



CLASHING CULTURAL MEMORIES

*An exploration of the political instrumentalization of
cultural memory in Cyprus*

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Abstract

This thesis gives insight into the interplay of cultural memory, its political instrumentalization and emergent consequences by exploring remembrance and cultural memories of the ethnonational conflict in the case study of Cyprus. Therefore, this study highlights the multifaceted characteristics of cultural memory and how the past can be instrumentalized in political and everyday scenes. This study uncovers a reality-representation divide by employing the cultural memory lens. This is important since understanding the ‘constructive’ dimensions and how we perceive them relates to how we imagine the future. In the case study of Cyprus, the future of the island has the potential to hold fundamentally different futures depending on the cultural memories of the communities, some tending to divide while others to unify the different cultural memory groups. As seen in the case of Cyprus, cultural memory and narratives are the consequences of some political choices and essential variables that need to be worked on for a better future.

Abbreviations

RC	The Republic of Cyprus (South)
TRNC	The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (North)
Enosis	Greek Cypriot movement for political union with Greece
Taksim	The aim for the partition of the island of Cyprus into Turkish and Greek portions and a separate right to self-determination of Turkish Cypriots
EOKA	Greek Cypriot organization that sought liberation from English yoke and union of Cyprus with Greece
EOKA-B	CIA funded a secret armed organization called EOKA-B which aimed to destabilize the Republic of Cyprus and remove Archbishop Makarios.
TMT	Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı (Turkish Resistance Organisation) was a Turkish Cypriot pro-Taksim paramilitary organization that took a significant role in the Cyprus Conflict
Operation Aphrodite	Series of schemes by Greece to assassinate Archbishop Makarios and overthrow his government in Cyprus

Introduction

1.1. Preamble

In 1908, Claude Delaval Cobham published the book *Excerpta Cypria*, a collection of papers consisting of extracts and translations of documents that have been of high significance in gathering information relevant to Cyprus (Cobham 1908). The documents did not have any specific theme. Instead, it posed the variety of social realities of the island of Cyprus from primary sources. The significance of this particular collection of documents to this thesis is that it gathers resources across the years A.D. 23 to 1866, which allows us to see continuity and change in a large time frame. Looking from a larger time frame often is not possible due to research limitations; thus, specific periods fall out of the frames of inquiry and research. To move beyond the conventional time frames, this thesis starts by opening up the possibility and recognizing that there may be continuity and change in cultural memories beyond our understanding of identity in Cyprus. Despite the actuality that the current ethnonational formations do not appear directly relevant in the earlier period of A.D. 23 to 1866, some cultural narratives were similar to the current ones, suggesting that geographical experiences produce similar socio-cultural tendencies.

At first glance, two following excerpts present the changes, the continuities and trans-historical concepts that precisely captures what cultural memory offers in the case study of Cyprus. A more sustained interrogation of this case study will tell a story that encounters different experiences. Specific cultural memories become visible as it poses a challenging social phenomenon while some remain invisible. From this perspective, the examples will show how there are continuing political and societal realities beyond this thesis's time frame and how there are invisible outliers of cultural memory when I look beyond the theoretical

boundaries of cultural memory. The two examples, thus, will offer more than ‘representational’ dimensions of collective memory and the complexity of the subject at hand.

This first excerpt, titled “When is the weather unbearable?” was written by Jodiucus de Meggen in 1542.

“Summers, where the weather is miserable, are very different; It is very dangerous for not only foreigners but also for the island’s inhabitants to deliberately travel during the day. The people of the island stay at home, taking shelter under their roofs to protect from the terrible heat. They wake up before dawn and to endure the extreme heat of the day, as they wake up early they have an early breakfast and thus stay healthy.

The fact that most of the villagers lay on the ground naked at night and sleep in the open air may give you an idea of how terrible the heat is. Even those of the higher classes sleep with only a sheet on them, leaving themselves to the wind breeze with the linen sheet that they cover half-heartedly.”

(Mogabgab 2014, 104)

Although it is not emphasized in cultural memory studies today, some aspects of life go beyond class, nation, language, religion and culture, such as the relationship between the people of Cyprus and the weather. It is still possible to see villagers lying naked on terraces in the summer months regardless of the frames of inquiry. There are experiential concepts such as the weather that stretches across generations, across nationalities and cultures. In this study, I attempt to look into one aspect of collective memory: the political instrumentalization of cultural memory, thus omitting intricacies that may be non-temporal such as what I read in this excerpt. At the same time, there may be cultural memories documented such as those of Armenian cultural memory that may be beyond the ‘usually researched’ time-frames while presenting relevant information.

This second excerpt was written by William Lithgow from the authors' Cyprus visit on 1609-1621, illustrates a perspective into the continuity of cultural clashes.

“... It is recorded that at the time of Constantine the Great, this isle utterly abandoned of the inhabitants due to the lack of rain for thirty-six years. After which time, very important colonies came from Aegypt (Egypt), Judea (Judea. Southern Palestine), Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Thracia (Thrace) and parts of Greece to re-cultivate and reforest the region. And in 1193, after the last Christian of Jerusalem, Guy of Lusingham lost the Holy Lands, the French, who formed the ancestors of the largest section of the Cypriot nobility, settled on the island. Thus established the great families of the Phoenician Sidonians, the Drusians of modern times. Although they are separated badly and suffered terrible collapse, they both have a single origin. The nature of their separation comes from the difference in religion and conscience, one are Christians, the other are Turks.”

(Cobham 1908, 204)

This excerpt is a powerful example of geographical relations between the Mediterranean and the Middle East. These relations continue today; however, the Turkish and Greek nationalisms have disregarded these connections while the motherland ties to Turkey and Greece have been constructed and strengthened consistently. This has ‘shaped’ the cultural memory. The excerpt creates the possibility to look at the Cyprus conflict outside nationalist terms. I will refer back to the two excerpts from Meggen and Lithgow in the present chapter, which expands the general hypothesis in various directions.

1.2. Aims and Definitions

This thesis critically examines the complex interrelationship of cultural memory and identity, focusing mainly on institutionalized commemoration in a divided island with a contested past, Cyprus. By comparing, constitutions of memory by governmental institutions

on both sides of the divided island – Republic of Cyprus (RC) and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) - this research looks to activate the telling ‘details’ that, while context-specific, may also be of more general relevance to the theoretical and practical issues at hand which are the impact and political uses of cultural memory for conflict-inflicting ideologies. The island immediately offers a compelling platform for examining various cultural memories, rather than some monolithic idea of a definitive ‘cultural memory’.

Cyprus, a powerful example of division, competing and contesting cultural memory, is also an island with global significance with its historical landmarks (Walsh 2007). For more than fifty years (since the start of negotiation talks between the communities), the political situation has left the islands’ rich and precious heritage and memory sites to ruin; academics such as Michael Walsh suggested creating a regulated research and conservation environment (Walsh 2004). After 2004, there has been significantly more reach to cultural artefacts and research due to the opening of the checkpoints allowing mobility from one side of the divided island to the other (Bryant 2004; Cockburn 2004; Bekker-Nielsen 2004; Tocci 2004).

Notably, the period of post-war settlement (post-1974) is noteworthy for its constitutions of memory – the memories of the role of external interventions, identity, peace, and connections to place regarding the period before and during the Cyprus Conflict of 1963-74. Cyprus is historically expansive, materially complex and politically contentious as a case study, occupying a central place in a diverse and often contradictory socio-cultural world. The following chapters will elaborate on the reasons behind the selection of Cyprus as the core case study. A core line of research inquiry emerges from these considerations:

Through what processes, practices and ideas might governmental structures be said to instrumentalize particular cultural memories in Cyprus? Moreover, what are the

ethical and conceptual implications of this instrumentalization, as seen in the case study?

Certain aspects of the analysis have been prioritized here as avenues of rethinking, more than conclusions and presumptions. What I am interested in developing in this thesis is a means of navigating the governmental processes through which cultural memory might be shaped and understanding the ways in which it matters to people. By positioning governmental representation of the past as the locus of inquiry, I look into official accounts of the cultural memory as a means of instrumentalizing the past in the present. Here, instrumentalization refers to the cases in which points within the official narrative are hyper-visible, purposefully positioned in or outside the public eye and narratives communicated via verbal and material forms by state agencies.

