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DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

**UNIVERSALITY AND INALIENABILITY OF
CHILDREN'S RIGHTS:
THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL BELIEFS ABOUT CHILDHOOD
AND INTERGROUP CONFLICT ON
SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF CHILDREN'S RIGHTS**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY DISSERTATION

ELENI KOTZIAMANI

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THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL BELIEFS ABOUT CHILDHOOD
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The present doctoral dissertation was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Cyprus. It is a product of original work of my own, unless otherwise mentioned through references, notes, or any other statements.

Eleni Kotziamani

.....

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Η παρούσα μελέτη αποσκοπεί στη διερεύνηση της έννοιας των δικαιωμάτων του παιδιού ως κοινωνική κατασκευή εντός ενός πλαισίου που επηρεάζεται έντονα από μια εθνική εχθρότητα που τροφοδοτείται από ένα άλυτο πολιτικό πρόβλημα, το οποίο διαχέεται σε όλες τις πτυχές της κοινωνικής, οικονομικής και πολιτιστικής ζωής των Κυπρίων. Ο φυσικός διαχωρισμός τους σύμφωνα με την εθνική τους ταυτότητα είχε ως αποτέλεσμα την προσήλωση σε συγκεκριμένες κοινωνικές πεποιθήσεις, που καθορίζουν ακόμη και καθολικές έννοιες, όπως αυτή των δικαιωμάτων του παιδιού. Ταυτόχρονα, ο αριθμός του πληθυσμού, που είναι κάτω από ένα εκατομμύριο, συμβάλλει στη «φιλοξενία» πιο συντηρητικών και παραδοσιακών πεποιθήσεων για την παιδική ηλικία. Αυτά τα δύο χαρακτηριστικά του πλαισίου προκάλεσαν το ενδιαφέρον να μετρηθεί ο αντίκτυπός τους στην εφαρμογή των δικαιωμάτων του παιδιού. Οι κοινωνικές αναπαραστάσεις των δικαιωμάτων του παιδιού διερευνήθηκαν μέσω ερωτηματολογίου που χορηγήθηκε σε εκπαιδευτικούς (N = 389) και παιδιά (N = 565, μέση ηλικία = 16,3). Τα αποτελέσματα έδειξαν έναν διαφορετικό πυρήνα αναπαραστάσεων, με αυτό των εκπαιδευτικών να χαρακτηρίζεται με δικαιώματα παροχής, ενώ των παιδιών από δικαιώματα συμμετοχής. Οι συντηρητικές απόψεις της παιδικής ηλικίας, του πατριωτισμού, του εθνικισμού, μαζί με ρεαλιστικές και συμβολικές απειλές αγκυροβολήθηκαν στις κοινωνικές αναπαραστάσεις των δικαιωμάτων του παιδιού, πλέκοντας ένα προστατευτικό δίκτυο γύρω από τον πυρήνα, ενδυναμώνοντάς τον να αντισταθεί στις αλλαγές, αλλά και πλαισιώνοντας τα δικαιώματα του παιδιού ως εφαρμόσιμα μόνο στα μέλη της ίδιας εθνοτικής ομάδας. Ένα άλλο μέρος της έρευνας επικεντρώθηκε στην ανάλυση του λόγου για τα παιδιά και τα δικαιώματά τους, των δύο κύριων δομών εξουσίας στην ελληνοκυπριακή κοινότητα, τον έντυπο τύπο και την Εκκλησία. Τα αποτελέσματα της ανάλυσης των εφημερίδων δείχνουν ότι τα παιδιά είναι μια ομάδα χωρίς φωνή στην κυπριακή κοινωνία, που δέχονται περιστασιακά την προσοχή των μέσων ενημέρωσης. Όταν αυτά αναφέρονται, απεικονίζονται είτε ως «πολίτες του αύριο», είτε ως παθητικοί παραλήπτες χωρίς εμπειρίες, κριτική σκέψη και ωριμότητα. Η θεματική ανάλυση των

εγκυκλίων που στέλνει ο Αρχιεπίσκοπος στα σχολεία στην αρχή της σχολικής χρονιάς ανέδειξε δύο διαφορετικούς ρόλους που αποδίδονται στο παιδί: τον παθητικό, όπου «απορροφά» αυτά που παρέχονται από τον ενήλικο πληθυσμό, έναντι του ενεργού παιδιού, με την ευθύνη να διατηρήσει την «ηθική» και την αγνότητα του έθνους, να ενισχύσει τη συνοχή του και να αντιμετωπίσει τις συμβολικές απειλές που αυτό βιώνει. Η απεικόνιση της παιδικής ηλικίας ως φάσης προετοιμασίας που προσδιορίζεται στην ανάλυση των λόγων και των δύο δομών δύναμης έχει σημαντική επίπτωση για το παιδί, καθώς του αφαιρεί το δικαίωμα να είναι κάτοχος δικαιωμάτων. Συνθέτοντας όλα τα αποτελέσματα, ο λόγος για τα παιδιά ως παθητικός ενσωματώθηκε και έγινε αποδεκτός από τα παιδιά ως κανονιστικός, με αποτέλεσμα τα παιδιά να νομιμοποιήσουν παραβιάσεις των δικών τους δικαιωμάτων σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις. Μια σε βάθος προοπτική σχετικά με τις ενέργειες που πρέπει να αναληφθούν για την ενδυνάμωση των παιδιών και της κοινωνίας για την προώθηση της εφαρμογής των δικαιωμάτων των παιδιών παρέχεται για να διαμορφώσει εκ νέου την εφαρμογή τους ως καθολικά και αναφαίρετα.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: δικαιώματα, δικαιώματα του παιδιού, κοινωνικές αναπαραστάσεις, παιδική ηλικία, διαμάχη, Κύπρος.

ABSTRACT

The current study aims at exploring the concept of the rights of the child as a socially constructed object in a setting highly influenced by inter-ethnic hostility fueled by an unresolved political problem, diffused in all aspects of social, economic, and cultural life of the inhabitants of Cyprus. The physical segregation of Cypriots according to their ethnic identification has resulted in adhering onto specific societal beliefs, determining even universal concepts, such as that of children's rights. Simultaneously, its population number, being below a million, results in 'hosting' more conservative and traditional beliefs about childhood. Those two characteristics of the context sparked our interest to measure their impact on the applicability of the rights of the child. Social representations of the rights of the child were investigated via a questionnaire administered to educators (N=389) and children (N=565, mean age=16.3). The results indicated a different core of representations, with educators' being characterized with rights of provision and children's with participation rights. Conservative views of childhood, patriotism, nationalism, along with realistic and symbolic threats were anchored on the social representations of children, knitting a protective net around the core, strengthening it to resist changes, and even framing children's rights as applicable to one's own ethnic group. Another part of the research focused on analyzing the discourses, regarding children and their rights, of the two main power structures within the Greek Cypriot community, the printed press and the Church. The results of the analysis of the printed press indicate that children are a voiceless group within the Cypriot society, receiving media attention occasionally. When reported, they are portrayed either as 'citizens of tomorrow' or as passive recipients without experiences, critical thinking and maturity. Thematic analysis of the circulars the Archbishop sends to schools at the beginning of the school year prescribed two different roles of the child: the passive one, 'absorbing' what is provided by the adult population vs. the acting one, with the responsibility to sustain the 'ethics' and pureness of the nation, to bolster nation cohesion and to address the symbolic threats experienced by the nation. The portrayal of childhood as

a preparation phase identified in the analysis of the discourses of both power structures has important implication for the child, since it deducts him/her the right to be a right holder. Synthesizing all the results, the discourse of children as passive was internalized and accepted by children as normative one, resulting at children legitimizing violations of their own rights in certain cases. An in-depth perspective on actions to be extrapolated to empower children and society to advance the implementation of the rights of the child is provided to reframe their applicability as universal and alienable.

Keywords: rights, children's rights, social representations, childhood, conflict, Cyprus.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Human rights: a contested terrain able to spark endless discussions at a personal, political, social, and even economic level. Which are those? When their restriction is legitimate and by whom? Do they promote western values and ideals? How the international community reacts in serious mass violations? Do vulnerable groups have access to them and how? Seventy years have passed since the formation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) a non-binding document that emerged after the end of the World War II. Since then, a large number of Covenants and Conventions that address and promote the rights of various groups have been adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and signed and/or ratified by States. The implementation and application of the rights is based on the principle of non-discrimination enshrined in most, if not all, of the State Constitutions. And still, the representations adults and children hold of what the rights are and who is entitled to them, are far from universal, based on the historical, political, and social context they experience.

Human rights for children are even more debatable: why children have rights different of those of adults? Have children become spoiled because they are aware that they have rights? Children, as a group, was defined by the international community as one that needs special protection and provisions, an understanding that led to the creation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), a binding document for all the countries that have ratified it. Thirty years after the CRC was put into the scene by the United Nations General Assembly, while unquestionably children are granted protection, they are restricted of other rights, based on various representations held for childhood in the communities they live in. Immature, incapable, citizens of tomorrow, vulnerable and too little are but a few characteristics attributed to them resulting in the restriction of enjoyment of the full range of their rights.

All the above stated, what are the processes that interplay and result in different interpretations of universal concepts, such as that of human rights?

To start with, human perceptions are organized in relation to the physical and social environment. The way the social environment is organized and

functions is based, among others, on the social relations that exist in a specific era. The continuous interaction in complex, but yet specific social groups, and within a specific time period, results in the formation of practices and beliefs which take the form of collective or even institutionalized facts. In turn, those practices become the characteristic elements which possibly define a group and become the means by which others are compared and excluded. Do human rights get trapped within this process? Are they unconditionally provided to individuals independent of various aspects of their identity or an interanimation of the dominant representations within the society defines their applicability and the range of violations that a given society can justify?

Furthermore, in the past, the majorities maintained the status-quo by compartmentalizing the knowledge and beliefs held within a society, stripped by any elements of innovation or critical thinking. At the same time, infusing contempt for individuals or groups who disapproved or behaved outside the pre-requisite norms was a common practice, accompanied by attention to characteristics of those groups that rendered them a threat to the identity of the group. In other words, there was no room for the dissenter minorities, which stood helpless in a world where perceptions had been predefined for them. Today's era is characterized by a great mobilization of ideas, products and people, which has changed the traditional mode of transfer of knowledge and ideas, both in quantity and in the way and speed they are formed, inter-changed and shared. One cannot argue that today's era is not characterized by a pre-established order; only that there is a displacement of the source where that order is produced, maintained and the way is circulated (Jovchelovitch, 2002), due to the characteristics of the contemporary society. If that is the case, representations of human rights should be shared among individuals all over the world.

The above questions were the driving force for the implementation of the current study. I was born and raised in Cyprus, a country with a prolonged history of ethnic rivalries, with my childhood being particularly framed with the violations my group suffered by the 'barbarians'. The last 15 years I devote a

large amount of energy and personal time to the so-called 'bicomunal projects', which aim to bring together young people from both sides in an effort to prepare the ground for social change, independent from any political developments and/or solutions of the Cyprus Problem. And through my professional career, the last 5 years I work for the promotion and protection of children's rights, where on a daily basis I become aware of violations of children's rights. Within this background, the idea to study the social representations of children's rights 'conquered' my soul and mind. The theory of social representations was set as the most appropriate one to explore the impact of shared beliefs on the concept of children's rights.

The theory of social representations forms a different pathway in the space of social research; a pathway that responds to the diverse characteristics of the modern era. Social representations are not stable, but dynamic elements within societies, changing over time. Examining the content of social representations in a society expands the limits of the chaste exploration of how society functions and moves over and above to build structures for the development of "healthy" societies, away from the toxic incarcerations of the past, a characteristic of societies trapped within intractable conflicts.

Concurrently, in societies with conflict or post-conflict societies a different mechanism is employed which pursues to transcend the characteristics of the modern world by applying the traditional ways of transmission of knowledge, ideas and beliefs by a single source. In other words, within those societies there is revulsion from the plurality that characterizes the modern world towards the monolithic transmission of beliefs, which creates division among groups and sustains the conflict. It is within such contexts that restrictions of intergroup contact imposed or limited opportunities for contact enhance a dynamic mechanism that interplays societal and psychological attributions which lead to increased levels of prejudice and stereotypes, reduced trust, an increased feeling of insecurity, further polarization, and the sustainability of a cluster of characteristics such as the competitive victimhood, and the deligitimization of the 'other'. The separation of the members of the communities and the induction

of measures that prevent the interaction of the members sustains and fuels the conflict, since the ideas, opinions, actions and beliefs of the 'other' are only shared through official channels which tend to present those in a way that serves the interests of the in-group or the interests of the dominant group among the in-group. Within such a setting, human rights become tailor-made to fit the 'ethos' of the conflict, while their violation is also justified based on the atrocities the group experienced in the past or the dehumanization of the other.

Conflict and dispute have an impact on the social representations a group or a society holds. As many scholars and peace leaders acknowledge, peace and stability can only be established if constructed on human rights foundations and upon the needs and concerns of the society. Despite these foundations, several researchers tried to map the social representations of concepts such as peace, war, and history, but there are not a lot of studies exploring the concept of social representations of children's rights in relation to peace and conflict. The last decade there is an increased interest of the scientific community, motivated by an increased public awareness, related to human rights violations. Also, the international community is highly bothered by the development of international instruments and mechanisms that facilitate the application and respect of those instruments for human rights. Behind human rights violations there is a system that groups various perceptions and beliefs and stocks them in a way to be shared among members of a specific group. There are also social mechanisms 'responsible' to maintain those ideas and beliefs, and in such a way maintain the status-quo. The theory of social representations can be incendiary for enhancing knowledge for the advancement of research on human rights to serve the growing needs of humanity.

To sum up, the current research tries to capture the social representations of children's rights in Cyprus. The purpose of the present research study is to capture the content of social representations of children's rights in Cyprus, reflecting the historical and social context by which they are constructed, exhibiting whether those form a reality for the children in Cyprus

that does not safeguard the best interest of the children, and constrains the full realization of their rights. In chapter 2, I review the main themes related to intractable conflicts and their characteristics, human rights, the formation of Conventions and research that aimed at describing their applicability and knowledge of the public of what they are, the theories of social influence and social representations, the concept of childhood, the impact of its conception on the child and the society in general and representations of childhood within the Cypriot context.

In chapter 3, I present the methodology of the thesis. The research study utilizes a mixed methods inquiry that draws upon both qualitative and quantitative design. The research is led by a main research question about the social representations within the Greek Cypriot community regarding the children's rights, as those are exhibited by adults and children, that might prevent their full realization. The main research question is supported by several sub-questions about the content of the social representations related to children's rights, variations in individual positioning, variations in social representations shared by adults and children, and the relation among those representations and other belief systems, such as concepts of childhood and the impact of conflict that divides the inhabitants of Cyprus according to their ethnic identification. Quantitative data were collected via a questionnaire administered to children and adults that reside in Cyprus (at the areas where the government of the Republic of Cyprus exercises effective control). The data from qualitative research examine the relation among shared representations of social institutions, specifically the media and the religious leaders, regarding children's rights, by embodying the reproduction or emergence of new representations through the social control and monitoring those institutions support. Towards that purpose, articles about children were identified within the printed press of four different newspapers from November 15 to November 25, based on four different events celebrated or commemorated during that period, for three consecutive years, 2014 to 2016. Simultaneously, the written

circulars that the Archbishop of Cyprus sent to the schools of the Greek Cypriot community are analyzed for a 10-year period, 2007 to 2017.

In chapter 4, I present the results that derived from the analysis of the data collected via the questionnaires administered to educators, the printed press and the circulars of the Church. The data obtained via the questionnaires pinpoint a different content of the social representations educators and children hold, with children's core being composed of participation rights, while educators' with provisional ones. There is a consensus though on the children's right most violated in Cyprus, the right of children to express their opinion. Differences in individual positioning revolve, among others, around constructs such as parenthood, trauma, and gender. Parents, compared to non-parent educators, and educators who did not have a war related experience, compared to those who did, were less prone to acknowledge school or societal rituals as violating children's rights. Male children are in general more 'conservative', a gender difference though that vanishes in adulthood. Results indicate that certain representations of rights, affiliated with salient, shared representations about childhood and quality of life, are shared among children and educators, such as school drop-out, while others, related to practices expected to have been long ago shared as condemnable in Cyprus, such as parental child-beating, not being recognized as violations by children themselves. As for national practices applied and whether those infringe children's rights or not, participants behold two contradicting ideologies: practices which restrain contact with members of the other community are understood as violations, while school or societal rituals highly affiliated with the 'ethnos' or the religion of the majority, imposed by the school to the whole school population, are not understood as such. At last, children, to a greater extent than educators, embrace childhood as a transitional stage, preparing them for adulthood. In general, representations of childhood are characterized by the notion of the child as a vulnerable individual, in need of guidance, which can be also framed as 'irrational'.

The analysis of the Greek Cypriot press via the four main newspapers for a three-year period identifies the absence of children from the Greek Cypriot press agenda. The qualitative analysis unfolds two different themes: the child as a future citizen and the child as tabula rasa. Both themes pinpoint to the direction that the child is not considered a social actor by the press, but rather a passive group within the society. The analysis of the circulars prepared by the Archbishop and read to all the educational institutions among the years 2007-2017 reveals that children are framed either as passive individuals, once the discussion is related to childhood, or as individuals fully participating in the societal structures, once the discourse is directly related to the Cyprus Problem.

