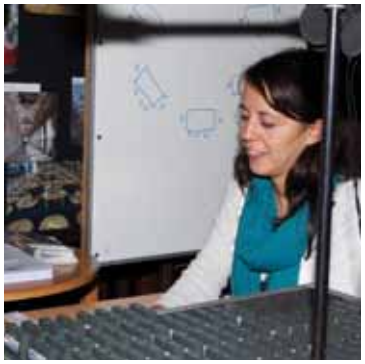

HISTORY EDUCATORS IN THE GREEK CYPRIOT AND TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY OF CYPRUS: PERCEPTIONS, BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

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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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Responsibility for the views expressed in this publication and for any errors or omissions in the text rests solely with the authors.

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Summary

This report describes the aims, methodology and research findings of a recent quantitative questionnaire survey investigating the perceptions and practices of a representative sample of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, all primary and secondary school history teachers in Cyprus (N=519). The research explores history teachers' views of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history curricula and textbooks presently used across the existing divide in Cyprus, as well as history teachers' views on, and their use of methods that promote, historical thinking in their teaching. The research also focuses on Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history teachers' epistemological beliefs and their perceptions of the recent history of Cyprus and their contact with, and attitudes towards, members of the other community. Finally, the qualifications of history teachers across the existing divide in Cyprus are explored as well as their training needs and opportunities for further professional development. The results are discussed through a socio-cultural analysis permitting the exploration of relationships between the aforementioned variables and comparisons to be made between and within each community of history teachers. Theoretical implications with important consequences for our understanding of epistemic beliefs, teaching practices and ideology are discussed. Possible ways in which major challenges could be overcome are discussed.

Why we Undertook this Piece of Research

Since its foundation in 2003, the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR) has sought to contribute to the development and enhancement of Cypriot history education and to deepen the understanding of challenges that history education faces in the particular context of Cyprus. Over the last eight years, the AHDR has organised numerous history education workshops, training courses, seminars and symposia; and developed educational materials specifically tailored for the needs of Cypriot history educators.

This research project aims to further enhance the AHDR's on-going work and to contribute to the development of history education in Cyprus by improving our understanding of the perceptions, beliefs, practices and needs of history educators in Cyprus through systematic empirical research. Specifically, this research project endeavours to investigate and understand:

- the ways in which Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history teachers view the curricula and textbooks that are currently used in schools in their respective communities;
- the methods which Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history teachers employ to teach history in their everyday practice;
- Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history teachers' understandings of the discipline of history;
- the ways in which Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history teachers view the recent history of Cyprus;
- Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history teachers' intergroup relations with members of the other community;
- the training and further professional development needs of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history teachers.

In order to achieve these aims, this research report is divided into six main areas of focus:

1) Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history teachers' perceptions of current history curricula and textbooks;
2) the methods of teaching history used by Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history teachers' in the classroom;
3) the epistemological beliefs about history held by Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history teachers;
4) the representations of the recent history of the Cyprus and of the Cyprus issue held by Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history teachers; and
5) the contacts that Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history teachers have with members of the other community and Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history teachers' attitudes towards the other community;
6) the qualifications and training needs of history teachers in Cyprus across the existing divide.

Because the dataset collected through this research has been obtained from a representative sample of educators who teach history across the existing divide in Cyprus, we are able to report conclusions about the perceptions, beliefs, practices and needs of both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history educators that can be generalised to the population of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history educators as a whole. Again because our dataset reflects a representative sample of history educators across the existing divide, we are able to make robust comparisons between the two communities of history educators. The findings reported here are, therefore, important to the ongoing work of the AHDR and enable the AHDR to better understand the communities of history educators across the existing divide in Cyprus. Our findings will be of great interest to all parties involved in history education in Cyprus. Our findings relating to the opportunities available to history educators for further professional development will be of particular interest to the AHDR, to policy makers, to teacher trade unions and to teachers themselves. These findings enable an assessment to be made of the professional development opportunities currently available to history teachers in Cyprus and can inform the identification of Cypriot history educators' training needs and the development of strategies to meet those needs by the AHDR and others.

This research forms a part of the MIDE project, a two year bi-communal project undertaken by the AHDR in partnership with UNDP-ACT.

Theoretical Background: A Socio-Culturally Situated Analysis Of History Teaching

Like all practices that aim to construct and interpret the past, school history teaching is a socio-culturally situated process and one that is particularly subject to ideological contention and controversy. Teachers' classroom practices are impacted by a range of factors, for example, from their personal understanding of the disciplines that they teach to systemic pressures relating to the curriculum and assessment. Teachers' classroom practices in school history classrooms are of course also shaped by considerations relating to the status of school curricula as "approved knowledge"[1] and to relationships between the construction of the curriculum and political processes. Such considerations are likely to be particularly pertinent in post-conflict situations such as Cyprus, where the past takes on increased significance as the key to understanding the present and where political identities are bound up with historical identities and the narratives that construct them.[2]

Filling the gaps in research

This project is ground-breaking in its focus. Work already exists in the Cypriot context on how social representations furnish identities through which we construct and structure our past[3]. Research has also demonstrated that representations of the past are related to identities in the present[4], and has mapped the potential relationship between epistemological beliefs and history teaching practices in post conflict contexts.[5] At an international level, an entire field of literature has emerged on the socio-cultural and institutional context of teaching. However, no research up until now has empirically looked at how representations of the past and constructions of identities in the present structure the teaching practices of history teachers. Furthermore, almost no attention has been paid to how teachers' epistemological beliefs[6] relate to these issues in the Cypriot context.

This research aims to fill these gaps in our knowledge by investigating the relationships between variables related to representations of history, to history teaching, to intergroup relations and to the epistemic beliefs of history educators across the existing divide in Cyprus. Specifically, this research will examine Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history teachers' views of current history curricula and textbooks and their views on and use of historical thinking methods in the classroom. The research will also investigate history teachers' epistemological beliefs and their beliefs about the recent history of Cyprus. In addition we will particularly examine social psychological factors related to identity, attitudes and contact between the members of the two communities in Cyprus. We will examine differences between the two communities and within members of the two communities in terms of these variables and also in terms of teachers' levels of education.

1. Michael Apple (2004). *Ideology and Curriculum*. New York: Routledge.
2. Chara Makriyanni and Charis Psaltis (2007). *The Teaching of History and Reconciliation.* Cyprus Review, 19(1), 43-69.
3. Charis Psaltis (in press). *Intergroup trust and contact in transition: A social representations perspective on the Cyprus conflict. In Ivana Markova and Alex Gillespie* (*Eds.)*, Trust and Conflict: Representation, Culture and Dialogue. London: Routledge.
4. Chara Makriyanni, Charis Psaltis and Dilek Latif (forthcoming). *Historical Education, Historical Culture, History didactics in EU-Europa*, 27-29.
5. Chara Makriyanni and Charis Psaltis
6. Liliana Maggioni, Patricia Alexander and Bruce Van Sledright (2004). *At a crossroads? The development of epistemological beliefs and historical thinking.* European Journal of School Psychology, 2(1), 170-173.

Teachers' epistemological beliefs and their impact on teaching practices

Epistemic beliefs are individuals' views about the nature of knowledge and the nature of knowing.[7] The topic is a vast one, but insofar as this report is concerned, the term is used to refer to the ways in which history teachers understand historical knowledge and historical thinking and, therefore, history teachers' understandings of their role in teaching history and historical concepts to their students. Although extensive research has been conducted on teacher beliefs in general, research specific to epistemic beliefs has focused primarily on students.[8] From the surveys that have taken place, however, we can identify a number of clear trends.[9] The field is divided between research into domain (i.e. subject) general beliefs (beliefs about knowledge in general) and research into domain (i.e. subject) specific beliefs (that is beliefs about a specific domain such as science, history or mathematics).[10]

With respect to domain-general beliefs, studies have identified different types of teacher understanding about knowing and learning.[11] The positivist/realist perspective, at one end of the spectrum, believes that experimentally validated theories give access to objective truth: in this view, the purpose of the teacher is to impart knowledge of "the truth"[12]. The relativist/postmodernist approach, on the other hand, states that all knowledge is subjective, there is no truth and thus, 'everything goes'. The constructivist approach views knowledge as a result of a theory-driven process whereby students are capable of actively constructing their own knowledge and changes in theories are considered a sign of progress. Knowledge in this respect is both subjective and objective since it is constructed at the interface of the subject and object of knowledge. The teachers' role in this approach is to train students in how to enact the enquiry based process of aiming for objectivity even if it can never by totally achieved due to our subjective knowledge structures that influence the way we make sense of "reality".

This can be as true as for chemistry as it is for history. For example, chemistry teachers might see as their job to pass on a specific body of data to students (the periodic table, molecular mass, information on base metals). Alternatively, they may envision their role as training students in how to think 'like chemists' – questioning the material structure of elements, observing evidence deduced through experiments to confirm hypotheses, examining the accuracy and reliability of data – through a training in background knowledge and ways of thinking that allow one to ask such questions wisely.

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7. e.g. Barbara K. Hofer and Paul R. Pintrich (1997). *The development of epistemological theories: Beliefs about knowledge and knowing and their relation to learning.* Review of Educational Research, 67, 88-140.
8. e.g. Kudret Ozkal, Ceren Tekkaya, Semra Sungur, Jale Cakiroglu and Erdinc Cakiroglu (2010). *Elementary Students' Scientific Epistemological Beliefs in Relation to Socio-Economic Status and Gender.* Journal of Science Teacher Education, 21 (7), 873-885; Marlene Schommer (1993). Comparisons of beliefs about the nature of knowledge and learning among postsecondary students. Research in Higher Education, 34 (3), 355-370.
9. Liliana Maggioni, and Meghan M. Parkinson (2008). *The Role of Teacher Epistemic Cognition, Epistemic Beliefs, and Calibration in Instruction.* Educational Psychology Review, 20, 450-451, 454.
10. e.g. May M.H. Chen, Kwok-Wai Chan, Sylvia Y. F. Tang, & Annie Y.N. Cheng, (2009). Pre-service teacher education students' epistemological beliefs and their conceptions of teaching. Teaching and Teacher Education, 25, 319-327; Nam-Hwa Kang (2008). Learning to teach science: Personal epistemologies, teaching goals, and practices of teaching. Teaching and Teacher Education, 24, 478-498; Chin-Chung Tsai (2006). Teachers' scientific epistemological views: The coherence with instruction and students' views. Science Education, 91, 222-243; Ozgul Yilmaz-Tuzun and Mustafa Sami Topcu (2008). Relationships among pre-service science teachers' epistemological beliefs, epistemological world view and self-efficacy beliefs, International Journal of Science Education, 30, 65-85.
11. Liliana Maggioni and Meghan M. Parkinson, 452.
12. Elizabeth Anne Yeager and Ozro L. Davis (1995, April). Teaching the "Knowing How" of History: Classroom Teachers; Thinking about Historical Text. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, 20.

In research focusing on teachers' domain-specific beliefs, contrasts have been drawn between teacher conceptions of history that model it as a process involving the construction of meaning, as a story to be brought to life, or as a collection of facts. For example, Yeager and Davis found that some teachers viewed history as an activity centrally concerned with the analysis and interpretation of events through the interpretation and evaluation of historical documents or source materials. Teachers who understood history in this way, construed school history as involving critical comparison and evaluation of historical documents in terms of the perspective of their authors, their context and purpose and the tone and language used in documents. This constructivist way of teaching history rests on the teacher's ability to develop the students' critical approach to the interpretation and evaluation of historical sources and students' ability to construct meaning from historical texts.[13] Other teachers viewed history as a story wherein story tellers were the sources of information and where choices about which sources to make use of was to be determined by the extent to which documents were captivating and entertaining.[14] Finally, Yeager and Davis found that some teachers viewed history as simply a process of accumulating facts, which led teachers to disregard context or other perspectives: for teachers who understood history in this way, the main concern was to ensure that students mastered factual information in chronological order and developing the students' critical thinking and their ability to evaluate primary sources and think conceptually were considered impractical and inefficient.[15]

A more detailed classification of teachers' beliefs about domain-specific knowledge was the object of a piece of research, which investigated the epistemological beliefs of 4th and 5th grade American history teachers, aiming to offer a measure for the assessment of epistemic cognition in history.[16] Participants' responses were organised according to the degree to which they expressed a belief in the fixed and objective nature of history or a belief in the subjective nature of history. Four epistemological profiles were identified: "dichotomous thinkers" who considered that historical knowledge is unmediated but also that history is subjective; "naïve realists" who believed that experience corresponds to the past; "relativists" who stressed the subjective nature of human knowledge; and finally "criterialists" who believed that evidence and arguments should be combined and assessed by reflective thinking in order to construct knowledge claims about the past. Interestingly, the survey observed that most of the teachers were classified as relativists and, moreover, the trend that was observed after the teachers had completed their training was that once they were confronted with conflicting evidence, "realist" teachers reshaped their beliefs to argue that when absolute objectivity is impossible, any opinion is acceptable and thus became relativists.[17] This is clearly not necessarily reflective of all history educators everywhere in the world: whilst 'constructivist history' is now generally viewed, after a long and painful battle,[18] as the best practice in most of Europe and the United States, there remain countries that train their teachers within a positivist approach.[19] Nor does this survey capture the full range of epistemological difference between history teachers – for example, how they might feel about Marxist or feminist epistemologies – but for the purposes of this study, it highlights crucial differences relating to how teachers view the nature of truth, enquiry and multiperspectivity in historical approach.

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13. Ibid., 11.
14. Ibid., 13.
15. Ibid., 23.
16. Liliana Maggioni, Patricia Alexander and Bruce VanSledright, 180-181, 190.
17. Ibid., 186.
18. John Tosh (1984). *The Pursuit of History.* London: Pearson Education Limited; Richard J. Evans (2007). *In Defense of History.* London: Granta; Geoffrey R. Elton (1969). *The Practice of History.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing; Edward H. Carr (1961). *What is History?* London: Penguin.
19. Roland Bleiker and Hoang Young-Ju (2007). *On the Use and Abuse of Korea's Past: An Inquiry into History Teaching and Reconciliation.* In Elizabeth Cole (Ed.), *Teaching the Violent Past.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Interestingly, several studies have found support for the notion that teachers' epistemic beliefs not only influence their beliefs about teaching and learning but also shape their instructional approaches.[20] Specifically, teachers' epistemological beliefs have been shown to correlate with their use of certain teaching strategies and methods[21], specifically the use of problem-solving approaches[22], their efforts in curriculum adaptation[23], their use of textbooks[24], their openness to students' alternative conceptions[25], and their pre-service training needs[26]. Brownlee[27] found that student teachers holding relativistic beliefs were more likely to employ teaching practices that helped children construct their own meanings, were more likely to view teaching as a method of facilitation, and were more likely to try to develop active teaching and learning partnerships with their students. Also, a study by Hashweh showed that science teachers holding constructivist beliefs were more likely to detect students' alternative conceptions, to have a richer repertoire of teaching strategies, and to use more effective teaching strategies for inducing student conceptual change.[28] However, despite what appears to be a correlation between epistemological beliefs and instructional practice, there are real difficulties in assessing what precisely the relationship is.

Epistemic Beliefs and Contextual Factors

Maggioni and Parkinson[29] suggest that one reason why the majority of studies do not support the relation between epistemic beliefs and teaching practices, while at the same time other studies do report a relationship between the two, is the role played by contextual factors. They note that teachers consider not only the nature of learning and knowledge, but also the curricular and institutional constraints they face. Fundamentally, the institutional setting in which teachers operate, and the ideologies such environments promote, often materialise in the constraints teachers face when they plan lessons.[30] Schraw and Olafson further identified a number

20. e.g. Nancy W. Brickhouse (1989). *The teaching of the philosophy of science in secondary classrooms: Case studies of teachers' personal theories.* International Journal of Science Education, 11, 437-449; Maher Z. Hashweh (1996). Effects of science teachers' epistemological beliefs in teaching, Journal of Research in Science Teaching, 33, 47-63; Norman G. Lederman (1992). Students' and teachers' conceptions of the nature of science: A review of the research. Journal of Research in Science Teaching, 29, 331-359; Cedric Linder (1992). Is teacher-reflected epistemology a source of conceptual difficulty in physics? International Journal of Science Education, 12, 111-121; Chin-Chung Tsai (2002). Nested epistemologies: Science teachers' beliefs of teaching, learning and science. International Journal of Science Education, 24, 771-783.
21. Maher Z. Hashweh,; Also see Kwok-Wai Chan and Robert G. Elliot (2000). *Exploratory study of epistemological beliefs of Hong Kong teacher education students: resolving conceptual and empirical issues.* Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education, 28, (3), 225-234.
22. Mary Lee Martens (1992). *Inhibitors to implementing a problem solving approach to teaching elementary science: Case study of a teacher in change. School Science and Mathematics,* 93, 150-156.
23. Richard S. Prawat (1992). *Are changes in views about mathematics sufficient? The case of a fifth grade teacher.* Elementary School Journal, 93, 195-212.
24. Donald J. Freeman and Andrew C. Porter (1989). *Do textbooks dictate the content of mathematics instruction in elementary schools?* American Educational Research Journal, 6, 207-226.
25. Maher Z. Hashweh
26. Joyce E. Many, Frances Howard and Pamela Hoge (2002). *Epistemology and pre-service teacher education: How beliefs about knowledge affected our students' experiences.* English Education, 34(4), 302-322
27. Joanne Brownlee (2001). *Knowing and learning in teacher education: A theoretical framework of core and peripheral epistemological beliefs*, Asia Pacific Journal of Teacher Education and Development, 4(1), 167-190.
28. Maher Z. Hashweh
29. Liliana Maggioni and Meghan M.Parkinson
30. George K. Njoroge (2007). *The Reconstruction of the Teacher's Psyche in Rwanda: the Theory and Practice of Peace Education at Kigali Institute of Education.* In Zvi Bekerman and Claire McGlynn (Eds.) *Addressing ethnic conflict through peace education – International perspectives* (p.219). New York: Palgrave Macmillan; Keith Barton and Linda Levstik (2004). Teaching History for the Common Good. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

of external barriers stemming from the teacher preparation program, the school district, and the culture of teaching that constrained teachers from acting upon their beliefs.[31] Therefore, it seems that even though teachers may indicate that they believe in the effectiveness of student-centered teaching approaches, thus developing a constructivist world view, in practice in their everyday teaching they may still use district-wide mandated curriculum and expository teaching practices.[32] In addition to the constraints exerted by the school and broader educational system, various socio-cultural barriers also confine the open expression of teachers' beliefs. As a social subject within a particular society, the teacher is exposed to strong ideological stances communicated by in-group members (e.g. high status politicians, colleagues, friends, family members etc.) which unavoidably form norms that are expected to exert an influence on the teacher's beliefs and practices, especially in the case of post-conflict societies.