1.3.Outline

The first chapter is a brief introduction to the research problem. It puts forward the field, the case study of Cyprus and the intricacies of the research field. The second chapter deals with the methodology used in the research process, where interdisciplinary and cross-cultural approaches will be outlined. It also touches upon ethical considerations over my positionality in the research process. The methodological outline exposes the research outline that aims not to shy away from complex and often contradictory points of analysis.

Chapter three draws a brief historical background of the Cyprus conflict through which the unfolding of the Cyprus issue from the late 1950s to the present is described. This chapter aims to provide a template for understanding the analysis of instrumentalization of cultural memory in Cyprus. The discourse in which identities in Cyprus have been recorded and ‘shaped’ in Cyprus is highlighted as a basis for challenging monolithic constructions of identity, similar to the Lithgow excerpt.

The fourth chapter explores the theoretical particularities of the field of cultural memory. This section develops on the theoretical terrain. It expands the context of the field and puts forward domains of inquiry around the constructive, affective dimensions and diverse practices relevant to the case study of Cyprus. While this research can only do justice to a small proportion of the complexity of current literature, this empirical reorientation permeates through background research and case-specific investigations. The chapter aims to understand cultural memories' role in society in general.

While these sections are given varying emphasis, their synthesis is key to the study as a whole. These broader theoretical lines of inquiry are rationalized and empirically grounded through the case study of Cyprus in the fifth chapter. Their synthesizing in this chapter involves reading numerous cultural memory sites and events from across the cultural memory narratives that encircle a general pattern. These selected 'research scenes' include museums, churches, mosques, memory sites, books, memorials, and monuments that attempt to convey specific examples closely related to the template on Cyprus. In this way, I aimed to put forward evidence to the many ways cultural memory is instrumentalized.

The last chapter, chapter six, attempts to convey how instrumentalizations may impact societies and cultures. The shared point of departures and differences in representations of the past on both sides are discussed. Also, how the representations of the past construct and implicate imaginary futures are offered. Thus, conclusions and consequent encounters of this study are elaborated. Subsequently, possible ways forward in representations of contested pasts are envisaged.

1.4.The Field of Research

This research builds upon the interdisciplinary debate on the role of cultural memory in shaping various domains (Erl1 2008, 3). Whilst a particular catalyst being Halbwachs' work on collective memory, memory has attracted interest in maintaining and constructing social

hegemonies, identities, ideologies and political agendas (Linenthal & Engelhardt 1996; Olick 1999; Wineburg 2001). Of particular relevance to the current study is work carried out in cultural memory, anthropology, politics, history and philosophy (Anderson 2000; Assmann 2011; Bergson et al. 2004; Halbwachs 2020; Nora 1989). Philosophy of history has also contributed significantly to the debate by adding the discussion on historiography, narrativity, myth, objectivity and reality, in other words, the nature of historical writing (Ankersmith et al. 2020; White 1980; White 1973).

This interrelationship between the state, politics, historical consciousness and memory has been a central concern in memory studies. Politics and memory have been a focal point for studies that research states and international veracities with traumatic and contested pasts such as the Algeria-France relations, Holocaust, regime change, gender studies and postcolonial studies (Rigney 2003; Asmann 2007). Analyzing clashing cultural memories as central actors in daily societal reality outlines the possibilities of re-interpretation and conciliation through revision of atrocities' representation (Cohen 2000; Rigney 2003; Hodgkin & Radstone 2003).

Each field with varying points of approach, methodology and findings produce a sheer diversity of insights. This research has in common with most is a desire to look beyond positivist or objectivist accounts of ideological exposé and realize the complexity of understanding the past with the perceptions and available material. Whilst avoiding pre-suppositions about the result of this research, I suggest that examining the constructive and affective dimensions of governmental representations of the past and identity-creation orients this study towards challenging reflections on the practice and ethics of political-instrumentalization of memory.

Methodology

This research is characterized by an interdisciplinary method and a comparative approach (cross-cultural). The methodology put forward opens the relationship between cultural memory and its uses to practical scrutiny by comparing two distinct yet overlapping case studies. I contend that while investigating a single geographic location, the cross-cultural approach produces a detailed model of varieties in the use of cultural memory without restricting its broader relevance. At the opposite end of the spectrum, a wide-ranging choice of inquiry points, case studies and disciplines would open up the research to criticism of superficiality. Examining the two cases in depth allows the analysis to appreciate the complexity of individual circumstances whilst drawing out valuable points of convergence and variance in the cultural memory's shaping of the current understanding of the past.

2.1. Interdisciplinary and Qualitative Methods

The fields relevant to this study are extensive. In this thesis, a dialogue is formed mainly between cultural memory, history and philosophy, which yields itself useful to this research through the qualitative methods and normative perspectives. In looking at the case study of Cyprus, the field of memory studies provides insights into what might constitute cultural memory. Subsequently, 'research scenes' are selected through the disciplinary concepts in memory studies. This study connects the theories and concepts within memory studies with various historical resources, primary, secondary and oral (Menken and Kestra 2016, 46). There are descriptive research elements where the material is observed, analyzed and described. In doing so, notions are looked for in resources, and their ramifications studied.

I attempt to break the boundaries between 'the academic' and 'the creative' by engaging in various material from literary poems to historical records. This study employs qualitative

methods inspired by anthropological approaches to highlight micro-processes at specific localities and, in this way, bring vernacular bottom-up perspectives to systems-oriented historical and political research.

Towards the end of the thesis, normative implications of instrumentalizing cultural memory are discussed by looking at research findings from a philosophical lens. This research is preoccupied with the relation of the study to the future. This relation has a methodological history that included discussions on the possibility of causality and its relation to prediction, practices of foresight, innovation and expectation (Lury et al. 2018, 12). I discuss ‘whether the future can somehow be brought into the present’ in the last chapter (Lury et al. 2018).

2.2. Underlying Assumptions

The clash between objectivity and narrativity, commonly addressed in the philosophy of history, has been central in the beginning phases of this research. The reading of ‘official accounts’ as ‘perspectives’ instead of objective accounts impacted this analysis. Thus, it is an underlying assumption that history is not narrated objectively and that cultural memory and narrations of the form consist of ‘constructions’ of the past built on historical facts (Little 2020).

The proposition that cultural memory is ‘cultivated’ and socially ‘constructed’ is also present in the work of Eric Hobsbawm, Pierre Nora (1989), Benedict Anderson (Imagined Communities) and numerous others (Sterling 2015, 19; Smith 2006). According to Colin Sterling, the critical constructivist approach provides a compelling platform, “from which to describe and perhaps redirect the ‘shaping’ of practices and ideas central to the formation of heritage, both at a general level and with regards the precise case studies” he investigates (Sterling 2015, 20). A similar platform will be used in this study, applying it to the formation of cultural memory.

2.3. Ethics and the Role of Researcher

Specific ethical considerations are outlined here as an extension of the methodology. The process of reflexivity and self-reflection as tools for realizing positionality constitutes an essential element of the research design process, how research is conducted, and its outcomes (Foote and Bartell 2011; Savin-Baden and Major 2013). Thus, in this subsection, I articulate and outline my positionality concerning three areas: (1) the subject under investigation, (2) the research participants, and (3) the research context and process (Holmes 2020, 2).

It is important to note that I am a twenty-one-year-old, white, middle class, Turkish-speaking Cypriot who grew up in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. I am an insider to the cultural memory of the Turkish speaking Cypriots. I am familiar with the Greek-speaking Cypriots due to my personal relations. With other minorities such as Armenians and Maronites, I have minimal prior knowledge. So, to an extent, I have an emic account of the study, and I maintain and adopt that perspective whenever possible. My ‘lived familiarity’ is beneficial to a certain extent with easier access, prior knowledge of the cultures, awareness of the non-verbal clues and language (Holmes 2020, 6). There are potential disadvantages, such as having a myopic view, being too bound by the customs, and the information deemed ‘obvious’ to insiders may not be articulated, and provocative questions are shied from (Holmes 2020).

