of Cypriot London tend to see themselves as Cypriots first (strictly speaking, we need more evidence that this is so than is provided in the article); and third, people can choose to live as a part of or separately from the mixed community of Cypriot London (but, of course, they cannot choose to live in a mono-ethnic London – no Londoner can).

Pupils are reminded of a general lesson from LP3 and LP4: nothing stays the same forever. Things may change slowly or quickly but change they do. This holds for inter-communal relations in both Cyprus and Cypriot London.

The unit ends by reminding pupils that, while we cannot control how things change, we can certainly influence change. Indeed, failure to act is a form of action that influences the direction and speed of change and, paradoxically, may accelerate its pace and direction in ways not to our liking. Acting as individuals or in groups rather than collectively also complicates and increases uncertainty about outcomes, making it more likely that the more significant outcomes of human action are unintended by anyone. Uncoordinated actions magnify *casino* effects in human history.

Pupils are asked to think how knowledge of the past can help them to take smarter and more accurate aim at better inter-communal futures for Cyprus whilst making no (explicit) assumptions about what desirable futures might look like – purified mono-ethnic, de facto mono-ethnic, mixed, multicultural, or a new and inclusive identity. *N.B. a few older and more able pupils might be able to accept some other 'lessons of history',*

namely that Greek and Turkish identities (a) were once inclusive supra-categories within which numerous more sharply focused identities were eventually subsumed; and (b) that even in modern times Turkish and Greek identities have been redefined in ways that make them closer to synthetic constructs than ethnological phenomena. The key point is, however, that study of the past cannot inform the sorts of future that pupils ought to want or strive towards. It can, however, help us to understand our proclivity for sleepwalking into uncomfortable or catastrophic futures and, thereby, may enable us to be a little less cruel and a little less stupid as the cycle of generations unwinds.

In introducing the HOMEWORK it is important for teachers to explain that this is a case-study in identity change and identity manufacture, a common phenomenon in the twentieth century.

HOMEWORK

Students should be able to recall LP1 and LP2 and review previous discussions as to what makes a mixed community and what people share in mixed communities.

- Agia Paraskevi is a border village in the area of Florina province in Macedonia, Greece. It was formerly called Sveta Petka, a name many still refer to today. Located approximately 12 km from Florina city, the village outskirts mark the Greece-FYROM border.
- Ayia Paraskevi is an interesting example of change over time, and of change that involves an attempt to transform Slavonic identities into Greek ones.
- The abstract of this activity was taken from a Facebook page dedicated to the village of Ayia Paraskevi. There are some clues as to the nature and status of the abstract.
- There are also clues that suggest the abstract's reliability might be limited:
 - The origins of *our* village
 - The language of *our* villages
 - The origins of our village are somewhat *obscure*
 - *It is unsure* whether these early settlers originated from Opsirina but there is a link of *some sort*
 - There is *consensus* amongst local villagers, *passed down* from their ancestors and others, about its historical formation.

It is important to keep in mind that one should be cautious when dealing with this kind of source. However, at this point, students' attention should be focused on comparisons with Cyprus' mixed villages.

- *The origins of mixed villages in Cyprus are quite interesting. On one hand the Ottoman occupation brought about a radical result in the history of the island: Since the Phoenicians in the 9th century BC, a new ethnic element appeared, the Turks. These were gradually integrated to the island's local Christian population, and were soon identified, in terms of religion rather than ethnicity, as "Muslims". On the other hand, many Christians converted to Islam due to heavy taxation, facilitating thereby the integration of the two elements.*

In 1570, when the Turks first occupied Cyprus, the Ottoman Empire gave timars--land grants--to soldiers under the condition that they and their families would stay there permanently. This was an action of far-reaching importance because the predefined soldiers became the nucleus of the island's Turkish community. During the 17th century the Turkish population grew rapidly, partly by conversion. Most of the Turks who had settled on the island during the three centuries of Ottoman rule remained when control of Cyprus--although not sovereignty--was ceded to Britain in 1878. Many, however, left for Turkey during the 1920s. By 1970, ethnic Turks represented 18% of the total population of the island, with ethnic Greeks representing the remainder. The distinction between the two groups was based on both religion and language.

At the same time, following the Ottoman conquest, many Greek Cypriots and Latins, in order to escape heavy taxation, converted to Islam. Many Greek Cypriots who had been officially converted to Islam remained actually Christians in secret. They were normally called "linobambaki". According to a view expressed for the first time in 1863 AD, and then adopted in the following years, this word was taken metaphorically from a cloth woven with linen and cotton and which had two different sides corresponding thus to the two aspects of their faith. The "linobambaki" turned up during daytime as Muslims, and in the evenings they appeared as Christians, keeping to Christianity, its customs and its habits.