The data collected out of both quantitative and qualitative methods, are discussed in harmony with literature on intractable conflicts, research on contact, political tolerance, human rights, childhood and social representations in Chapter 5, while a comparison of the results obtained from the three sources of information is also presented and discussed.

The present study is one of its kind, since no previous research has focused on social representations regarding children's rights. In addition, the specific reference to the anchoring of those representations on societal beliefs grounded on childhood and the conflict, provides a uniqueness element to the corpus of the study. The Cyprus Problem at a national level, affects the decisions taken, the allocation of budgets, the strategic plans developed in different areas, as well as the interactions and collaboration with the international community. At a societal level, one can argue that it poses barriers toward change and progress, since those are considered as threats to the structures, the identities, and the security of the nation, thus, rejected before being applied. It creates a solid status-quo which must be preserved by any means. At an individual level, it has a huge impact on the decisions taken by individuals, on their emotional and psychological stability, on their educational and other experiences, as well as their understanding of various phenomena and concepts. Within such a socio-political context, the theory of social representations, which has been shown to influence and interact with the

identity formation (Duveen, 2001), has the potential to highlight ways in which violations of rights become normative under certain conditions and thus, create space for social change. This transformative aspect of using the theory of social representations in the study of human rights is, I believe, the advantage of the present research, an aspect which should be a driving force for further investigation.

The current study contributes to the international literature on children and children's rights, both at a theoretical and policy level, as well as a practical one. Results have indicated that the social representations of children's rights, within the context of Cyprus, are affected by specific societal beliefs and conditions. As such, it provides, at a theoretical level, the ground of further exploration of how certain beliefs and conditions affect how rights are perceived and applied, having an impact on both their universality and inalienability. Concurrently, the results have proved that the content of the social representations of children's rights has an impact on children's lives, since it can result into an inaction on behalf of the State or the allocation of the resources of the state to specific actions or programs, highly correlated with the salient representations. The policies developed within a State for children are interdependent with the social representations that persist within the society.

Furthermore, at a policy level, the results indicate the need for the induction of the human rights education within the professional studies of individuals whom their daily practice is related to children, along with its infusion into the curriculum for all ages of children. As the results of the study have shown, despite teaching about human rights is an essential component, it is not sufficient in forming a rights-based approach within the society, able to resist discourses or frameworks which violate the rights of specific children or the children as a group. At a practical level, the results of the study have important implication on how human rights education is applied within a society bothered with conflict. Both educators and children who participated at the current study were unable to acknowledge specific national practices as infringements of children's rights. As such, within such settings what is important to promote is

not a universal conception of rights at an abstract level, which actually individuals already endorse, but rather to create the conditions that human rights can be discussed within the social, historical and political context, providing the opportunity to address specific conceptions and/or limitations that derive from that context.

2. CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. The Devolution of Societies in the Absence of Peace

2.1.1. Intractable Conflicts and their Socio-Psychological Characteristics

When two opposing sites experience hostility for a prolonged period of time, the term 'intractable conflict' is applicable. Intractable conflicts have attracted the interest of academia, since other than the causes that initially create the violence, various mechanisms fuelled by collective emotions and beliefs support the continuation of the conflict, resulting in being perceived as irresolvable. According to Kriesberg, intractable conflicts have four features: "they are protracted resulting in the development of hostility among the members, they involve physical violence at some point, they are perceived as irresolvable, and they demand extensive investment" (Bar-Tal, 2007, p. 1432). Bar-Tal (2007) added other features, such as the association of the conflict and its elements with the group's survival and the pre-occupation of the group members with it on a continuous basis.

Intractable conflicts tend to resist change in any domain of life, since each innovation is filtered through the lens of its impact on the conflict. As Sternberg (2003) pointed out "sometimes [even] the cognitive commitment to hate, results from fear of change" (p. 309). Innovations are considered as threats to certain elements of the identity of the group; elements though, which gain significance through the conflict and form a collective identity. Furthermore, resistance to change blocks any new or alternative information, including viable solutions. As Hameiri et al. (2014) describe social and psychological beliefs as barriers that obstruct peace.

Another psychological characteristic of intractable conflicts is the anxiety experienced by the members of the in-group for a possible contact with members of the out-group. The sources of anxiety can be attributed to the

inadequacy felt for the contact, the fear for accidentally insulting the members of the out-group, the fear of being manipulated by the out-group members, and the fear of being considered a traitor by the members of the in-group (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Stress can have an impact on the contact experience (Andrighetto et al., 2012), while the anxiety felt can limit the processing of information according to the stereotypes already established for the out-group. It has been documented elsewhere (Dhont et al., 2011), that, contact, and especially prolonged one, reduces the level of stress even for the most reluctant individuals.

A socio-psychological characteristic of intractable conflicts is the presence of threat at an individual and collective level, an emotion which is aroused either consciously or unconsciously, and a characteristic that imprisons societies. Threat can be experienced as information heard or read about events or people that threatened the individual or his/her group in the past or are based on narratives shared within a specific community which describe the 'devil' character of the out-group. Other than the past, the threat can be based on different values that the groups may hold (especially if those are related with religious or cultural values), the conditions under which the groups interact, and the status that each group has during those interactions. All those factors determine the quality and quantity of threat that each group will experience.

Threat, in its four different types (realistic, symbolic, collective, and distinctiveness) mediates and supports prejudice (Stephan and Stephan, 2000). Realistic threat is experienced as a threat to the individual's or group's well-being. Research on immigrants has indicated the way those threaten the resources of the state and the social stratification of a society (Jasso, 2011; Kunovich, 2002; Billiet et al., 2014). On a similar vein, out-group members in societies with intractable conflicts corrode the existing status-quo and become a threat for the well-being of the in-group. Threats are experienced as future inability to fulfill basic needs and a reduction of the quality of life; as such, out-group members become the targets of ostracism within the society and the

pollutants of the well-being. Human rights violations or restrictions for out-group members enable the in-group to adhere to its survival needs.

Symbolic threat is experienced once there is a feeling of different values and ideologies that will have an impact on the in-groups' values and ideologies. The symbolic threat has been named as cultural threat, by Sides and Citrin, defined as "the sense that an out-group is in danger of somehow polluting or obstructing the expression of defining in-group values, identity or traditions" (Pehrson et al., 2012, p. 112). As an example, two different religion groups, Christians and Muslims, may experience a symbolic threat, since for the first group, Islam is identical with violence, terrorism, and the suppression of the rights of specific groups (i.e. women), while for the second group, Christianity is identified with a loss of the morals and ethos, and the devaluation of the family and societal life. At last, distinctiveness threat is expressed as a comparison of the in-group members with the out-group members (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). As Silverstein stressed, threats can become the enemy of the individual or the group (Mertan, 2014).

Various mechanisms support the aforementioned elements, hindering the restoration of damaged intergroup relations. The weapon of mass manipulation used by the official channels is fear; fear of 'polluting' the group's values and traditions (Pehrson et al, 2012), "identity-based" fear, fear of suffering further violations and unjust harm, and fear of survival. The ethnicity is used to legitimize actions, while the use of ethnocentrism (thinking of one's group as superior; Barger, 2004) is manifested in the public discourse. Propaganda of hate and superstitions is transmitted to the younger generation via both formal institutions and informal channels. Fuelling ethnic rivalries are used as a means of achieving political ends. Supporters of the current status-quo are usually given political and institutionalized power, while the supporters of the promotion of solidarity between the conflicting groups are marginalized and treated as traitors. The atrocities held by the out-group are repeatedly displayed to continuously "feed" the memory and lead to its so-called 'ethnization' (Bar-Tal, 2014), and in such a way enforce the belief that peaceful

interaction and coexistence is impossible. The news is all about the conflict, and the use of emotions in public debates rather than arguments is a sophisticated mechanism used by the political power. “Not only is the emotional content of a national event transmitted across the generations, but so is the degree to which people dwell on that emotion” (Tint, 2010, p. 247). The use of specific labels to stereotype the members of the out-group is common and the out-group is considered as a homogeneous population with specific characteristics, among them the irrationality and brutality.

Fear gets “contagious” and relates to the ethos of the conflict, sustained by eight collective beliefs: “the justness of own goals, security, positive collective self-image, one’s own victimization, delegitimizing of the opponent, patriotism, unity and peace” (Bar-Tal, 2007, p. 1438). As the same author points out, the ethos is important in uniting the members of the in-group and providing aspirations for the future. The ethos justifies the commitment of atrocities, by connecting the acts (described as violent, immoral and/or brutal) with the members of the out-group. Within such a context, a vicious cycle of human rights violations is upheld.

Within that context, collective memories are constructed, where the past informs the present and determines the future (Tint, 2010). The history a nation chooses to reproduce provides only those sources to the memory, needed for obtaining the societal goals, and as such, “history is often used to propagate a narrative focusing on the suffering of the nation and to legitimate its political goals (Papadakis, 2008). The rivalries from the ancient years resuscitate in order to emphasize the other’s brutality as a characteristic implanted in their genes, “the suffering of others is silenced, their historical existence is questioned, and socio-cultural interactions are ignored” (Papadakis, 2008, p. 1). Restrictions of contact imposed or limited opportunities for contact enhance a dynamic mechanism that interplays societal and psychological attributions resulting in increased levels of prejudice and stereotypes, reduced trust, and an increased feeling of insecurity.

Collective memories rupture intergroup relations even further. They uncover the history of the conflict and the beliefs about it in a form that does not restrict itself to the mere imprint of historical facts but they are shared as a truthful account and the only valid (Bar-Tal, 2014). They are expressed through commemorations (Tint, 2010), public discussions and actions, as well as through institutions. As such, collective memories fill the role of social representations (Bar-Tal, 2014). All members of the in-group are informed about those representations (Breakwell, 2010) and there is a system, as that was explained above, to keep those representations alive. Social representations related to the conflict have “organized central cores” (Sarrica et al, 2010, p. 326), are the most ‘visible’ within a society, even for individuals who are not involved or have an interest on the conflict.

The case of Cyprus does not suggest a crisp model that both the academia and the general public retrieve from. It is either debated as an intractable conflict or a frozen¹ one or even unequivocally rejected as a conflict and set as an invasion from a third country with prolonged violations of human rights. It should be noted that the purpose is not to place it under a specific category, but to sketch the general features of the impact it has at a personal and collective or societal level. For simplicity and convenience, for the purposes of the current research proposal, the term ‘intractable’ will be used to characterize the Cyprus conflict, without attributing any political or other cause behind the chosen word.

To sum up, all those characteristics of intractable conflicts do have an impact on the social representations of human rights within those communities. In other words, the characteristics of intractable conflicts affect the application of human rights in various formats: either their universality, their inalienability or

¹ Frozen conflicts are the ones where physical violence has been terminated, but peace is far from prevailing, since no political or peace agreement is established among the opposing parties (Perry, 2009; Wolff, 2011). In most, if not all of the cases, the impact on the inhabitants is similar to the one of intractable conflicts.

both. What follows is a brief discussion of the applicability of human rights in societies with intractable conflicts.

2.1.2. Human Rights in Societies with Intractable Conflicts

In societies with intractable conflicts or even post-conflict societies, identities play a distinct role within the conflict. In such contexts, identity is not understood as a process, but rather as an essential characteristic of the individuals, coinciding with one and only affiliation, which is usually the ethnic one. In fact, in cases of intractable conflicts, ethnic identities have been provided for a binary role: on one hand, at a personal level, individuals who identify with their ethnic in-group, experience a better quality of life and express increased satisfaction with their lives. Ethnic identity can also result in social cohesion, as in the example of Jews after the Holocaust, where individuals set high standards for the well-being of the group and exhibited willingness to promote and achieve the group's goals (Cartright, 1986). A more recent debate, discuss collective identity, such as the ethnic one, as a benefit especially for minority youth groups that leads to social change (Hammack, 2010). On the other hand though, ethnic identity can be a burden for individuals (Hammack, 2010), the source of hostility and division, its 'exploitation' legitimizes the use of force and violence, while as Pilecki & Hammack (2014) support it is supported by historical narratives which minimize any possibility for similarities to be acknowledged.

In the case of societies with conflict, each opposing party experiences threat at a different level and quality. Avery (1988) demonstrated that as the threat experienced increased, individuals "secured" the human rights just for the members of their group. Threats are being exacerbated through the collective memories of the group. Once those collective memories entail past human rights violations or information about human rights violations performed by the group, the threat becomes the prime determiner of the behavior of the in-group. As a result, there is also high ethnic identification.

Due to the threats experienced and the high identification with the ethnic identities, nationalism gains ground with a cognitive focus. Comprised of beliefs about superiority of one's own nation, there is an increased attachment to symbols, such as the flag or the anthem, accompanied by higher levels of threat and lower levels of trust (Psaltis, 2016). McFarland and Mathews (2005), based on nationalism, organized human rights attitudes at three distinct dimensions, consolidated by different factors: endorsement, commitment and restriction. The specific dimensions shed light on how nationalism affects the applicability of human rights. The results of their study indicated that

“dispositional empathy, education, and global knowledge contributed to an endorsement of human rights ideals, but none of these affected commitment or restriction. Globalism (vs. nationalism) and principled moral reasoning strengthened human rights commitment, while ethnocentrism and the social dominance orientation weakened it. Authoritarianism, ethnocentrism, and belief that the world cannot be changed increased a willingness to restrict the rights of unpopular groups, while principled moral reasoning and self-rated liberalism decreased it” (McFarland & Mathews, 2005, p. 365).

At a later study, McFarland (2010) found supporting evidence that human rights commitment could be predicted by the levels of ethnocentrism and identification with all humanity.

Manipulation of the ordinary people is a common route adopted and exploited by the elite to serve its own political means within societies with conflict. As Babbitt et al (2009) report, “group manipulation works best when basic human rights are suppressed” (p. 6). In societies with conflict, not only there is a discredit for the human rights for the members of the out-group, but in addition, the elite can suppress the human rights of the members of the in-group to set a direction and create coherence for mobility against the out-group.

In certain cases, the opposing groups might not have equal access to the political and institutionalized power within the government that might lead to the marginalization and violation of human rights for the members of one of the groups, creating a vicious cycle of conflict. Once the conflict is fueled by the different ethnic identities of the opposing parties, usually the numerical

superiority translates into majority primacy. Ndiaye (1993) comments that “this percentage system reflects a conception of democracy based on government by the ethnic majority rather than by the political majority” (p. 178).

Furthermore, a dominant representation within the majority is that minority groups should be assimilated by inducing “civilized” ways to suppress their own culture and norms, and as such diminish any public or private differences. The Optimal Distinctiveness Theory supports that “the need for assimilation is a fundamental human motive” (Pickett & Brewer, 2005, p. 92). As a need, assimilation ‘deprives the special features’ of an individual and enlarges the features that characterize the group. While assimilation can deprive of individuals or groups their unique characteristics, it might not be understood as such by those who experience it, since it can minimize the negative effects that would have resulted in cases of exclusion. Of course, the development of prejudice and exclusion is socio-culturally and historically determined. The social stratification of a society has a direct impact on the groups that prejudice will be directed to. In specific space and time, certain groups become more salient within a community, while others less. This is in accordance with one of the major findings of research on social exclusion, that children do understand that prejudicial behavior is unfair but when the group identity is salient, they won’t apply moral reasons (Killen & Rutland, 2011). Trying to assimilate or enforcing specific groups to adopt characteristics or elements of a culture that is not their own is the route that dominant groups usually follow in an effort to preserve the dominant culture or the route that minority groups follow in order to be accepted and feel self-worthy within a culture. The violation or restriction of human rights in the process, is not identified as such, but rather regarded as “fair means” to construct a safe society.

Out-group members might also be divided into those who deserve respect, since they possess specific characteristics which have status among the in-group, and those who can be treated badly, a distinction clearly set on the way individuals restrict the application of human rights among different

groups. Groups considered responsible for the conflict are treated as non-negotiable in terms of having access to the private sphere, the home. In other words, those groups, cannot contribute to the reproduction of the nation, on the contrary, they can harm the well-being of the nation, and as such mixed marriages or the development of friendships is socially condemned.

As explained above, in societies with intractable conflicts, history becomes a mechanism through which people's minds are molded to commit to hate, through the repetition of one's own suffering, the repetitious portrayal of the atrocities held by the other community and the display of the atrocities held by the out-group throughout the centuries. Sternberg (2003) states that it is common of "portraying the hated group as having a history that justifies the way the groups is being treated. The preferred groups will be presented as lovable and as desiring peace but being unable to attain it because of the targeted group" (p. 321). This collective emotional orientation of fear and hate render the conflict intractable, and the human rights as unattainable due to the other group.