A piece of research investigating the factors which influence how teachers make students understand why studying history is useful showed that teaching depends equally on the teacher's knowledge of the field, and also on the aims set up by the curriculum and on teachers' knowledge of the needs of their students.[33] Teachers placed more emphasis on knowing the needs and expectations of the students in designing particular teaching approaches and aims for the class. This focus on the students' needs elicits a flexible teaching approach that uses a multitude of teaching methods, including methods that aim to develop critical skills and the ability to deal with particular concepts rather than being focused on instilling factual information. However, at the end of the day, teachers' autonomy in selecting the curricular aims they want to achieve as well as the freedom to pursue such aims in a certain way depends on a flexible curriculum and a flexible overall educational policy.[34]

In conflict or post-conflict societies, contextual pressures to deliver certain kinds of knowledge in accordance with the curriculum may be particularly acute.[35] As Apple notes, "the curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a selective tradition, someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge".[36] In effect, what we do when designing curricula is to define certain knowledge as official and important. Think, for example, of what it means that the UK and the US school curricula largely cover the history of Africa in relation to the slave trade. How does that encourage students to see the continent? As a collection of a number of different countries with rich traditions and a library that existed thousands of years before the first one in Europe? Or as a poorer place than the one where the students learning about it live, only relevant insofar as it impacts on their country? Curriculum politics are particularly salient for history, which is often seen as a vehicle to acculturate the students with a sense of national consciousness, as pointed out by study after study.[37] Therefore, history teachers wrestle within a system that already dictates to some degree what kind of knowledge can

31. Gregory Schraw and Lori Olafson (2002). *Teachers' epistemological world views and educational practices*. Issues in Education, 8, 99-148.
32. Ibid.
33. Chris Husbands, Alison Kitson and Anna Pendry (2003). Understanding History Teaching – Teaching and Learning about the Past in Secondary Schools. Philadelphia: Open University Press, 6.
34. Chris Husbands, Alison Kitson and Anna Pendry, 13-14, 71-72.
35. Michael Apple (1993). *The Politics of Official Knowledge: Does National Curriculum make Sense?* Teachers College Record, 95 (2), 222-241
36. Michael Apple (2003), 1.
37. Mehveş Beyidoğlu Onen, Shirin Jetha-Dagseven, Hakan Karahasan and Dilek Latif (2010). *Re-writing history textbooks: history education: a tool for polarisation or reconciliation?* Nicosia: Tipograf Arts, 7; Bodo von Borries (2000). Methods and Aims of Teaching History in Europe: A Report on Youth and History. In Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg (Eds.), Knowledge, Teaching and Learning History – National and International Perspectives, (p. 248). New York: New York University Press.

be passed on. Israel's history syllabus at one point only included 1.4% on the Arab history of the land,[38] whereas Rwanda formally banned history teaching on the 1994 genocide or the country's dynamics leading up to it for ten years after the event. Furthermore, when teachers go 'off curriculum', there can be strict repercussions. In the case of Rwanda's moratorium this included criminal charges.[39]

However, even in environments where the formal curriculum allows teachers to focus on subjects through a range of interpretations or narratives, history teachers sometimes "play safe" and shy away from tackling controversial events, normally citing one of three reasons.[40] The first is a fear of upsetting students if painful topics are addressed, particularly on issues where students themselves may have been affected by violence, either directly, or through actions targeted at family members.[41] The second is a worry that when history is taught to a classroom containing students with strong allegiances to one of a number of competing narratives, to quote one teacher, "emotion kicks in over reason"[42] and rational discussion becomes impossible. The third reason is ambivalence about studying recent but politically sensitive history which may turn the classroom, intended to be a safe space, into a troublesome, highly emotional environment.[43] Teachers are not necessarily comfortable in this avoidance strategy – they may just see no other way. As one reflective and self-critical teacher educator from Northern Ireland has asked:

> "Are we by omission educating another generation of IRA men and women, and UVF members, or are we raising another frustrated and helpless generation of sitters on fences and head buriers like ourselves caught in the trap of violence and History. You may say society has a greater influence on the individual than the classroom and I would agree. But is this to admit defeat to condone our inactivity and suggest that education can do nothing?"[44]

In many situations, teachers report that whilst they support notions of constructivist history in theory, they feel inadequately prepared to teach lessons using this approach in practice. Such evidence comes from various countries including Ireland[45] and South Africa, where so great was the problem, that a specific NGO was set up to train teachers on this issue.[46]

A study conducted in Cyprus on a sample of Greek Cypriot teachers reported how teachers' understanding of peaceful co-existence and reconciliation influenced their "emotional readiness" to accept a new educational objective of developing peaceful co-existence between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in schools.[47] The study found that even though Greek Cypriot teachers acknowledged the importance of teaching for peaceful co-existence, they were reluctant to do so in their own

38. Israel Government Yearbook (1960). Jerusalem, 12
39. Gail Weldon (2009). *A comparative study of the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum in societies emerging from conflict: Rwanda and South Africa* (PhD dissertation, University of Pretoria). Retrieved from **http://upetd.up.ac.za/thesis/available/etd-09242009-234215/**
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid, 141.
42. Ibid, 132.
43. Ibid, 141.
44. Alan McCully (1985). *The relevance of the teaching of cultural and social studies to the handling of controversial issues in the history classroom.* In Roger Austin (Ed.), *Essays on History Teaching in Northern Ireland* (p.58). University of Ulster, Coleraine.
45. Ibid.
46. See **www.shikaya.org**
47. Michalinos Zembylas, Panayiota Kendeou and Athina Michaelidou (forthcoming). *Ambivalence towards Reconciliation and the Emotional Readiness of Greek Cypriot Teachers to Promote Peaceful Coexistence.*

classrooms. One reason put forward was practical whereby teachers pointed out they lacked the professional preparation to implement the teaching of peaceful co-existence. However, a second reason was given which had to do with the teachers' ideological positions. Specifically, teachers understood reconciliation and peaceful co-existence as the restoration of human rights for all, not forgiveness or mutual trust. "Human rights for all" is a recurring theme in the discourse of most Greek Cypriot parties about the solution to the Cyprus issue and the way they envision the political arrangement on the island. This ideologically motivated attitude was coupled with low levels of trust towards the Turkish Cypriots despite the fact that most respondents assigned the blame for the partition of the island on the invading Turkish troops and Turkey and not on Turkish Cypriots. The research concluded that Greek Cypriot teachers were not yet committed to promoting peaceful co-existence in the classroom and that their reluctance was mainly the result of having internalised the political discourses of Greek Cypriot political parties. Nevertheless, the study also emphasised that since this attitude was not motivated by traumatic experiences but by the response to political discourses, it could be changed. The respondents thus appeared to be ambivalent or uncertain about peaceful co-existence, rather than totally opposed to the reconciliation process.[48] Unfortunately this research was conducted in the Greek Cypriot community and did not allow any comparisons with the corresponding views of Turkish Cypriot educators.

A further constraint on teachers eager to teach a constructivist approach can be the style of course examination that teachers are required to prepare their students to complete. In a study of Korean history teachers, teachers reported that parents complained when they attempted to look at alternative points of view and how these can be constructed in a historical narrative because parents were scared that it was stopping their children from "concentrat[ing] on studying for [factual recall] exam[s]".[49] This reflects the reality that, even if teachers hold constructivist epistemological views about how history should be understood, pressures for good examination results and the ease that a straightforward factual recall system provides to assess students can mean that realist history teaching strategies may still be used.

Local communities may also put pressure for history to be taught a certain way. Teachers in Northern Ireland reported that pressures from the local context were the greatest external influence on their teaching[50], whilst in a study on history teaching in Guatemala, Oglesby records teachers being asked by parents whose family were active in the violence not to teach their children about these events[51], turning history from an enquiry-based subject able to fully explore a topic into an information-restricting exercise specifically ignoring certain views. The impact of the local community does not just have to be individuals putting on direct pressure. One study investigated the discrepancy between the constructivist, student-centred theory that Greek Cypriot teachers were trained in, and the teacher-centred methods they followed when actually teaching. During their preparative interactions with pupils, trainee teachers, exposed to theories about student-centred teaching during their training, moved swiftly to being the sole in-class conductors of activities and discussions. The authors attributed this discrepancy to the Greek Orthodox Church, and its deeply embedded educational tradition that teachers were the holders of the truth, that lessons should express a moral assertion and that students should accept the prescribed textbooks.[52] Even when teachers had gone through an educational process designed to encourage a different way of

48. Ibid, 25-26; See also Michalinos Zembylas, Constadina Charalambous, Panayiota Charalambous and Panayiota Kendeou (forthcoming). *Promoting peaceful coexistence in conflict-ridden Cyprus: Teachers' difficulties and emotions towards a new policy initiative*, 33.
49. Roland Bleiker and Hoang Young-Ju, 268.
50. Alison Kitson, 141.
51. Elizabeth Oglesby (2007). Historical Memory and the Limits of Peace Education: Examining Guatemala's 'Memory of Silence' and the Politics of Curriculum Design. In Elizabeth Cole (Ed.), Teaching the Violent Past (p.186). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
52. Mary Koutselini and Panayiotis Persianis (2000). Theory-practice Divide in Teacher Education at the University of Cyprus and the Role of the Traditional Values of the Orthodox Church. Teaching in Higher Education, 5(4), 505.

understanding knowledge, the impact of the wider society on teachers, who are too a part of society, remains. In the Turkish Cypriot community, teachers also find it difficult to apply student-centred approaches to teaching. A study conducted in the Turkish Cypriot community indicates that history teachers found it difficult to apply student-centred approaches mainly due to system-level contextual factors.[53] In particular, teachers felt that even though the new books that were introduced during the period 2004-2009 promoted and encouraged student-centred methods, at a system level the amount of time allocated for the teaching of the history of Cyprus was drastically reduced to 40 minutes a week: purely due to time restrictions, history teachers were unable to apply student-centred methods but instead were restricted to highlighting the main points of the book in a teacher-centred manner.

The Contact Hypothesis and its importance in the Cypriot context

A characteristic of today's Cyprus is the division between the two communities of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. This division was particularly entrenched from 1974 until the partial lifting of travel restrictions in 2003. During those post-conflict years most Cypriots had absolutely no contact at all with members of the other community.

The partial lifting of travel restrictions in 2003 offers opportunities for contact to take place between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots which previously were impossible. However, years of division have meant that whole generations of Cypriots have grown up without any contact with members of the other community and without ever visiting parts of the island or even parts of their own city or of their properties, which are under the other community's administration. Even now, when travel restrictions have been partially lifted, mental barriers still exist for members of both communities, and thus for educators as well, in meeting and in exchanging views on the issue of history teaching. A significant component of these mental barriers are the contrasting interpretations of the history of Cyprus embodied in official historical narratives while the lack of contact between communities has meant that these official narratives have remained isolated from inter-communal dialogue and challenge.

Furthermore, there have been no systematic efforts at an official level to promote quality contact between educators in the two communities. Calls have been made by sections of civil society, such as the AHDR and the United Platform of Educators, for the exchange of visits between schools from across the divide while the Turkish Cypriot teacher trade unions have actively supported such initiatives. Moreover, the present Greek Cypriot Minister of Education has actively promoted similar initiatives by issuing circulars that set targets for each school year from 2008-2009 until present requiring the cultivation of peaceful co-existence, mutual respect and cooperation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots suggesting the exchange of visits between students and educators of the two communities as an important measure of movement in this direction. Despite these efforts, however, the majority of educators and school principals have been reluctant to arrange inter-communal visits, and the Greek Cypriot elementary teachers' union (ΠΟΕΔ) has openly disapproved of and forbidden any such attempts through a circular to primary school teachers,[54] despite their claim that they generally support the aims of the ministry for the cultivation of peaceful co-existence, mutual respect and cooperation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. This reluctance follows from educators' fear of stigmatisation by colleagues and society, from issues surrounding recognition of the Turkish Cypriot administration[55], and from teachers' reluctance to assume responsibility for taking children across community lines or lack of confidence in handling politically sensitive matters[56]. For a number of reasons, therefore, on the whole, contact between the two communities in Cyprus, and especially between educators, has been limited.

53. Mehveş Beyidoğlu Onen, Shirin Jetha-Dagseven, Hakan Karahasan and Dilek Latif, 161.

54. In fact the Greek Cypriot Ombudswoman, Iliana Nikolaou condemned POED asking for the withdrawal of the circular.

55. See Charis Psaltis (in press).

56. Zembylas, M., Kendeou, P., Michaelidou, A. (forthcoming). See also Charis Psaltis (in press).

Numerous international studies with individuals from groups in conflict demonstrate that contacts between people from conflicting groups result in the reduction of prejudice and the promotion of trust.[57] The contact hypothesis proposes that positive, co-operative contacts between individuals from opposing groups, supported by laws and custom, can decrease prejudice and improve inter-group relations.[58] If these conditions are met, contact is deemed to facilitate a better understanding of the out-group,[59] an enhanced ability to assume its perspective and a reduced sense of threat by the out-group. In the Cyprus context in particular, it was shown that increased levels of intercommunal contact were directly related to a view of history that challenges the contrasting official narratives across the divide when it comes to the general population of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.[60] Nevertheless, this issue has still to be explored amongst the population of history educators and in relation to history teachers' epistemological beliefs, teaching practices and views the aims of the history curriculum.

Another factor that affects the chances that intercommunal contact will change attitudes and categories of thought are the prevalent social representations of contact and of intergroup trust that shape the actions of individuals. Social construction and representation are both processes through which the subject, the other, and the media interact. Psaltis argues that the representations of the other and of contact with the other can be changed both at the level of the individual and at the level of political ideologies and discourses:[61] contact between individuals of conflicting groups can alter their representations of the other provided the representations of such instances of intergroup contact are defined as pleasant, co-operative and based on mutual respect.[62] However, in the absence of a catalyst such as a public discourse about co-operation and contact, individuals avoid interaction with the other or else, if they do meet and enter into dialogue with the members of the other community, they remain skeptical about whether such contacts can contribute to the solution of the Cyprus issue[63]. It seems therefore, that in Cyprus the contending national projects exert a persistent negative influence on Cypriots' perceptions of the prospect for the situation in Cyprus to change in the future. The contending national projects however exert an influence not only on Cypriots' perceptions but also on the educational system and on the curricula across the divide.[64] In particular, the teaching of history has been an important instrument for the students' acculturation into the Greek and Turkish national projects.

57. See Thomas F. Pettigrew and Linda R. Tropp (2000). *Does intergroup contact reduce prejudice?: Recent meta-analytic findings*. In Stuart Oskamp (Ed.), Reducing prejudice and discrimination. '*The Claremont Symposium on Applied Social Psychology* (pp. 93-114). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
58. Gordon Allport (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice. Boston: Beacon Press.*
59. Thomas F. Pettigrew (1998). *Intergroup contact theory. Annual Review of Psychology*, 49, 65–85.
60. Charis Psaltis (in press)
61. Charis Psaltis (in press)
62. Ibid
63. Ibid
64. Chara Makriyanni, Charis Psaltis and Dilek Latif (in press), 27-29; Michalions Zembylas (2009). Inventing Spaces for Critical Emotional Praxis – the Pedagogical Challenges of Reconciliation and Peace. In Claire McGlynn, Zvi Bekerman, Michalions Zembylas and Tony Gallagher (Eds.), Peace Education in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies (p.183). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

History Curricula and Textbooks in Cyprus

Despite the island's declaration of independence in 1960, the purpose of education had been and still is to a large extent to reinforce Greek Cypriots' and Turkish Cypriots' identification with and connection to the national "motherlands" of Greece and Turkey. Separate education for the two groups throughout the decades has resulted in the inculcation of allegiances mainly to Turkey or Greece and much less so to Cyprus. This trend was particularly reinforced by the final step of the ethnic segregation as a result of the events of 1974.