- Interestingly, the first information we have on Sveta Petka or Ayia Paraskevi, comes from 1570, exactly the same time that mixed communities were about to be created in Cyprus. However, this case is somewhat different. We know that the village got its name from the church that was built in 1570, and called 'Sveta Petka' in Slavonic. Many inhabited places in Florina were made up by a mixture of both Slavic and Greek local populations, something that can be seen in the villages' names: some are identifiably of Greek origin, others of Slavic, yet others of Turkish or more obscure origins. The village of Sveta Petka or Ayia Paraskevi was populated by local families and did not have any admixtures of refugees, whereas the local dialect was a mixture and was locally referred to as "po nash" (our own). In po nash the villagers were known as Sfeta Petsi, whereas when the village was renamed Agia Paraskevi villagers were also known as Agiotes in Greek. In the late 1920s like many other villages and towns in Greece, Sveta Petka was renamed Agia Paraskevi. Altogether, 103 settlements had their names changed in Florina.

Students are not, of course, required to know all the above! However, what could be taken from the information is that:

- What makes Sveta Petka or Ayia Paraskevi so different from the mixed villages of Cyprus is the attempt to transform Slavonic identities into Greek ones. In Cyprus the new population was integrated gradually with the local Christian population, with the villagers naming their villages in their own language- but not exclusively so. As we have seen, in the case of many villages, the Turkish names are either a paraphrase or a direct translation of the original Greek name.
- When answering the questions, students should be encouraged to go back to LP3, where the notion of longing and memory was discussed. Students could also be encouraged to go to the website's discussion forum, which displays people's feeling about the village.

The source provided is one which historians would treat with caution. This notwithstanding, it echoes much of what is known about the village and region.

Origins of the Macedonian Village of Ayia Paraskevi

The first information we have about Sveta Petka (which was to become Ayia Paraskevi) comes from 1570, when mixed communities of Greek and Turkish Cypriots were about to be created in Cyprus. However, the Macedonian case is somewhat different. We know that the village got its name from the church that was built in 1570, and called 'Sveta Petka' in South Slavonic. Many populated parts of Florina were settled by a mixture of Slavic, Greek and other peoples. This can be seen from the names of villages: some are identifiably of Greek origin, others of Slavic, yet others of Turkish or more obscure origins. The Slavic village of Sveta Petka was founded by 'overflow' populations from one or more previously established villages whose numbers had outgrown easily accessible agricultural resources. It had not absorbed refugees displaced by frequent Balkan wars. The local South Slavonic dialect was referred to as "po nash" (our own). In po nash the villagers identified themselves as Sfeta Petsi (which means 'the folk from Sveta Petka'). When the village was renamed Agia Paraskevi in the late 1920s, villagers also became known by the Greek term 'Agiotes'. Altogether, 103 settlements had their names changed when Florina became part of Greece.

Pupils should be encouraged to evaluate the source with reference to the information given above and, more important for present purposes, to make inferences from what is implied about the group identity, world view, temporal and spatial frames of reference of the Agiotes (or Sfeti Petsi).

Task 1: Option (i) is patently false. Option (ii) is a reasonable conjecture given that forced population exchanges took place during the 1920s, but one that does not hold for the Florina district. This leaves option (iii) by a process of elimination but justification thereof involves empathetic explanation. In particular, pupils must reconstruct how Agiotes might view their situation (at the mercy of distant 'great ones' – Ottomans, Habsburgs, Serbs, Bulgars and Greeks) in the context of a narrow 'world view' that acknowledge little beyond their own and neighbouring villages.

Task 2: The linguistic parochialism of po nash suggests the linguistic environment of Florina to be diverse, unstable and lacking any dominant

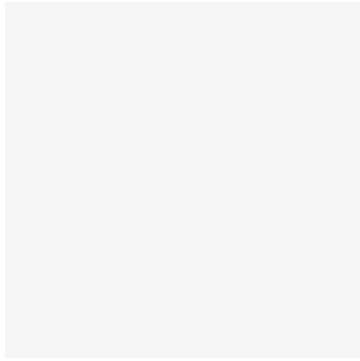
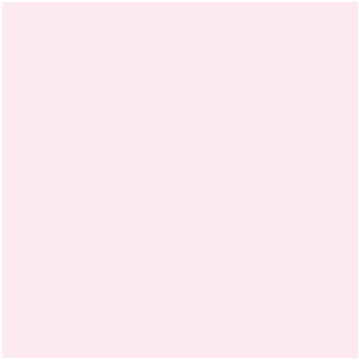
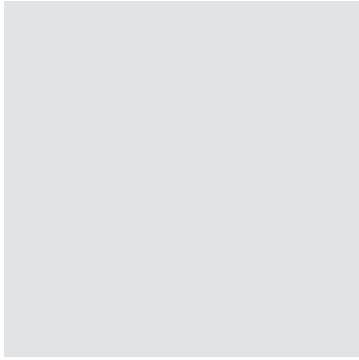
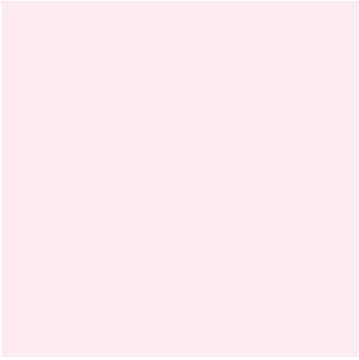
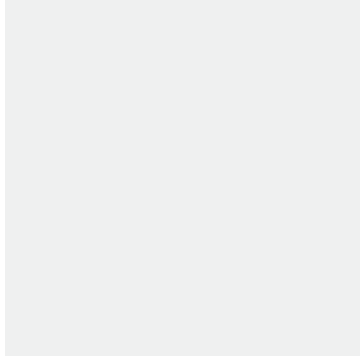
tongue. Unlike Serbs, Greeks and some others, the Agiotes are unable to identify their language with any great power (not even with the Church?) and still less with any great tradition, past or mythology. Their language is simply 'our own', what they speak and, in consequence, cannot serve as an ethnic indicator that identifies them as part of some greater whole in space and time. Contrasts with the Greek and Turkish languages could not be more stark.