Individuals born within the era of an intractable conflict grow and develop with severe limitations. To start with, within such societies the conflict and violence are portrayed as normal (Brenes, 2001) and as a result, individuals restore to violence in their everyday activities as well. In an interesting study carried out by Orr, Sagi & Bar-On (2000), individuals who grew up within an intractable conflict justified war and viewed peace as an option with consequences on the in-group members, thus, they did not value it (Sarrica, 2004). Additionally, research with pre-school children has demonstrated that children detected both verbal and nonverbal behavior of adults towards a person from an out-group and were influenced by it, demonstrating a similar behavior accordingly (Castelli et al., 2008). Growing up in such an environment where verbal and non-verbal cues exclude and devalue the other group, children foster the adults' attitudes and form negativism from the very early ages. Not only that, but as Leidner and Li (2015) stress out, there is a pattern of repeating the human violations by the perpetrators. As such, in cases of

societies with intractable conflicts, where individuals committed human rights violations in the past, are more prone to repeat those in the future. Children become passive recipients of such a behavior. At the same time, the victims, even if they did not directly experience the violation, have increased levels of anxiety that it will be repeated in the future. This increased level of anxiety leads to feelings of distrust, hatred and hostility (Leidner & Li, 2015), which in turn, can cause a new series of human rights violations or can provide justification for the restriction of the universality of human rights for the members who committed the violations in the past. To sum up, the right of children to live in peace is exploited within such societies.

Critical thinking is neither the aim, nor has the potential to flourish in societies with conflict. The main socialization agents where critical thinking can arise, which is the educational system and the media, in the cases of intractable conflict are the ones used to create stable, centered, homogeneous beliefs that take the form of a dogma within the society, maintaining the status-quo. Both media and education are used as forms of specific modes of communication, based on Moscovisci's work, the propagation mode, where the information is shared by a central authority, while opposite information is considered threatening and not valid (Moscovisci, 2000) and the propaganda mode, where the aim is the sharing of a single representation, containing elements that support the narrative for the 'outgroup' (Avraamidou and Psaltis, 2018). The individual is not provided with space for variation and to explore various perspectives and come to an understanding. The outcome of the communication can be characterized as polemical, where the representations that do exist are mutually exclusive (Psaltis, 2012) and as such, do not provide space for actual interaction and negotiation. As such, critical thinking remains in the shadows. The right of the children to develop to the maximum degree possible, along with the right to be educated and the right to participate in decision making are marginalized.

The attribution of stereotypes for the members of the other community is a psychological characteristic of intractable conflicts. As stereotypes, they are

over-generalizations and are attributed to all individuals belonging to a specific group, due to their membership into that group. In the majority of the cases they are negative, and they do have an impact on an individual and societal level. Within the context of intractable conflicts, stereotyping becomes the 'truth' for the members for the out-group, and as such it maintains the conflict. Not only they affect the processing of information, but they guide behavior as well. The other community is captured as a homogeneous one. This has severe implications on the way human rights for the out-group are evaluated. Human rights violations are justified for all the members of the out-group based on responding to the same attributes.

Moreover, in societies with conflict the images of the out-group within the media material produced are depicted only in relation to the conflict. This monopoly of broadcasting of the in-group, having the out-group absent, is also apparent within the textbooks used at the educational level, along within the toy market. While in the past, stereotypes were transferred from person to person, "for educators today, stereotypes need to be challenged across a variety of sources and influences, including curriculum, textbooks, popular media, and increasingly the internet" (Toh, 2004, p. 148). The absence of the images of individuals from the out-group contributes to the continuation of the violation of human rights of that group in two ways: at first, individuals get to construct the image of the other only related to the conflict, and as such attributing the pain and the one's own suffering to the members of the out-group, while the absence excludes the members of the out-group from fully participating within the society. A phantom-person cannot express his/her view publicly, neither can have an impact on the cultural, political and economic arena of the society. The right to participate is boycotted by the manifestation or absence of the "other" in public means.

At last, in societies where there are gross violations of human rights due to intractable conflict there is not an easy way to determine if the international community has a duty to prosecute gross violations of human rights as a potential counterweight to impunity in peace negotiations. It becomes a very

delicate issue, since prosecution without peace becomes meaningless, while impunity provides reasoning and rationale for further atrocities. There is not a clear answer, neither one solution that can be applied in all cases. As Huyse (1996) very well describes it, “there are no miracle solutions for dealing with a repressive past” (p. 205). Whether amnesty should be provided to the perpetrators of human rights violations is another issue that societies with conflict must deal with. Providing amnesty without accompanying it with other measures, such as the establishment of truth commissions, the allocation of reparations, the provision of support to victims, and financial compensation, can lead to frustration and feelings of injustice on behalf of the population. Furthermore, “the over-riding focus on redressing direct injustices against individuals tends to leave the injustices that caused the conflict untouched” (Lundy et al, 2008, p. 102). Additionally, there is a need for the civil society to be strengthened and start working from the grassroots levels in order to provide a viable solution to the conflict.

2.1.3. Violence and Theories of Violence

Violence, in any form, it's the lead cause of human rights' violations. Understanding the root causes of violence is important since it can inform the understanding of human rights' violations, diffuse the myths related to the cases that human rights' violations are acceptable, forge suitable mechanisms for preventing the violation to take place from the start point and to provide sustainable applicability of human rights. Minimizing the causes that lead to human rights' violations, which in turn have a devastating impact on individuals and societies can be the turning-point that will allow humanity to invest on the development and growth of each individual on earth.

One of the theories trying to explain why violence and conflicts occur was that of Relative Deprivation, which according to Runciman (1966) is when “people are roused to political action as a result not of absolute changes in their material conditions but of changes relative to the circumstances of those with whom they compare themselves”. While it has been supported that relative

deprivation can be the primary factor leading to political violence, including terrorism (Gurr, 1970), the theory has received lots of criticism, since it does not explain why some people resort to violence while others do not, why some constructs deprived do not prompt people to act, and why some people act violently even in cases they do not feel deprived.

The Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA) contributed significantly towards understanding the processes and indicators that lead to action and progressively responded to the deficiencies of theories that tried to capture the violent reaction of individuals from a single-factor perspective, such as the Relative Deprivation Theory. According to the SIMCA, injustice, perceived efficacy (more likely the goals to be achieved), and a sense of social identity, all contribute in explaining why people act. The results of a study conducted by Van Zomeren et al. (2008)

“showed the importance of social identity in predicting collective action by supporting SIMCA’s key predictions that (a) affective injustice and politicized identity produced stronger effects than those of non-affective injustice and non-politicized identity; (b) identity predicted collective action against both incidental and structural disadvantages, whereas injustice and efficacy predicted collective action against incidental disadvantages better than against structural disadvantages; [...] and (d) identity bridged the injustice and efficacy explanations of collective action” (p. 504).

The function of the nation-state has also led to a discussion on the way it contributes to violence. The nation-state has a territory with clearly defined boundaries and a central administration system. It is considered an embodiment of people and there is a homogeneous power grid throughout the state’s territory. The structure of the state can materialize the different treatment of individuals, the division of the inhabitants into groups treated according to their affiliations, and the preservation of the status-quo. In other words, the structure of the state can facilitate the human rights violations for specific groups. Within the state, there is a consensus on political and ethnic affiliations, which form the boundaries of the state. While the use of violence by individuals is punishable by the state, the use of violence by the state is legitimate, the

degree and form varying from state to state. In cases, the state is being threatened internally to lose power, it is a common act to proclaim a targeted “war” or turn against a group of individuals, in an effort to help the people of the nation unite against a common threat, and make the population stronger by eliminating this internal weakness. As Randolph Bourne stated back in 1918 at his essay “war is the health of the state”,

“in a nation at war, every citizen identifies himself with the whole, and feels immensely strengthened in that identification. The purpose and desire of the collective community live in each person who throws himself wholeheartedly into the cause of war. The impeding distinction between society and the individual is almost blotted out. At war, the individual becomes almost identical with his society” (Bourne, 1918, p. 4).

As Steans (1998) quotes “states are involved in regulating what are often held to be ‘private’ decisions, concerning, for example, whom one can marry and the legal status of children. In this way the boundaries of the national community are drawn and reproduced” (p. 68). The attitudes and perceptions of individuals come to be regulated by the state. As the same author describes “by investing the state with an identity it is possible to suggest that our identities are stable and homogeneous, that we identify first and foremost with the nation-state and that our relations with others are mediated through the state” (Steans, 1998, p. 62). Nations play an important role in the identity formation (Armony et al, 1999). Even though, identities are not uniformly distributed among members of one state (Avruch, 1998), certain characteristics are ‘imposed’ by the nation to be shared by all members. Furthermore, it is usual for dominant groups to suppress disempowered groups, according to the ‘state’s beliefs’.

Loyalty for one’s own nation can vary among individuals and can take the form of blind or constructive patriotism. As Finell and Zogmaister (2015) report, blind patriotism defines the ingroup members, uses other nations as a comparative measure to own nation, and uses symbols and culture to illustrate convincingly the superiority of the own nation, implanting a fear for threat by other nations in a way that generates conflict. Spry and Hornsey (2007) reported that “the higher people scored on blind patriotism, the more negative

were their general attitudes toward multiculturalism and immigration, the more negative were their attitudes toward providing cultural services to immigrants, and the more positive were their attitudes toward assimilation” (p. 155).

Within the nation boundaries, “groups will inevitably disagree about political, economic and social issues, and in multiethnic societies the fault lines will often be defined in ethnic terms” (Brown, 2001, p. 211). In today’s era, different ethnic groups co-exist within the same nation, the result being the marginalization of various groups that do not fall within the boundaries of the constructed past. “Ethnic minorities are often singled out and blamed for the country’s problems: ethnic scapegoating and ethnic bashing become the order of the day” (Brown, 2001, p. 221). The ethnic group composed by most of the population diminishes the culture of the other ethnic groups and suppress it, since in such a way there is a feeling that the dominant culture will not be affected or ‘polluted’ and will survive throughout the centuries.

Inability to understand the terms “nation” and “ethnos” as social constructs, along with (a) the institutionalization of the terms, meaning the system providing different treatment according to the belongingness or not, (b) the personal mediation, meaning that individuals are being the sources of nationalistic, ethnic or racist behavior or individuals internalizing it, in cases of individuals or groups whom experience them for a prolonged periods of time, result at the exercise of dominance over a number of groups and individuals within the state boundaries and as such the violation of their human rights.

A more recent theory trying to capture the violence among groups by examining the individual as part of a social group is the Theory of Social Identity (Tajifel & Turner, 1979). According to the theory, individuals understand themselves as belonging to multiple groups, which have certain characteristics. Individuals tend to attribute significance and value to the group they belong, and compare the members of their group (in-group), with members of other groups (out-group) reinforcing characteristics that distinguish their group from the rest. As Bar-Tal (2007) points out “members of an ethnic group or a nation have a shared sense of belonging and identification with their group and this creates

cognitive, affective, and behavioral effects on a collective level” (p. 1443). Despite other reasons may trigger violence among groups, the theory supports that conflict can also arise in the absence of those, because of the process individuals create to form distinct boundaries of the in-group, which in many cases becomes exclusive. As such, the in-group provides protective mechanisms for the human rights of its members, while it enacts or does not react or justifies human rights abuses for the members of the out-group.

Furthermore, the root causes of violence are generated by inequitable distribution of resources, scarcity of resources, exclusion from resources, discrimination and lack of participation, drought and desertification. The Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Sherif, 1966) tried to explain how the competition over scarcity of resources can lead to violence and conflict, even in cases that there is no previous history of conflict. The theory has been criticized as the competition among groups is considered a factor, but not a sufficient requirement to create hostility among groups, an argument supported by the results of the minimal paradigm experiments run by Tajifel (Tajifel & Turner, 1979). Through those experiments, Tajifel proved that to create competition among groups, you don't need a number of conditions, but rather only to form groups and individuals to feel they belong to the assigned group. The results of the experiments indicated that the most common strategy employed by groups was the maximization of the difference among the ingroup and the outgroup, even if that meant less rewards for the ingroup. The work of Tajifel demonstrated that there is an ingroup favoritism, but not necessarily an outgroup discrimination, which gave floor to the development of the Social Identity Development Theory (SIDT), which proclaims that belonging to a group, leads to ingroup preference and not to outgroup prejudice (Nesdale, 2004). According to the same authors, the ethnic preference does not turn into an ethnic prejudice within a vacuum. Rather, multiple factors interplay for the transition to take place, such as the degree that the prejudice is widespread within the community, the existence of tension and threat, and the existence of a state of conflict. Indeed, research in countries with prolonged history of

conflict has identified stereotypes about the 'enemy' group which are not spread into other minority groups, which comprises an example of how ethnic preference transforms into prejudice, once tension, threat and the existence of conflict are part of the social context (Nesdale et al., 2005). While children do not develop prejudice for other groups, they do develop strong prejudice for the group in conflict.

The hunger for power and economic resources are considered as two other causes of violence. There is also a link between environment and violence, since environmental changes and resource scarcities can lead to economic decline, disputes, and even forced migration, which may in turn lead to instability and forced human rights' violations.

Violence takes different forms and is based on different reasons. All forms though apply to various levels (interpersonal, family, community, organizational, national, international and global) impacting and causing harm at each of those levels. Violence cannot be seen outside the political, social, economic, and cultural milieu, while its arousal, cause, duration, and justification are affected by various contextual factors. The discrepancy among human rights' endorsement and human rights' violations in the daily life has triggered a flood of investigation of human rights at the beginning in a monolithic static way, which offered only tepid support towards the reasons behind human rights' understanding and tolerance of violations. In the recent days, human rights are dealt by researchers, especially by social psychologists, as a complex phenomenon susceptible to constant change, that permits a variation among individuals' positioning, and that is a part of a modern society, with all of its characteristics.

2.1.4. The Impact of Conflict and Violence on Children

The social, economic and political backcloth framing of childhood determine it as a vulnerable period of a person's life. Being at a developmental stage, still forming their conceptions and values of the world, highly depending on adults, and spending most of their time within educational institutions

subjective of specific ideologies, children become prone to manipulation, exploitation, abuse, and maltreatment, especially in the absence of support systems. Within societies which suffer by conflict and war, children are recognized as the ones conditioned in prolonged suffering.

The numbers of individuals who lost their lives during the Second World War, reaching up to 23 million soldiers and more than 57 million of civilians (Weiss, 2004), indicates the insurmountable obstacles of pledging the consequences of war and violence within the battlefield in modern warfare. Furthermore, statistics provided for refugees, declare that “more than half of all refugees are children” (UNESCO, 1999, p. 4). War, conflict and violence have a consequential avalanche on the lives of children. Other than being internally displaced or becoming refugees, children become combatants during the conflict and commit or experience atrocities as such. “Conservative statistics cite over three hundred thousand children as active soldiers in over thirty ongoing wars today, while the other combatants are mostly young adults” (Van Tongeren et al, 2005, p. 149). If not actively participating in combats, children can be recruited to perform chores, such as cooking or delivering messages (Hodgkin & Newell, 2007). Nowadays, children also become recruited in terrorist organizations (Synott, 2004), a contemporary form of exploitation of children. War-affected children get killed, become abducted, ambulated, experience loss of family members or immediate relatives, insecurity, trauma, domicile, and behavioral changes, suffer from diseases, are sexually assaulted, witness atrocities (among them being forced to watch intimates being sexually assaulted), suffer from hunger, malnutrition and poverty, are recruited as child-soldiers and “are easy prey to political leaders proposing a military adventure” (Durieux, 2000, p. 33), their support systems of family, community, and school fall apart, are psychologically devastated resulting in post-traumatic stress disorder, have restricted participation in all domains of life since there is a disruption of their everyday daily activities, and above all they lose their childhood (Narayan, 2002; Ball, 2001; Weiss, 2004; Rabaia et al., 2014; Denov & Akesson, 2016; Akesson et al., 2016; Vervliet et al., 2015;

Wernesjo, 2012). Additionally, children who become unaccompanied minors outside the state where they are nationals (Darkwa, 2015), can experience disruption of cultural, religious and traditional practices. It is also a fact that “all members in society, depending on their religion, tribe, race, or birthplace, are involuntarily identified with one side of the conflict or another, for the most part regardless of personal beliefs” (Maynard, 1999, p. 3). As such young individuals become victims of the perpetrators of the other side and in many cases an easy target of their own group. At last, children “learn to associate force with problem resolution, and the perpetuation of violence with community survival” (Maynard, 1999, p. 6). This is especially true for long-lasting conflicts.

Denov and Akesson (2016) report that to have a fair understanding of the experiences of children within conflict, one should examine the political, social, family and surrounding environment, such as friends and community. The destruction of infrastructure, accompanied by a mistrust in political authorities and systems of governance, capture individuals within a net of futility for the future and their future objectives. Family members are also devastated as victims of the conflict, and as such, they cannot provide support to children (Warria, 2016). As reported above, schooling as a mechanism of providing social support to children is interrupted, immersing children into a harsh reality, characterized by insecurity and uncertainty. The world of the children is composed of ungoverned spaces, unable to provide the means to overcome the barriers and traumas opposed by conflict and violence and disabling their growth and development. At the same time, other issues of social and daily life remain unattended and might have a deteriorating impact on children’s development (Gallagher, 2004).