History teachers from both sides of the divide teach using history textbooks that are mostly prepared in either Greece or Turkey and consequently, place emphasis on the respective history of each 'motherland'. Even textbooks specifically on the history of Cyprus that are prepared in Cyprus, have strong ethnocentric characteristics.[65]

In the Turkish Cypriot community, the Republican Turkish Party rose to power in 2004 announcing its commitment to solve the Cyprus issue and to lead the community into the European Union. Turkish Cypriot officials committed to changing educational materials to offer a more balanced view of Cypriot history and to avoid reproducing prejudiced attitudes against Greek Cypriots and the European Union. Subsequently, three textbooks that covered the history of Cyprus from the arrival of its first inhabitants until the present were published for secondary schools, and a few others for primary schools and lyceums. Local NGOs and educational scholars received them with praise, highlighting the shift in the narrative structure and the moral evaluation of the historical actors, and setting forward a more Cypriot-centric view.[66] The initiative was also welcomed by left-wing media and politicians, but faced strong criticism from voices on the right of the Turkish Cypriot political spectrum for 'eroding' Turkish national identity. During the 2009 Turkish Cypriot elections, the right-wing National Unity Party vowed to replace the revised history textbooks if it was elected to power. After their victory, the National Unity leadership ordered a revision towards a more nationalist paradigm and the textbooks prepared in 2004 have already been replaced for secondary education by books following a more ethnocentric/nationalist paradigm.[67]

On the other side of the divide, 2004 also heralded the commencement of reform efforts. In particular, an Educational Reform Committee was set up to prepare a report for general reform of Greek Cypriot education. With regards to history, it argued in favor of promoting multiperspectivity and reconciliation, suggested a revision to the history textbooks, criticising the use of textbooks from Greece[68] and emphasising the need for adjustments in history teachers' training. This manifesto generated a variety of reactions from stakeholders and nationalist circles.[69] However, the pending educational reform went silent, and in 2008 a newly elected government announced a general reform in the Greek Cypriot educational system. Again a large public debate began, centred around whether history education should promote the Greek national identity and maintain the desire for liberation of the semi-occupied island, or whether it should promote a common Cypriot identity and the reunification of the island through reconciliation with Turkish Cypriots.[70] In preparation for the pending educational reform, an educational committee with its respective working group, comprised

65. See Lukas Perikleous (2010). At a crossroad between memory and thinking: The case of primary history education in the Greek Cypriot educational system. Education 3-13: International Journal of Primary, Elementary and Early Years Education, 38(3), 315-328 ; Mehveş Beyidoğlu Onen, Shirin Jetha-Dagseven, Hakan Karahasan and Dilek Latif (2010).
66. Chara Makriyanni, Charis Psaltis and Dilek Latif (in press),11.
67. Ibid, 12-13.
68. Ibid, 5.
69. Ibid; Lukas Perikleous (2010), 8.
70. Lukas Perikleous, 9.

solely by academic historians, was formed in 2009 to produce a new curriculum for history education at the suggestion of various political parties across the political spectrum. The committee prepared two proposals since no unanimity could be reached. The one finally promoted as the official proposition has been criticised for still being ethnocentric, not incorporating decisive methodological changes and for essentially promoting the same notion of history education as the current curriculum.[71] However, the in-service training currently taking place now through the Pedagogical Institute to introduce the new curriculum is based on the promotion of critical thinking and historical skills, so the final outcome of the whole effort is still unknown.

History teachers across the divide receive little education on the history of Cyprus during their training. In the Turkish Cypriot system, primary school teachers are trained at the Teacher Training Academy and only they can be appointed as primary school teachers. Primary school teachers teach history as part of the "social sciences" course in the 4th and 5thgrade, along with all other subjects in the curriculum. However, in their initial training they are taught a general course on social sciences during their studies and not a history course. Secondary school history teachers however, are all graduates of history departments in either Cyprus or Turkey where usually they have the option of enrolling in a pedagogy class. However, teachers who study in Turkey generally lack a depth of knowledge of Cypriot history as their education primarily deals with the history of Turkey and not of Cyprus.

In the Greek Cypriot system, many history teachers are philologists. The primary school teachers are mainly graduates of the Pedagogical Academy of Cyprus, the Department of Education of the University of Cyprus, or of universities in Greece. Secondary school teachers are mainly trained at Greek universities and the Faculty of Letters at the University of Cyprus.[72] On the whole, Greek Cypriot teachers are offered only scant training in the methodology of history teaching. The preponderance of philological training amongst Greek Cypriot teachers dates back to the time of the British rule over the island, and encourages the idea of continuity between the Greeks of Antiquity and the modern Greeks. The result in today's Greek Cypriot education is that teaching history still involves training students that they belong to a Hellenic-Christian lineage that appeared thousands of years ago and whose perennial enemies are the Turks.[73]

It is obvious therefore, that the principles of these educational systems do not allow for *"the conceptualisation of Cyprus as a multicultural and multiethnic space in the past and the present"*.[74] The teaching methods mainly used in Cyprus tend to emphasise the teacher's authority to instruct knowledge and to decide if the students' answers are 'right' or 'wrong', do not integrate diversity or alternative interpretations nor do they develop students' historical thinking. These teaching methods correspond to the overall nationalising purpose of education, achieved through the upholding of a single legitimate narrative about the past and about the community.[75] It is therefore expected that educators adhering to a nationalist view of history might be more likely to uphold a realist view of historical knowledge where "there is only one truth in history", implying the nationally correct one.

71. Ibid, 10.
72. Chara Makriyanni, Charis Psaltis and Dilek Latif (in press), 12, 32-33.
73. See Spyros Spyrou (2000). Education, ideology and the national self. The social practice of identity construction in the classroom. Cyprus Review, 12, 61-81
74. Chara Makriyanni, Charis Psaltis and Dilek Latif (in press), 47.
75. Chara Makriyanni and Charis Psaltis (2007). The Teaching of History and Reconciliation. Cyprus Review 19 (1), 45-46.

The AHDR's Proposal

As has been noted, changes to history curricula and textbooks across the divide have become a topic of public debate in recent years, with right-wing media and politicians from both sides strongly opposing it. A different approach to the reformation of history education has been presented by the AHDR.

Committed to principles of dialogue about historical methodologies, constructivist epistemology and critical thinking, the AHDR has advocated a reformation of the Cypriot educational system that aims to endow students with the critical thinking skills necessary to understand and respect people of the past, appreciate the distance that separates the past and the present, and to distinguish and to evaluate competing narratives about the past.[76]

The AHDR proposes specific measures for the educational reform in Cyprus, from research in the field of history education to reform of the history curricula and textbooks and in-service training for teachers. According to its proposals, education in Cyprus should align to international research in education. It should promote the teaching of substantive knowledge that draws upon various subfields in history, not solely political history, and upon local, regional and international history in order to assist students relate to and understand the world in which they live. Textbooks should include various primary sources in addition to outlines and exercises that develop the students' substantive knowledge. Crucially, the AHDR argues, teaching is improved by teachers' ability to set out clear goals to the students, by their knowledge of their field and by their understanding of the pedagogy of history education. Consequently, the AHDR proposes that history teachers acquire the training, both during their education and throughout their career, to detect and avoid certain behaviors and categorisations, such as stereotyping and prejudice.

Furthermore, the AHDR expresses the belief in the value of multiperspectivity and empathy in history teaching. Multiperspectivity, premised on constructivist beliefs, involves hearing the voice of the other (the enemy or the hitherto ignored historical agent) and including their actions and reactions in the construction of historical narratives. Multiperspectivity allows us to "negotiate between narratives" – to evaluate opposing accounts and claims, to be ready to accept evidence that challenges established wisdom, to argue for and to defend accounts we feel others should accept on rational grounds of evidence and argument, but also to acknowledge that interpretations change over time, that no account is definitive and that knowledge is provisional. The ability to discern and engage with multiple perspectives should be one of the core abilities that history teachers develop in their students.[77] Applied to investigations in the history of Cyprus, multiperspectivity would show the complexity of relationships between cohabiting groups, political groups, colonisers and colonised and show how historical actors' interpretations of each other influenced their decisions, alliances and perceptions.[78]

Moreover, activities that develop students' empathic reasoning would benefit the development of critical historical thinking, as well as students' ability to discuss issues that have moral and civic dimensions. Historical empathy means understanding perspectives

76. Association for Historical Dialogue and Research, Proposal by the AHDR on the Reform of History Education, accessed October 30, 2010, **http://www.cyprus-tube.com/historical-dialogue/Articles/AHDR_REFORM_PROPOSAL_ENGLISH.pdf**
77. Jon A. Levisohn (2010). Negotiating Historical Narratives: An Epistemology of History for History Education. Journal of Philosophy of Education, 44(1), 17.
78. Chara Makriyanni and Charis Psaltis (2007), 54-56.

held in the past, and their historical context – remaining wary of projecting current day sensibilities and modes of thinking onto historical figures and their actions.[79] Empathy is a necessary component of historical understanding. However, attempting to understand the decisions of past actors from a perspective by definition formed in the present, leads to a number of questions about the practical ways in which students can use their imaginative abilities. Teachers use classroom activities that develop those forms of thinking in their students that are deemed most productive in triggering empathy: analytical exercises aimed at explaining actions from the past (thinking of the conditions and motivations for certain actions), identifying with the feelings and situation of people from the past, and imagination.[80] While teachers develop in-class activities according to what activities they consider most influential in developing empathy, they also need to confront dilemmas in teaching for empathetic understanding. There is a tension, for example, between encouraging imaginative engagement with the past and the imposition of anachronistic interpretations on the past and there is also a tension between trying to understand action in the past, on the one hand, and students' desire to identify with or against past actors or to form moral judgments about past actors based on students' present-day norms and values, on the other. In the end, the solution to these dilemmas depends on the teachers' specific aims for the class – preparing the students to deal with their time's moral conundrums, or developing their sophistication in reenacting the past.

79. Linda Cunningham (2009). An Empirical Framework for Understanding How Teachers Conceptualize and Cultivate Historical Empathy in Students. Journal of Curriculum Studies, 41(5), 683.

80. Ibid, 685.

As has been noted previously, this research study aims to fill gaps in our knowledge about the beliefs and perceptions of Cypriot history educators by investigating the relationships between variables related to representations of history, to history teaching, to intergroup relations and to the epistemic beliefs of history educators across the existing divide in Cyprus. Specifically, this research will examine Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history teachers' views of current history curricula and textbooks and their views on, and use of, historical thinking methods in the classroom. The research will also investigate history teachers' epistemological beliefs and their beliefs about the recent history of Cyprus. In addition we will particularly examine social psychological factors related to identity, attitudes, and contact between the members of the two communities in Cyprus. We will examine differences between the two communities and within members of the two communities in terms of these variables but also differences will be examined between the two levels of primary and secondary education.

As was noted in the introduction to this report, data was collected for this study through the use of a quantitative questionnaire survey. The research questionnaire instrument was designed by AHDR board members, the AHDR Research director and the AHDR-MIDE Research Director. Independent Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot researchers were also employed to contribute to the design of the questionnaire, drawing on their own particular knowledge and expertise.

Once the questionnaire instrument was designed, it was translated from English, in which it was originally developed, into Greek and Turkish and then back-translated into English to ensure that the translations made were accurate. The questionnaire was then piloted with Greek and Turkish Cypriot history educators. After, all necessary adjustments were made based on the results of the pilot, main data collection was assigned to two private research agencies, one Greek Cypriot and one Turkish Cypriot, who conducted the main data collection between February 2010 and May 2010.

The data set on which this study is based was generated through a quantitative questionnaire survey in which a questionnaire was administered face-to-face to a nationally representative sample of Greek Cypriot (n = 400) and Turkish Cypriot educators (n = 119) in primary and secondary educational institutions. The research questionnaire comprised of 151 items in total. The face-to-face administration of the questionnaire took approximately 35 minutes and was conducted either at the respondent's home or place of work following the booking of an appointment.

The sample in the Greek Cypriot community was randomly selected from a total number of 4082 primary school teachers and 1597 Greek Cypriot secondary school philology teachers who teach history. The sample in the Turkish Cypriot community was randomly selected from a total of 1393 primary school teachers who teach history as part of their social sciences teaching and 118 secondary school teachers who teach history as a discrete subject. The sample in the Greek Cypriot community comprised 29.6% males and 70.4% females where 281 worked in primary education while 115 worked in secondary education as philologists. On average the Greek Cypriot participants had 13.89 years of teaching experience and 13.01 years of experience teaching history. Their mean age was 38 in primary and 37 in secondary.

In the Turkish Cypriot community, the sample comprised 47.9% males and 52.1% females where 66 worked in primary education and 53 worked in secondary education and had an average of 13.14 years of teaching experience and 9.58 years of experience teaching history. Their mean age was 34 in primary and 35 in secondary.

Initial qualifications and in-service training

The Greek Cypriot educators

In the Greek Cypriot community only 7% of those teaching history in primary education and 33% of those teaching history in secondary education reported having a degree in history. In Greek Cypriot primary education, 72% of the teachers reported undertaking their undergraduate studies in Cyprus, 22% in Greece and the rest, in the UK, Italy, France and the USA. In secondary education 75% reported taking their bachelor's degrees in Greece, 18% in Cyprus and the rest, in the UK, Italy, France and the USA. In terms of post-graduate studies, 37% of Primary school teachers reported having done a master's in various specialisations, but almost nobody in history education. The majority reported undertaking masters degrees in the UK (52%) and a significant number (31%) in Cyprus. In secondary education 25% reported having completed a masters degree but only 5% reported having done a history related masters. Many reported undertaking a masters degree in the UK (42%) and a significant number (39%) in Cyprus.

It is also worth noting that 78% of Greek Cypriot primary school educators and 90% of secondary school educators reported having taken history courses during their undergraduate studies. When it comes to courses of history teaching in particular the corresponding percentages were 80% in Primary and 78% in secondary. In terms of having taken history courses as part of the obligatory pre-service training offered by the Ministry of Education or as part of in-service training the percentages drop to 45% for primary and remain at 78% for secondary.

Approximately 20% of Greek Cypriot primary school educators and 18% of secondary school educators stated that they did not feel confident to teach history after the completion of their studies (see Figure1). Therefore, even though the majority of Greek Cypriot history educators do report feeling confident to teach history after the completion of their studies, nevertheless, a substantial percentage does not feel confident in teaching history. It is perhaps plausible to argue that this is due to the lack of efficient and sufficient training in history education of history educators.

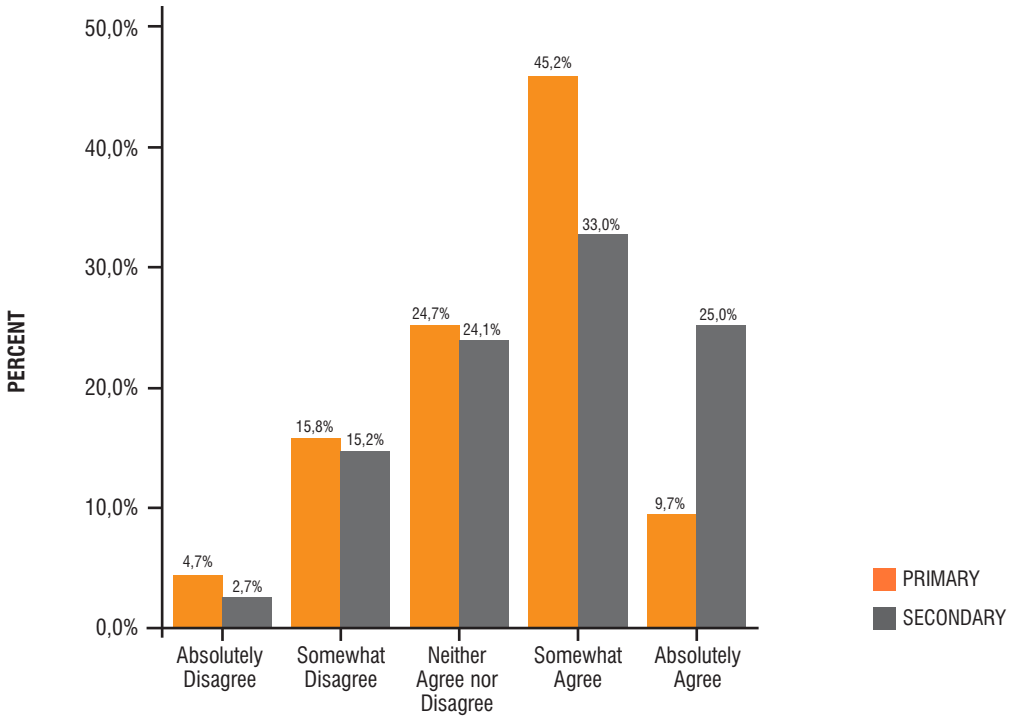

***Figure 1**. Primary and Secondary Greek Cypriot educators' responses to the item: "After completing my studies I felt confident teaching history".*

Additionally, 71% of Greek Cypriot educators in primary and 67% in secondary education agreed that they needed more in-service training in history teaching (see Figure 2). Therefore, it is clear that there is a felt need for more training in history education on behalf of the overwhelming majority of Greek Cypriot history educators.