The emic account cannot be held for everything; it is a continuum with multiple dimensions with many divides: political divides, the perceived identity divides, religious divides. This research process and context do not assume complete objectivity or positivism. Instead, it accepts the research and the researcher as a part of the social world, not separate from it. Therefore, adding ethnographic input wherever necessary. As Merriam et al. put it, “The insider’s strengths become the outsider’s weaknesses and vice versa” as a result, I do not elaborate further while maintaining this awareness (Merriam et al. 2001, 411).

Horizons of Representation

3.1. Cyprus

In remembrance of war, cultural memory is drawn upon key ‘pre-memories’ or ‘templates’, where their subjective hold may lie. These templates, consisting of cultural narratives, myths and tropes, are the frames through which later conflicts are understood (Ashplant et al. 2017, 34). In this section, I attempt to offer background on the narrative templates of Cyprus.

Cyprus is a divided island situated in the easternmost basin of the Mediterranean Sea, located sixty miles from Syria, fifty miles from Anatolia. The Turkish Cypriot history textbooks represent the island’s location as one of the fundamental reasons for the domination of numerous civilizations, especially by those ruling around the Mediterranean. Its location and geostrategic importance in warfare and trade appear as building blocks of the historical narrative (Kıbrıs ve Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 6 2018, 9). Instead, the geographic area in this paper is essential to highlight the interaction of cultures.

Lucack and Jardine highlight multiculturalism by writing about those surrounding countries and civilizations such as Cilicia, Egypt, Phoenician, and Mycenaean, which have affected the islands’ culture as inferred from the parallelisms in culture and objects found in archaeological expeditions (Lukach and Jardine 1913, 7). Two overturns of the island appear to be of dominant relevance to the narrative templates, the Hellenic Times and the Ottoman Era. Cyprus’s multi-cultural and multi-ethnic nature has not been a story of diversity, peace and harmony; instead, it became a landmark of a contested past, especially after the colonial period when “independence” was declared under the Cyprus Republic.

The Republic of Cyprus is a postcolonial state, formed under a multi-cultural society similar to other states of the region formed after the Atlantic Charter meetings of Roosevelt and Churchill (Stern 1975). However, a distinctive and ongoing situation has marked it as a unique case, ‘the Cyprus Problem’.

The Cyprus Problem is the term that embodies the period of conflict and the current state of division. It remains unresolved to this day, and the actor of the conflict is the actors contracting official cultural memories. Bryant and Papadakis define the Cyprus Problem’s various phases as “anti-colonial struggle, interethnic and intra-ethnic violence, postcolonial instability, war and external interventions” (Bryant and Papadakis 2012, 4). The post-war settlement is another phase that this paper identifies as a part of the Cyprus Problem; it is the last and prolonged phase of societal construction.

The Cyprus Problem started in the mid-1950s as a struggle against British colonialism (anti-colonial struggle phase). The interethnic conflict was minor; however, prevalent since the 1950s, areas under British rule even faced ethnic segregation to an extent due to interethnic violence (Ioannides 2014). Some authors argue that the conflict during the British government was a direct product of the British ‘divide and rule policy’, where the governmental posts were given to Turkish Cypriots (TC) intentionally while the Greek Cypriots (GC) were rising against British rule (Christopher 1988). Thus, attacks on colonial rule became attacks on the TC employees. The Cyprus Republic has faced violence to a heightened level; Turkish and Greek Cypriots conflicted, and internal clashes within the Greek Cypriot community occurred (inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic violence).

The earlier conflicts paved the way to the 1963-74 war. The war was particularly heightened by numerous international events, deteriorating Turkey-Greece relations and between the communities in Cyprus. Postcolonial instability significantly worsened the

situation in the Republic of Cyprus. The war has been stopped with the UN Security Council's intervention that proved to be a challenge (Stern 1975). Eventually, the Republic of Cyprus remained functioning in a continual state of emergency in the Greek-Cypriot south while the de-facto Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has been the self-declared government of the Turkish Cypriot north. There is an ongoing search for an acceptable solution for all communities in Cyprus.

This section outlined how the two polities that govern Cyprus came to be. The partition line that divides the island, also known as the Green Line, can be seen as a “wound in the body-politic”; it reminds the people of the intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic violence (Bryant and Papadakis 2012, 7).

3.2. Cypriot identity

In this section, I outline how different identities co-exist in the shaping of cultural memory in Cyprus. There are conflicting definitions of identity that raise questions on how ‘identity’ is instrumentalized within cultural memory. There are two ways these identities will be encapsulated—first, those related to different periods and the second, relating to ideological differences, to understand the ‘pre-memories’ and ‘templates’ of identity within the cultural memory framework.

In different periods, the censuses categorized the societies into different categorizations. For instance, an 1881 census categorizes the communities in Cyprus into eight groups according to the religious identities: Muslim, Orthodox, Catholic, Maronite, Gregorgen (Armenian), Anglican (English), Jewish and Gypsy (Lukach and Jardine 1913, 43). In 1891, the census altered by reducing the identity index into Muslim and non-Muslim (Gurkan 1986, 36). There were internal differences within the non-Muslim community, which goes beyond the documentation of the time. In time, constructions of identity groups moved from being defined by religious affiliations into national affiliations.

Limitations in understanding ‘identity’ could be seen in the ‘linobamdaki’ identity’s documentation by the British authors (Lukach and Jardine 1913, 54). This segment of the society was of Latin descent and represented the mix between Christianity and Islam. They are observed to convert into Muslim in the Ottoman period but remained loyal to the church’s practices. In time, they acted as either Christian or Muslim according to the opportunities presented (Gurkan 1986, 39-43). The case of the Linobamdaki community is an example of official memory not corresponding to the cultural memory regarding the way people identified themselves.

From religious to national, the shift in identity index can be seen in the documents produced by the British correspondents. The word ‘Turk’ seems to refer to Muslim citizens, while ‘Rum’ refers to the Christian citizens under Ottoman Rule. In the Ottoman and British periods (1571-1960), it is possible to see the emergence of nationalism that had its percussions in Cyprus (Anderson 1985).

‘Cypriot’ identity and ‘Cypriotism’ seem to emerge and be used interchangeably with the ‘Greek’ identity (Papadakis 2008). The identity, ‘Kibrisli’ (Cypriot), was used inclusively by the British newspapers during the Second World War. Referring to all people of Cyprus, Cypriot appears to be a 20th Century phenomenon. In the documents and memoirs, the topic is discussed in depth by those visiting the island on behalf of the British (Lukach and Jardine 1913).

The identities commonly referred to when talking about the Cyprus dispute is Turkish Cypriot/Turkish-speaking Cypriot and Greek Cypriot/Greek-speaking Cypriot, which do not particularly appear as distinct identities in the Ottoman and British period until the Cyprus conflict of 1963-1974. Today, these identities are the main ethnonational identity groups (the identity index of cultural memory of the Cyprus conflict).

Cultural Memory

4.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a wide-ranging overview of the relationship between cultural memory and government representations of the past, with the precise aim to contextualize the case study of Cyprus. Critical prior literature on intricacies of ‘official’ accounts of cultural memory showcases the convergences and intersections of certain aspects, which I define here as ‘critical constellations’ of cultural memory.

This chapter aims to clarify specific conceptual variations that may help resolve controversies within this research in several ways. Firstly, it is essential to clarify the meaning of ‘memory’ as I refer to it. In this context, ‘memory’ is used in a metaphorical sense; ‘remembering’ is a cognitive and individual process transferred to the level of culture. In this, cultural remembering is not a subjective category of meanings in people’s minds but patterns of publicly available symbols objectified in society (Olick 1999, 336). The interaction between the individual memory and the cultural way of remembering is a crucial point: “A ‘memory’ which is represented by media and institutions must be actualized by individuals, by members of a community of remembrance, which may be conceived of as points de vue (Maurice Halbwachs) on shared notions of the past. Without such actualizations, monuments, rituals, and books are nothing but dead material, failing to have any impact in societies.” (Erll 2008, 5) This quote by Erll demonstrates the connection between governmental representation and individual perceptions of the past (Erll 2008).

Secondly, ‘cultural memory’ can be identified as an umbrella term that comprises social memory (people, social relations, institutions), material or medial memory (artefacts and media) and cognitive memory (culturally defined ways of thinking, mentalities). This

distinction by Erll is used as a heuristic tool to characterize the subject of inquiry (Erll 2008). Among the interplay between these distinct fields, the interplay between material and social phenomena is what I inquire about in this study (Erll 2008, 4).