Violence has a negative impact on the psychological development of children, which results in a violent-exhibited behavior, rather than withdrawal or internalized feelings (Muldoon, 2004). Experience of violence among children results at returning to violence as a source of resolving disputes in their daily lives, at performing poorly at school, at being marginalized by their immediate environment or at a voluntarily withdrawal from society, at having low self-

confidence and increased levels of stress, feelings of shame, anger and guilt, while children may express delinquent behavior and use of substances. In more traditional societies, children may be expelled from the society due to their participation in the conflict or may be marginalized due to being sexually abused during the period it lasts. Darkwa (2015), also, to the consequences on the lives of the 'war-babies', whom are the babies born after a sexual violent act during war time. Statistical data indicate that violence can also exaggerate racism, since individuals from minority groups are more easily detained, blamed for, and condemned than individuals from the majority group (Coppock & McGovern, 2014).

Other than forcibly recruited in the army during the human-made crisis of war, children may voluntarily join the army forces, since as Rosen stated, "the least dangerous place to be in war is the military" (Wyness, 2016, p. 350). The army in war-torn societies provides a survival mechanism that provides children a means to protect themselves and their families and additionally get out of poverty (Wyness, 2016). For example, during war time, girls succumb to the sexual cravings of soldiers, in a way to protect family members or 'buy' protection for the family. As the same author reports, sometimes being a member of the army becomes a safer space than being in the streets, as a way of expanding the network of people children have, resulting at an expansion of the protection they experience. Moreover, children may join the army forces voluntarily, as a response to the injustice they experience.

As it has been discussed above, conflict and violence impact the physical, emotional, and spiritual development of children, but not in an identical way. The gender (Reilly et al., 2004; Merrilees et al., 2013), the age the socio-economic status, along with the belongingness to specific ethnic or minority groups (Muldoon, 2004), the social identity, measured as the degree that a child relates to the in-group (Merrilees et al., 2013) and reacting either as a protective or risk factor (Hammack, 2010; Merrilees et al., 2011), along with various social factors, such as how controllable the event is graded by the children (Muldoon, 2003) have been associated with different levels and forms that the conflict is

experienced, affecting their personal and societal functioning in various ways. Furthermore, the context within the child lives, determined by the family, his/her community, the cultural norms, religiosity, along with how that context experiences or reacts to the violence and/or conflict affects how the impact of the conflict on children (Cummings et al., 2009). Therefore, how children experience violence is also determinant of the ideologies and behaviors children exhibit within the conflict (Reilly et al., 2004). To sum up, the impact of the conflict and violence on children both in research and real life, must not be treated in a monolithic way, but rather from a multi-dimensional socio-ecological perspective to adverse the potential outcomes and provide sustainable solutions to dismantle the culture of violence.

While actively involved during the armed conflict, children have limited participation at the peace-building efforts (Evans, 2016). Their voices are silenced, their needs neglected, their futures determined by foreigners or individuals who had an active role in the eruption and continuation of the conflict.

The increasing trend of children's recruitment into armies and number of insurrections and active conflicts globally, alarmed the international community, which elongated the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)², with an Optional Protocol³ specifically designed to address the involvement of children in armed conflict, despite the protection of children affected by armed conflict is defined through Article 38 of the CRC. Article 38 specifies the obligations of the States to respect humanitarian law, to ensure the non-participation of children under 15 into armed conflicts, and to protect children who reside in areas affected by conflict. According to Hodgkin & Newell (2007), monitoring and reporting should focus on six areas, which "constitute especially egregious

² UN General Assembly, *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, 20 November 1989, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 1577, p. 3, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b38f0.html> [accessed 7 September 2017].

³ UN General Assembly, *Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict*, A/RES/54/263, 25 May 2000, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/47fdb180.html> [accessed 7 September 2017]

violations against children: killing or maiming of children; recruiting or using child soldiers; attacks against schools or hospitals; rape and other grave sexual violence against children; abduction of children; denial of humanitarian access to children (p. 579). The impact of conflict on the children population and means to prevent it are highlighted by the Committee on the Rights of the Child through the General Comments⁴ published, which provide guidelines on how the CRC should be interpreted. Those Comments focus on the importance of education in conflict prevention and peace sustainability, on the vulnerability of children during conflict, on the importance of providing status to children whom flee their countries and on the causal relationship of conflict and disabilities.

2.1.5. An Example of Intractable Conflict: The Cyprus Problem

The geographical position of the island was the motive for a number of empires and rulers throughout the years to establish their kingships and implement corroborative policies and practices in Cyprus. The recent history of Cyprus can be divided into three main historical milestones: the period 1878 – 1960 (the British rule), the period 1960 – 1974 (the years of independence), and the period 1974 – present.

Cyprus was a British colony from 1878 to 1960. During this period, a plurality of factors prevalent in Greece, Turkey, and Britain exercised a coercive influence and supplemented the incarnation of the colonization into an ethnic division among the members of the two main communities who lived in Cyprus, namely the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. In 1923 Ataturk dropped

⁴General Comment No. 1 (2001). *The Aims of Education*. Committee on the Rights of the Child. CRC/C/GC/1.

General Comment No. 3 (2003). *HIV/AIDS and the Rights of Children*. Committee on the Rights of the Child. CRC/C/GC/3.

General Comment No. 6 (2006). *Treatment of Unaccompanied and Separated Children Outside their Country of Origin*. Committee on the Rights of the Child. CRC/C/GC/6.

General Comment No. 9 (2006). *The Rights of Children with Disabilities*. Committee on the Rights of the Child. CRC/C/GC/9.

the expansive policy of the Ottoman years and established a new ideology, Kemalism, in the new formed nation, Turkey (Kafkarides, 2010). According to the same author, Ataturk, by using the Kemalism, not only formed a secular state, but also established relationships with Greece, that until the beginning of the World War II and by appraising the wish of the British to maintain the status-quo, resulted in Turkey expressing no interest in claiming the island of Cyprus. Turkish Cypriots on the island adapted most of the reforms of Kemalism, and started synchronizing with the events that took place in Turkey. The evolution of the Turkish Cypriot nationalism was embedded in the daily lives of the Turkish Cypriots, not only because of the new mechanisms extrapolated in Turkey, but also as a response to the Greek Cypriot nationalism and its demand for a union with Greece. The evolution of the Turkish nationalism around 1930 though, was not welcomed by the British authorities in Cyprus, which preferred to keep the collaboration with the conservative religious representatives of the Turkish Cypriots (Kafkarides, 2010). One should comment that the Turkish Cypriot nationalism at its early stages, conceptualized a common life with Greek Cypriots and as such, advanced a collaboration with the Greek Cypriot community, “an intention perceived by the Greek Cypriots as an indication of subordination or even noble competition to the Greek Cypriot struggle” (Kafkarides, 2010, p. 64). During the period 1931-1941 the British imposed strict measures into the native population, mainly due to the upraise of nationalism in both communities.

The policies enacted in Turkey after the end of the World War II reflected a fear for communism, which was translated into a new interest for the Turkish population living outside the borders of the nation (Kafkarides, 2010). A new interest for Cyprus was constructed, influenced by the developing nationalism in the Turkish Cypriot community and an ever-increasing demand in Turkey to protect the Turkish diaspora. In the case of Cyprus, at the political level, Turkey’s interest was unfolded only and if there was a possibility of change of the status-quo.

Throughout the years of colonization, Britain exerted a policy that enabled it to maintain the status-quo. An impetus to the division provided the well-known strategy of “divide and conquer” dominating the colonizers’ governance; subsequent effort to sustain the differentiations between the two communities was prevalent, as a way of keeping control over the disempowered population of the island, suppressing any efforts of rebellion. In 1948, the British authorities permitted to the Turkish Cypriot community to employ teachers from Turkey (Pavlou, 2015), while it promoted the collaboration in education and culture among the Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot community (Kafkarides, 2010). Taking into consideration that the school books were imported from Turkey and Greece, while most of the teachers were also trained and qualified in the motherlands, a separate national consciousness was easy to emerge among the members of the two communities. Of course, one cannot denigrate the colonizers for the non-cohesiveness of the population in Cyprus. Avowedly, once British landed in Cyprus, encountered impervious divisive policies and practices, which had no gain to alter. The different educational system attended by the members of each community is but one such a construct. The division gap kept growing, with the British bolstering it.

At the decade of 1950s two different paramilitary organizations gained power, one in each community; the TMT (Turkish Resistance Organization - Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı), and the EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters – Εθνική Οργάνωσις Κυπρίων Αγωνιστών), each controlled by the Turkish and Greek militias respectively, while their members were also political figures.

During the 1950s, a fight against the British authorities on the island was about to explode by EOKA. To deal effectively with the situation, the British turned the issue of colonization into an issue of ethnic differences and a conflict between Greece and Turkey (Kizilyurek, 2009). They employed Turkish Cypriots to run after Greek Cypriots suspects, while at the same time they encouraged Turkey to take more initiatives in relation to the Turkish Cypriots on the island (Loizos, 1988). EOKA’s proclamations made it clear that the fight

was against the British authorities, but the ethnic policies promoted by TMT, such as the punishment of the Turkish Cypriots who used the Greek language or bought products or interacted with members of the other community, and the provocation of violent events, resulted 3 years after the initiation of the struggle to a different approach (Kafkarides, 2010). The Greek Cypriots reacted in a way that Turkish Cypriots became secondary targets as well (Walker, 2005). Instead of both communities striving for independence, the cultivation of nationalism resulted with the Greek Cypriots demanding Union with their motherland Greece (*enosis*), and the Turkish Cypriots demanding a partition of the island (*taksim*) and a union with their motherland Turkey (Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis & Trigeorgis, 1993). While Turkey did not show any interest in Cyprus, the involvement of Greece in the affairs of the Greek Cypriot community, the effort to embody the situation in Cyprus to the international arena, and the referendum for union orchestrated by the Church, brought up a new interest by Turkey (Pavlou, 2015).

In August 16, 1960 Cyprus became independent under the Zurich-London agreements, with a consociation constitution with two founding communities, the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot and under three treaties: the treaty of establishment, the treaty of guarantee and the treaty of alliance (Republic of Cyprus, 1960). The inhabitants of the island based on their ethnic origin or their religious affiliation belonged to one of the two main communities (Article 2, Republic of Cyprus, 1960). The Constitution was strongly based on “communal dualism” in most spheres of public life. Certain provisions were dysfunctional, in terms of creating a power game among the two communities, rather than nourishing the ground for a cohesive nation. The entrapment of the inhabitants of Cyprus into a puzzle related to the construction of the nation, keeps being a heated debate on the island (Papadakis, 1998). Pavlou (2015) notes that, “the identity of the citizenship retreated once confronted by that of the ethnicity, within the constitution” (p. 207). As such, provisions defined, categorized and constructed a ‘wall of separation’ among the members of the two communities. Based on Articles 87 and 108 of the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus, the two communities were segregated

in most domains (education, public service, security forces, religion, e.t.c.), which were under the competencies of Communal Chambers elected amongst the members of each community separately. The two communities also had the right to receive subsidies from the Greek or the Turkish Government respectively for institutions of education, culture, athletics and charity (Republic of Cyprus, 1960). Furthermore, despite its independence, Cyprus sustained “an incomplete statehood”, since “the consent of the guaranteeing powers was required for any domestic constitutional changes, the guaranteeing powers reserved the right to intervene, either commonly or singularly, for the restoration of state unity, three percent of the land was provided for English military bases, and the power sharing between the two contracting ethnic groups became institutionalized at the cost of the majority principle” (Zervakis, 2004, p. 107).

Consequently, during the years 1960-1963 a frame of a dogma guided by political mistrust was manifold in various levels; at a political level, the new reality of statehood was inefficiently dealt by the political leaders, at a social level, intercommunal clashes initiated, and at a psychological level the dream of union with motherlands was pursued. The Greek Cypriot president of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, at November 30, 1963, delivered to the Turkish Cypriot vice president, Fazil Koutsiouk, and the guarantee powers, thirteen amendments (Ministry of Education and Culture⁵, 1992), which aimed, according to his belief, to establish a functional constitution. The events at the political level were constructed by the aspirations of the two communities produced at a psychological level. According to Kizilyurek (2009) the failure of the constitution was due to the reluctance of the political elite to abandon their goals for *union* and *taksim* that the constitution prohibited.

Concurrently with the deployments at a governmental stage, intercommunal clashes started to take place on the island. The official narratives of

⁵ Ministry of Education and Culture was renamed to Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport and Youth on August 2019. Throughout the proposal though, the initial name is used, since most of the documents were retrieved before its renaming.

the two communities of the events of 1963 (as in the case of 1974) differ. While the official narrative of the Greek Cypriot community, fails to report any orchestrated attempts against Turkish Cypriot citizens, other than the killing of two civilians by the police forces, as an aftermath of the outrage exhibited by a crowd (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1992), the official narrative of the Turkish Cypriot community for that period is constituted by vivid images of children and innocent civilians dismantled within their houses. The diary kept by Packard, a British officer running a tripartite patrol on the ground, to identify the source of the clashes and build trust in the rural areas, contains descriptions of hostages, isolation of Turkish Cypriots, arbitrary killings, destruction of property, and restriction of movement (Packard, 2008). The same author supports that during that era the fear for the other community was mostly supported by a propaganda, based on media or rumors that reached the rural areas inflated. Moreover, an evacuation of villages and a movement of the Turkish Cypriot population into the northern part of the island was the ending result of the fear and anxiety experienced (Packard, 2008). According to Denktash, the Turkish Cypriot leader for many years, “the 1963 onslaught on the Turkish Cypriot community was the inevitable result of the Greek Cypriots’ pursuit of the dream of *Enosis* [union]” (Walker, 2005, p. 93). What is profound for the years 1963-1964, civilians, especially from the Turkish Cypriot community, suffered by atrocities and were victimized in the process of different groups trying to pursue their goals, with the government being unable to take measures to tackle the violence and protect its citizens. On the contrary, the political elite in both communities, instead of restricting the actions of the extremists, promoted a blame-gaming that perpetuated the hatred and acts of attack against the other ethnic community, whereas the police prompted the break of law (Packard, 2008).

The political deadlock at the end of 1963, led the Turkish Cypriot politicians to withdraw from the government. Turkish Cypriots were forcibly removed from their houses by TMT and formed enclaves, while the interactions with the Greek Cypriot community stopped, and the enclaves were controlled

by Ankara (Theophanous, 2000; Kizilyurek, 2009). At the same time, paramilitary organizations gained ground within the two communities, viewed as a safety net. The Greek Cypriot president, in the early 1960s, was secretly aided by Greece, which provided him with weapons and 20 000 military personnel (Moran, 2009) in order to form the Cyprus National Guard. At the same time, TMT equipped with arms from Ankara, silenced the Turkish Cypriot voices that demanded collaboration and trust with the Greek Cypriot community (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1992; Kafkarides, 2010). This layered syncretism of division strengthened by the paramilitary organizations increased the bloody incidents among the two communities. As such, on March 4, 1964 the Security Council of the United Nations adopted unanimously a resolution, that called the government of Cyprus to restore the law and order, and recommended the creation of a United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) (UN Security Council, 1964). As Zervakis (2004) points out, the international arena deployed the UNFICYP as a means “for the prevention of further clashes, the restoration of public order, and the return to normality” (p. 112). On March 15, 1964 an initial peacekeeping force of 6411 men landed in Cyprus (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1992, p. 262), stationed on the island until today., becoming the longest peacekeeping mission worldwide.

The conflation of civic life with the paramilitary action could only result in the escalation of violence. On July 15, 1974, the Greek Junta with the help of a paramilitary organization named EOKA B, organized and proceeded to stage a coup (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1992). The coup was against the Greek Cypriot president of Cyprus, who was considered a traitor by not insisting on the union (*enosis*) of Cyprus with Greece. The army and EOKA B also turned against members of the left-wing party (communists), which were also toward the empowerment of the state of Cyprus and not the union of the island with Greece.

On July 20, 1974 Turkey, invaded Cyprus (Papapolyviou & Kentas, 2015). The coup provided Turkey the rational for the invasion. According to the orchestrators of the coup, the Turkish-Cypriot population was not in danger

during the coup. Turkey though, foreseeing the coup as a step toward the demand of the Greek Cypriots for union with Greece, exercised its right to intervene, provided by the Treaty of Guarantee, to re-establish the state of affairs. The Turkish invasion signified the end of the coup, but Turkey did not withdraw its army, and up to nowadays continues to occupy the northern part of the island.

The results of the invasion were multiple and affected both communities of Cyprus. Thirty seven percent (37%) of the land remains under occupation (Fisher, 2001). Forty percent (40%) of the population was displaced. The Turkish-Cypriots were enforced by the Turkish army to move into the north part of the island (Fischer, 2001). Eight thousand (8000) people from both communities were killed (Zachariades, 2002), while 502 Turkish Cypriots and 1493 Greek Cypriots were reported as missing persons to the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus because of the inter-communal fighting and the events of the 1974 (Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus, 2015). According to the same source, until September 2015, the remains of 603 individuals (458 Greek Cypriots and 145 Turkish Cypriots) have been identified with the method of DNA and returned to their families.