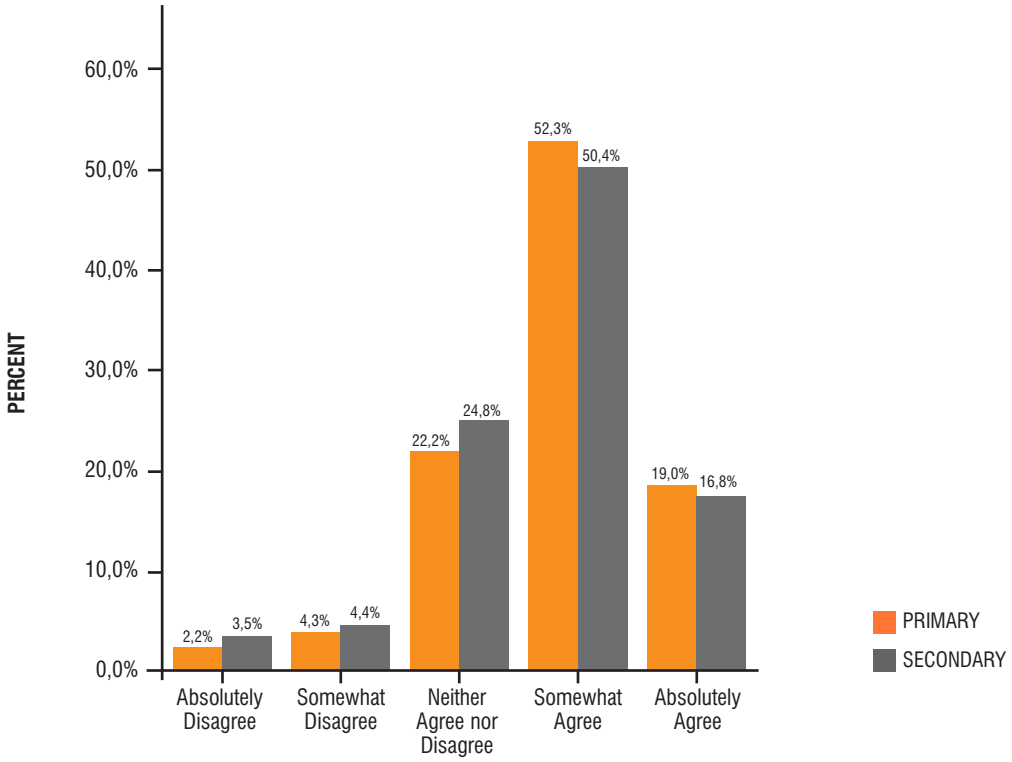

***Figure 2**. Primary and Secondary Greek Cypriot teachers' responses to the item: "I would like to have more training in history education".*

Moreover, even though history educators did express their desire to have more training in history education, a substantial percentage felt that there were not enough opportunities available in Cyprus for further professional development. Specifically, 44% of educators in primary and 40% of secondary disagreed with the proposition that the opportunities offered in Cyprus for in-service training in history teaching covered their needs (see Figure 3).

However, it should be noted that it may not be the case that seminars for the professional development of history teachers per se are not organised in Cyprus. It may be the case that either the history teachers themselves are not interested in attending professional training seminars in general or else that the topics of the seminars offered are not interesting enough to attract history educators. This point is particularly emphasised by our following two questions about the attendance of history educators in seminars related to history teaching.

In the question *"how many times in the last five years did you attend a history teaching seminar organised by the official educational system"*, 61% of primary and 37% of secondary school Greek Cypriot educators, as shown in Figure 4 below, stated "never" as their answer.

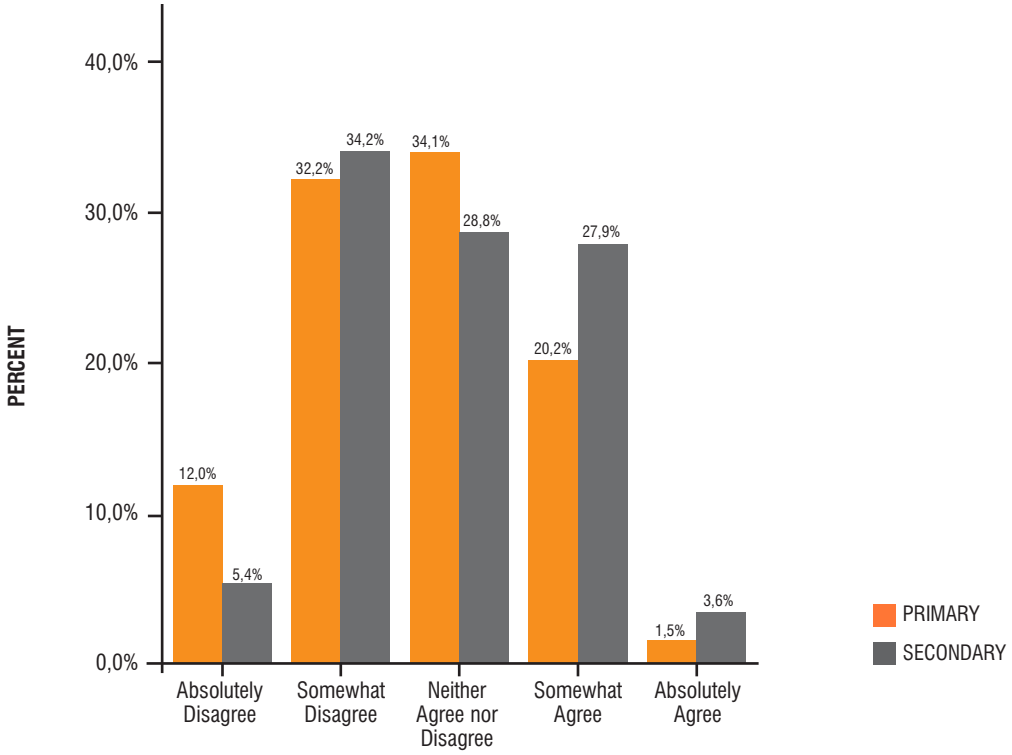

***Figure 3**. Primary and Secondary Greek Cypriot teachers' responses to the item: "The opportunities available for further professional training in Cyprus as a history teacher meet my needs"*

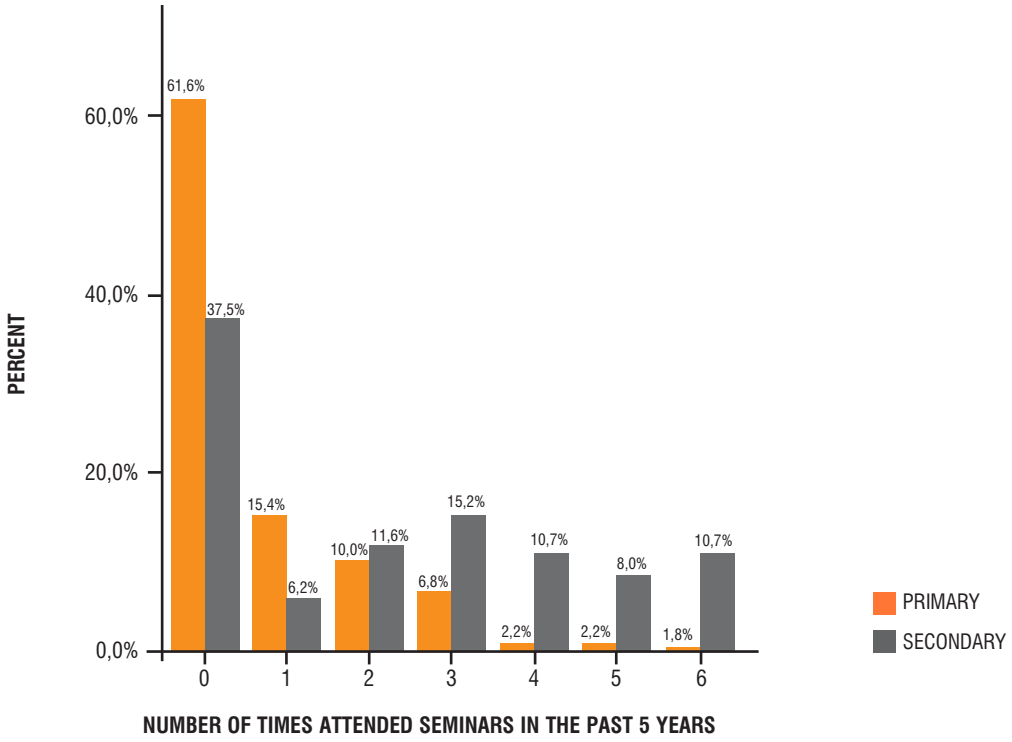

***Figure 4**. Primary and Secondary Greek Cypriot teachers' responses to the item: "How many times in the last five years did you attend a history teaching seminar organised by the official educational system?"*

When it comes to attending seminars outside the official educational system the corresponding percentages of "never" were 81% for primary and 69% for secondary (as shown in Figure 5). So it seems that primary school teachers rarely go to seminars organised by either the official educational system or by organisations outside the official educational system while most of the secondary school teachers attend events organised by the official system and not by other organisations. It is also worth noting that 30% of Greek Cypriot primary school educators and 25% of secondary school educators know of AHDR.

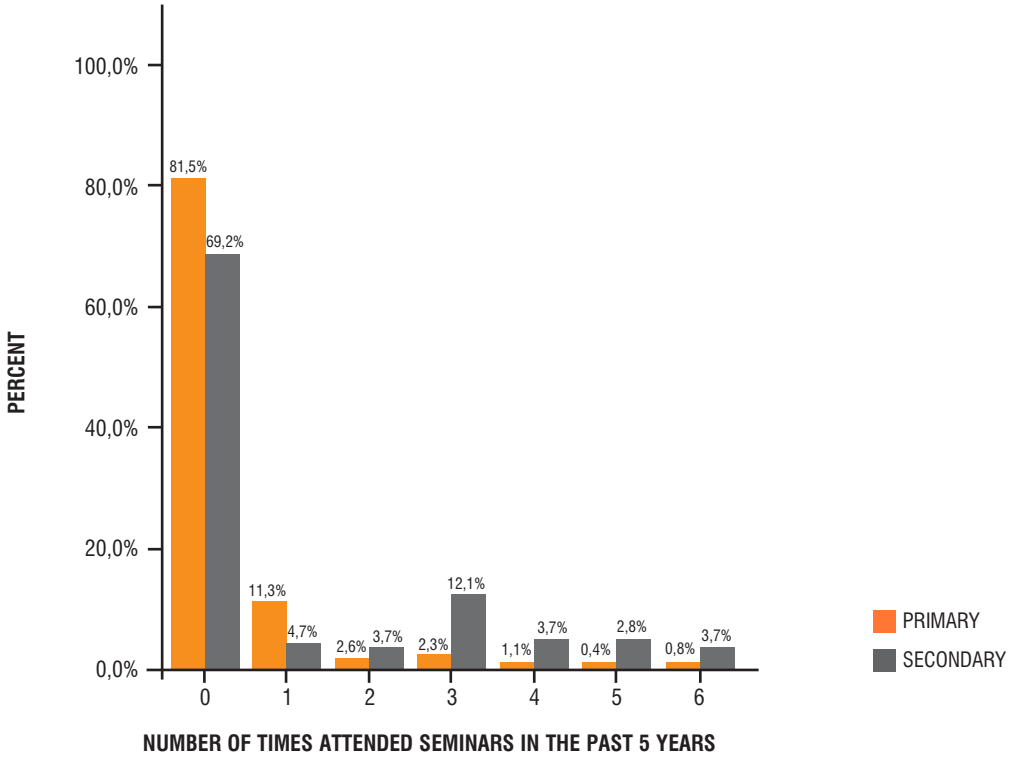

***Figure 5**. Primary and Secondary Greek Cypriot teachers' responses to the item: "How many times in the last five years did you attend a history teaching seminar provided by organisations/ institutions outside the official educational system?"*

History teachers were also asked to state the sources they use in order to enrich their knowledge of history and their knowledge of history teaching. The sources Greek Cypriot educators used were mainly newspapers and to a significantly lower degree, scientific journals and history books. The internet came last in order for both primary and secondary teachers.

When asked to describe the size of their substantive *historical knowledge* the majority of both levels (80.6% for primary and 76.3% of secondary) described it as moderate to large with only a small minority (5.5% of primary and 7.2% of secondary) describing it as rather small and another small minority (only 7.6% of primary and 14.5% of secondary) describing it as very large. When it comes to evaluating their knowledge of *history teaching* the majority of both levels (77% of primary and 78.5% of secondary) again described it as moderate to large, but only 5-6% described it as very large in both levels of education (4.5% in primary and 5.5% in secondary). There was also a percentage around 10-15% at both levels who described their knowledge of history teaching as rather poor (12.5% of primary and 14.5% of secondary).

The Turkish Cypriot educators

In the Turkish Cypriot community, all primary school educators had a degree in general education and not specifically in history but 92% of those teaching history in secondary education reported having studied a history degree. In primary education, 97% reported having taken their bachelors degree in Cyprus and only 3% in Turkey. In secondary education 44% reported having taken their bachelor's degree in Cyprus and 56% in Turkey. In terms of post-graduate studies, 5% of primary school teachers and 7% of secondary school teachers reported having undertaken a masters degree. Only a handful of teachers reported having completed a PhD in Education.

It is also worth noting that 65% of Turkish Cypriot primary school educators reported having taken history courses during their undergraduate studies as did all of the Turkish Cypriot secondary school educators. When it comes to *history teaching* in particular, the corresponding percentages dropped to 41% in primary and 36% in secondary. In terms of having taken history courses as part of in-service training percentages dropped to 20% for primary and 32% for secondary.

About 35% of Turkish Cypriot primary school educators and 14% of secondary school educators disagreed that they felt confident to teach history after the completion of their studies (see Figure 6). These values are similar to those found in the Greek Cypriot community and they demonstrate that even though the majority of history educators across the divide did state that they felt confident teaching history after the completion of their studies, a substantial percentage stated that they did not feel confident. Again, as in the case of the Greek Cypriot sample, this lack of confidence to teach history may be, in addition to other factors, attributed to the lack of sufficient in-service training.

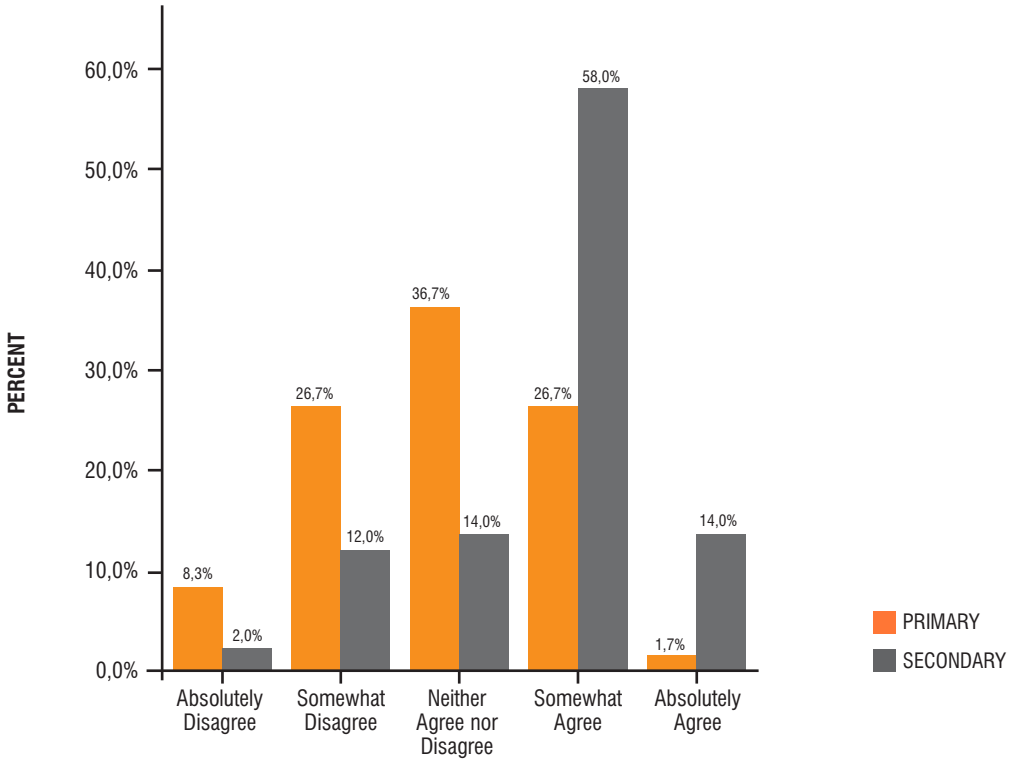

***Figure 6**. Primary and Secondary Turkish Cypriot teachers' responses to the item: "After completing my studies I felt confident teaching history".*

Additionally, 44% of educators in primary and 80% in secondary agreed that they would like more in-service training in history teaching. It seems therefore that secondary school teachers expressed a much greater need for more training than primary school teachers. Turkish Cypriot history teachers' responses to the statement related to the need for more training are presented in Figure 7.

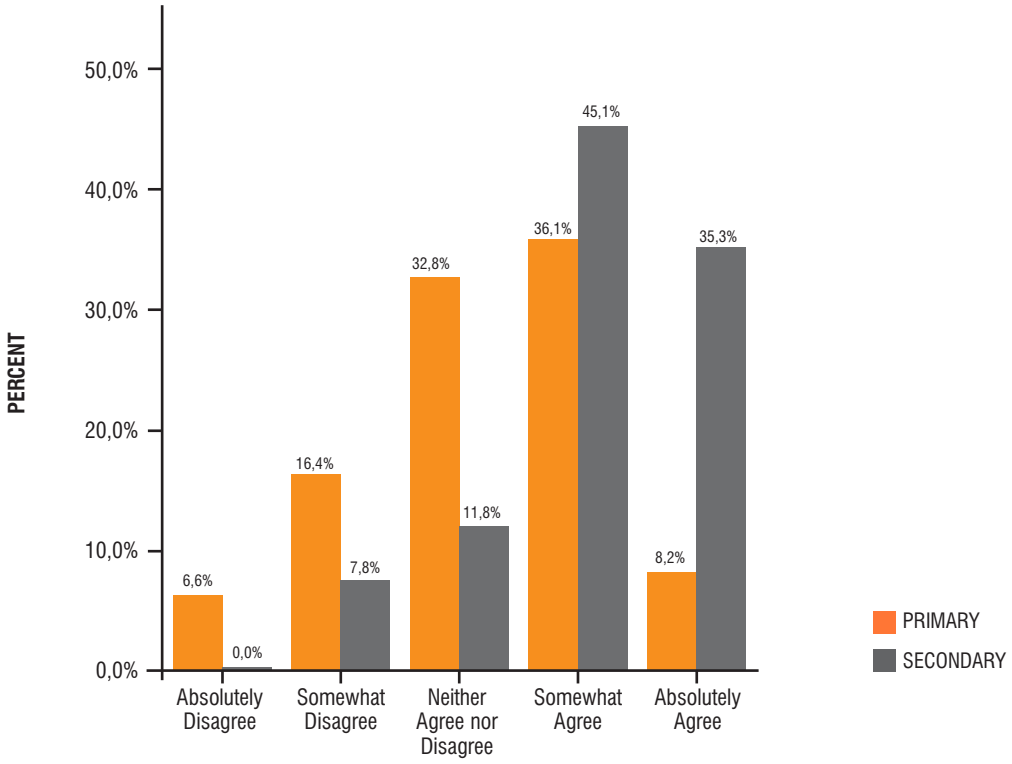

Figure 7. *Primary and Secondary Turkish Cypriot teachers' responses to the item: "I would like to have more training in history education"*

Even though Turkish Cypriot history educators did express a need to have more training in history education a substantial percentage, especially in secondary education, felt that there were not enough opportunities available for further professional development. In particular, 24% of Turkish Cypriot educators in primary and 50% in secondary did not agree that the opportunities offered in Cyprus for in-service training in history teaching covered their needs. Figure 8 presents Turkish Cypriot history teachers' responses.