4.2. Cultural Memory

In memory studies, Maurice Halbwachs developed a collective and social memory theory that shifted the discourse concerning collective knowledge from a biological (racial/inheritable memory) into a cultural one. In his collective memory framework, Halbwachs outlines communicative memory – also identified as ‘everyday memory’. Through everyday, informal, disorganized communication between the individual and others, each individual composes a memory that is “(a) socially mediated and (b) relates to a group”, and in most cases, numerous such groups. These ‘others’ are groups who conceive unity through a familiar image of their past. Nevertheless, this is not a timeless concept. Communicative memory is limited in the “temporal horizon”, which is suggested to be eighty to a hundred years at most (three generations) (Assmann 1995, 127).

Memory that transcends or is aimed to transcend beyond everyday memory is cultural memory. Here, the notion of culture is based on the multi-temporal concept of history where past and present commingle and coalesce. This concept often captures simultaneously different and opposing narratives as well as privileged topics of representation. Distinct cultural memories can be interpreted in terms of experience, negotiation, agency, and shifting relationship (Confino 2008, 82). Assmann emphasizes that the frames in which memory is transmitted into specific horizons are pivotal (Assmann 1995). Here, the social memory interplays with material memory and vice versa.

Cultural memory does not change as time passes; instead, it has fixed memory points in past events, maintained through material formations like monuments. Cultural artefacts then function as materializations of culture that make meaning accessible across millennia when

touched upon (Assmann 1995, 129). The multi-temporal and cross-cultural analysis then can point out different cultural memories.

Jan Assmann's characterization of cultural memory will be used as a defining concept of the notion (J. Assmann 2008). In this concept, (1) supply of content is controlled by a "need for identity" where objective manifestations of the cultural memory are defined with the Self (we are...) and the Other/Negative sense (that is our opposite) thus, the notion of belonging and otherness is a characteristic of cultural memory. (2) Cultural memory reconstructs the past within a contemporary frame of reference where knowledge is related to contemporary/actual situations. (3) The shared knowledge of past events and communicative meaning must be objective and crystallized for meaningful transmission in the institutionalized cultural memory. (4) There is some form of consistent cultivation of cultural memory by institutions. In exceptional cases, J. Assmann notes that cultivation may become differentiated and expanded. (5) The functioning in the production, representation, and reproduction of self-image is engendered by a transparent system of values and differentiation in importance which structure the cultural supply of knowledge and the symbols (J. Assmann 1988, 131).

Halbwachs and Warburg's research findings on collective memory intersect at an interesting point. This point identifies a process in which a societies' customs and socialization become how group knowledge, directed behaviour, and experience transforms into an interactive framework of repeated societal practices (Assmann 1995, 125-26).

(6) Lastly, cultural memory is reflexive; it reflects the self-image of groups, interprets, explains, criticizes, controls, surpasses standard practices. Therefore, what yields itself useful in Halbwach's work is the continuity of cultural memory through national frameworks. The national framework is significant as the self-image of the 'official' (governmental) memory. His outline of - what might be called - 'national memory' illustrates that "people remember

historical memory through contemporary societal context” (Cifti 2019). He argues that the present generation becomes conscious of their own constructed past by re-enacting it via remembrance activities. Without participation in these events maintaining the constructed past becomes a challenge. These six elements of cultural memory outlined in this section are the basis on which cultural memory is deconstructed and analyzed in this thesis.

4.3. Social Innovation

Aleida Assmann has studied the relationship between cultural memory and identity as a socially innovative process. The study relates to the formation and reinforcement of new communities and identities through historical narratives. A. Assmann suggests that cultural memory is complex and can be constructed in various frames depending on the individual, family, societal and national levels (A. Assmann 2010). Therefore, different agencies and identity groups can exist mutually and produce conflict, dissent and friction in ‘counter-constructions’ (A. Assmann 2010). This research orientation suggests the centrality of political and ethical implications instrumentalizing cultural memory; how the self-image of one group is magnified as the hegemonic narrative defines political and international relations.

4.4. Governmental Representation

This study adopts a top-down approach since sites of memory are significant and valuable as a materialization of national, imperial, and political identity, and as a tool for proving the legitimacy of the current rule, especially in the case study’s context (Winter 2008, 63). There are numerous reasons for focusing on the top-down materialization and instrumentalization of cultural memory.

This paper focuses on official sites of memory necessary to re-enact remembrance activities funded by public money. As Winter states, official sites of memory are financed by public charges (Winter 2008, 65). Thus, money is also exchanged along with the narratives and symbols of remembrance. Cultural memory maintained through material formations is a costly

business. Sites of memory such as monuments, commemorative plaques, sculptures require expenditure and recurrent expenditure (Winter 2008, 66-67). Firstly, lands must be purchased, a symbolic form designed by architects and artists must be bought, selected material for execution must be purchased. Therefore, the state has more extensive means of creating repeated experiences and publicly available symbols objectified in society (Winter 2008).

Official histories are emphasized and prioritized since it commands authority both through its production mechanisms and through the use of official “objective” language (Paxton 1997). Its long-term mark is noteworthy. The analysis of ‘official memory’ and its instrumentalization provides the field with material that can be further studied to understand whether the official narrative acts as the ‘hegemonic’ narrative or the ‘master’ narrative.

Although less frequent in Cyprus, unofficial sites might be preserved through the time and cash of groups of people (Winter 2008, 65). This study uses other narrative accounts and fringe memories as sources of contestation and diversification of meaning.

4.5. Counter-memory

A fundamental question arises, to what extent does official history dominate the cultural memory of all individuals? There may be counter-memory, unofficial accounts of memory that materialize cultural memory forms. These counter-memories may dominate the cultural memory of people living in Cyprus (Neumann 2008, 339). On the other hand, counter-memory is suggested to be a narrative that evolves and revolves around the official narrative through critical or antagonistic reference either to the official institutions (state organs, policies and actions, officials, symbols) or to the official history itself (textbooks, declarations) (Goldberg et al. 2006). A recurring point here is that the analysis of the materializations and instrumentalizations may also be helpful in further studies addressing individual consciousness of cultural memory, both official and unofficial, which will be elaborated on further in later sections.

4.6. Forgetting

In constructing cultural memories and sites of memories, forgetting is a part of its social character. There are two primary forms of forgetting in cultural memory, active and passive (Rigney 2018). Aleida Assmann and others argue that there must be continuous forgetting to make space for new information and new ideas and challenges to face in the present and future (A. Assmann et al. 2008, 105).

Active forgetting is a form of an intentional act when forgetting is necessary, constructive, or destructive. There are also passive forms of forgetting constituted by non-intentional acts where objects are not destroyed but left behind. In passive forgetting, specific material falls out of attention, valuation and use (A. Assmann et al. 2008, 98). Assmann states that “the institutions of active memory preserve the past as present (presented as the canon) while the institutions of passive memory preserve the past as past (presented as the archive)” (A. Assmann 2008, 98).

4.7. Sites of Memory

A type of cultural formation that is central to this thesis is sites of memory. Narrowly defined, ‘sites of memory’ are physical sites where commemorative acts take place. As Assmann describes, these are places where groups of people engage in public activity through which they express “a collectively shared knowledge [...] of the past, on which a group’s sense of unity and individuality is based” (Assmann 2008, 15; Winter 2008, 61).

Winter outlines these sites as “points of reference” for survivors of traumatic events and future generations (Winter 2008, 62). Sites of memory materialize the convictions shared by a large segment of the community when it is recalled as significant. At these sites, “the word “memory” becomes a metaphor for the fashioning of narratives about the past when those with direct experience of events die off. Sites of memory inevitably become sites of second-order

memory; that is, they are places where people remember the memories of others, (such as) those who survived the events marked there” (Winter 2008, 62).

Sites of memory do not necessarily have artefacts and monuments where the memory is preserved, but groups hold and present the commemorative sites inheriting earlier meanings and adding new ones. As these groups disperse, the sites may fade away entirely. Objectification and materialization commonly follow. Sites and commemorative activity start being re-enacted for decades to come (Winter 2008, 61).