The two communities are physically segregated since 1974, with the Turkish Cypriot community living under the Turkish army-controlled area in the north, and the Greek Cypriot community living in the south. Life in Cyprus means a daily experience of the physical barriers that keep apart the two communities. The two communities are physically segregated by a space of land called “dead zone” or “buffer zone”, controlled by the UNFICYP. The ‘dead zone’ goes along the so-called green line and at its two ends military troops, the National Guard of the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish army, are stationed. None of the two communities is allowed to use the ‘dead zone’ and no activities can be performed there without the permission of UNFICYP. The area is characterized by its bombarded buildings and houses, abandoned by their owners, strained of human life. Trespassing of the 180-km area is not an option considered, since at the other end the “enemy” awaits. The physical gap

symbolizes the emotional and social gap that also divides the two communities. A question that arises is whether in everyday life those physical barriers act as memory feeders of the division of the members of the two communities or if they have become part of everyday life, as in the case of community monuments.

Forty thousand Turkish troops remain on the island (Council of Europe, 2003), transforming Cyprus into "one of the most highly militarized areas in the world" (United Nations Security Council, 1994). A large number of Turkish nationals were encouraged by the Turkish government to settle in Cyprus and were provided by the Turkish Cypriot authorities with incentives, such as citizenship, to permanently locate on the island. While settlers in contested lands are used as a means of expanding the territorial boundaries, in the case of Cyprus, settlers have also become the tool to establish a state on the island (Loizides, 2015). Settlers, for Greek Cypriots, establish a demographic change aiming to create a rubric of parity in political, economic, social, and cultural domains of life in Cyprus, and as such their arrival contradicts the principles of human rights and justice. At the same time, settlers, for Turkish Cypriots, formulate a dissonance and present a realistic and symbolic threat for their community. At the initial stages of the settling process, settlers were individuals from rural areas of Turkey, and as such attained a lower level of education than the Turkish Cypriots (Hatay, 2005). As such, Hatay (2005) supports, they experienced discrimination by getting low paid jobs, since they could not compete in the labor market. Only estimations of their number have been provided so far. Their population though is not a homogeneous one, comprised of non-citizens (workers, tourists, students and army personnel), and citizens (white collar workers which came after 1974 to construct the state and teach skills, the families of the soldiers killed during the events, agricultural laborers relocated for various reasons by the Turkish authorities, and the immigrants who obtain a citizenship after a prolong period of stay in Cyprus) (Hatay, 2005). This polymorphic synthesis restrains their political mobilization (Loizides, 2015). The issue of settlers is a dominant obstacle in the reconciliation process; a pragmatic approach recognizes the incompatibilities of war crimes committed by states

and a genuine need on behalf of the settlers to remain on a land where they spent their most productive years and formed their families, while an international law perspective, elucidates that settlement initiatives cannot be tolerated and are condemned by the international community (Loizides, 2015).

The violation of the human rights in Cyprus by the Turkish army since 1974, has been recognized by different international organizations. One hundred twenty-four resolutions were adopted by the UN Security Council, seven by the General Assembly, there are five resolutions on the issue of missing persons, and four on human rights (UN Resolutions on Cyprus, n.d.). Eight significant resolutions were adopted by the Security Council between July 20 and August 30, 1974, which “called upon states to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus: requested all parties to respect the cease fire imposed by the Council [...]; demanded an end to foreign military intervention in the Republic and requested the withdrawal of all foreign military personnel present on Cyprus...” (Coufoudakis, 1976, p. 470).

Since 1975, negotiations take place between the leaders of the two communities. “In 1977, they resulted in the Makarios-Denktash four guidelines for an independent bi-communal federal republic, which would form the basis for any subsequent negotiations” (Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis & Trigeorgis, 1993, p. 344). The different understandings of the term bi-communal federal state by the members of the two communities have resulted though into the failure of most of the negotiation procedures. The leaders of the two communities and the facilitators of the international community do not focus on the needs of each community or the restoration of the human rights, but they rather remain absolute on their positions, which prevents the application of creative and innovative solutions that would address the main concerns and needs of both communities. Additionally, “factors such as historical memory, regional hostilities, major-power interference in internal affairs, and reluctance to change the status quo have prevented political leaders of the two communities from reaching an agreement on most of the key issues” (Broome, 2004, p. 191).

In 1983, the Turkish Cypriot leader, Denktash, declared the occupied part as an independent state named “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” (TRNC) (Kizilyurek, 2009). Until nowadays, the only state that recognizes the so called “TRNC” is Turkey, which has driven the Turkish Cypriots into an economic and political isolation. Instead of being self-governed, Turkish Cypriots ended up being a protectorate of Turkey. Another element that characterizes the functioning of the specific state is the large number of troops from Turkey stationed on the north part, being unclear the degree and effect of control they exercise on the duties of the State.

Due to the intercommunal clashes of 1963-1964, where Turkish Cypriots were victimized in the process, and their encapsulation into enclaves, characterized by a sedimentation of their political, economic and social life, the Turkish invasion was experienced as a positive action by a percentage of the Turkish Cypriots, whom welcomed the Turkish army on the island. It was perceived as an opportunity to be self-governed and enjoy security and prosperity under the Turkish army. The initial reaction was not confirmed. According to Theophanous (2000) “from 1974 to 1998, at least 40 000 Turkish Cypriots left the island” (p. 221). The economic reliance on Turkey (Theophanous, 2000), the isolation and restrictions that the Turkish army opposed to the community, escorted by a violation of their freedom and rights, along with the non-peaceful co-existence with the settlers transported from Turkey to change the demographics, resulted at a shift in the Turkish Cypriots’ minds. In April 2003, Turkish Cypriots demonstrated against the political leader of that era, Rauf Denktash, whose ideology was based on the partition of the island. During the specific period, the prospect of Cyprus accessing the European Union prevailed. Events that took place in Turkey were also determinant in the uprising of the Turkish Cypriots. The newly elected government of Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey, with a clear intention to solve the problems that harm the dialogue regarding the accession of Turkey into the European Union, made it clear to the Turkish Cypriot political leader that would not support his intransigence (Osiewicz, 2013). Furthermore,

during the same era, a ruling of the European Court of Human Rights against Turkey on the issue of free movement, as a result presented in the Case of *Djavit An v. Turkey* on February 20, 2003 (Council of Europe, July 2003), positioned the approach of the international community. The Court concluded that the reluctance of the authorities to permit to the applicant to visit the buffer-zone, a decision that prohibited him from meeting and assembling with Greek Cypriots, was a violation of the Article 11 of the European Convention of Human Rights, determining the freedom of assembly and association. Under the pressure of all the aforementioned events, Rauf Denktaş, could not but allow the opening of some roadblocks in 2003. After 30 years of physical separation, a new reality was about to transform the status-quo on the island.

The opening of the roadblocks meant the initiation of contact among the members of the two communities, whom a number lived the traumatic events of the past, while others had pleasant memories from the past co-existence. For a large number of the population of the island, that was the first time that they encountered a member of the other community, their feelings and actions guided by the representations of the “other” depicted in the media, educational system and other agents within the society. Turkish-Cypriots regained part of their social benefits, since in theory could exercise all their rights as citizens of the Republic of Cyprus, while in practice those were restricted by political will, the alteration of data that dominated life for the previous 30 years which pre-determined policies and practices, and the feelings of fear and hatred transplanted in the hearts and minds of people. The indispensable needs of ordinary citizens to learn, move, and meet destabilized the existing structure. Almost thirty thousand Turkish-Cypriots crossed daily from north to south in the capital of Cyprus (Menschaert et al, 2005), immediately after the opening of the roadblocks. The numbers of the Greek Cypriots crossing were much lower, since Greek-Cypriots were and are still, only allowed to visit their homelands as tourists.

The initiation of interaction among the members of the two communities deconstructed the existing order and provided the ground for the development

of a bottom-up approach, fabricating a new role for the civil society in regard to the efforts deployed to solve the Cyprus problem. As Zervakis (2004) characteristically described a bit after the opening of the roadblocks,

“this sudden and dramatic change transformed the Cyprus problem with an effect whose outcome is still unknown: the experiment will have to prove whether the civil societies are ahead of the politicians, and whether the Cyprus problem can now be solved from the ‘bottom up’. If so, it might lead to a decisive rapprochement between both communities in the long run” (p. 129).

After the opening of the roadblocks in 2003, specific parts of the buffer zone have become the road bridges among the two communities. In 2011, a renovated building opened its doors and since then, has become the host of Cypriots with a will to live together, transform the current status-quo and dream for an alternative future. The Home for Cooperation, as the setting is named, has initiated a new process in Cyprus, which according to Till et al. (2013) has set the groundwork of peace. And as Anastasiou (2002) reports

“paradoxically, for the bi-communal peace movement, the buffer zone, which is nothing other than a dead sociopolitical space, embodying and symbolizing a legacy of hatred and violence, has been transformed not only into a significant springboard for new thinking and action, but also into a lever for exerting a formative influence on the respective communities” (p. 593).

On April 24, 2004, a referendum was held in the island of Cyprus. After many years of negotiations, under the auspices of the Secretary-General Kofi Annan, the Comprehensive Settlement of the Cyprus problem was prepared and submitted by the representatives of the two communities to referendum. Approval by separate majority of the people of the two communities, was needed in order for the so-called ‘Annan-Plan’ to be effective. The Plan was detailed in its provisions. According to the Annan Plan, in the newly form state, the United Cyprus Republic, composed by two equal states with a federal government, the Treaty of Establishment, the Treaty of Guarantee and the Treaty of Alliance would remain in force (United Nations, 2004). Different restrictions, related to the immigration and residency, applied for each state to

preserve its identity. The Plan provided for the gradual demilitarization of the island and the dissolve of all the forces. While the Plan provided for two equal states that would organize themselves freely under their own Constitutions, it also entailed specific provisions that could bring social change in the near future, such as the official languages, Turkish and Greek, being taught mandatorily to all secondary school students (United Nations, 2004).

The referendum took place within a context lacking the potential and the dynamics that could lead to the alteration of the status-quo. One year after the opening of the roadblocks, the civil society had no opportunity to engage in actions that could transform the enacted social representations. A couple of months prior to the referendum, at a poll conducted on February 2004, “77% of the Greek Cypriot refugees stated that is not willing to return under TC administration” (Loizides & Antoniadis, 2004, p. 3). As such, it was not a surprise that on April 2004, “76% of Greek Cypriots rejected the plan, while 65% of Turkish Cypriots approved it” (International Crisis Group, 2009, p. 1). The four major factors which led to the decision among Greek Cypriots to reject the only solution of the Cyprus problem proposed at their own discretion, were the following: the Treaty of Guarantee would be applied once more in the newly established state, a large number of settlers would gain legal access on the island swelling the identity threat, not all the Greek Cypriots would return to their homelands, a promise that was repeatedly provided by the political leaders, and the increased fear of non-implementation of the agreed plan on behalf of Turkey (Loizides, 2015). Furthermore, the majority of the political leaders, amongst them the President of the Republic of Cyprus, individuals with economic power in the country, and the media were not supportive of the Plan. The political leaders did not inform or prepare the Greek Cypriots about the negotiation processes. The pressure from the international community during the negotiation processes played a vital role in the compromise on behalf of the Greek Cypriot leaders, regarding the main re-assurances needed for a positive reaction to the plan by the Greek Cypriots; compromises that were rejected once brought to the people of Cyprus. As Abdalla (2002) states “power is a significant

dynamic in many conflict situations” (p. 48) and in the case of Cyprus, power gaming has also been part of the process. Due to the political and economic isolation and bearing in mind that Cyprus would become a member of the EU in the following ten days, the majority of the Turkish Cypriots approved the Plan.

Another major event took place in 2004. After the referendum, Cyprus became part of the European Union. The membership of Cyprus into the European family was expected to have multiple implications on the resolution of the Cyprus problem. As previously mentioned, the membership of Turkey in the European Union was highly correlated with the settlement of the Cyprus problem. Not only Cyprus was part of the discussions and actions about Turkey becoming member of EU, a country that Turkey refuses to officially recognize, but also, Turkey had to deal with the issue of occupying a territory of EU. “As Gunter Verheugen, the EU-enlargement Commissioner recently put it in the European Parliament, how can the ongoing deployment of UN peacekeeping soldiers be tolerated in an EU member state” (Zervakis, 2004, p. 121)? At the same time, the Cyprus problem provided an opportunity to the EU family to transcend the traditional anxieties brought by the phenomenon of globalization and have a practical example of its ideology about the harmonic collaboration among the civilizations. As Zervakis (2004) pointed out, “it may prove helpful that Cyprus is the first accession country that must bring together on the national level two opposing cultures, drawing on Christian and Muslim traditions” (p. 131).

In 2008 there was a resumption of negotiations, and since then, ongoing negotiations between the leaders of the two largest communities (Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots) have increased their efforts in settling the Cyprus problem. Technical committees and working groups on several issues have been formed to assist negotiations and pave the way for a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation. Until recently though, education was not part of the discussion and was completely absent from the negotiations. Education is considered a contextual factor characterized by pathologies which affect the Cyprus Issue at a social level. The divisive educational system perpetuates the

teaching of two different historical narratives, leading to further polarization, cultivation of nationalism and construction of separate ethnic identities. Peace and peace education have been highly correlated with the Cyprus Issue, and thus, rejected as means of practice due to the feelings of threat for one's own nation. Initiatives or changes are highly resisted since they also create a fear for the construction of identities that will also have an impact on how the Cyprus Issue will be resolved. It wasn't until January 2016, that the Technical Committee on Education was formed, a committee that provides a prospect on the sustainability of the outcome of the negotiations, through actions taken at an educational level.

2.1.6. The Impact of the Conflict on the Inhabitants of Cyprus

The politicians of Cyprus are called upon to remove the physical barriers and reestablish the basic human rights. The political solution though is only but one aspect of the problem. One needs to consider the psychological and the social aspects. The physical separation of two ethnic groups for a prolonged period, along with the contextual factors which fuel the hostility and hatred among the members of the two communities, need to be addressed so that any effort to be lasting. The healing of the traumas experienced by individuals is another parameter that needs to be considered during the negotiations. At the same time, the scarcity of a bottom-up approach related to the solution of the Cyprus Problem until 2004, was filled up by efforts of the civil society, once the opening of the roadblocks became a fact that changed the status-quo imposed by the division. The beginning of re-approach among the members of the two communities was not an easy task for those involved. Those who participated in the so called bi-communal activities (activities that included members of both communities) were even called 'traitors', 'naive', 'used by third parties that want to accomplish their goals', 'unpatriotic', and 'treacherous' (Zervakis, 2004; Broome, 2004). The initial efforts though, have been steadily growing up giving

ground to more individuals from both communities to interact and develop relationships nowadays in most aspects of life.

Conflict and division had a tremendous impact on the daily lives of the inhabitants of the island, their knowledge, attitudes and behaviors, along with any political action taken since Cyprus gained its independence. At a study compiled by Kotziamani (2010), performed with 350 Greek Cypriot middle school, high school and vocational school students, half of the subjects of the study did not possess enough knowledge regarding the other community, while more than a third of the participants underestimated the Turkish Cypriots, since they think of them as not educated and without leadership skills. While respondents did not respond positively to statements about the other community, they did respond positively in high percentages for the same statements that were related to their own ethnic group. In other words, a strong in-group preference was noted, accompanied by an out-group prejudice. In another study performed in 2014, with 1000 participants, both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, the researchers found out that the Greek Cypriot community seems to make more distinct categorization according to the ethnic origin of the individuals and how “un-reconciled they are to Turks” (Ioannou et al., 2015, p. 112). Maintaining individual self-esteem is often accomplished at the intergroup level by bolstering the status of the in-group and/or denigrating the out-group. As such, the accumulation of stereotyping for the ‘other’ and the increase of prejudice became a phenomenon that helped in the process of ‘healing’ the traumas of one’s own group pride. Those stereotypes became solid and hard to change with the passage of years and due to the absence of complete contact and interaction among the members of the two communities. Those phenomena had, and still have, a direct impact on how human rights are perceived and applied at various levels: direct references to human rights are framed within narratives which indicate human rights as ideals that must be fought for; in consequence, the importance of any other violation of rights is nullified or considered as non-existing (Zembylas et al., 2016a), so that there is a focus on the common goal: the restoration of rights in relation to the national

problem; the narrative limited itself to the atrocities the in-group members experienced; the elite suppresses, in certain cases and circumstances, the human rights of specific groups within the in-group or ignores the violations of their rights to create coherence for mobility against the outgroup. All the aforementioned elements also caused a discredit for the human rights for the members of the out-group, while their de-humanization leads to a narrative of undeservedness for exercising their rights.