In the question *"how many times in the last five years did you attend a history teaching seminar organised by the official educational system?"* 38% of primary and 18% of secondary Turkish Cypriot educators stated "never" as their answer (see Figure 9). In the open ended question that followed, the majority of those who did report attending a seminar referred to a seminar organised by the Turkish Cypriot educational authorities on the CTP new (by now old) textbooks back in 2008.

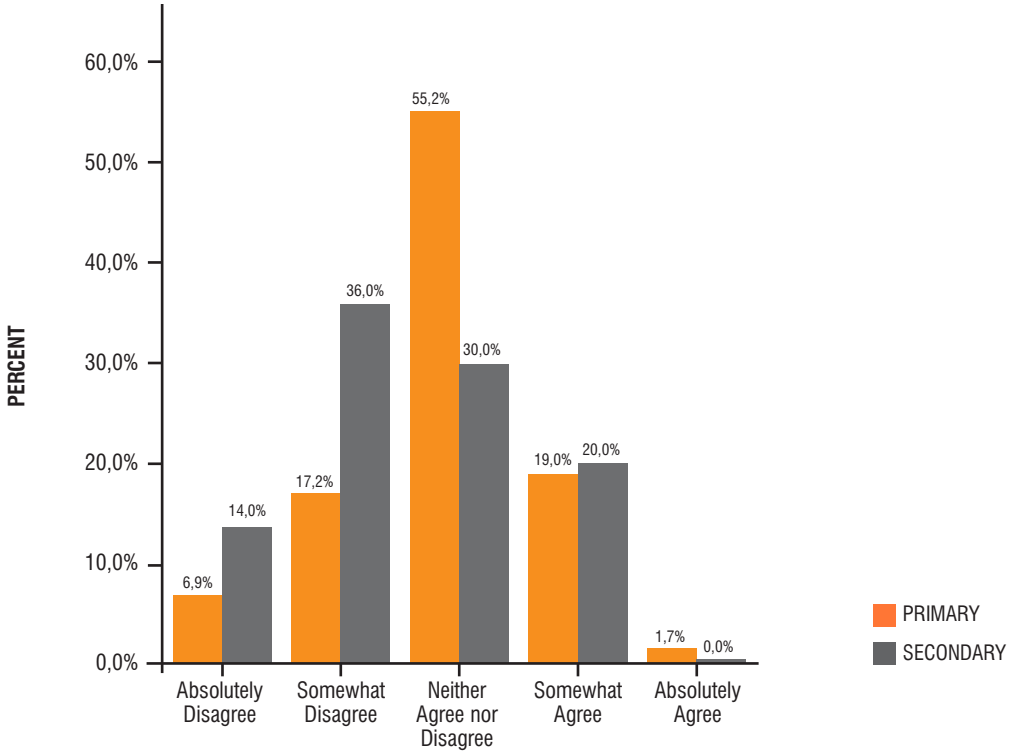

Figure 8. *Primary and Secondary Turkish Cypriot teachers' responses to the item: "The opportunities available for further professional training in Cyprus as a history teacher meet my needs."*

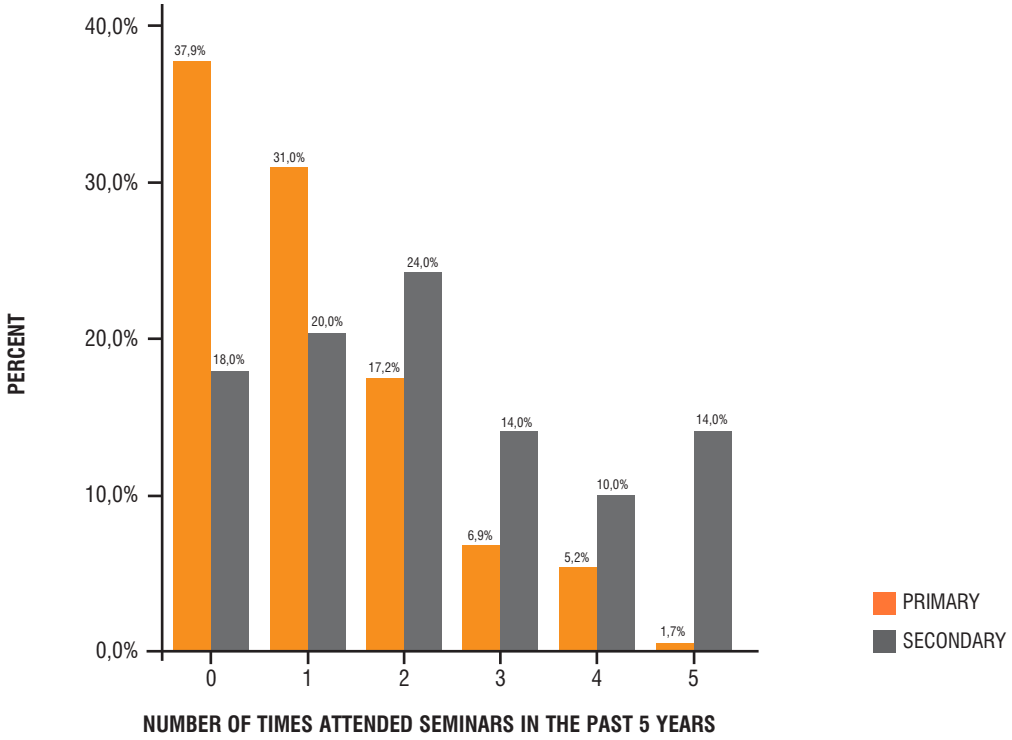

Figure 9. *Primary and Secondary Turkish Cypriot teachers' responses to the item: "How many times in the last five years did you attend a history teaching seminar organised by the official educational system?"*

When it comes to attending seminars outside the official educational system the corresponding percentages stating "never" were 42% for primary and 24% for secondary which was considerably lower than the levels in the GC community suggesting that many TC educators are in fact taking part in events organised by NGOs like AHDR on history teaching (see Figure 10). In a following open ended question which asked participants to state the names of these organisations outside the official educational system and the seminars they attended, indeed most participants referred specifically to attending the international EUROCLIO 2009 conference co-organised on the UN Buffer Zone by AHDR and the teacher trade unions across the divide. It is also worth noting that in a following question which asked participants whether they know of the AHDR, 42% of Primary school educators did know of the AHDR as did 60% of secondary school teachers which is considerably higher than in the GC community.

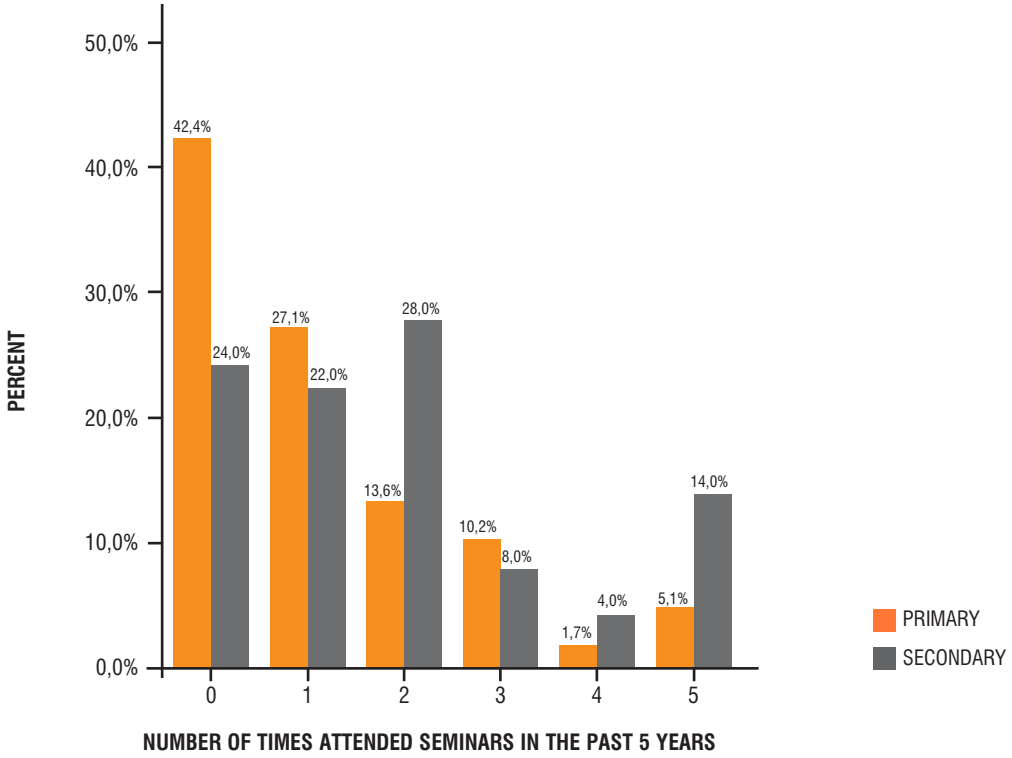

Figure 10. *Primary and Secondary Turkish Cypriot teachers' responses to the item: "How many times in the last five years did you attend a history teaching seminar provided by organisations/institutions outside the official educational system?"*

The sources Turkish Cypriot educators use to enrich their historical knowledge and knowledge of history teaching were mainly newspapers and to a lesser extent scientific journals and history books, although scientific journals were more commonly used by secondary school educators compared to primary school educators. The internet came last for both primary and secondary teachers.

When asked to describe the size of their substantive historical knowledge the majority of both levels (71.2% for primary and 73.6% of secondary) described it as moderate to large. A minority (18.1% of primary and 9.4% of secondary) described it as rather small and another minority (only 6.1% of primary and 15.1% of secondary) described it as very large. When it comes to evaluating their knowledge of history teaching the majority of both levels (66.6% of primary and 75.5% of secondary) again described it as moderate to large, but only 4.5% in primary and 11.3% in secondary describe it as very large. Similarly to the case of historical knowledge, 18.1% of primary and 7.6% of secondary describe their knowledge of history teaching as rather poor.

Constructing the Scales

In order to analyse and effectively interpret the survey data in a reliable manner, it was necessary to construct scales from the several items which the questionnaire encompassed. Items in the questionnaire which related to the same notions were grouped together to form a scale so that analyses were not based on single items but on a set of items which all measured the same underlying concept. In this way analyses become more reliable as they are based on several measures rather than on single item measures.

For example, in trying to capture history educators' views about the history textbooks currently used in schools and, in particular, whether they were considered pluralistic and multi-perspectival, we asked participants to indicate their agreement or disagreement on eight different items. We asked, for example, whether:

1) history textbooks use a satisfactory amount of sources;
2) history textbooks are ethnocentric (reverse coded);
3) history textbooks provide the necessary material and activities for the development of historical thought (concepts and skills related to how we learn about the past);
4) history textbooks set constrains to the way teachers teach history (reverse coded);
5) history textbooks present a mono-perspectival narrative (reverse coded);
6) Women are presented adequately in history textbooks;
7) Children are adequately presented in history textbooks;
8) Other socio-cultural groups are presented adequately in history textbooks.

Those scoring high on questions 1,3,6,7,8 and low on 2,4,5, would be respondents who find the current textbooks pluralistic because they contain many voices, are unbiased, promote the learning of historical skills and consequently are not seen as constraining the teaching process, but rather facilitating it.

Thus instead of analysing the respondents' answers to each of these items we grouped them together, taking the mean of the score on items 1,3,6,7,8 and the reversed scored items 2,4 and 5 to form a scale which we labeled *"Current textbooks pluralistic"*. A low score on this scale would indicate low satisfaction with the current textbooks while a high score would indicate high satisfaction with the textbooks because of the reasons given above.

However, in order to construct reliable scales it was necessary to first run a factor analysis and then reliability analyses (Cronbach's α) to ensure that the items in the scales which we aimed to construct were indeed addressing the same underlying concept.[81] A Cronbach's α level above 0.60 is usually taken to indicate an acceptable level of internal reliability and above 0.70 as an indicator of good reliability, with 1.00 being the highest level of internal reliability. The factor analyses and reliability analyses permitted the construction of 11 scales based on the items of the questionnaire which showed high levels of internal consistency. On the whole, most items were measured on 5-point Likert scales, where 1 represented *Absolutely Disagree* and 5 represented *Absolutely Agree*, unless otherwise stated. These 11 scales will be described below before exploring further analyses.

81. For more details see Jose M. Cortina (1993). What is Coefficient Alpha? An examination of Theory and Applications. Journal of Applied Psychology, 78(1), 98-104.

The first two scales constructed focus on the history curriculum where the first, *"Curriculum for Reconciliation"*, describes the belief that the history curriculum should promote reconciliation and peace while the second *"Curriculum for historical thinking"* expresses the idea that the history curriculum should focus on promoting historical thinking. The next scale constructed, *"Current textbooks pluralistic"*, expresses the belief that the textbooks currently used are pluralistic. Due to the recent change of history textbooks in the Turkish Cypriot community it should be mentioned that the participants were asked to state their opinion on the textbooks that they used at the time of the research which were the latest textbooks published in 2009 by the UBP administration. The next scale constructed, labelled *"Self-reported use of Historical Thinking Methods"*, expresses the self-reported focus of the history educator's teaching on historical thinking during their history lessons.

The next set of scales describe the epistemological beliefs of history educators. The first of these, labelled "Relativism", expresses the relativist epistemological belief that historical truth is subjective and that one interpretation can be as valid as another.[82] Furthermore, the second epistemic beliefs scale, "Constructivism" expresses the belief that historical truth is constructed, that it is subject to change as new evidence emerges and that one interpretation can be more valid than another.[83]

The following set of scales refers to the intergroup relations between members of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot community in Cyprus. The first such scale was labelled *"Quantity of Contact"* and refers to the quantity of contact history educators had had with members of the out-group community[84] while the second such scale, *"Quality of Contact"* refers to the quality of the contact between the participant and the members of the out-group community.[85] *"Attitude towards the out-group"* is comprised of a single item which requires the participant to state their feelings towards members of the out-group on a scale resembling a thermometer ranging from 0 to 100 degrees.[86] This scale was recoded so as to range from 1 to 10 where 10 represented the most positive feelings or attitudes towards the out-group. Further, the *"Turko/Helleno-centrism"* scale expressed the participants' identity alignment with their respective "motherland", that is, with either Greece or Turkey.[87]

The next scale constructed, *"Criticise Turkey and foreign powers for the Cyprus problem"*, expressed the participants' emphasis on and criticism of the role of Turkey and of foreign powers in creating the Cyprus issue as opposed to the view that Turkey intervened in 1974 to save Turkish Cypriots (TCs) from Greek Cypriots (GCs) who actually created the Cyprus issue with their struggle for union with Greece. As such, this scale expresses adherence to the official Greek Cypriot narrative in the high scores, and adherence to the official Turkish Cypriot narrative in the low scores.

The scale "Communal Identification" expresses participants' identification with their respective communities, that is, with either the Greek or the Turkish Cypriot community.[88]

82. See Maggioni, Alexander &Van Sledring (2004), 174
83. Elizabeth Anne Yeager and Ozro L. Davis (1995, April). *Teaching the "Knowing How" of History: Classroom teachers' thinking about historical texts.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco
84. Charis Psaltis and Miles Hewstone (2007). *Intergroup contact as an antidote to social exclusion. Paper presented at British Psychological Society* (B.P.S) Annual conference, Social Psychology section, Kent.
85. Ibid
86. Items from Geoffrey Haddock, Mark Zanna, and Victoria M. Esses (1993). *Assessing the structure of prejudicial attitudes: The case of attitudes toward homosexuals*. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 65, 1105-1118. In the original article, the scales referred to other social groups. In the case of this research the items were adapted to refer to attitudes towards the social groups that we were interested in measuring.
87. Items from Kyriakos Pachoulides (2007). *The National Identity of Greek Cypriots: A genetic social psychological approach* (PhD dissertation, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences).
88. Items from Riia Luhtanen and Jennifer Crocker (1992). *A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity.* Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 18, 302-318.

Lastly, the scale labelled *"Perceived Collective Continuity"*[89] reflects the participants' belief in an essentialist view of the continuity of group traditions and values facilitated by the perception that the group's history has narrative coherence. It is a variable directly relating to the history of a group expected to be closely correlated with *"Communal Identification"* and nationalist views since the nationalist ideology is based on myths and dogmas of continuity.

Table 1 describes each scale, the questionnaire items which were included in each scale, as well as Cronbach's α levels for the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities respectively.