In contrast, examples of national humiliation are rarely commemorated in this form (Winter 2008, 62). When there is no moral consensus about what was being remembered in public and when/where to remember, the past becomes places of contestation. These contested pasts are hard to materialize as sites of memory (Jalal 1995, 74). In these cases where the cultural memory of certain groups are regarded as past, it falls out of frames of attention, valuation and use. However, it may still have potential as venues for negotiation between the victims and the perpetrators of war.

4.8. Conclusion

Consequently, this study accepts the claim that there is a necessity to interpret and attribute cultural memories to retrieve and make sense of the ‘objective’ manifestations of the past. It is challenging to distinguish between what is imposed by governmental institutions and what is accepted. In the case of Cyprus, cultural memory is dominated by ideologically and economically dominating segments of the society where those constructions of identity become imposed on both the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. These numerous points and declarations outlining multiple approaches must be seen as a provocation to thinking through alternative inquiry points relevant to the case study.

The Case Study of Cyprus

This section will proceed with an inquiry into examples of instrumentalization of cultural memory - constructed as ‘official’ modes. Official modes of memory – in other words, “carriers of memory” – are narrowed down to school textbooks of both sides, public commemoration of July 1974 events and the site of memory of Pente Mili (J. Assmann 2008, 110). These carriers of remembrance will be analyzed to uncover the patterns of use of specific cultural memories. The analysis identifies the content of remembrance, materializations and events produced from 1974 to the present.

5.1. History Textbooks

Textbook narratives as official narratives play a significant role in student’s capacity to perceive the past. The narrative mediated through channels such as history textbooks - termed by Wertsch as “official history” - is created and sanctioned by the central institutions of the state (Wertsch 2002). In the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, two ‘official’ narratives have been consistently developed in the light of contemporary events in the same time frame of 2004-2017. The Ministry of National Education and Culture in the TRNC and Cyprus Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sports in the RC sanction these narratives. The two ‘official’ narratives that this paper analyses are not marginal memories to a dominant narrative but instead two dominant national narratives of the same geography creating the basis for the current division. In this chapter, I highlight the nature of instrumentalization by comparing the two dominant narratives, which may be considered counter-constructions of the past.

In her chapter, Demosthenous categorizes four phases of Greek Cypriot history textbooks that are classified according to the changes in textbook material: The First

Generation (before the 1960s), The Second Generation (1960-2004), The Third Generation (2004-2009) and The Fourth Generation (2009-2017) (Demosthenous 2018). The Turkish Cypriot textbooks can be categorized into two phases. The first phase from 1974-2004 and the second phase from 2004 to the present. This study is concerned with the Third and the Fourth Generation of Greek Cypriot history textbooks and the second phase of the Turkish Cypriot textbooks that mark the most recent curriculum versions.

After the island's division, as discussed more in-depth in the previous chapters, there has been a sizable socioeconomic change that produced new nationalisms. Since 1974, Cyprus has gone through an unstable transitional period marked by the status quo. Official history tends to produce instructions that shed a positive light on the national character, institutions, and leading groups (Ferro 1984). Goldberg argues that textbooks might be one of the “most institutionalized and conservative realms of collective memory” with an ethnocentric and intolerant outlook. In some cases, where textbooks are constituted as a national history, they become “weapons of mass instruction” (Ingrao 2009; A. Assmann 2008, 101). Competing versions of ‘social solidarity’, ‘positive self-representation’, and ‘national unity’ have been the landmark in both history textbooks (UNESCO 2015).

The Greek Cypriot textbooks consistently reinforce the ‘Hellenic’ nature of Cyprus since ancient Greeks, moving away from the discussion of other political and cultural influences. A narrative form is depicted in the Greek Cypriot textbooks, whereby a protagonist is the centre character (Papadakis 2008, 133). Notions of glory and suffering are present concerning the central character. “Hellenism” is the central actor, expressed as a transhistorical category and ancient Greece the beginning of history (Papadakis 2008, 132). Therefore, the Self-being Greek Cypriots in the Republic of Cyprus history textbooks are constituted from ancient times. The arrival of the “Mycenaeans is considered the most important historical event that has sealed the Hellenic character of Cyprus” (Papadakis 2008, 133). Thus, the History of

Cyprus appears as an extension of Greek history. As Yannis Papadakis remarks, “From the start, it subsumes the history of Cyprus within the history of Greece, with the two first sections titled “The Conquest of Greece by the Romans” followed by “The Conquest of Cyprus by the Romans” (Papadakis 2008, 132).

The term Cypriot (Kyprioi) and Greeks (Ellines) in the books are interchangeably used often within the same paragraph (Papadakis 2008, 132). They are presented as the sole indigenous society of Cyprus, while others are “parasitic” (Papadakis 2008, 132). The “Cypriot” identity is repetitively used in a manner that excludes the other communities and cultures. After 1974, the secondary textbooks refer to the Greek origins of the Turkish-Cypriots (Kizilyurek 1999, 389). After division, the claim, which GC officials produce, is an interesting point since it illustrates the politics of denial of the “other” via ethnic nationalist arguments.

New history writing and narrative have appeared in the Turkish Cypriot textbooks in the second phase following the political changes, Cyprus’ succession to EU, improvements in political relations in the negotiation talks. From the first to the second phase of the Turkish Cypriot textbooks, how cultural memory has been instrumentalized in the north shifted from using extreme examples to mediating and acknowledging the experiences of the Other. One example of the changes could be that the 1974 Turkish Intervention was titled “Happy Peace Operation” in the first phase, whereas the ‘Happy’ was removed in the second phase acknowledging the potential feelings of the Other.

The “History of Cyprus” in the two parts of divided Cyprus has adapted similar models of ethnic nationalism. The national narrative that has been codified in history textbooks has produced collective self-definition for Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. Although the social realities stemmed from a multi-communal background, the official cultural memory on both sides has been transformed to eliminate cultural diversity. The governmental constructions

have left the centre stage to the Self and the negative other. On the other hand, there seemed to be organized oblivion, active forgetting in the cases of self-perpetuated violence and national humiliation. These textbook narratives are instrumental in the individuals' positioning concerning the past and constructing potentialities of responsibility to contemporary reality (Goldberg et al. 2006, 319). According to Goldberg et al., "students use the social representation of the past as a cultural tool for explaining a problematic present" (Goldberg et al. 2006, 319). This study further analyses the Ottoman Period and the 1974 Turkish intervention from the two textbooks for comparative purposes.

5.1.1. Ottoman period

The Ottoman Period has been reconstructed with a contemporary frame of reference in which the Turkish Cypriot existence on the island is justified. While the Turkish Cypriots mark the era as the starting point of Cyprus history, the Greek Cypriots characterized the period as miserable.

The Turkish Cypriot textbooks describe the period where "Cypriots" requested help from the Ottomans. It claims that the Ottomans had accepted this request for help due to political, economic, and strategic reasons (Kıbrıs ve Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 6, 2018). According to the textbooks, Orthodox Rums (non-Muslims under Ottoman rule) have been forced by the Venetians to convert to Catholicism. In response to these violations of religious identity, the Ottomans came to the island to free the people from "oppression and exploitation" and for the "cheering up of the island" (Kıbrıs ve Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 6, 2018). The period is highlighted with social tolerance and harmony.

In the Greek Cypriot textbooks, there is a competing and contrasting narrative. The Ottoman Period is marked as an inevitable consequence of the aggressively expansionist Ottomans (Papadakis 2008, 133). The Ottomans are described as savages. There is no clear distinction between the Turkish Cypriots, Turks, and Ottomans, as these identities are used

interchangeably. The period is marked with insults, humiliations, torture, and slaughter (Papadakis 2008).

Both textbooks use an ‘objective’ language where the possibility of different experiences is not given the option of doubt (Kıbrıs ve Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 6 2018; Papadakis 2008, 133). However, while the Turkish Cypriot textbooks describe the event as a positive development in history, the Greek Cypriots represent it as a painful period of parasitic interference in social life. It could be argued that the Ottoman Period is a fixed point of reference that has been analyzed from different perspectives. Agency differs in both narratives, which could be the explanation for the opposing experiential descriptions. Additionally, there is a varying relationship between the respective community and the power structure; non-Muslim communities’ experience with the Ottoman rule and the ruling elite may differ from the Muslim communities’ experience. Thus, these differences left unnegotiated create single-minded narratives by ethno religious groups.