Task 3: The validity of the Agiotes' myth of origin is of minor interest. More significant is the fact that they attempt to answer the questions, *'Who are we and where do we come from?*, with reference to a parent village. The preferred candidate – Opsirina – is large for and "renowned" throughout Florina but hardly compares in ambition with most other myths of origin. Its date – 1570 – is equally modest! The parochialism of the Agiotes is striking. Their spatial and temporal horizons are unusually narrow and contrast strongly with those of Turkish and Greek Cypriots, both of which groups connect with heroic and glorious traditions and pasts. This may well be the key to the apparent passivity of the Sfeti Petsi when faced with what looks, from the outside, like an attempt to transform Slavonic into Greek identities. The Sfeti Petsi did not see things in this way. For as long as they were not displaced, their identity would be defined with reference to their village. It is significant that, while preferring to be known as Sfeti Petsi, they understood and accepted that they were also 'Agiotes' since this identified them as the same thing – as 'people of the village' – but did so in a foreign tongue. The concept of a Slavonic identity held in common with distant strangers may not have made sense to them, and certainly appears to have lacked emotional resonance. It followed that their external rebranding as 'Greeks' instead of 'Slavs' had little meaning and excited even less passion.

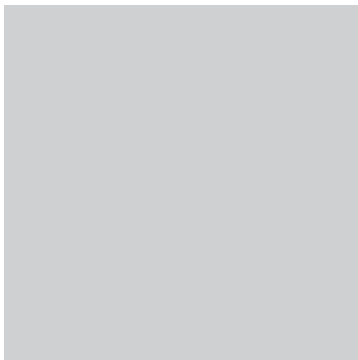
Task 4: Recognition of a village-based identity for the Agiotes provides a context and structure for open-ended speculation about the future of Greek and Turkish Cypriot identities. Pupils are encouraged to recognise that, when compared with that of the Agiotes, their ethnic identities are broad and inclusive. They are also encouraged to suppose that, over time, the Agiotes will become more like themselves. At the last, they are forced to confront the possibility that their own identities may also change over time, and to speculate how this may occur and into what forms their current identities could develop. If this speculation is informed by reasoned analysis of the past, the unit will have achieved its principal objective.

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Appendices



Appendix 1

Primary and secondary sources

Sources are clues that survive from the past. Sometimes, they are more recent, narrating events through sources that once existed but which do not survive nowadays for various reasons.

Primary sources, come from the time we are studying. They can be written from people who experienced themselves the events, who witnessed events, or who were behind the scenes. It could still be objects – we call these, **artefacts**. Can you name a few primary sources?

Secondary sources, or **accounts** as some prefer to call them, are based on primary sources: these are put together by someone, either living at the time or later on, wanting to give a bigger picture of the time. Can name examples of secondary sources?

Today, with the **help of technology** there are other ways we can learn about the past, e.g. bio-archaeology! Can you name any other methods?

Accuracy

To call a **(primary or secondary) source 'accurate'** is to make a negative statement; that is, it is to say, *'We are unable to argue that the information contained in this source is likely to be inaccurate, i.e. we have no reasonable grounds for doubt.'* It is impossible to make a positive statement about the information contained in a source for the simple reason that, in the absence of a viable time machine, there is no original against which it can be checked. It also goes without saying that while the **authenticity** of relic sources (artefacts, sites, traces etc) can be called into questions, issues of **reliability** and **accuracy** cannot apply to them – they just are what they are!

Furthermore, a **secondary source** (or an **account**, as called by others) **is based on primary sources**. Thus primary sources, cited within a secondary source, supply evidence that enables us to justify claims to knowledge.

To be accepted as accurate (beyond reasonable doubt):

A primary source must

- be internally consistent
- not contain information that is inherently incredible
- have a provenance that accounts for the information it contains (was the author likely to have been in a position to know?) and intimates honest reportage (was it in the author's interests to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth?)
- be consonant with other sources it is unreasonable to doubt

A secondary source (or account) must

- make appropriate use of all relevant and available sources
- be deemed by the community of scholars to offer a methodologically sound and logically valid accounts and arguments

Here is a challenge on accuracy and truthfulness! (For good players only!)

Bearing in mind that people vary in their political and religious beliefs, social and economical status, and are influenced by different events, to what extent do you think that 'accurate' and 'truthful' accounts of the past can be offered? Justify your answer.

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