Table 1. Questionnaire items and Cronbach's α levels of the scales constructed.[90]

Scale	Items	GC alpha	TC alpha
Curriculum for reconciliation	I believe that in a united Cyprus there should be a common history curriculum for Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot students. One of the main objectives of the history curriculum should be to enhance a common identity which will include Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. One of the main objectives of the history curriculum should be to promote peace among people.	0.71	0.75
Curriculum for historical thinking	One of the main objectives of the history curriculum should be to enhance critical thinking. One of the main objectives of history curriculum should be to develop a multi-perspective approach to history. One of the main aims of the history curriculum should be the development of historical thought (concepts and skills related to how we learn about the past).	0.60	0.80
Current textbooks pluralistic	History textbooks use a satisfactory amount of sources. History textbooks are ethnocentric (reversed). History textbooks provide the necessary material and activities for the development of historical thought (concepts and skills related to how we learn about the past). History textbooks set constrains to the way I teach history (reversed). History textbooks present a mono-perspectival narrative (reversed). Women are presented adequately in history textbooks. Children are adequately presented in history textbooks. Other socio-cultural groups are presented adequately in history textbooks.	0.68	0.74
Self-reported use of historical thinking methods	In my teaching I use activities which aim to develop the historical thought of my students (concepts and skills related to how we learn about the past). I encourage my students to pay attention to the historical context when reading a source. I always ask my students to support their reasoning with evidence.	0.60	0.61

89. Items adapted from Fabio Sani, Mhairi Bowe, Marina Herrera, Christian Manna, Tiziana Cossa Xiulou Miao and Yuefang Zhou (2007). *Perceived Collective Continuity: Seeing groups as entities that move through time.* European Journal of Social Psychology, 37, 1118- 1134

90. A Cronbach"s α level above 0.60 is usually taken to indicate an acceptable level of internal reliability and above 0.70 as an indicator of good reliability, with 1.00 being the highest level of internal reliability. For more details see Jose M. Cortina (1993).

Relativism	Historical truth is essentially a matter of opinion. It is not possible to argue that one specific interpretation of History is more valid than another since they are always subjective. Since there is no way to know what really happened in the past, people can believe in whatever story they choose.	0.63	0.56
Constructivism	In studying historical texts it is important to ask questions about validity of author's arguments. It is possible for one interpretation to be more valid than another. Historical knowledge is open to review as it is subjected to new findings and new evidence.	0.67	0.66
Quantity of contact	*How much contact do you actually have with members of the other community under the following conditions (not just seeing them but actually talking to them)?* 1) At work, 2) In bi-communal meetings, 3) In the neighbourhood where you live, 4) in the South, 5) in the North.	0.80	0.86
Quality of contact	*When you meet with members of the other community how do you find the contact?* 1) In cooperative spirit, 2) Positive, 3) Based on mutual respect.	0.94	0.86
Attitude towards out-group (single item)	*The following questions concern your feelings towards different groups in general. Please rate each group on a thermometer that that runs from zero (0) to one hundred (100) degrees.* How do you feel towards Greek/Turkish Cypriots in general? 0 10° 20° 30° 40° 50° 60° 70° 80° 90° 100° *Very cold or negative* … *Very hot or positive*		
Turko-centrism / Helleno-centrism	I am characterised by the Turkish/Greek cultural origin. Islam/Orthodoxy is an indispensable part of our national self. I consider Turkey/Greece as the Motherland.	0.71	0.76
Criticise Turkey and foreign powers for Cyprus problem	In 1974 Turkey invaded Cyprus to achieve partition of the island. In 1974 Turkey invaded Cyprus in order to protect the Turkish Cypriots (reversed). The Cyprus problem is one created by the application of NATO plots in Cypriot issues. The establishment in the north of the TRNC impeded the solution of the Cyprus problem. TMT arose out of the need of Turkish Cypriots to protect themselves (reversed). The British colonial policy of divide and rule led to the first seeds of hostility between the two communities of Cyprus.	0.65	0.66

Communal Identification	In general, I'm happy to be a GC/TC. I am proud to be a GC/TC. Being a GC/TC is an important part of how I see myself. Being a GC/TC is the most important part of who I am. I often wish that I wasn't a GC/TC (reversed). Being a GC/TC is not an important part of my identity (reversed).	0.82	0.89
Perceived Collective Continuity	The traditions of TCs/GCs have passed on from generation to generation. Important moments in Cypriot history are closely interconnected with each other. TCs/GCs will always be characterised by specific traditions and beliefs. TCs/GCs have preserved their values throughout the centuries.	0.65	0.78

Exploring similarities and differences between the two communities and the two levels of education

After constructing the scales, similarities and differences were explored between the two communities of history educators across the existing divide in Cyprus, as well as between educators teaching in the primary and those teaching in secondary education. This was done by a 2 (Community: GC/TC) x 2 (Level of Education: Primary/Secondary) between-subjects Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) with all the scales used as dependent variables. These analyses permitted one to investigate whether the fact that a particular educator belonged to one community or the other and/or whether they taught in either primary or secondary education affected their responses to the items of our scales.

The participants were divided into four groups according to their group membership: 1) Greek Cypriot primary school educators, 2) Greek Cypriot secondary school educators, 3) Turkish Cypriot primary school educators and 4) Turkish Cypriot secondary school educators. In this way we were able to compare the statistical mean of these four groups of participants on the scales constructed in order to explore possible differences between them. The Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) permits for the exploration of such differences as it indicates if any differences between groups are statistically significant – that is, whether the mean of the responses of one group of participants is statistically different from the mean of the responses of the participants in the other groups.

Means and Standard Deviations for educators at both levels and both communities are reported in Table 1 of the Appendix. The mean score is calculated by adding together the responses of all the participants of a group on a particular item and then dividing the sum with the total number of participants in that group. Since most of our scales range from 1 to 5, where 1 represents Absolutely Disagree and 5 represents Absolutely Agree, then a mean score below 3, which would be the mid-point of the scale, indicates disagreement with the position of the particular scale while a score above 3 represents general agreement with the scale's positions.

On the history teaching related set of scales the analysis revealed that the members of the two communities significantly differed in their responses to the scale *Curriculum for Reconciliation* (F (1,513)=6.94,p=.009). This difference was found between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot educators in general, irrespective of the level of education in which they taught. Specifically, Turkish Cypriot educators expressed greater enthusiasm (M=3.98) for a 'reconciliation curriculum' than Greek Cypriot educators

(M=3.78). However, in general history teachers from both communities did appear to be positively disposed towards the concept of a 'reconciliation curriculum', as mean responses for both groups were above the mid-point of 3 on a scale from 1 to 5.

With respect to the second scale, Curriculum for Historical Thinking, the findings were more complicated due to an interaction effect[91] (F (1,513)= 20.60, p<.001) that qualified both the main effect of community (F (1,513)= 8.69, p<.003) and of level of education (F (1,513)= 25.14, p<.001). Primary school and secondary school educators had a similar score in the Greek Cypriot community (M=4.69), but in the Turkish Cypriot community the elementary school educators (M= 4.29) scored significantly lower compared to both Greek Cypriots of both levels and compared to Turkish Cypriot secondary school educators (M=4.79). So while Turkish Cypriot primary school teachers agreed the least with this scale, Turkish Cypriot secondary school teachers agreed more than all other groups with it.

An interaction effect (F (1,513)= 21.24, p<0.001) was also found on *Current Textbooks seen as Pluralistic* that qualified the main effect of level of education (F (1,513)= 7.14, p<.008). Greek Cypriot primary (M= 2.64) and secondary school educators (M= 2.76) had similar scores but in the Turkish Cypriot community the primary school educators (M=2.97) were more likely to think that the current textbooks were expressing various voices compared to Turkish Cypriot secondary school educators (M= 2.52) who were more critical of the absence of various voices in the textbooks. It was interesting to note that at the level of primary Turkish Cypriots (M=2.97) scored higher than Greek Cypriots (M=2.64) but at the level of secondary, it was the Greek Cypriots (M=2.76) who scored higher than Turkish Cypriots (M= 2.52) on this scale. Still, the majority of educators across the divide expressed their dissatisfaction with the textbooks used on both sides of the existing divide in terms of their lack of a pluralistic spirit.

On the scale *Self-reported use of Historical Thinking Methods*, the main effect of community (F (1,513) =55.11, p<.0001) suggested that Greek Cypriot history teachers of both levels of education (M=4.38) scored higher on this scale than Turkish Cypriot teachers of both levels (M=4.04). In addition, the main effect of level of education (F (1,513)=25.09, p<.001) suggested that secondary school teachers irrespective of their communities (M=4.42) scored higher on this scale than elementary school teachers (M=4.24). However, again it should be mentioned that the majority of educators expressed their agreement with the scale as their responses were well above the mid-point of 3.

With respect to epistemological beliefs, Turkish Cypriot history teachers irrespective of their level of education (M =3.35) agreed more than Greek Cypriot teachers (M =3.07) with the *Relativism scale* (F (1,513) =9.65,p=.002). On *Constructivism*, the picture was far more complicated since a marginally significant interaction effect (F (1,513)=3.58, p=.059) suggested that secondary school educators (M =4.34) had a higher score compared to elementary educators (M =4.03) in both communities but that in the Turkish Cypriot community the difference was more pronounced. This interaction effect also meant that Turkish Cypriots working in secondary education (M =4.49) scored significantly higher than Greek Cypriots working at secondary level (M =4.27). Again, despite these differences it is worth noting that the mean scores for both levels across the divide on constructivism are over 4 which are considered very high.

91. An interaction effect occurs when an interrelationship between two or more factors is found. When an interaction effect is found it means the main effects cannot be relied upon to give the full picture. Instead through an interaction effect, each cell mean must be examined for each sub-group to identify where the direction of the interaction lies.

With respect to the scales related to intergroup relations, main effects of community were found on both the *Quantity of Contact* (F (1,513)=78.14, $p<0.001$) and on the *Quality of Contact* (F (1,513)=8.58,p=0.004) scales where, in both cases, Turkish Cypriots scored higher than Greek Cypriots irrespective of the level of education. Turkish Cypriot participants report having more contact with members of the Greek Cypriot community (M=2.17) than Greek Cypriot participants report having contact with members of the Turkish Cypriot community (M =1.47). In addition, Turkish Cypriot participants perceive the contact they have with Greek Cypriots to have a more positive quality (M =3.02) than vice versa (M =2.75). It should be noted however, that the quantity of contact is generally low in both communities.[92] The better quantity and quality of contact in the Turkish Cypriot community is also reflected in the fact that the social norm of having contact with Greek Cypriots in the working milieu of colleagues in Turkish Cypriot schools is generally positive compared to a negative or ambivalent social norm in the Greek Cypriot community. This was revealed by a comparison on a single item that was also included in the questionnaire which asked whether respondents agreed or disagreed with the statement *"My colleagues generally approve of being friends with Greek Cypriots/Turkish Cypriots".*

Moreover, on the Turko/Helleno-centrism scale the main effect of community (F (1,513)=124.42, $p<0.001$) suggested that Greek Cypriot educators expressed greater Helleno-centrism (M =4.05) than Turkish Cypriot educators expressed Turko-centrism (M=3.15).

Furthermore, Greek Cypriot teachers (M =4.01) as expected, were critical towards *Turkey and foreign powers* in relation to the Cyprus problem, closely adhering to their official historical narrative. Similarly, Turkish Cypriots were more likely to disagree with this view (M =2.71), thus echoing their respective community's official narratives (F (1,513)=416.15, $p<0.001$). The fact that the majority of Greek Cypriots supported this view while the majority of Turkish Cypriots disagreed with this view but instead agreed more with the reverse coded items (*"In 1974 Turkey invaded Cyprus in order to protect the Turkish Cypriots" and "TMT arose out of the need of Turkish Cypriots to protect themselves"*) shows the great gap that exists between the two official historical narratives of victimisation.

Moreover, no differences were found on the *Communal Identification* scale as both communities expressed high levels of identification with their respective communal groups across level of education (Greek Cypriots, M =3.99; Turkish Cypriots, M =4.00).

With respect to *Perceived Collective Continuity*, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots both expressed their general agreement with the scale as their scores were above the mid-point of 3. However, it was found (F (1,513)=57.32 ,$p<0.001$) that Greek Cypriot participants (M =4.05) agreed significantly more with the propositions grouped through this scale than Turkish Cypriot participants (M =3.63) which could relate to the finding that Greek Cypriot educators were more Helleno-centric than Turkish Cypriots educators were Turko-centric.

Finally, on *Positive attitude towards the out-group* only an interaction effect was found (F (1,513)=4.95 ,p=.027) where Turkish Cypriot primary school educators (M=5.08) had the lowest positive attitude towards members of the Greek Cypriot community whilst Greek Cypriot primary teachers (M=5.92), Greek Cypriot secondary school teachers (M =5.61), and Turkish Cypriot secondary school teachers (m=5.83) reported higher positive attitudes, although this difference did not reach significance.

92. This finding is in line with other research by Psaltis and Hewstone (2007) and more recent research of AHDR exploring the same issues with a representative sample of both communities. It is now well established that a pattern of 'reluctant crossing' by many GCs and 'regular' crossing' by many TCs can explain this finding since the two communities are geographically separated.

How does Self-Reported use of Historical Thinking Methods relate to the other variables?

An exploration of the relationships between the scales in the Greek Cypriot (GC) community by level of education is presented in Tables 2.1 and for the Turkish Cypriot (TC) community in Table 2.2 of the Appendix. For the GC community it is worth noting that the variables relating to the quality of intergroup relations are often correlated with each other as one might expect, at moderate levels (0.50>r>0.30) (*Curriculum for Reconciliation, Quality and Quantity of Contact, Helleno/Turko-centrism, Identification with communal identity, Criticising Turkey and Foreigners for the Cyprus issue, Perceived Collective Continuity, Positive Attitudes towards members of the other community*). This is more or less true in both communities although minor differentiations also exist. For example, *Identification with Communal Identity* is related with no other variable in the case of TC secondary school teachers and with only contact variables and Turko-centrism in the case of primary school teachers. This is probably due to the fact that the communal identity of *Kibrisli Turk* (Turkish Cypriot) in the TC community is an identity that is widely used across the ideological spectrum[93] contrary to the corresponding *Ellinokiprios* (Greek Cypriot) that is often juxtaposed to Cypriot in the GC community.

On the other hand, scales relating to pedagogical and epistemological beliefs also relate to a moderate degree with each other (e.g. *Curriculum for Historical Thinking, Self-Reported use of Historical Thinking Methods, Constructivism*) and this is true for educators of both levels in both communities.

What is interesting to observe however is that in the GC community the pedagogical issues seem to be independent or weakly correlated with ideological/intergroup relations matters since variables across the two sets are rarely significantly related. On the contrary, in the TC community at least two variables from each set are moderately to highly correlated. For example, the correlation between *Curriculum for Reconciliation and Curriculum for Historical Thinking* reaches moderate levels in the secondary ($r=.41$, $p<0.001$) and high levels at primary education ($r=.59$, $p<0.001$). This might indicate that, contrary to the GC community, reconciliation and the cultivation of historical thinking are not seen as unrelated or even incompatible aims.

What was more interesting in this context was whether self-reported practices promoting historical thinking in particular could be predicted from the rest of the scales constructed. To this end we performed regression analyses using the *Self-Reported use of Historical Thinking Methods* as the criterion variable and all the rest of the variables as predictors based on the stepwise process.[94]

For the GC sample, *Curriculum for Historical Thinking*, $b = .34$, $t(396) = 7.56$, $p < .001$, Constructivism, $b = .25$, $t(396) = 5.63$, $p < .001$, and *Helleno-centrism* to a lesser extent, $b = .17$, $t(396)= 3.92< .001$, significantly predicted *Self-Reported use of Historical Thinking Methods* scores. All three variables explained a significant proportion of variance in *Self-Reported use of Historical Thinking Methods* scores, $R^2 = .27$, $F(3, 396) = 50.70$, $p < .001$. Beyond the expected relationship between support for a curriculum that promotes historical thinking and the actual practice of it, it is important to note the importance of constructivism in relation to the practices of historical thinking which aligns with the literature reviewed earlier. What is however, puzzling is the way that Hellenocentric views related with historical thinking practices which demanded further investigation. The fact that in Table 2.1

93. See Charis Psaltis (in press).

94. Stepwise regression is a model-building technique which finds subsets of predictor variables that most adequately predict responses on a dependent variable (in this case responses on the Self-Reported use of Historical Thinning Methods scale) by linear (or nonlinear) regression, given the specified criteria for adequacy of model fit.

Hellenocetrism is not significantly correlated with self-reported practices in neither the primary nor secondary suggests that the correlation with Helleno-centrism might be spurious.

For the TC sample only *Curriculum for Historical Thinking*, $b = .33$, $t(117) = 3.78$, $p < .001$, significantly predicted *self-reported* use of historical thinking methods scores. *Curriculum for Historical Thinking* explained a significant proportion of variance in *Self-Reported use of Historical Thinking Methods* scores, $R^2 = .10$, $F(1, 117) = 14.31$, $p < .001$.

Still, correlations mask important variability within each community, so another statistical method was employed that aimed to identify different 'profiles' of teachers within each community.

Representations and Identities within each community: Ideological positions and teaching practice

The analyses did not only focus on differences between the two communities and relationships between the variables in each community; similarities and differences within each community were also explored. In order to identify possible positions that differentiate members of the two communities internally, a *Two-step Cluster Analysis* was performed on the participants' responses to the scales of the study.[95] The *Two-step Cluster Analysis* is a method of identifying subpopulations in samples (or in the two communities in this case) and can facilitate the identification of the organising principles that orient groups of people within each community towards their relationship with the other community. That is, instead of looking at trends and differences between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history educators we will now turn our attention to possible trends and differences within our sample of Greek Cypriot history educators and within our sample of Turkish Cypriot history educators.