5.1.2. The 1974 incidents

The 1974 incidents are another common fixed memory point. Series of events with foreign interventions and intensified unfolding of the war changed the politics and socioeconomic realities on the island. There were significant actors alongside Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots that took various roles within a larger international framework that year. Numerous operations to Cyprus by the Greek Junta under Dimitrios Ioannidis leadership and Turkish interventions with Bulent Ecevit’s leadership have dominated the Cyprus conflict discourse (Stern 1975). Nevertheless, NATO, the USA with Kissinger and Britain were involved in the unfolding of the Cyprus problem through channels of mediation and negotiation (Stern 1975). The Cyprus issue became critical in July 1974 when it carried the risk of erupting into a major international crisis, in other words, an “Eastern Mediterranean” crisis (Stern 1975,

62). This chapter looks at how the series of events from the first assassination attempt of Archbishop Makarios to the Turkish intervention is represented in the textbooks.

Turkish Cypriot textbooks represent Archbishop Makarios as an in-between figure who acted in favour of the Cypriot community (Kıbrıs ve Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 6 2018). However, his aims for independence and sovereignty are denoted with the disapproval of the Turkish Cypriot community. At the time, the impact of the Cold War and the fear of communism seemed relevant for the cultural memory of Turkish Cypriots (Kıbrıs ve Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 6 2018). The textbook notes that independence claims were perceived as a communist step. From this period onwards, the representations of inter-communal relations deteriorate. The third chapter of the textbooks, “the activities of the Greek Cypriots to destroy the Cyprus Republic, the resistance of the Turks of Cyprus and political developments (1963-67)” is loaded with descriptions of violence and atrocities victimizing the Turkish Cypriots (Kıbrıs ve Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 6 2018). Enosis is introduced, evil aims of the enemy outlined. In the fifth chapter titled “the 1974 Peace Operation, Causes and Consequences”, 20th July events are described (Kıbrıs ve Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 6 2018). The Peace Operation refers to the emergence of the Turkish ships to the island from the coast of Pente Mili. As the events unfold in a crystallized and consistent narrative, internal divisions within the Greek Cypriot community, Greek Junta’s invasion attempts, and Turkish “responses” are highlighted (Kıbrıs ve Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 6 2018). As a primary source, Makarios’ open letter to the Junta is provided, evidencing Greek intervention in the workings of the island and Greek-Cypriot community (Kıbrıs ve Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 6 2018). 20th July events and the consequent Turkish intervention is described as a product of the Turkish Cypriot defence mechanism and the last resort (Kıbrıs ve Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 6 2018).

In the Greek Cypriot textbooks, this period is presented as a period of aggression by the “Turks” (Turkey and Turkish Cypriots) against the “Greeks” and shown as a period of mostly

“Greek” suffering, when Turkish fighter planes “spread catastrophe and death among the civilian population” (meaning the Greek Cypriots), even if the Turkish Cypriot suffering then was by any measure far greater than that of Greek Cypriots” (Papadakis 2008, 134). The textbooks present the divided Self (of the whole island) and the Other, who seem powerful. The Divided Self is different from the Turkish Cypriot narrative as it defines agency through geographical and material culture. The Other appears to be the external powers such as Turkey and the Greek Junta. The responsibility of the Cyprus conflict is devoted to the Turks, where “mutineer Turks” is described to stage provocations (Papadakis 2008, 133). Commonly, the phrase “our nation” is used to refer to the Greek identity. Papadakis argues that this is not because the Greek Cypriots seek union with Greece, but as a reaffirmation of their Greek identity “in the context of an independent polity which is organically tied to Greek culture” (Mavratsas 1997). The year 1974 subsequently emerges as the tragic end.

There is mutual denial in both textbooks regarding ‘what we did to them’. The mutual denial leads to the situation where Kizilyurek remarks that no one can be held accountable (Kizilyurek 1999, 60). That accountability and acceptance of attempted atrocities are sidestepped in both narratives. It is possible to see that the descriptions are limited to “homogeneous primordial entities” in both official cultural memories (Papadakis 2008, 129).

5.2. Public Commemoration

Another shared point of reference for comparative analysis is occurrences surrounding the year 1974. The events leading up to the Greek intervention and the 1974 Turkish intervention have been commemorated in the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot cultural memory. Both events shifted the power balances regarding the Cyprus Conflict. In particular, two dates are emphasized by the official memories, 15th July, the Greek coup where Archbishop Makarios was replaced by Nikos Sampson and 20th July, where the Turkish troops first intervened in the Cyprus Conflict. The year is striking since it is possible to see different

narratives about that year in nearly all official sites, from municipality webpages to the official textbooks (Kıbrıs ve Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 6 2018; Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2021). Therefore, the vast possibility of inquiry this year, 1974, allows for detailed insight into how the past is instrumentalized.

In the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, 20th July is the highlighted day that celebrates the emergence of Turkish troops to the island. It is declared as “Peace and Freedom Day” (Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti Resmi Tatil ve Anma Günleri Yasası 1984, 2). Moreover, the military operation is called the “Happy Peace Operation” (Serter 1988). Every year, Turkish Cypriots remember the date through a national holiday, the Dawn Watch (Şafak Nöbeti), where the civilians re-enact the wait for Turkish soldiers at the coast of Pente Mili and a day-long formal ceremony (Bryant and Hatay 2019). As deliberate choices of particular moments within the past, they illustrate a strong language of freedom and self-determination, further explored in the following sections.

While the Turkish Cypriot festivities and celebrations are ritualized and commemorated, silence has dominated the Cyprus Republic official commemorative channels. The year is known as “illegal” “Turkish military invasion and occupation” (Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2021). As a result, the current TRNC (“Turkish side”) is referred to as “Turkish-occupied territory” (Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2021). The



Figure 1: A screenshot of the stamp that illustrates the hallmark “Never Forget” from RC Kyrenia Municipality website

year’s issues are dominated by the hallmark “Never Forget” in the Greek Cypriot official channels, as shown in Figure 1 (Republic of Cyprus Kyrenia Municipality 2021). The lack of commemorative and ritualized activities could also be communicative and represent a date of military humiliation as

Greek Cypriots have lost significant battles and faced widespread casualties following the emergence of Turkish troops. As mentioned before, national humiliation (communal humiliation) is rarely commemorated.

5.3. Site of Memory: Pente Mili



Figure 2: A comparative illustration of the site of Pente Mili, before (B&W photo) and after (photo in Color) the Cyprus Conflict

Taken from Karavas municipality website (B&W photo) and photo (photo in Color) taken by Deren Dimililer (2021)

A landscape that acts as a site of memory and a commemorative landscape has been chosen to illustrate how one location can be used to develop competing national memories. This subsection discusses the national memory of the Cyprus conflict and how these have been

embodied in the making of the commemorative landscape - Escape (Pente Mili). It explores the changing function, form and meaning of the site during the post-war decade.

The wars' collective memory is primarily emphasized on the landscape of "the Pente Mili" (5mil/Escape). Although there is a significant variety and number of sites and monuments acting as an icon and symbol of the war and its consequences, Pente Mili stands out as an example case as it has been instrumentalized in three distinct ways. It is striking as it encompasses a monument, beach club named after the war (ESCAPE), a national park, a national museum, and a site of memory for the remembrance of the soldiers emerging from Turkey during 1974.

In its current turkish name Yavuz Çıkarma Plajı, in its pre-war (greek) name Pente Mili (5 miles) is the area under inquiry. The phrase translated into English as five miles suggested its distance from the neighbouring city of Kyrenia (Girne). The current term of the site, "Yavuz Çıkarma Plajı", translated in everyday language as "Escape", houses numerous symbols and icons of the past. Its name is in direct reference to the war; the beach is where the Turkish troops first landed in 1974. It is the site where Turkish Cypriot 'escape' from the atrocities has begun with the 'brave' emergence of the Turkish soldiers.

The changes in the names of regions represent a memory divide. Counter memories developed regarding the terms of these regions. Those areas that had a Greek name before the war has been attributed new Turkish words after 1974. The old Greek names are actively used under the RC to this day. For instance, the area that this paper studies Karavas (where Pente Mili is) has been named Alsancak after 1974. These counter-memories of the names co-exist: the Alsancak Municipality manages the region under the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and Karavas Municipality still representatively exist without any influence in the actual area (since the exact location remains in the 'occupied north') under the Republic Cyprus. Those

regions with names of non-Greek origins are still used under the TRNC, such as Lapitos (Lapta), Kyrenia (Girne). This illustrates how the TC's have attempted to actively forget the Greek backgrounds of these areas.