2.1.7. Contextual Factors Affecting the Social Impact of the Segregation in Cyprus

Bandura (1999) supports that in order for humans to commit atrocities various mechanisms need to be at play to convert an ordinary citizen into a 'weapon of mass destruction'. As he states, all humans have a self-regulatory process which guides them to adhere to their moral standards which they have developed throughout their lifespan. The mechanisms used to disengage individuals from that process are: (a) the moral justification of the atrocity, by providing a wider moral cause (i.e. world peace) or by saving the world from worst suffering; (b) the minimization of the consequences suffered by fellow humans, accomplished once the perpetrators do not experience how the victim suffered as a consequence of the perpetrators' actions; (c) the dehumanization of the 'other', which allows for a reasoning for his/her extinction; and (d) the displacement of responsibility, by having officials taking the responsibility and the diffusion of responsibility, by either dividing labor and as such individuals lose sight of the whole picture or by allowing group decision making and as such the responsibility being assigned to the whole group (Bandura, 1999). Bandura provides a glimpse of the transformation of an individual, and describes specific mechanisms that are controlled by highly skilled, knowledgeable and empowered individuals and institutions within a society during a conflict. It points out that inhumane practices are institutionalized and organized, and as such, they manage to 'manipulate' individuals, independent of their moral

values, knowledge, and attitudes. Bar-Tal (2014) supports that “societies that have a state have an advantage... [they] have at their disposition organs, institutions, and organizations, as well-trained staff to plan, to form, to transmit, to control, and to disseminate their official narrative with the themes through the course of the conflict” (p. 5.19).

In the case of Cyprus, various institutions within the society ‘transmit’ the knowledge of one-sided human rights violations and promote concepts of violence and conflict at a certain extent. There are specific elements and/or dynamics within the power structural system and the institutions that serve it, such as the media, the education, and the religious agents, that as Tint (2010) describes, “leave a society’s consciousness embedded in the conflict” (p. 240). Being aware of those institutions and the role they serve, one can advance policy development and education initiatives that will alter knowledge, attitudes and behaviors about reconciliation and coexistence. Additionally, since there is “a multiplicity of sources of asymmetry (expertise, gender, race, social class) in society that penetrate the educational praxis” (Psaltis, 2012, p. 384) it is urgent to make them ‘visible’ in the wider public. In order to deconstruct the culture of violence and war, its content and the institutions that support it must become known, not only to the scientific community, but also to the general public to assist the development of bottom-up approaches which aim the establishment of a different culture, a culture of peace. What follows is a brief description of the main contextual factors and institutions that determine and fuel the segregation in Cyprus. Those are the prevalence of violence and war within a society, and the limited opportunities for contact, supported by three main institutions named the education, the media, and the religion representatives. Other contextual factors, such as the geography, the principles of the constitution, the identity threat and many more, also contribute to the on-going segregation of the two main communities of Cyprus, but not discussed here.

I. Prevalence of Violence and War

Throughout the centuries, violence and war are promoted as means of resolving differences, of restoring justice and human rights and of 'protecting' the group's identity or geographical space. Internationally, according to the Armed Conflicts Report 2016 there were 29 active armed conflicts in 2015 in 26 countries, while U.S. \$1,563.3 billion was the total amount of world military spending (Project Ploughshares, 2016). Cyprus has been ranked 7th in 2015 at the Global Militarization Index, which compares the military expenditures as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product and in relation to health spending, the military, paramilitary personnel and military preservers in relation to population and the physicians, and the heavy weapons in relation to population (BICC, 2016). A geographical area of 9250sq km is ranked among the top 40 countries of the world concerning the amount spent on defense programs. Within this limited space of land, six military units are based: the Military of the Republic of Cyprus [*Ethniki Froura*], a Greek Military Unit [*ELDIK, the Turkish Cypriot Unit, the Turkish Army, the British Bases, and the UNFICYP*] (Efthymiou, 2017). Furthermore, the Cyprus problem is an example of intractable conflict, where violence and war are institutionalized, are collectively and personally mediated, and are being internalized. Contextual factors such as the media, the education, and religion are used by institutions to legitimize ethnic policies, as a means of achieving political control, a monopoly of economic power, and the preservation of the current status-quo held up by the dominant group. And as Gibson (2012) reports, "there are presently a great many representational systems which make conflict, and the institutions which facilitate it, appear natural and enduring" (p. 10.5).

"A major weapon of modern wars is the suffering of human rights abuses by civilians" (Babbit et al., 2009, p. 6). The 'war game' is not played at the battlefield, and the number and war skills of soldiers have minimal, if not at all, effect on the outcome of the armed conflict. The goal becomes to generate cognitive commitment of the soldiers and the civilians to hate the other group, and to achieve so, Sternberg (2003) states that the homogeneous assumption

of the targeted group is a great booster. The de-individualization leads to the treatment of children, women, people with disabilities, older people and in general, all the people of the out-group as de-humanized personalities. In general, de-humanization permits the legalization of atrocities against that population, such as massive killings and rapes, extinction of families, neighborhoods or whole communities, the debasement, humiliation and use of torture in public spaces, along with the use of media (and nowadays especially the social media) to project the treatment of the 'inferior group' as normal and as such, to lead the masses into further atrocities. In the case of Cyprus, the homogeneous treatment of the other ethnic community, provides excuses for the mistreatment of the other group in the past, while it proclaims the need of an army to encounter the barbarian "other" in the future. As Hafner-Burton (2013) points out, "the central insight about violent conflict is that it creates cycles of human rights abuses that are difficult to interrupt" (p. 274).

Conflict, and especially a prolonged period of conflict, other than being a source of human rights violations, it also restricts development and growth, poses barriers to progress and the future, traps individuals to a cycle of hatred and frustration and constructs a 'Culture of Violence and War' in all domains of life. As such sustainable economic and social development is inhibited, while social justice is hindered, there is gender inequality, the decision-making power is held by the dominant-group, there is a stretch for one's own culture and intolerance for other cultures, information movement is controlled, while militarization becomes a state's priority and the allocation of budget is directed by it. The absence of killings and military operations as in the case of Cyprus, are not indicative of a state of peace within a nation. The power structural system, along with the institutions, nourish its continuation, while the 'learned violent responsiveness', enables individuals to design their moral guide and shape their attitudes and behaviors.

II. Absence of Contact as a Factor that Buttresses Conflict

What is intriguing, and of more practical significance, is the effect of contact on altering negative attitudes and level of trust for the members of the out-group. Contact refers to any social contact that takes the form of communication, discussion, problem-solving and many more, but does not limit itself in the physical presentation within the same space with another individual. Allport (1954) first formed the contact hypothesis, according to which contact with members of an out-group can reduce prejudice if equal group status, the existence of common goals, the intergroup cooperation and the support by institutions are conditions which are present and mark the contact. Following Allport's hypothesis many researchers identified that those conditions must not be necessarily met for contact to be effective, while other researchers have identified other conditions which support the contact hypothesis.

Research has already demonstrated that contact is one of the most powerful tools in reducing stereotypes and out-group bias, and as such, provides, at an interpersonal level, insulation against the contextual factors that sustain the conflict or ascribe it as unsolved (McKeown & Psaltis, 2017; Psaltis, 2012a; Hadjipavlou, 2007). As Tropp et al. (2014) argue, contact and cross-group friendships are elements which promote the positive attitudes for the children who have a different ethnic background. It has to be noted though, that one time leads only to cognitive change, while repetition of contact allows for attitudinal and behavioral change (Pettigrew, 1998). Moreover, literature supports that contact can alter one's feelings of safety or threat. Contact can provide the ground and ideological justification to stop viewing the out-group as a source of threat to the identity and existence of the in-group. Consequently, minimization of the perceived threat can increase the levels of trust felt for the out-group members and can be a boost for attitudinal change.

Contact is affected by the experiences of an individual related to the conflict or past experiences with out-group members during childhood, as well as from extended contact, or parasocial contact. In societies with conflict or post-conflict societies, contact can be strongly influenced by and influence the

trust for the members of the other community. In such contexts, where, as Liu & Hilton point out

“history provides us with narratives that tell us who we are, where we came from and where we should be going, defines a trajectory which helps construct the essence of a group’s identity, how it relates to other groups, and ascertains what its options are for facing present challenges” (Gibson, 2012, p. 13.3), it becomes extremely difficult to forgo the narrative of the conflict and approach individuals of the out-group. It has been also discussed by Pettigrew that “prior attitudes and experiences influence whether people seek or avoid intergroup contact, and what the effects of contact will be” (Hodson, 2011, p. 154). It has never been easy for individuals who have suffered first-hand consequences as a result of the conflict to maintain interaction. Altering the attitudes and level of trust for the members of the out-group in order to expand contact is not a process that can be easily accomplished. Those are maintained and reinforced by various mechanisms within the society which immunize the prevailing status-quo. As a result, contact is usually initiated by those who do not possess negative attitudes or are not as resistant to contact as other members of the society.

Despite all the above, research has proved that contact “works well, if not best, among those higher on prejudice-prone individual-difference variables” (Hodson, 2011, p. 155). Even though, even people who are intolerant seem to benefit from contact (Yucel and Psaltis, 2019), those individuals are unwilling to initiate any contact or if not to initiate, to maintain a contact. Even though, people who are intolerant seem to benefit the most from contact, as the influence manages to touch upon the cognitive structures of the individuals, in a non-conscious way that prevents the resistance by the individual (Dhont et al., 2011), those individuals are unwilling to initiate any contact or if not to initiate, to maintain a contact. This is an important consideration that intervention programs aiming at reconciliation need to estimate in regard to the population they attract. It is well-documented also, that highly prejudiced individuals become more positive towards out-group contact when their immediate environment has such experiences (Hodson, 2011). In other words, the

extended contact, as it is defined by the communication, discussions and problem-solving activities an immediate member of the family or a close friend has, can be a factor that can lead a highly prejudiced individual to have contact with a member of an out-group. Being aware that a family member or a friend has contact with a member of the out-group alters the perceptions and attitudes about the “others” (Andrighetto et al., 2012). Pettigrew (1998) also examined the secondary transfer effect and demonstrated that contact with one group can reduce prejudice for other groups as well.

One criticism though of the studies investigating contact, is that those only predict when contact will lead to positive change, and do not address why the change occurs or how it happens (Pettigrew, 1998). Additionally, as Lytras & Psaltis (2011) point out,

“the shortcomings of the experiments are the difficulty to extrapolate the effects of small group interaction to the level of an entire community, or the results of a controlled research to uncontrolled situations such as those in conflict zones in which numerous other socio-political and contextual factors are at play. Moreover, the results of the studies in ethnic or racial prejudice that were conducted on sample groups from a particular country might not be applicable to all groups in conflict” (p. 22).

In the case of Cyprus, the absolute absence of contact in the years 1974-2003, resulted in the monolithic and manipulated communication of ideas, opinions, actions and beliefs about the ‘other’ community through the official channels, namely the politicians and the media. Those channels presented the other ethnic community in a way that served the interests of the in-group. The lack of contact allowed for those official narratives and representations to remain unchallenged. There was no space for discussion and dialogue among the members of the opposing sites, no room for understanding of the multiple perspectives, and as such the masses were unable to develop critical thinking in order to reconstruct those narratives. Within such an environment, the delegitimization of the out-group and the attribution to it of monstrous characteristics were part of everyday reality. The responsibility for the conflict was attributed solely to the characteristics and biological construction of the

group. In general, the lack of contact provided the ground for the further cultivation of ethnic identity, characterized by the absence of critical thinking within the specific divided society.

In 2003, the year when interaction was officially “permitted” to recommence, and the years that followed, did not actually embrace contact among the members of the two communities. Mental barriers created throughout the years about the intentions of the other community and the suffering of the own community, restricted a large number of Cypriots, especially Greek Cypriots, in meeting and interacting with members of the other community (Psaltis et al., 2011). Feelings of being a traitor of your country once you interacted or of reinforcing through your actions the status-quo created by the Turkish invasion were but a few reasons that prevented Greek Cypriots from initiating contact. As Psaltis et al. (2011) support, all the above were supported by statements expressed at a political level, where there was no effort to support such initiatives; on the contrary, statements encouraged individuals not to undertake such initiatives.

About the initiation of contact in Cyprus, projects which aimed at increasing collaboration among the members of the two communities were initiated a couple of years after the opening of the roadblocks. Those projects were funded initially by organizations residing outside Cyprus, and aiming at the younger generations. Research results conducted in a number of those projects has shown that participants, children of ages 13-17, who were part of the intervention, increased their positive attitudes toward collaboration, cross-cultural understanding, and friendship (Lyras 2007; Lyras et al, 2007; Lyras et al, 2008; Lyras et al, 2009). Those projects utilized areas such as the environment, sports, and culture, providing a common goal for members of both communities to collaborate in order to gain mutual benefits out of it. While Sherif (1966) demonstrated that working for common goals can turn antagonistic groups into cooperative ones within an experimental setting, research conducted in a real setting at the divided island of Cyprus, had concordant results with the experimental setting.

In a parallel way, those projects encouraged the espousal of a common identity, the “youth”. The Dual Identity Model supports that a super-ordinate category can assist the process of reconciliation (Gaertner et al., 1999). The super-ordinate category must not reflect the majority group, a characteristic adopted at the projects implemented in Cyprus. The youth identity allowed the exhortation from any ethnic connotations. Since the ethnic identity is amenable to the official narratives, which provide a feedback loop of the hatred and mistrust for the youngsters, an amalgamation of issues of interest and those of troubling the youth were incorporated into the structure of the aforementioned projects in an effort to create a common salient identity that united the participants. The projects implemented in Cyprus overcame the caveat expressed by Gaertner et al. (1999), that the development of a super-ordinate identity was not examined on how it works in environments and individuals with a prolonged history of hostility and conflict.

The number of projects and research that facilitated and measured contact accordingly, were constantly shaped and influenced by the experience, and increased over time. At the same time, studies that measured the impact of contact on the general population were utilized by researchers and grassroots organizations as an indication of the efforts that should be adopted at a political level to bring changes at a social level.

In a study with individuals who lived in mixed villages among the years 1955-1974 (Lytras & Psaltis, 2011), contact and friendships were related with reduced levels of anxiety, prejudice and threat and increased levels of trust, as well as increased levels of a will to live together in the future. The results were compatible for memories of contact that took place in the past and present contact. At a recent research study conducted with educators, the results indicated that Turkish Cypriots had more positive responses in terms of having quality contact with members of the other community than Greek Cypriots (Psaltis et al., 2011). As the authors support, “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” (p. 34). As such, the results indicate that the social milieu can determine the quantity and quality of intergroup contact in deeply divided societies. At the same time, the results of the same study showed that increased levels of intergroup contact resulted in a critical theorism on behalf of the educators of the official narrative that described the historical events of the past, and even the methodological tools that history educators used within the classroom. The way the educational context becomes an obstacle in the reconciliation process as a contextual factor is discussed at the section below.

Similar results were retrieved by a study conducted in 2007 (Psaltis, 2008) among the general population. The results of the study indicate that people who reported having the most quantity and quality of contact, also reported experiencing the least threat and saw the opening of the roadblocks as a great opportunity for collaboration among the members of the two communities. The authors according to the way the ethnic identity was expressed created three groups of people in each community. The amount and quality of contact the individuals had with members of the other community was correlated with a different focus and expression of the ethnic identity. Such a result reflects the role of identity on initiating or maintaining contact with the out-group, and the importance of taking into consideration the identity perceptions in the development of reconciliation projects. Moreover, the authors at the specific study concluded that, in certain cases, perceptions of superiority about one’s own culture are expressed in a form of racism that precludes any notion of contact with the ‘inferior other’.

Interesting results have been retrieved by a study conducted by Cakal in 2012, among the Turkish Cypriot population of the island. The study measured the impact of contact with the group of people named as settlers by the Greek Cypriots and immigrants by the Turkish Cypriots. What’s of intriguing importance at the specific study is the measure of how another group of people residing in Cyprus, considered by both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots as

an obstacle to the solution of the Cyprus problem, impacts the attitudes and threats experienced for the other ethnic group. Frequent positive contact of Turkish Cypriots with Greek Cypriots was associated with negativism and increased threat for Turkish settlers, while frequent positive contact of Turkish Cypriots with the Turkish settlers was associated with negativism and increased threat for Greek Cypriots (Psaltis & Cakal, 2016). To sum up, for the Turkish Cypriot community, the contact with the one of the two groups precludes or limits the contact with the other group, increasing the feelings of anxiety and threat experienced for the group with the limited contact.

In a similar vein, at a study conducted by Tausch et al. (2010), the researchers confirmed the secondary transfer effect with a sample in Cyprus. The results have indicated that a way to break the stereotyping and prejudice for the other community within a context that the walls of separation and division cannot be easily brought down and contact is not easily achievable, is through the contact with members of other groups, which are also marginalized within the society.

At last, practical experience from the case of Cyprus has shown that several interventions were and are initiated by individuals who suffered first hand experiences. Through the contact they had with members of the other community, those individuals share in public their traumatic experiences, in an effort to transform the existing representations and lead the society away of hostility about the 'other'. The personal stories shared by those individuals create a cognitive 'crash' of the homogeneous views, which pose the in-group as the only one that suffered from atrocities by the out-group. It provides an example of the way extended contact can also be part of the intervention process in countries with a prolonged period of conflict and how even the most prejudiced individuals, who do not initiate contact, can be affected by it.