Looking at history educators in the Greek Cypriot community, three different identity positions, or clusters, were found (see Table 2 on page 38). Cluster 1 (GC-C1) described a pro-TC and *History for Reconciliation* position that also scored high on *Self-Reported use of Historical Thinking Methods* and *Constructivism*. Cluster 2 (GC-C2) described a position that ranged from ambivalent to positive towards TCs however, virtually not having contact with TCs, high on *Helleno-centrism* but also high on *Self-Reported use of Historical Thinking Methods* and *Constructivism*. Cluster 3 (GC-C3) was ambivalent to negative and isolated from TCs, scored moderate to high on *Self-Reported use of Historical Thinking Methods* and had the lower score of all clusters on both *Constructivism* and *Relativism*.

As can be seen from Table 2 (on page 38), history educators falling in GC-C1 are characterised by a highly *Positive Attitude* towards TCs especially when compared to the other two clusters which show less positive attitudes towards TCs, with GC-C3 scoring below 5 - the mid-point of that scale. In terms of contact, it is obvious that the levels of the Quantity of Contact in all three clusters are low but history educators in C1 do report more contact with members of the Turkish Cypriot community than history educators in GC-C2 and GC-C3. The latter two clusters actually seem to be isolated from Turkish Cypriots. Furthermore, history educators in GC-C1 scored lower than history educators in GC-C2 and GC-C3 on *Communal Identification* and on *Helleno-centrism*, even though participants in GC-C1 did score higher than the mid-point of 3 on *Communal Identity* thus expressing their slight agreement with this scale. On the other hand, history educators in GC-C2 expressed the highest identification both with the communal Greek Cypriot

95. The scale Quality of Contact was not included in the Cluster Analysis due to the large number of missing values on this scale. Since not all participants had contact with out-group members, not all participants could respond to the scale examining the quality of contact with out-group members, hence the large number of missing values.

identity and with the idea of "motherland" Greece when compared to the other two clusters. In effect, history educators falling in GC-C3 seemed to be in between GC-C1 and GC-C2 in their responses on the scales related to *Communal Identity and Helleno-centrism*. A similar trend appeared with respect to *Criticising Turkey* and *Foreign Powers for the Cyprus problem*. In this case, it was again GC-C2 which expressed the highest agreement with this position, while GC-C1 and GC-C3 expressed lower agreement with this scale. However, it should be noted that all three clusters did express agreement with *Criticising Turkey and Foreign Powers for the Cyprus problem* as they all scored above the mid-point of 3. With respect to Perceived *Collective Continuity* again the same pattern appeared as GC-C2 expressed greater agreement with this scale of all three clusters with GC-C1 expressing the least agreement with this scale. However, again as in the case of *Criticising Turkey* and *Foreign Powers for the Cyprus problem*, all three clusters scored above the mid-point of this scale thus expressing their general agreement with the scale.

Going on to the scales which refer to history teaching, it can be seen that participants who fall in GC-C1 expressed, as expected, the greatest support for the proposition that the history curriculum should be used in support of reconciliation. Even though the other two clusters did express some support for this position, GC-C1 expressed by far the greatest agreement with this position. GC-C1 and GC-C2 also expressed support for the idea that history curriculum should promote historical thinking with GC-C3, compared to the other clusters, expressing significantly lower agreement with the position that the history curriculum should promote historical thinking. A similar pattern can be observed from the positions of the three clusters on the *Self-Reported use of Historical Thinking Methods*, however, in this case GC-C2 expressed the greatest agreement with this scale while GC-C1 also expressed similarly high agreement, although at a significantly lower level compared to GC-C2. GC-C3 on the other hand, expressed the least agreement with this scale when compared to the other two clusters. The opposite trend however, appeared with respect to considering the current history textbooks as pluralistic. Even though all three clusters scored below the mid-point on this scale, thus unanimously expressing their dissatisfaction with the current textbooks used, GC-C1 expressed a stronger criticism of the textbooks compared to both GC-C3 and GC-C2.

With regards to epistemological beliefs, some interesting inconsistencies and tensions were revealed regarding GC-C2. Participants in GC-C2 were found to be the most constructivists of all three clusters but at the same time the most relativist of all three clusters, on the whole tending to agree with both scales, which suggests that maybe the way constructivism is interpreted from this position is problematic. A Machiavellian reading of constructivism could possibly resolve this tension: If there were people for example who thought that the historical interpretations accepted as more valid by a society are the ones that are supported by the greater number of people or the more powerful. History educators in GC-C3, scored the lowest both on *Relativism and Constructivism* which was actually combined with high adherence to a naive realistic view about history[96]. Participants in GC-C1 exhibited a consistent constructivist position largely disagreeing with both realist and relativist views. It should be noted that all three clusters agreed more with *Constructivism* than with *Relativism* which is an encouraging finding. It was also interesting to note that the distribution of the three clusters in the two levels of education did not differ significantly.

96. Such was the single item that "In History the facts speak for themselves and do not require interpretation"

Table 2. Two step cluster analysis on the sample of Greek Cypriot history educators.

GC-C1: Pro-TCs & Reconciliation / Highly for Historical Thinking (13.2% of sample)	GC-C2: Ambivalent to TCs & History for Reconciliation / Helleno-centric / Highly for Historical thinking (54.8% of sample)	GC-C3: Ambivalent and isolated from TCs Ambivalent towards History for Reconciliation / Moderate for Historical Thinking (32% of sample)
Attitude towards Turkish Cypriots (7.55/10)[c] Quantity of Contact (2.38/5)[b] Communal Identification as Greek Cypriot(3.23/5)[a] Helleno-centrism(2.84/5)[a] Criticising Turkey and Foreign powers for Cyprus problem (3.72/5)[a] Perceived Collective Continuity (3.59/5)[a]	Attitude towards Turkish Cypriots (6.04/10)[b] Quantity of Contact (1.36/5)[a] Communal Identification as Greek Cypriot (4.21/5)[c] Helleno-centrism (4.35/5)[c] Criticising Turkey and Foreign powers for Cyprus problem (4.23/5)[b] Perceived Collective Continuity (4.26/5)[c]	Attitude towards Turkish Cypriots (4.83/10)[a] Quantity of Contact (1.31/5)[a] Communal Identification as Greek Cypriot (3.90/5)[b] Helleno-centrism (4.02/5)[b] Criticising Turkey and Foreign powers for Cyprus problem (3.73/5)[a] Perceived Collective Continuity (3.89/5)[b]
Curriculum for Reconciliation (4.44/5)[c] Curriculum for Historical Thinking (4.83/5)[b] Current Textbooks Pluralistic(2.22/5)[a] Self-reported use of historical thinking methods (4.35/5)[b]	Curriculum for Reconciliation (3.81/5)[b] Curriculum for Historical Thinking(4.86/5)[b] Current Textbooks Pluralistic (2.74/5)[b] Self-reported use of historical thinking methods (4.57/5)[c]	Curriculum for Reconciliation(3.47/5)[a] Curriculum for Historical Thinking (4.34/5)[a] Current Textbooks Pluralistic (2.75/5)[b] Self-reported use of historical thinking methods (4.07/5)[a]
Relativism (2.91/5)[a] Constructivism (4.30/5)[b]	Relativism(3.28/5)[b] Constructivism(4.31/5)[b]	Relativism (2.80/5)[a] Constructivism (3.76/5)[a]

Note: Scales with a different superscript differ at $p<0.05$ based on Bonferroni post-hoc comparisons

From the epistemological perspective, it seems therefore, that in GC-C1 *Constructivism*, but not *Relativism*, goes hand in hand with more positive attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots as well as more contact with members of the Turkish Cypriot community, with support for the history curriculum to be used to promote reconciliation, support for the history curriculum to be used for historical thinking, and dissatisfaction with the current history textbooks. Moreover, it is accompanied with less alignment with the motherland of Greece, lower support for the official narrative of blaming Turkey and foreign powers for the Cyprus problem, lower identification with the Greek Cypriot community and lesser agreement with essentialist views of perceived collective continuity. Thus the overall picture emerging from the position of GC-C1 is one that could be described as critical of the hegemonic discourse, unbiased and pedagogically informed; it is apparent also that this is, unfortunately, a minority position in the GC community.

On the other hand, it seems that in GC-C2 epistemological confusion reigns since not only relativist and constructivist views are often found in the same person but moreover they are often coupled with adherence to naïve realistic views such as “In History the facts speak for themselves and do not require interpretation” or “Historical truth is given and we can always discover it”, as further explorations with single items reveal. The high adherence to essentialist views of *Perceived Collective Continuity* in this position also

casts doubt on the authenticity of the constructivist views expressed by this position and the honesty in answering that that they often use historical thinking methods in their teaching and their high agreement with the notion that the curriculum should be used for the promotion of historical thinking. To put it in another way, how could somebody be a constructivist once he or she refuses to engage with the views of the other in the pursuit of historical knowledge if the other is considered as challenging the received wisdom of the nationally official history?

The contradictions in this position are also associated with being moderately positively disposed towards Turkish Cypriots on the one hand but having no contact at all with them, on the other hand, showing high adherence to a Helleno-centric view of history and community and essentialist views of perceived collective continuity. This identity position is legitimised by high commitment to the official narrative with regards to the Cyprus problem, whilst at the same time it exhibits slightly positive attitudes towards, and support for, the use of the curriculum for reconciliation. Furthermore, this identity position exhibits reduced satisfaction with the current textbooks used which are known for their ethnocentric outlook.

Lastly, in GC-C3 the small agreement with *Constructivism* and disagreement with *Relativism* often goes hand in hand with naïve realistic views such as "In History the facts speak for themselves and do not require interpretation" or "Historical truth is given and we can always discover it". This position is related to weak negative to ambivalent attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots, little to no contact with Turkish Cypriots coupled with a moderate to high emotional attachment to the so-called "motherland". It is also characteristic of moderate identification with the Greek Cypriot community, moderate criticism of Turkey and foreign powers for the Cyprus problem that is closely related to moderate agreement with essentialist views of perceived collective continuity and moderate disagreement with the use of the current textbooks. However, it is also associated with low agreement with the curriculum to be used for promoting reconciliation, low agreement with the position that the curriculum should promote historical thinking and low reported emphasis on historical thinking during their lessons. On the whole this is a position characteristic of the more comparatively poor pedagogical outlook and a prejudiced view of Turkish Cypriots in all clusters.

Turning to the Turkish Cypriot history educators, a different picture emerged through the *Two-step Cluster Analysis* results. As can be seen from Table 3 (page 41), the analysis in the TC sample gave a two cluster solution which revealed a more polarised context for history teaching compared to the GC one. Cluster 1 (TC-C1) was a pro-GC and history for reconciliation position which also included a strong element of Cypriot-centric criticism of Turkey and Turko-centrism. Participants adopting this position also scored high on *Self-Reported use of Historical Thinking Methods*, *Relativism* and even more *Constructivism*. Cluster 2 (TC-C2) described an ambivalent to negative stance towards GCs, ambivalence towards *Curriculum for Reconciliation*, and significantly lower scores on *Curriculum for Historical Skills and Self-Reported use of Historical Thinking Methods and Constructivism* compared to TC-C1, although still moderate to high on this scale.

Looking at the clusters in more detail, it can be observed that Turkish Cypriot educators in TC-C1 show a more positive attitude towards members of the Greek Cypriot community than their colleagues in TC-C2 who actually report a negative attitude towards Greek Cypriots (below the mid-point of 5). It is worth noting that the percentage of the sample representing this more positive attitude towards members of their out-group (i.e. in TC-C1) is substantially higher than the corresponding GC pro-reconciliation cluster.

As one might expect, TC-C2 expressed more identification with the Turkish Cypriot identity and with the motherland of Turkey than TC-C1, where TC-C1 even reached the point of expressing its disagreement with Turko-centrism by scoring below the mid-point of

what can be described as an expression of Cypriot-centric views on the Cyprus issue. These positions are in accordance with the greater criticism by TC-C1 of Turkey and foreign powers for the Cyprus problem as compared to TC-C2. However, it should be noted that both clusters did disagree with blaming Turkey and foreign powers for the Cyprus problem because they both scored below the mid-point of the scale. Perhaps this indicates that they are more inclined to blame GCs for the Cyprus issue rather than Turkey. With respect to essentialist views of Perceived Collective Continuity, TC-C2 expressed greater agreement with this scale than TC-C1 even though both clusters scored above the mid-point of this scale thus expressing their agreement with its positions.

Moving on to the scales related to history teaching and the history curriculum, Turkish Cypriot history educators in TC-C1 expressed more agreement than participants in TC-C2 with the history curriculum to be used to promote reconciliation as well as with the history curriculum to focus on the promotion of historical thinking. Furthermore, they also reported giving more emphasis on historical thinking during their lessons. Moreover, as in the case of the Greek Cypriot sample, Turkish Cypriot history educators in TC-C1 clearly expressed their dissatisfaction with the history textbooks they are currently being asked to use as they did not agree that the textbooks are pluralistic. Conversely, the majority of educators in TC-C2 neither agreed nor disagreed with the idea that current textbooks are pluralistic, some even finding the current books pluralistic.

With respect to the epistemological beliefs, it can be clearly observed that Turkish Cypriot history educators in TC-C1 score higher on both *Relativism* and *Constructivism* than their colleagues in TC-C2. This finding probably reveals some confusion on epistemological issues for TC-C1, which was not the case for GC-C1 where relativism was rejected but constructivism was on the contrary accepted.

From the *Two-step Cluster Analysis* on the Turkish Cypriot sample, it seems therefore that higher Constructivism is related to a more positive attitude towards Greek Cypriots, lower identification with the Turkish Cypriot identity, rejection of *Turko-centrism*, more criticism of the role of Turkey and foreign powers in the Cyprus problem and less agreement with essentialist views of *Continuity*. Further, they are associated with more support for the use of the history curriculum in promoting reconciliation and in promoting historical thinking, more emphasis given to historical thinking during history lessons and less satisfaction with the current textbooks.

It is also interesting to note that the distribution of the two clusters in the two levels of education differ significantly in the TC contrary to the GC community where the distribution of the clusters was similar for both levels of education. In primary education the percentages were TC-C1: 34,8 %, TC-C2: 65,2%. On the contrary in secondary education the percentages were TC-C1: 54,7%, TC-C2: 45,3%. This significant finding suggested that the majority of primary school teachers were rather more conservative than TC secondary school history teachers.

Table 3. Two step cluster analysis on the sample of Turkish Cypriot history educators.

TC-C1: Pro-GC / Cyprio-centric / Highly for historical Thinking (43.7% of sample)	TC-C2: Ambivalent to negative towards GCs / Ambivalent to History for reconciliation / Turko-centric/Moderate to high for historical thinking (56.3% of sample)
Attitude towards Greek Cypriots (6.96/10)[b]	Attitude towards Greek Cypriots (4.21/10)[a]
Quantity of Contact (2.26/5)[a]	Quantity of Contact (2.10/5)[a]
Communal Identification as TC (3.72/5)[a]	Communal Identification as TC (4.23/5)[b]
Turko-centrism (2.53/5)[a]	Turko-centrism (3.63/5)[b]
Criticising Turkey and Foreign powers for Cyprus problem (2.95/5)[b]	Criticising Turkey and Foreign powers for Cyprus problem (2.54/5)[a]
Perceived Collective Continuity (3.38/5)[a]	Perceived Collective Continuity (3.83/5)[b]
Curriculum for Reconciliation (4.63/5)[b]	Curriculum for Reconciliation (3.48/5)[a]
Curriculum for Historical Skills (4.84/5)[b]	Curriculum for Historical Skills (4.27/5)[a]
Current Textbooks Pluralistic (2.44/5)[a]	Current Textbooks Pluralistic (3.03/5)[b]
Self-reported use of historical thinking methods (4.28/5)[b]	Self-reported use of historical thinking methods (3.87/5)[a]
Relativism (3.53/5)[b]	Relativism (3.22/5)[a]
Constructivism (4.55/5)[b]	Constructivism (4.00/5)[a]

Note: Scales with a different superscript differ at $p<0.05$.

Investigating further differences within each community: contact, cross-group friendships and pedagogy

The clusters produced through the *Two-step Cluster Analysis* were also manipulated as independent variables in order to investigate differences between the clusters in the two communities on some particular questions of the questionnaire that were included in the questionnaire as single items and not scales.

Differences were investigated not regarding actual contact but rather whether participants would like to have contact with members of the other community. Significant differences were found between the clusters both in the Greek Cypriot sample ($F(2,383)=43.56$, $p<0.001$) and in the Turkish Cypriot sample ($F(1,114)=17.80$, $p<0.001$). Specifically, Greek Cypriots in GC-C1 ($M=4.15$) reported to a significantly greater extend, that they would like to have contact with members of the other community while Greek Cypriots in GC-C2 ($M=2.98$) and GC-C3 ($M=2.43$) actually reported that they would not like to have contact with members of the other community. The difference between GC-C2 and GC-C3 was also significant. On the other hand, Turkish Cypriots in TC-C1 ($M=3.98$) reported that they would like to have contact with members of the other community to a greater degree than Turkish Cypriots in TC-C2 ($M=3.31$). As opposed to the Greek Cypriot sample, it is apparent that both clusters of Turkish Cypriots, despite the difference between them on this response, express at least some willingness for contact with members of the Greek Cypriot community,

suggesting that contact with members of the other community has not been moralised[97] to the extent that it has been in the GC community.[98]

In addition, significant differences were found between the clusters on the items related to friendship with members of the other community. Specifically, a significant difference, $F(2,304)=16.10$, $p<0.001$, was found between the Greek Cypriot clusters on the number of members from the other community with which they have some kind of friendship where educators in GC-C1 reported having more friendships with out-group members ($M=3.24$) than educators in both GC-C2 ($M=0.49$) and GC-C3 ($M=0.06$). In fact, it can be observed that the reported friendships with members of the other community in GC-C2 and GC-C3 are actually close to zero and do not differ significantly between them. Further, significant differences were found between the clusters in the Turkish Cypriot community on the same item, $F(1,96)=9.21$, $p=0.003$. Specifically, people in TC-C1 reported having significantly more friendships with members of the out-group ($M=6.22$) than people in TC-C2 ($M=2.02$).