5.3.1. External discourses

The Turkish intervention and the de-facto situation that arose from it shaped the Turkish Cypriot remembrance and commemoration of the cultural and national fight for survival. The Turkish-Cypriot and Greek Cypriot community developed two different discourses as internal and external, concerning the memory of the war.

The external discourses were tied to the motherlands of Turkey and Greece and their respective foreign relations. The Turkish Cypriot official narrative of involvement in the war as an act of 'self-defence' cannot be maintained without emphasizing the external discourses such as Greek involvement with EOKA-B and Enosis. The official interpretation of the downhill development starts with the Greek Junta's Operation Aphrodite – 1970 Assassination attempt of Makarios - an external discourse.

5.3.2. War Memorials

At the site of Pente Mili stands a war memorial that is one of the first symbols that have been built at the site. This paper looks at this monument – namely Barış ve Özgürlük Anıtı (transl. the freedom and peace monument) - as a place of imposed memory constructed and assembled in a particular form to celebrate or commemorate great people and significant events of the past. It is meant to be long-lasting as a commemoration attachment.

In the development of ‘modern-states,’ certain representations are highlighted through cultural symbols (A. Asmann 2007; Kosselleck and Presner 2002). Certain monuments and war memorials are accepted as cultural symbols which “reflect the human instinct for aggression towards one and other” (Ciftci 2019). The material embodiment of remembrance, in this case, is the artefact seen in Figure 3. It is a monument that keeps the memories and ideas of the generations that participated alive. The epic narrative of the defence of the Turks of Cyprus and the saviour Turkish soldiers are made visible by the shape and form of the sculpture.



Figure 3: Peace and Freedom Monument at Pente Mili (Barış ve Özgürlük Anıtı)

(Photo taken and edited by Deren Dimililer, 2021)

The Freedom monument at Pente Mili is assembled in a particular structure that celebrates the emergence of the great Turkish soldiers from the sea heading towards the mountains. The monument’s construction is like an arrow emerging from the entrance point of the soldiers towards the hills. At the same time as celebrating the “Happy Peace Operation”, a

poem is engraved on the symbolic war monument that stands tall on the mountain of Pente Mili.

“The massacre he did is before history, may it bring shame to the ene- my.	This monument is erected here, in the name of freedom.
Child, Woman, Youth, Old... Cyprus Turkish Community was attacked in its homeland.	May Peace, Abundance, Hap- piness be with you, the Turkish Cypriot communi- ty.
1955.. 1958.. 1963.. 1974.. They bravely fought, until the motherland arrived.	With brotherhood, may live all people. In freedom and peace.
Victory, Joy, Peace, Serenity, from our army to you.	May there be no war between nations, No longer. Our wish is to have, “Peace at home, peace in the world.”

*Figure 4: Poem engraved on the Peace and Freedom Monument at Pente Mili
(poem translated by Deren Dimililer)*

There are numerous messages implicit in this poem. Firstly, the enemy is shamed for the killings of certain groups in the society deemed vulnerable. While putting forward children, women, youth and older people being attacked, it puts a demonic and heartless mask on the Other. The event is painted to be attempted in the name of peace and freedom for all. The current status quo is then narrated as a peaceful settlement. The separation is depicted as a solution to “no war between nations”, considering the current end of the physical war. It also represents a collective memory of the significant themes, sacrifice, victory and unity of the Turks of Turkey and Cyprus. The theme of unity is vital, and the united body of Turks is exemplified in the narrative of brotherhood adopted in the artefacts and commemorative events surrounding the Turkish intervention.

The poem is a remarkable example of the contradictory nature of both narratives. It frames the interpretations of the Cyprus Conflict as an archetypal struggle against the political

and physical tyranny of the Other. The Turkish army's historical role is a larger-than-life epic hero leading the Turkish Cypriot community to a bright future of progress and peace. This idea is fundamental for the maintenance and the core existence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

5.3.3. Şafak Nöbeti (The Dawn Watch)

For the Turkish Cypriots, Pente Mili is a site where commemorative events take place. Every 20th July, Turkish Cypriots gather at Pente Mili to re-enact the act of waiting that the Turkish Cypriots had performed at dawn. This event is remembered as Şafak Nöbeti (the Dawn Watch). It has been institutionalized and routinized with the support of the Turkish and TRNC governments.

At the site where Şafak Nöbeti occurs, old memories are repetitively replaced by a new ones. The old memory of a tourism centre, beach days and entertainment area now abode a nationalist stamp with flags of both the motherland Turkey and TRNC consistently cultivating the notions of brotherhood and dependency. In the ethnographic observations and conversations, people living in Karavas today stated that Şafak Nöbeti is wrongly interpreted. To what extent any Turkish Cypriots performed Şafak Nöbeti at the time is ambiguous. Some people claimed that the Dawn watch was performed by Greek Cypriots soldiers waiting for war.



Figure 5: a photo from the 2019 Safak Nobeti (Dawn Watch) at the beachside Escape (taken from the news outlet Haber Kibris)

5.3.4. Warship Museum

At the same site, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has transformed one of the warships that Turkey has donated to the TRNC named C-128. This ship is currently being transformed into an open-air museum, marking the “most important day” in Turkish-Cypriot history (Arslan 2020).



Figure 6: Warship Museum which is being built next to the Peace and Freedom monument (photo taken by Deren Dimililer, 2021)

5.4. Greek-Cypriot cultural memory of Pente Mili

Victory in a war does not come without bloodshed. Deliberate forgetting within the series of events is prevalent as the killings of the Greek Cypriots, the atrocities towards the other communities are often not remembered. The Other is presented as the only aggressor in the war, and the Turkish Cypriot aggression being only ‘self-defence’. What that self-defence entailed is overlooked.

The Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ website provides a cultural memory form which this section uses to compare and contrast the Turkish Cypriot official narrative with the Greek Cypriot official narrative. The military invasion is described as the

divisive plan of Turkey. The illegality and Turkey's "coercive policy" is emphasized as a reason behind the displacement of families and the refugee status of Cypriots within their own country (Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2021). The issues following the 'occupation' are discussed regarding transfer of Turks to Cyprus, settlement issues, the government of Turkish Cypriots, TRNC, is regarded as 'legally invalid' and missing persons the most tragic consequence of the Turkish invasion (Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2021). This competing narrative, like the TC narrative, disregards what war crimes committed by the Self. As depicted in this example, the same event is constructed entirely differently and functions in two conflicting ways.

In the archives, Karavas (Alsancak), where the landscape (Pente Mili) resides, is described as a primarily Greek-Cypriot village before the Cyprus conflict. Today, the areas that remain in the North have an anomalous situation where two municipalities exist, one under the Republic of Cyprus and one under the TRNC. Today, although the symbolic municipalities under the Republic of Cyprus have no practical influence, the Greek Cypriots form their accounts of their "occupied" villages through these municipality websites (Republic of Cyprus Karavas Municipality 2021). Similarly, the Turkish intervention is often referred to as "Turkish invasion" (Republic of Cyprus Karavas Municipality 2021). The remembrance of the site glorified in the Turkish Cypriot narrative is remembered in the Greek Cypriot cultural memory as a tourism site with a beautiful beach. Moreover, it is also recognized as the day of widespread atrocities and killings of the Greek Cypriot soldiers. It is referenced that it is the last place where the numerous missing persons were last seen.

In his book, "Girne Düştü" (trans. Kyrenia Fell), Neoptolemos Kotsapas provides a detailed account of the Greek Cypriot perceptions of 20th July and the following days at the site Pente Mili and its surroundings. In his memory, it is possible to see the same pattern of

explanation of Cyprus as an extension of Greek history whereby he refers to the war dead as taking their “place in the pantheon of heroes of Hellenic history” (Kotsapas 2015).