The specific circumstances of the Cyprus problem with the complete lack of interaction for 29 years and the variation of collaboration and contact in domains such as the labor, the social, and the academia, depending on the socio-political context of each era and the discourse that surrounds it, has

provided a rich source of information to the researchers on the impact of contact in the prospect of reconciliation within an intractable conflict. Indeed, the results, as those were described above, indicate that the absence of contact can be a factor that buttresses conflict. The implications for the reconciliation process are of paramount importance. Being aware that contact breaks the stereotypes, reduces prejudice, feelings of threat and anxiety and negative attitudes for the opposing group, the efforts for the solution of the Cyprus problem cannot be maintained at the political level. Political decisions need to take into consideration the various levels that conflict has affected the lives of the ordinary people in Cyprus. What still needs to be investigated, 14 years after the opening of the roadblocks, is whether the young people who collaborated and interacted with the other community in the past, have formed different social representations than those who did not, and how those shape the decisions they undertake in their everyday lives.

III. Education in an Era of Division

History has multiple examples where the educational system has been used to promote illicit or unfair actions. Hutchins (1968) supported that the aim of education was to improve the individuals to improve society. As a small community where people come together, interact, progress and co-exist, the values within it determine the values that the individuals will possess inside and outside of it. Nevertheless, schools cannot be understood as institutions, which coax the individuals for the benefit of the society. According to Dewey (1897) school is primarily a social institution. As such, not only tries to improve and reform society, through actions highly affected by the socio-political context and the demands of the era, but also is being used by states as an ideological mechanism for the control of the masses and the widespread of beliefs and skills demanded by the social milieu. In countries with conflict or post-conflict societies, this mechanism becomes a contextual factor that feeds the hatred and the conflict. That has been the case for the island of Cyprus.

A few years after the Treaty of Lausanne, the British authorities in Cyprus, as a response to the uprising ethnic nationalism expressed by the Greek Cypriot community, tried to control education by initiating actions that would centralize the system, such as the government exercising control over the textbooks, the appointment of members of the Boards of Education and the funds allocated, while promoting the infusion of the English language in the curriculum, with the concurrent prohibition of actions promoting nationalism, such as the recital of the Greek anthem (Lytras & Psaltis, 2011). According to the same authors, the initiatives adopted were carefully designed to prevent the arousal of a Cypriot nationalism that could eventually turn the communities against the colonizers. The separation of schooling during the British rule was a stabilized factor that drove the two communities apart (Walker, 2005; University of Nicosia et al, 2009).

The pillars on which the newly established state was formed in 1960 did not provide for the formation of a common educational system. Articles 86 and 87 of the Constitution of Cyprus state that each community must elect members appointed to their Communal Chambers, “having legislative power regarding all educational, cultural and teaching matters” (Republic of Cyprus, 1960, p. 42). Since 1960 and up to 1974, the two main communities of Cyprus attended different schools, run by ethnic Chambers, committed to the aspirations of their respective ethnic communities. The events of 1963-1964 which resulted with Turkish Cypriots withdrawing from the governance, meant the independent function of the Turkish Communal Chamber as well, while in 1965 the Greek Communal Chamber was replaced by the Ministry of Education and Culture (Lytras & Psaltis, 2011). The authorities that controlled the educational systems did not have an impact on the nationalistic way the systems functioned. The import of textbooks from the motherlands, and the training of teachers on the motherlands (University of Nicosia et al, 2009), made the separation even more distinguished. Within the Greek Cypriot community, a Helleno-Christian policy governed the educational system attended by the students (Karoulla-Vriikki, 2007). Elements that governed the specific policy were the use of the Greek

language (“katharevousa”), the study of Ancient Greek, the teaching of Greek history and geography, and the devaluation of the Cypriot dialect. In 1966 the Communal Chamber of the Greek Cypriot community was even imposing penalties to educators who did not attend the national celebrations related to the Greek nation (Pavlou, 2015). In a parallel vein and after the events of 1963-1964, with the movement of Turkish Cypriots in enclaves, absolutely depending on Turkey, the emergence of the Turkish nationalism resulted in the adoption of reciting extreme poetry where the “enemy” was the Greek (Pavlou, 2015). However, due to Kemalism prevalent in the Turkish Cypriot community, along with feelings of inferiority born via the conceptualization of the community by the Greek Cypriots, who represented the majority, the educational system of the community contained a number of progressive elements, such as the increased number of girls attending schools and the optional attendance of religious classes both in the primary and secondary education (Pavlou, 2015). As a rule though, during this period, both systems, independent of the authority under which function, were highly conservative, preventing any change from taking place, unless it was initiated by the mother lands, with the official and hidden curriculum promoting *union* or *taksim* respectively (Pavlou, 2015).

The illegal intervention by the state of Turkey on the island of Cyprus in 1974 and the illegal stationing of the troops on the island, finalized the physical, social, economic, and educational segregation of the two communities. In relation to the Greek Cypriot community, a turn to a Cypriot identity became apparent after the events of 1974 until 1990, when there was again a turn to the Helleno-Christian policy (Karoulla-Vrikki, 2007). As the researcher states, during the Cypriotization period (1976-1990), new textbooks were introduced, the demotic Greek were set as the official language, the Cypriot dialect came to the fore, while the flag of Cyprus was also introduced at the building of the Ministry of Education and Culture, which was established in the absence of the Communal Chamber after the events of 1974.

Schooling segregation and complete absence of contact up to 2003 has also resulted in the two communities accumulating different stories about the

history of Cyprus. The official narratives presented within the school textbooks, the commemoration of events, as well as the teaching pedagogy applied during history teaching contributed to the polarization of the members of the two communities via the educational system.

To start with, the history textbooks recycle a culture of conflict and transplant feelings of resentment within the minds of the youngsters. The in-group is presented as the only suffering community, while the narrative is strictly restricted to that of the in-group, without being challenged. "In post-conflict and divided societies, proper historical enquiry is often obstructed by the inaccessibility of crucial sources of information or archives due to linguistic, physical, legal or mental barriers" (Psaltis et al., 2017, p.6). The narrative of the out-group is not presented, neither discussed. There is no reported evidence for atrocities executed by the in-group; those are secretly skipped or if mentioned, reported as a reaction to the events to protect the in-group members. As nicely put by Makriyianni et al. (2011) about history teaching, "the suffering of others is silenced, their historical existence is questioned, and socio-cultural interactions are ignored" (p. 3). Furthermore,

"Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots were only taught the history of Greece and the history of Turkey respectively, while the history of Cyprus was only relatively recently introduced and with considerably less time allotted. In the Greek Cypriot community, the history of Cyprus has been presented as an extension of the history of Greece, and in the Turkish Cypriot community as an extension of the history of Turkey" (Papadakis, 2008, p. 5).

What is more, the language used within the textbooks is sentimental, aiming at instilling the fear, agony and injustice experienced in the past to today's generations. Additionally, during class instruction and discussion, until recently, there was no differentiation among the terms used to identify people from Cyprus and people from the motherlands (i.e. Turkish-Cypriots and the Turkish, Greek Cypriots and the Greeks), signifying the attitudes towards the members of the other community as responsibility bearers. This interchange of the terms was also prevalent in a number of history textbooks used within all grades of the educational system of both communities (Makriyianni et al., 2011). A

number of efforts that took place during different time periods to alter the textbooks were based not on ideologies that govern the educational system and promote the use of history textbooks based on contemporary methods suggested in history teaching, but on the political agenda of the governing party (Makriyianni et al., 2011; Perikleous, 2015; Perikleous, 2015a). To sum up, the history textbooks used in both communities promote a monocultural historical continuity of each community, based on common religion, history and language with the motherland, and do not provide space for critical reading and discussion of the events of the past.

Inevitably, teachers are part of the society they live in and cannot be observers from afar of the historical events that take place within their societies. As such, they become the means through which the political objectives of each era are transferred. Two generations of teachers are currently employed by the educational systems of both communities: those who experienced the events of the past and in certain cases bear traumatic memories, and those, who were born after the physical segregation of the two communities, who never had interactions with members of the other community prior to 2003. Teaching history in an unbiased way, for both groups, becomes challenging, since personal experiences and learned behaviors construct the identity of the individuals, resulting in feelings of hatred transplanted from generation to generation. At a study conducted by Zembylas & Lesta (2011) regarding the integration of immigrants revealed that Greek Cypriot educators are promoting the practice of assimilation rather than intercultural education.

Despite the study explored the views regarding immigrant students, the results indicate a general pattern of thinking, upgrading one's own culture that needs to assimilate all the "foreigners". This mode of thinking was prevalent, and one can argue that still is, in the minds of Greek Cypriot educators regarding the members of the other community as well, that those should be assimilated in 1960 when they were a minority. At the same time, assimilation by the majority is one of the major fears of the Turkish Cypriot community and as such, expressed via the tunnels of the official narrative, the educators. Not only

educators are governed by their personal beliefs and tuned by the discourse created by the official channels, but also the initial training as teachers, in a country that was submitted into a fight for the ethnic supremacy, did not properly equip them with the skills to use approaches that promote critical thinking and inquiry. As Makriyianni et al. (2011) describe,

“The pedagogical approach followed in the history textbooks (of both Greece/Turkey and Cyprus) in Cyprus, across the divide generally reflects the monoperspective view of history and the absence of historical enquiry. The main teaching approach used in relation to history teaching is one that could be described as based on a transmission of beliefs from the teacher to the student” (p. 37).

Through history teaching and commemoration of ethnic celebrations, there is a continuous repetition of the sufferings that the members of each community experienced in the hands of the members of the other community. Acknowledgement, which according to Chesterman (2001) is “whether to remember or forget the abuses” (p. 153), was not a dilemma explored within the educational system of any of the two communities. The consistent repetition of the atrocities held in the past and commemoration of the events, drove children, from very young ages, to what Dean et al (2004) call, dysphoric rumination or brooding, where people “rehearse, over and over in their mind, the details of an insult or deprivation suffered by themselves or their group” (p. 161), which results in the persistence of hostile goals. By doing so, the students are prevented from forgiving the other community for the mistakes of the past.

The persistent repetition of past events perpetrated by an out-group leads the groups to what Noor and colleagues describe as the concept of intergroup competitive victimhood, defined as “how adversary groups come to perceive their own suffering because of a violent conflict as greater than other groups’, which in turn predicts their reduced propensity to forgive each other for their past wrongs” (Noor et al, 2015, p. 579). The human rights violations by the out-group perpetrators are considered the only source of the conflict, while the principle of universality of human rights excludes the members of the out-group: they do not deserve to have their rights respected, since they do not

possess human qualities. As the in-group is conceptualized as having suffered the most, individuals become part of a unique group that experiences commonality in terms of being part of a victimization cohort, sharing collective memories of past traumatic events. At an intervention project conducted by Shnabel et al., (2013), Israeli Jews and Palestinian individuals were induced with a common victim identity, with the results indicating reduced competitive victimhood and increased levels of forgiveness. Instilling the identity of victimhood to surpass the drawbacks of the intergroup competitive victimhood can lead to serious criticism, especially if that identity is generated within children. But a positive note through the results is that showing empathy for the out-group members and providing multiple perspectives can lead to a decrease to the levels of competitive victimhood. Related to one's identity and the resistance of the groups to forego the events of the past, Noor et al. (2008) report that "in the course of a protracted conflict, any signs of generosity, let alone forgiveness, may be interpreted as revision or letting go of one's ingroup goals, which in turn, may trigger a sense of insecurity and threat to one's ingroup identity" (p. 820). The impact of inter-group apology on forgiveness has been thoroughly documented. In general, the intergroup competitive victimhood is a barrier to historical empathy and reconciliation process (Psaltis et al., 2017).

The role of the educational system in sustaining or aggravating the conflict and its impact on the reconciliation process has been reported by young individuals at a study conducted within the Greek Cypriot community (Kotziamani, 2010). Textbooks were referred as a source where negative presentation of the Turkish Cypriots is encountered. The results have also indicated that a number of participants, aged 12-18, reported that they could never express freely their opinions about the other community in the classroom, while others reported that they could so but not always. The fact that one fourth of the participants reported that the educational system creates feelings of hostility against the members of the other community, two fifths reported that it does not help in the reconciliation process, another two fifths that it does not enable understanding for the other's community culture, and one third that the

way the other community is presented cannot be evaluated as appropriate, were indicators of the educational system's involvement in the stalemate of the peace process within the Greek Cypriot community. In a similar vein, at a study conducted with Greek Cypriots educators (Zembylas et al., 2011), it was found that educators were not positive in teaching for peaceful coexistence, even though they understood its importance, due to professional inadequacy and a restricted understanding of reconciliation and coexistence as containing forgiveness and trust. The two studies indicate that two agents within the educational system, the students and educators, confirm the role the educational system has on reconciliation or continuation of the existing division. The results of the above studies were not replicated within the Turkish Cypriot community, and as such, it is not clear whether students and teachers share similar perceptions.

Education can be the driving force that can lead to a resolution of the Cyprus problem. It can provide youngsters with the knowledge and skills to fight against prejudice and hatred and become agents of positive change on the island. In cases of intractable conflicts critical thinking is neither the aim, nor has the potential to flourish within the educational system. On the contrary, education is used to create stable, centered, homogeneous beliefs that take the form of a dogma within the society and maintain the status-quo. Is used as a form of communication suggested by Moscovisci (2000), the propagation mode, where the information is shared by a central authority, while opposite information is considered threatening and not valid. The individual is not provided with space for variation or various perspectives to explore and come to an understanding. In cases that variations are provided, those are specifically chosen to fit the in-group's knowledge, while the selection criteria are not provided or explained (Kello & Wagner, 2017). At the same time, as the same authors discuss, specific in-group narratives are omitted based on pedagogical reasoning, such as being inappropriate for children's age. As such, critical thinking remains in the shadows. To transform the educational system into one that promotes reconciliation in Cyprus, the initial and in-service training of

educators should equip them with the methodological tools that will transform history teaching from an injunctive recital of the one-dimensional horrified events of the past to the critical analysis of the events that led and sustained the division.

IV. Media's Role in Corroborating Specific Positions

The media landscape in Cyprus is quite fertile, especially taking into consideration the population of the island, which does not exceed one million. As of May 2017, in the Greek Cypriot community there were seven dailies newspapers, twenty-eight weekly newspapers and many more fortnightly, monthly, bimonthly and quarterly newspapers and periodicals, eight island-wide TV stations beaming, along with nineteen island-wide radio stations and multiple local ones (Press Information Office, 2017). As of May 2017, in the Turkish Cypriot community there were nineteen newspapers, weekly and monthly magazines, fourteen TV channels, and at least eleven radio stations (TRNC Public Information Office, 2017). Despite the plurality of media on the island compared to its size, and the freedom of press and speech that accompanies such a diversity, the role of the media in promoting reconciliation, peace practices or perpetrating such efforts cannot be described as an encouraging one. Howard (2003) expressed the belief that media can “become a facilitator of positive social change, rather than a professional disinterested observer” (p. 220). One should add, that nowadays media, including the social media, are not observers, but have become agents of preserving the status-quo or agents initiating, sustaining or fueling the conflict by promoting hatred and hostility (Christophorou et al., 2010). The active engagement of media during the Rwanda genocide brought an understanding to the international community of the massive role of media in war-torn societies. As Howard (2003) pointed out the role of media “ranges from exhibiting patriotic ethno-cultural bias to disseminating plays a significant role in affecting the attitudes of the public toward the other community and can also drive into feelings of hostility and hatred against the ‘other’” (p. 210).

It has been reported by Christophorou et al. (2010) that “the publication of the first newspapers in Cyprus, in the late 19th century, marked the beginning of a process of a clear differentiation of the two main communities on the island” (p. 4). Curbing of the sharing of information dealt by the abolishment of the monopoly of the broadcasting by the official sources, which consequently led to the plurality of media and the variation of information consumed, did not alter the way the media approach and have an impact on the conflict. What follows is a brief explanation of the several ways that media correspond to the high demand for information regarding the Cyprus problem.

To start with, as described above, the abolition of the monopoly of the broadcasting by the state in the Greek Cypriot community, did not happen before 1990. As for the Turkish Cypriot community, up to 2003, the TV station, Bayrak, operated by the authorities, was the only one that could broadcast in all areas of the northern part of Cyprus (Hylland, 2004). As such, the absence of private-owned media, resulted at the official authorities being the responsibility-bearers and controllers of the information accessed through those means. Both the radio and TV stations in the two communities up to the beginning of the 21st century, expressed the ideas of the authorities and promoted their policies. They gained credibility since they represented the authorities’ voice. Concurrently, the public opinion regarding the Cyprus’ problem was each time affected positively or negatively according to the beliefs of the political party elected for governance. The introduction of multiple private radio stations and TV channels was expected to bring multi-perspectivity and plurality on the information sharing and put an end to the allegiance of conservatism. On the contrary, within a divided country plagued by an intractable division and hostility, even though, the presentation of information varies according to the ideological affiliations of the press to a political party, there is a general tendency of the press to ‘save’ Cyprus. As Christophorou et al. (2010) report, by examining a number of media sources in both communities, the media report news in a way that they “spoke on behalf of, or as if they represented, these large groups” (p. 183), a concept they named as ‘self-proclamation’. As such, the plurality of

media did not result at the exchange of information that was expected to. This might also be the result of the different languages used by the two communities and the inability to read the other's community sources (Christophorou et al., 2010). The outcomes experienced by the ownership media, has been very recently altered via the widespread and violent immersion of the social media in the daily lives of individuals. Social media enable the rapid and alternative exchange of information out of sources that are not controlled by any authorities. Individuals can exchange information, get organized, mobilized, and even apply political pressure through the social media. As such, the content of information sharing, along with the stereotypes and propaganda that was transferred, are based on personal beliefs and values, rather than state's ones.