Another issue that was explored with two items was in-group norms for or against reconciliation. In particular, educators were asked to answer the question whether *"My colleagues generally approve of being friends with Turkish Cypriots/Greek Cypriots"*. A significant difference was found between the clusters in the Greek Cypriot community, $F(2,361)=4.08$, $p=0.018$, on this item where Greek Cypriots in GC-C1 ($M=2.45$) reported the least agreement with the item as compared with participants in GC-C2 ($M=2.88$) although the post-hoc comparison of GC-C1 with participants in GC-C3 ($M=2.71$) did not reach significance. It is worth noting that the majority of the GC sample disagreed with this statement which shows that it is normative in the GC community to receive disapproval by your colleagues for relating with TCs.

A significant difference was also found in the Turkish Cypriot sample ($F(1,107)= 9.15$, $p=0.003$), but this time members of TC-C1 ($M=3.78$) reported more agreement with the item *"My colleagues generally approve of being friends with Greek Cypriots"* as compared to members of TC-C2 ($M=3.10$). It is obvious, that Turkish Cypriot participants in the pro-reconciliation cluster (GC-C1), contrary to GCs of C1 report that their colleagues approve of intergroup friendships to a greater extent than participants in the other cluster. It is also worth noting that, irrespective of cluster, the norm expressed by the majority in the TC community is pro-friendship with GCs. This is also reflected in the stance of the teacher trade unions in the TC community that have always been actively pro-reconciliation. Seeing that all participants in our sample were teachers in public schools in Cyprus it seems unlikely that the colleagues of participants in one cluster are more or less accepting of intergroup friendships than the colleagues of participants in the other clusters. This difference in participants' responses is probably due to the different perceptions of the dominant norm espoused by their colleagues that participants in the different clusters maintain. Perceptions characteristic of pro-reconciliation educators may be stem from the opposition of the teacher trade unions and inertia from the reluctant policies of previous governments on the issues of reconciliation. In effect, these educators, being in the minority and supporting ideas which had been, and still are in many cases, against the official line are more aware of and feel more sensitive to the power exerted by the majority and the ambient atmosphere.

97. Charis Psaltis (in press); Demetriou Olga (2006). Freedom square: The unspoken reunification of a divided city. *Studies in Culture, Polity and Identities*, 7, 55-77; Demetriou Olga (2007). To cross or not to cross? Subjectivisation and the absent state in Cyprus. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 13, 987-1006.

98. The reader is reminded here of the circular sent to GC head teachers by their teacher trade union (Π.Ο.Ε.Δ) forbidding them to accept TC students and teachers in their schools in February 2008, leading to the criticism of their position by the ombudswoman.

Further, significant differences were found on items related to history teaching in Cyprus. In particular, differences were found in participants' responses to the item stating *"One of the main objectives of the history curriculum should be to enhance Greek/Turkish national identity"*. Greek Cypriot participants in GC-C1 (M=2.49) stated significantly less agreement to this item than participants in GC-C2 (M=4.00) and GC-C3 (M=3.88) who did not differ between them, F (2,394) =51.12, p<0.001. In the Turkish Cypriot sample a significant difference was found, F (1,117)=13.83, p<0.001, where participants in TC-C1 (M=2.98) agreed with this statement less than participants in TC-C2 (m=3.85). As expected, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants in clusters were more sympathetic to nationalist views (GC-C2, GC-C3, TC-C2) agreed more with these items than participants in the pro-reconciliation clusters (GC-C1, TC-C1) who in fact disagreed with this view.

Significant differences, in the opposite direction to the previous finding, as expected, were found on the item stating: *"I believe that in a reunited Cyprus there should be common history textbooks for Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot students"*. Greek Cypriot participants in GC-C1 (M=3.87) agreed significantly more with this item than participants in GC-C3 (M=2.67) and GC-C2 (M=3.20), F (2,387)=16.51, p<0.001. It should be noted that the difference between GC-C2 and GC-C3 was also significant which suggested that a major difference between the two conservative clusters was that whilst the more helleno-centric GC-C2 cluster was ready to consider this radical policy shift of writing a common history textbook after a solution, GC-C3 was not. Similarly, Turkish Cypriot participants in TC-C1 (M=4.41) scored significantly higher on this item than participants in TC-C2 (M=3.07), where F (1,116)=39.26, p=<.001. Again as expected, both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants in the pro-reconciliation clusters (GC-C1 and TC-C1) agreed more with this statement than participants in the other clusters.

Some additional variables in the quality of pedagogy were also differentiating the clusters. In particular, GC-C2 and GC-C3 were also representative for accepting some traditional and often naïve views about history teaching compared to GC-C1 where this was not the case. For example, GC-C2 and GC-C3 were more likely to accept the view that "I try to find ways to help my students memorise facts and historical events" (GC-C1: M=3.04, GC-C2: M=3.63, GC-C3: M=3.55) F (2,394)=6.03, p=0.003, and *"In History the facts speak for themselves and do not require interpretation"* (GC-C1: M=1.87, GC-C2: M=2.29, GC-C3: M=2.39) F (2,394)=6.50, p=0.002 compared to GC-C1. On the contrary, in the TC community, "I try to find ways to help my students memorise facts and historical events" was more likely to be supported by TC-C1 (M=4.38) compared to TC-C2 (M=4.05) F (1,114)=5.61, p=0.019 . On the item "In History the facts speak for themselves and do not require interpretation" no significant difference emerged, F (1,114)=1.34,p=0.24 ns. This view tended to be accepted by both TC-C1 (M=3.06) and TC-C2 (M= 3.32) equally.

Another single item on pedagogy differentiated GC-C1 (M= 4.23) and GC-C2 (M= 4.28) from GC-C3 (M=3.81) which had to do with the recognition that the "use of contradictory sources can help the students to learn how to deal with conflicting evidence", F(2,394)=17.71,p=<.001. Similarly, in the TC community, TC-C1 (M= 3.84) scored higher than TC-C2 (M=3.25), F(1,115)=6.84,p=0.01.

It is also worth noting that the clusters were differentiated, in the GC community, in terms of the amount of in-service training they received on history teaching, in (GC-C1: M=2.64, GC-C2: M=3.09, GC-C3: M=1.95), F (2,175)=7.84,p=0.01, and out (GC-C1: M=2.44, GC-C2: M=2.80, GC-C3: M=1.64) of the official educational system, F (1,79)=4.32,p=0.017. In the TC community a similar tendency was observed regarding in service training in (TC-C1: M=2.58, TC-C2: M=2.05), F (1,75)=3.14,p=0.08 and out (TC-C1: M=2.56, TC-C2: M=1.97) of the official educational system, F (1,70)=3.53,p=0.07. The age and years of teaching experience were not differentiated by cluster.

Discussion

Through this piece of research we have explored the similarities and differences between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot history educators in Cyprus as well as internal differentiations relating to ideological, epistemological and pedagogical variations. We have explored the current status and needs of educators in relation to the initial, pre and in-service training and additionally identified the key positions, beliefs and attitudes held by history educators across the existing divide with respect to the content and aims of the history curricula and the textbooks used. Furthermore, we presented data related to intergroup relations between history educators and members of the other community and also explored issues of identity and blame about the Cyprus problem. Finally, we presented data on the epistemological beliefs of history educators across the divide.

These findings allow some specific suggestions to be made for the advancement of history teaching across the divide and across levels of education. It seems that there is general agreement across the divide for the need to have a history curriculum that promotes reconciliation and even more, the cultivation of historical thinking. Also there is a general criticism of the current textbooks as lacking in pluralism and multiperspecivity.

This research has brought to surface some important tensions and inconsistencies when it comes to the relation between constructivist epistemology, ideology and teaching methods and practices. These inconsistencies, beyond the limitations of questionnaire surveys and their weaknesses in capturing actual practice, probably indicate an underlying tension around the role envisioned by the other and other's official narrative in the construction of historical knowledge. Whilst in both communities constructivism is often positively related with self-reported use of historical thinking methods, support for a curriculum for historical thinking and a criticism of mono-perspectival/non-pluralistic textbooks, it is also true that, in the TC community, it positively correlates with support for a curriculum for reconciliation and in TC primary specifically it additionally correlates with a positive attitude towards GCs.

On the contrary constructivism in secondary education of GCs is related with higher identification with communal identity which is usually a mark of increased majoritarianism and negativity in intergroup relations in the GC community.[99] This suggests that in the GC community a considerable number of GC educators might see the promotion of reconciliation and the cultivation of historical thinking as incompatible. When they agree with statements such as "In studying historical texts it is important to ask questions about the validity of the author's arguments", "It is possible for one interpretation to be more valid than another", "Historical knowledge is open to review as it is subjected to new findings and new evidence" this is done on the condition that this openness to new interpretations will not lead to upsetting the dominant ethnocentric official narrative of their community.

Based on the results of this research, policy makers can work towards both the promotion of reconciliation and the promotion of historical thinking, feeling confident that they have strong support for this from a big percentage of the population of history educators. Policy makers should also be aware, however, of the need to convince those who feel insecure or ambivalent about the promotion of reconciliation that this will not be done at the expense of cultivating historical thinking - which seems to be the priority across the divide and across levels of education. It could indeed be argued that although reconciliation and the promotion of historical thinking are not necessarily related they can still be absolutely compatible and mutually supporting projects. This can be achieved as long as reconciliation is defined in a way that is premised on the cultivation of open dialogue between perspectives, and that is premised on the coordination of those perspectives towards higher forms of historical knowledge and second-order

99. Charis Psaltis (in press).

skills. Such an endeavour further needs to be premised on achieving these outcomes without silencing or replacing one politically motivated narrative with another and without the a-priori exclusion of the perspectives of others, within and across community.[100] The present findings indeed support such a claim since we find that in many participants', pro-reconciliation attitudes go hand in hand with high adherence to the cultivation of historical thinking. The present findings are a challenge and a call to teacher trade unions across the divide to actively promote both reconciliation and historical thinking. The fact that the majority of educators are in favour of both of these aims makes their task even easier.

100. See Chara Makriyianni and Charis Psaltis (2007).

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations of the scales in both communities and levels of education.

	Greek Cypriots						Turkish Cypriots						Total					
	Primary		Secondary		Total		Primary		Secondary		Total		Primary		Secondary		Total	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Curriculum for Reconciliation	3,80	,73	3,75	,77	3,78 ^{x}	,74	3,92	,88	4,05	,80	3,98^{y}	,85	3,82	,76	3,85	,79	3,83	,77
Curriculum for Historical Thinking	4,69^{b}	,39	4,69^{b}	,37	4,69 ^{y}	,39	4,29 ^{a}	,79	4,79^{c}	,51	4,51^{x}	,72	4,61^{e}	,52	4,72^{f}	,42	4,65	,49
Textbooks seen as pluralistic	2,64^{a,b}	,56	2,76^{bc}	,48	2,68	,54	2,97 ^{c}	,44	2,52^{a}	,84	2,77	,68	2,71	,55	2,68	,63	2,70	,58
Self-Reported Teaching for Historical Thinking	4,32	,40	4,53	,42	4,38^{y}	,42	3,92	,58	4,20	,61	4,04^{x}	,60	4,24^{e}	,47	4,42^{f}	,51	4,30	,49
Relativism	3,08	,78	3,06	,87	3,07^{x}	,81	3,37	,81	3,33	,87	3,35^{y}	,83	3,14	,79	3,15	,87	3,14	,82
Constructivism	4,07^{a,b}	,57	4,27^{b}	,52	4,13	,56	4,03 ^{a}	,56	4,49^{c}	,54	4,24	,59	4,06^{e}	,57	4,34^{f}	,53	4,15	,57
Quantity of Contact	1,48^{a}	,61	1,44^{a}	,68	1,47^{x}	,63	2,27^{b}	1,15	2,04^{b}	,65	2,17^{y}	,96	1,64	,81	1,64	,72	1,64	,78
Quality of Contact	2,74	,98	2,77	,89	2,75^{x}	,96	3,03	,77	3,01	,58	3,02^{y}	,69	2,79	,95	2,85	,81	2,81	,91
Turko/ Helleno-Centrism	3,98^{b}	,71	4,22^{b}	,81	4,05^{y}	,75	3,19^{a}	,94	3,10^{a}	1,01	3,15^{x}	,97	3,82	,82	3,85	1,02	3,83	,89
Identification with Communal Identity	3,95	,67	4,10	,64	3,99	,66	4,02	,83	3,98	,85	4,00	,83	3,96	,70	4,06	,71	4,00	,71
Criticise Turkey and Foreigners	3,99^{b}	,61	4,06^{b}	,56	4,01^{y}	,59	2,76 ^{a}	,53	2,65^{a}	,65	2,71^{x}	,58	3,75	,77	3,60	,89	3,70	0.81
Continuity	4.01	0.52	4.21	0.50	4.05^{x}	0.53	3.63	0.70	3.63	0.59	3.63^{y}	0.65	3.93	0.58	4.01	0.60	3.96	0.58
Positive Attitude Out-group	5,92	2,53	5,61	2,4	5,83	2,50	5,08	2,51	5,83	1,94	5,41	2,30	5,75	2,55	5,68	2,26	5,73	2,46

Note: A significant main effect of Community is indicated by superscript x and y, A significant main effect of Level of Education is indicated by superscript e and f. Interaction effects between Community and Level of Education are further analysed by Tukey HSD post-hoc comparisons. Means with a different letter (a,b,c) represent significant differences.

Table 2.1. Correlation matrix of the scales in the GC Community.

	GC Primary\GC Secondary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	**Curriculum for Reconciliation**	-	,172	-,025	-,050	-,007	-,123	,336**	,389**	-,402**	-,392**	-,060	-,304**	,413**
2	**Curriculum for Historical Thinking**	,264**	-	-,248**	,398**	,080	,408**	-,036	,206*	,077	,091	,052	,129	,115
3	**Textbooks seen as pluralistic**	-,124*	-.248**	-	-,073	,116	-,322**	,228*	,107	,046	-,077	,068	,116	,237*
4	**Self-Reported Teaching for Historical Thinking**	,183**	,462**	-,076	-	,150	,302**	-,076	-,030	,167	,201*	,160	,129	-,080
5	**Relativism**	,230**	,149*	,118*	,116	-	,058	-,134	-,116	,111	,064	,007	,150	-,083
6	**Constructivism**	,047	,344**	-,192**	,381**	,169**	-	-,199*	,025	,043	,119	,011	,124	-,029
7	**Quantity of Contact**	,300**	,029	-,072	-,012	,170**	,029	-	,457**	-,508**	-,313**	-,020	-,453**	,447**
8	**Quality of Contact**	,414**	,067	-,052	,016	,233**	,146*	,513**	-	-,455**	-,197*	-,149	-,063	,435**
9	**Turko/ Helleno -Centrism**	-,217**	-,055	,339**	,108	-,025	-,056	-,297**	-,333**	-	,583**	,246**	,526**	-,323**
10	**Identification with Communal Identity**	-,177**	-,039	,248**	,122*	,041	,015	-,171**	-,207**	,552**	-	,211*	,385**	-,207*
11	**Criticise Turkey and Foreigners**	,141*	,124*	,138*	,147*	,008	-,009	-,045	-,045	,254**	,278**	-	,113	-,044
12	**Essentialist views of continuity**	-,065	,070	,257**	,208**	,028	,157**	-,097	-,081	,422**	,399**	,334**	-	-,160
13	**Positive Attitude towards TCs**	,407**	,111	,055	,092	,261**	,029	,284**	,512**	-,159**	-,120*	,102	-,065	-

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 2.2. Correlation matrix of the scales in the TC Community.

	TC Primary\ TC Secondary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	**Curriculum for Reconciliation**	-	,417**	-,416**	,213	,215	,322*	,281*	,279*	-,509**	-,128	,438**	-,279*	,363**
2	**Curriculum for Historical Thinking**	,592**	-	-,218	,095	,259	,286*	,055	,021	-,191	-,132	,120	-,016	,218
3	**Textbooks seen as pluralistic**	-,310*	-,225	-	,145	-,039	-,440**	,033	-,099	,487**	,249	-,373**	,198	-,280*
4	**Self-Reported Teaching for Historical Thinking**	,205	,385**	-,050	-	-,050	,038	,022	,222	-,199	-,209	,089	,073	,134
5	**Relativism**	,359**	,147	,054	,063	-	,364**	,212	-,006	,153	,244	,027	-,181	,169
6	**Constructivism**	,401**	,454**	-,094	,262*	,292*	-	,014	-,021	-,110	-,024	,042	-,004	,172
7	**Quantity of Contact**	,120	-,063	,159	-,038	,061	-,144	-	,238	,124	-,049	-,097	-,319*	,309*
8	**Quality of Contact**	,258*	,157	-,134	-,115	-,172	-,036	,420**	-	-,225	-,039	,170	-,148	,481**
9	**Turko/Helleno -Centrism**	-,315*	-,137	,276*	-,036	-,124	-,158	-,111	-,361**	-	,265	-,689**	,129	-,457**
10	**Identification with Communal Identity**	-,095	,125	,165	,024	,027	,100	-,278*	-,305*	,299*	-	-,329*	,114	-,040
11	**Criticise Turkey and Foreigners**	,140	-,054	-,300*	-,275*	,060	-,022	-,004	,200	-,408**	-,154	-	-,151	,328*
12	**Essentialist views of continuity**	-,003	,187	,116	-,116	-,079	-,038	,042	,144	,136	,144	,014	-	-,134
13	**Positive Attitude towards GCs**	,506**	,155	-,032	,006	,227	,317**	,337**	,486**	-,375**	-,359**	,217	-,134	-

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

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