The day is remembered in negative terms, and he outlines the contrast between the Turkish Cypriot cultural memory and the Greek Cypriot cultural memory. What victory entails appears as destruction as he writes that the Turkish soldiers “destroyed and plundered houses and properties, as well as killing or capturing civilians” (Kotsapas 2015). The author gives an insider account to the cultural memory of Greek Cypriots where he remarks the scenes of 20th July not as victories and saviour-like but hell-like and monstrous. He writes, “I could conclude that many of my compatriots were tortured and brutally murdered”, and there were “tortured bodies, cut heads” everywhere (Kotsapas 2015).

According to the Greek Cypriot cultural memory, the emergence of the Turkish soldiers from Pente Mili “didn’t just happen on 20th July. It started on 20th July and continued every day, every hour, every minute. Pente Mili remained the centre of many military activities for a long while” (Kotsapas 2015, 80). Nevertheless, “from 20th July 1974 to the 24th of the same month, five critical and decisive days, which deeply affected Hellenism and left the most severe stamp on the history of Hellenism, passed with difficulty. Five days of the destruction and subjugation of Cyprus was too much for Greece to get rid of the Junta, seven years of torment and to achieve freedom at the same time” (Kotsapas 2015, 117).

Thus, Kotsapas illustrates how the Greek Cypriot cultural memory saw the series of events as an extension of external discourses. The political instability and changes in Greece are not apparent in the Turkish Cypriot official memory.

5.5. Falling out of frames of memory

In Cyprus, there is a significant number of studies that deal with the ‘forgotten’. As discussed earlier, there are forms of passive and active forms of forgetting in the construction

of cultural memory. In the case of Cyprus, there are also sites of memory that are transformed to construct new meanings. The study by Constantinou et al. has outlined how these often-competing cultural memories have interacted with each other at sites of memories (Constantinou et al. 2012).

Common sites where that interaction took place are the churches and mosques converted to each other. Religious sites left in the dominance of the ‘other religion’ have faced vandalization and ruin on both sides. Some churches and mosques that were deemed of historical value have been protected and preserved. In the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, some churches were converted into mosques post-1974. Some termed the transitions as “Turkification and Islamization” of the occupied North. In cases of these conversions:

“The building was left intact but cleansed of all its Christian symbols and artefacts (icons, crosses, bells). Adding a conical metal hat and loudspeaker on the belfry, covering the church floor with carpets and placing a mihrab facing Mecca symbolized and sealed faith transformation. Since the 1980s, tall minarets were usually built to one side of the belfry in some of these churches. According to the former Mufti Yusuf Suicmez, in 2009, there were 182 functioning mosques in north Cyprus. Of these, 48 were churches that had been converted into mosques after 1974.” (Constantinou et al. 2012, 180)

When the checkpoints opened, the Greek-Cypriot visits to their old churches led to the clashing of cultural memories. When visiting their churches, many Cypriots brought icons and candles and placed them at the church entrances or inside old churches (Constantinou et al. 2012). These attempts can be identified as attempts to reclaim memory sites when new identities, meanings, functions and forms have reinforced themselves. The cultural memories of the old churches and the new mosques belonged to different temporal time-frames. Nevertheless, their communicative memory existed in the same temporal horizon.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the “carriers of memory” from the case study of Cyprus in order to understand how the content of cultural memory matters in the instrumentalization process of the past. The changes in textbooks narratives prove to be shifting together with the political changes. These changes and differences in the ‘supply of content’, notions of belonging and otherness, contemporary frames of references and consistent reinforcing of the reproduced narratives of the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot cultural memories demonstrate the practices and processes of instrumentalization. These cultural memories, with their canonized content and silences have produced two opposing and clashing narratives that lead society to hate or be scared of the Other while the same atrocities attempted by the Self become heroic and gratifying.

While the ideas and narratives are constructed in a particular form, materializations of cultural memory are also complementary to the reinforcement, long-term impact and implementation of the cultural memories that have been instrumentalized. This has been discussed in-depth through the Pente Mili example with the vast array of materializations. These sites and artefacts are used to locate preferred narratives to everyday and political scenes.

Consequent Encounters

6.1. Implications

In the political sphere, it is difficult to claim that the processes, practices and ideas analyzed in the previous chapter are instrumentalized purposefully and cautiously across the years. However, the government consistently ‘cultivated’ a general ideological narrative. There are two ways that this instrumentalization had conceptual implications.

Firstly, as Modris Eksteins remarked, it could be observed that the war acted as a radical break in the discourse of cultural memory for both communities (Ashplant et al. 2017). After the division, the form of governmental remembrance became fixated on division. Politics and even peace-supporting monuments across the island took the ‘division’ as the contemporary frame of reference. The existing national identity structures became corrupted (such as Cypriotism) while new definitions to the current identities (such as Turkish-Cypriot identity) emerged as the trans-historical protagonists of the national Self (Ashplant et al. 2017, 37). The problematic political situation has defined the collective Self and the sense of community. Therefore, further legitimizing the problematic status-quo for both communities.

Secondly, this study illustrated the tensions between preservation and loss. The political spheres have preserved what could be claimed as ‘ours’. What is lost in constructing cultural memory has implications for social innovation and how new information, ideas, and challenges are faced. When the time frame outside the Cyprus Conflict is destructed or even thrown out of attention, valuation and use, it creates a very narrow understanding of the unfolding of events. Thus, motherland rhetoric and external discourses become magnified or minimized. The question remains whether the foreign influence could be seen as invited by the Cypriot governments, or Cypriot governments could be seen as survival acrobats struggling to maintain

national sovereignty in the shadows of the greater powers (Stern 1975). As Stern writes, “a chain of events which would make phones ring in the middle of the night in Washington half a year later and send senior American diplomats scrambling to airports once again in the hope of averting the spectre of full-scale war in the Aegean, next door to the minefield of the Middle East” (Stern 1975, 39).

There are further ethical implications to what is constructed within the cultural memory framework. In comparing two clashing cultural memories, it is essential to note that narratives are equally valid experiences of the exact date and same area. Through the objective language used in the official narratives, the others’ experience is invalidated. When one-sided narratives do not recognize or give the possibility to other experiences, there will be no venue for mediation and questioning. Thus, it becomes divisive and not educative.

6.2. Imaginary Futures

Where remembering and forgetting are matters of concern, it is essential to interpret cultural memory as a vehicle for linking past, present and future. This last section outlines the imaginary futures constructed within the past. Thus, it moves from instrumentalization to actualization of different trajectories. Here, when I refer to imaginary futures, it is not built out of the past, but it is a past made with and through the imaginary future. Consequently, when writing and constructing cultural memory, there is an official imagining of a future that the history is written for.

The experience created via cultural formations, like monuments and memorials discussed above, matters “not so much in terms of what happened in the past but in terms of how futures are built back into the past in ways that make for the possibility of becoming different - actualizing alternative trajectories of living” (Middleton and Brown 2008, 250). As shown in the previous examples, the burden of the past and outstanding detail is folded together to construct the preferred futures of division and hatred towards the ‘other’/monstrous

community that killed our nations' brave soldiers. Similarly, forgetting is facilitated within the same trajectory. Deliberate forgetting is used in creating a Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot cultural memory. In forgetting, the official account of cultural memory engages in imaginative re-elaboration when supporting the narratives favoured. Through official dissemination of the past, the governments cut into the flow of experience and communicative memory. This way, instrumentalization becomes embedded in every detail of life, from the regional names to the national poems.

6.3. Conclusion

Consequently, it could be observed that in the official accounts of cultural memory, the elements of culturally given discourse are selected and edited to operationalize a productive quality. This productive quality implicates a divided island and no avenues for rethinking communal relations.

It is possible to engage in imaginative explorations. The narratives outlined in the previous sections can be mediated, constructed and cultivated to serve a different discourse. A discourse whereby past experiences of all communities are understood and faced, different sensitivities are mediated across the different ethno national groups. This mediation might be fruitful in constructing futures that allow fruitful communication between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.

In conclusion, instrumentalization of cultural memory can allude "...the plural 'memories'" to the "multiplicity of cultures and languages which flows from the diaspora of peoples through" Cyprus. This could be achieved through shifting the narrative constructions. This multiplicity can incorporate a complete sense of mutual respect for all communities so that multiculturalism, multilingualism and multiracialism become more than just empty words for the people of Cyprus (Passerini 2017, 238).

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