The role of the media has been contingent instrumental during periods of political negotiations. For example, during the presentation of a UN Plan, the results of a study conducted in 2002 (Christophorou et al., 2010), researching the print press in the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities indicate that the press in both communities according to the affiliations they had reified the opinions of target adopters. Within the Greek Cypriot community, the daily newspapers' reaction to the Plan, even before its official presentation and the initiation of negotiations among the two parties, was the following: "Loud 'NO' (Simerini and Machi/Tharros10); strong rejection (Phileleftheros); dismissal of the Plan but not of the efforts for rapprochement between the two communities (Politis); 'YES' but not under pressure and only after certain alterations (Haravgı); 'YES' (Alithia)" (Christophorou et al., 2010, p.14). A similar picture was prevalent in the press of the Turkish Cypriot community. As the same authors report

"Newspapers such as Halkın Sesi, Kıbrıslı, Vatan, Birlik and Volkan were sceptical of the Annan Plan and gave wide coverage to the President's statements against it, excluding the voices of groups that had proclaimed their support for it. In contrast, the newspapers that were in favour of the Plan, such as Yenidüzen, Afrika and Ortam, portrayed it as a basis for the solution to the Cyprus Problem and were critical of President Denktaş's attitude towards it. They stressed positive aspects of the Plan and

included views that supported it. Denktaş's public statements and opinions appeared less frequently in these newspapers and, when they did, they were treated with disapproval" (Christophorou et al., 2010, p. 35).

The media promote negativism during the negotiations by transferring disappointment, the intransigent views of the other side, fear for the future, the political agenda deployed by external powers that serves their interests, and by presenting fragmented information or statements of the political leaders or figures. At the same time, the only solution that was brought to decide the people of Cyprus, the Annan Plan, was presented by the Greek Cypriot media as a plan that aimed the dissolution of the state and the Turkification of Cyprus (Avraamidou, 2017). According to Drousiotis (2009), the reason for that is because throughout the years media learned to focus solely on emphasizing the victimization of their own people, rather than the arguments presented by the other side. The media are reluctant to accept compromises for the sake of a solution to be reached. In the Greek Cypriot community, it is translated into an alternative vision for the future, that will not be like the past. Within the Turkish Cypriot community, it is translated into forgoing the fear of repetition of the events of the past. A more recent paper on the role of media in Cyprus, describes how representations of fear use semantic barriers to block any alternative representations, and as such, resist any change that would lead to a peace settlement (Avraamidou & Psaltis, 2019).

Of course, the media are nothing but the individuals who comprise them. Those individuals were born and raised within a context that promoted the hatred for the members of the other community and visions which did not include the other community. It is rare as a phenomenon, those individuals to succeed at decontextualizing their personal affiliation with the problem and present a professional, objective record of the negotiations. At the same time, media in Cyprus express the ideology of the owner and editor to a great extend.

Furthermore, the media frequently promote propaganda. The aberrant nature of propaganda relies on the lacuna presented by the exchange of information from sources other than the media. The propaganda is mostly

related to the presentation of the other community and the involvement of the external agents. As Christophorou et al. (2010) state, it is probable that the media in Cyprus became the “propaganda tools of the authorities and elite groups” (p. 185).

Media in Cyprus tend to entrench stereotypes by using labels to describe the other community. Within the Greek Cypriot community, the stereotypes are construed as sympathetic to the Turkish Cypriot community, by emphasizing their victimization as well, but antipathetic towards the leadership of the community and Turkey (Christophorou et al., 2010). For example, in an article titled “Meeting Anastasiadi-Talat”⁶ the journalist referred to the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community as the “leader of the occupation”, a labeling that had a resonance at the hostile feelings toward the leadership of the Turkish Cypriots. The media in the Greek Cypriot community use to interchange among the terms ‘Turkish Cypriots and Turks’, which results in solidifying Turkish Cypriots as identical to the Turkish army; other than attributing responsibility for all the atrocities of the past, this identification provides them no space on the island of Cyprus, ignoring their historical existence. For example, an article titled “When the Turkish Cypriots were building a wall”⁷, the journalist ends the article by stating “while the two communities where negotiating, while they had a common state, the Turks were building a wall”. The interchangeable use of the two terms is rarely presented nowadays in the media of the Greek Cypriot community, after an effort that was initiated by the educational authorities as well in 2003 (Educational Reform Committee, 2004), to distinguish among the two terms and direct the hatred toward the source of responsibility, Turkey. A similar pattern of labeling occurred in the Turkish Cypriot press. As Christophorou et al. (2010) report, when the Turkish Cypriot press was referring to the statements of the Greek Cypriots, those were reported as opinions, claims or suggestions.

⁶ Newspaper *Fileleftheros*, December 7, 2009

⁷ Newspaper *Fileleftheros*, December 4, 2009

Additionally, as the same authors found out, that the newspapers used either statements of Turkish Cypriot political leaders and Greek Cypriot political leaders to support further the argument that Greek Cypriots did not stop being a threat.

Stereotypes are enforced through a repetition of historical events as well. Those events are isolated, one-sided narratives, which aim to create collective memories of the atrocities experienced in the past of the ingroup, perpetrated by the historical enemy, the outgroup. By doing so, the media create an image of the outgroup hard to dissolve and perniciously harmful for the reconciliation process. According to Leyens et al,

“repulsion and disgust may arise from the person’s characteristics or actions or from propaganda depicting certain kinds of characteristics and acts. The propaganda typically depicts the individual as subhuman or inhuman, or otherwise incapable of receiving, giving, or sustaining feelings of closeness, warmth, caring, communication, compassion, and respect” (Sternberg, 2003, p. 306).

Another tactic employed by the media in Cyprus resulting in further incredulity for the other community is the exploitation of the emotions related to the events of the past. Media ‘demand’ the non-visceral emotions of the public, by pointing recursively to the atrocities experienced in the past. The same strategy was employed not only by the media, but also by the political leaders when addressed their respective communities, as in the case of the president of the Republic of Cyprus, whom while crying he encouraged the people to reject the Annan Plan.

At last, “news is about conflict. The professional journalist seeks immediacy, drama, and simple images which favor stereotypes” (Howard, 2003, p. 213). Media tend to repeat and blowing up any incident between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. At the same time, they ignore and do not provide for any examples of interaction among people from the two communities. This results in a representation of conflict among the members of the two communities, which are perceived as unable to cooperate and live together.

It is widely accepted nowadays that media both create and reflect the context in which they operate, with their audience having a critical role in determining the context and the reaction to what is presented (Christophorou et al., 2010). The inability of the traditional media, in both communities, to create cleavages to the social beliefs, and as such form an alternative parish, sublimated of violence and conflict, cannot be attributed solely to them, but also toward the context that those function. Framing the media within the context those function, becomes a successful strategy of understanding the impact of a contextual factor on the continuation and non-resolving of the conflict.

V. *The Use of Religion to Achieve Political Ends*

Eighty five percent of the world population considers him/herself as having a specific faith or belonging to a specific religious community (Religions for Peace, 2006, p. 4). “Religious believers share some basic moral convictions... the inviolable dignity of human life, the right to live free from oppression and extreme poverty, and the importance of caring for our earth” (Religions for Peace, 2006, p. 3). While religion should be the driving force that would progress humanity, historically it has been used to legitimize the use of violence and for crimes against humanity. While faith is a powerful tool that enables individuals to transcend themselves, this unique power of religion has been used to promote an antagonism among religions and led to extremist and exclusionary practices based on this specific part of identity. Focusing on a single dimension of identity, “has the effect of generally magnifying the voice of religious authority” (Sen, 2006, p. 3). That becomes problematic in the cases of extremists or exclusionists’ faith leaders which may interpret the religious faith in a way that excludes other religions and affect the decisions taken at a political level, along with the praxis sustained at a personal and societal level by fostering hatred of other communities which practice different religions, a practice that has been discussed and disproved by the Alliance of Civilizations (2006). And as Patel et al. (2008) declared, “one of the saddest and most alarming trends of the religious violence gripping the world today is that the ages

of the people doing most of the fighting, killing, and dying are generally between fifteen and thirty” (p. 40).

In relation to the Cyprus problem, religion played a vital role in sustaining and fueling the division among the members of the two communities. In the Greek Cypriot community, the Church, becoming an autonomous organization during the Ottoman period, tried to maintain the privileges it had and the power it gained throughout the years. As such, the Church recognized that a secular state would lessen its power. To avoid that, the Church employed nationalism as a means to retain its power and privileges, by being the source through which nationalism was transplanted within the minds of the Greek Cypriot individuals (Pavlou, 2015). The documentation of the promotion of nationalism within the Greek Cypriot community by the Church is also supported by oral accounts provided by individuals who lived the events of the past. As one old person recalls, “young people were poisoned by church with nationalistic feelings” (Psaltis et al., 2014, p. 43). The Church also opposed the imposition of the Cypriotism by the British rulers and played a vital role in the construction of a Hellenic educational system within the Greek Cypriot community (Pavlou, 2015; Makriyianni and Psaltis, 2007), and as such it retained its ‘right’ to interfere in the educational issues.

Secularism, as is manifested in the decision-making processes and outcomes of a state which are insusceptible to religious beliefs and practices, was part of the constitution of the Republic of Cyprus, but not of the practices and decisions exercised by governmental authorities in Cyprus on a daily basis. The first president of Cyprus right after its independence, Makarios, was an Archbishop, an identity that did not appeal to the Muslim community in Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriot leader Denktash accused the Church and the political activities of Makarios as ones that created mistrust to the Turkish Cypriot community, by demanding for union (*enosis*) with Greece (Walker, 2005).

The church has always been an institution with economic and political power on the island, affecting policies and practices on various levels, but mostly those related to the national interests and education. The Church,

through its leaders, hardens the reconciliation process, by publicly creating a fear for the outcomes of the negotiation process, by touting comments for the ‘turkification’ of the island’, by referring to the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots as Greeks and Turks respectively, while inspiring fear in the Greek Cypriots’ minds by enforcing the idea that ‘the Turks will get the Greeks’ (article presented at the newspaper *Fileleftheros* on December 4, 2009). Meanwhile, during the year 2008 the Church “opposed changes to the more nationalistic elements of the curriculum and textbooks, extending their opposition even to the correction of outright inaccuracies in history books” (Mackay et al, 2008, p. 22).

While the Church has a dominant role in the Greek Cypriot community, an analogous institution does not prevail in the Turkish Cypriot community. Kemalism, which was adopted by the Turkish Cypriot community, considers that the modernization of the state cannot be supported by religiosity (Pavlou, 2015). Additionally, the British authorities in an effort to sustain the colonization of the island, collaborated with the conservative religious representatives of the Turkish Cypriot community, which resulted in the general population feeling less affiliated with their religious representatives (Pavlou, 2015). Until now, “Turkish Cypriots do not seem to be influenced by organized religion, rarely attend mosques, and adhere to a very strict form of secularism” (Yeşilada, 2009, p. 49). The demographic changes within the Turkish Cypriot community, the political stalemate in relation to the Cyprus problem, the economic sanctions imposed by Turkey, along with the political and social changes that take place in Turkey, have a tremendous impact on the Turkish Cypriot community. Recently, a new legislation was discussed in the parliament of the Turkish Cypriot community, which enhances the role of mufti within the community and provides for a connection of religion with the educational system (Newspaper Politis, June 25 2017). Realizing the power religion and religious representatives have on individuals and societies, Turkey’s efforts are tuned towards the transition of a secularism community to the cultivation of religious

practices that will create a population that can be manipulated through its religious beliefs.

Religion can be a source of producing and expanding prejudices between different religious groups. This is the case for the population residing in Cyprus. Indeed, there are differences among the way religion has been used to achieve political ends in the two communities. While the Church has a driving role in the determination of the political, educational, social and economic life of the Greek Cypriot community, religion was absent from all domains of life among the Turkish Cypriot community. At a recent study conducted with Greek Cypriot Orthodox college students, it was found that those participants who hold dogmatic beliefs related to their religion, were more prone to irrational thinking, and as such had higher levels of developing psychopathology (Mora et al., 2014), a result that has implications on how people deal with reality and justify actions of hatred based on religion.

While the differences in the way the individuals from both communities promote and practice their religion, religion in Cyprus is being used as a reference for the division of the individuals into Muslims and Christians; in other words, it's an element used to describe belongingness to one group or another. At the same time, that studies indicate that the members of the two communities "are more similar to each other in religiosity than they are to most other European states" (p. 15), they also indicate that affiliation with religion is associated with intolerance (Yeşilada et al., 2009).

The role of the Church is not restricted into a political level, but the Church draws and exercises power through its involvement in the educational space. Its role within the educational affairs in Cyprus can be described as instrumental in constructing synergies, such as the religious education, fueling unconscious processes which demark the religion of the majority as dominant and prioritizing it over others (Zembylas, 2014; Zembylas, 2008; Papastephanou, 2015). As Zembylas & Loukaidis (2018) vividly describe, "it can be argued, that both religious education and the powerful Greek Orthodox Church have a clear political function in the Greek-Cypriot educational system:

they both socialise children in the culture and practices of a distinct confessional community, Greek Orthodoxy, and the exclusive narratives of a particular ethno-religious community” (p. 172). To achieve this function, the Church, other than employing the religious education, has managed to make specific religious practices part of the educational processes: schools implement the event of sanctification at the beginning of the school year, they attend religious ceremonies at least three times per school year, the morning prayer is part of everyday practice, while the Archbishop addresses all students at the beginning of the school year with a letter. More recent religious practices, is the confession during school hours which resulted in discussions within the society for the participation of younger children without the parents’ consent, and the creation of small chapels within the physical space of the school. All those elements sustain the bonds among the educational system and the Church, and provide, of course based on the institutional and economic power the Church has, the means for its involvement in the political decisions taken for the educational system and its aims.

How children’s rights are perceived within a setting with such intense, recent historical events, with a pre-eminence of the conflict over any other aspect of the individuals’ lives, with atrocities and traumatic events being engraved at collective memory? I cannot state otherwise that this concern of mine have led to the formation of two research questions of the current study: whether the content of children’s rights violations is related to representations of the prolonged conflict and to what extent national practices, related to the promotion of the values of the nation, are considered or not as infringements to children’s rights. Moreover, having explored the contribution of each contextual factor in either fueling or sustaining the conflict and the division among the inhabitants of the two main communities in Cyprus, I decided that I could not explore the social representations of children’s rights without a focus on three main agents, named the education, the media, and the religion. As such, the methodology of the study contained data that derived from those three agents.

2.2. The Concept of Human Rights in Modern Societies

2.2.1. The Evolution of Human Rights

The end of the Second World War left the humanity hopeless, the States listing the damages, and the citizens helpless. Overcoming the despair, the agony and the disorder could be only achieved via the collaboration of states and not at an individual level. States and governments espoused an increased responsibility for the well-being of the future generations and fueled by an ideology of preventing further harm formed the United Nations (UN). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (UN General Assembly UDHR) was the first systematic attempt of this international collaboration to illustrate the responsibilities that States have against their citizens, in other words, the embeddedness of the basic standards that each single human life should enjoy. The UDHR, even though a milestone document widely recognized by all states and in all regions of the world, adopted by the UN in 1948, faced a drawback in regard to the obligations resulting from it. While a vast amount of states endorsed the human rights principles, even a few days after its adoption, states, were not obliged to devote resources and efforts towards their implementation. As such, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights were drafted and adopted by the UN General Assembly, being legally binding documents for the countries ratifying them.

The properties of human rights craved within any of the above instruments are fundamental in how one interprets them, despite their abstract and general form. To start with, human rights are interrelated, interdependent and indivisible. A right cannot be fulfilled without the advancement of others, while a violation of a right results in a series of violations of other rights. Additionally, human rights are universal and inalienable. As such, they are

applied in all contexts and cannot be deprived of a person, unless that being a result of a due process.

Despite all the above properties set to converge the abstract form of human rights into a practical one, the construction of understanding of human rights differs at a time, space and even at intrapersonal and interpersonal level. The variation in understanding of the international instruments had an impact on the validity and applicability of those instruments, especially in a manner that would respond to the needs of all individuals. The realization that there are specific groups within the society that become vulnerable, such as the children and the people with disabilities, due to the societal function that prevents them to respond to, be protected and/or overcome any danger, led to the creation of separate Conventions, referring specifically to the rights of those individuals, and as such, responding to their needs. Those Conventions were also generated through the realization that the human rights of those groups were constantly violated or ignored at a state level. As such, currently, there are 14 Conventions, signed and ratified by a large number of States (United Nations, 2016).

Within and between States, there are differences in the conception of the understanding shared by those collectively prepared international instruments. Human resources and political will have been invested to construct the international framework that underlies not only the general principles, but also the guidelines and recommendations to States to protect and reinforce the rights of all individuals, including specific remarks for those belonging to vulnerable groups. The ratification of the Covenants and Conventions, along with the additional Protocols that accompany them, by the vast majority of the States globally is an indication of the commitment of the international community to abide to the requirements of those instruments. The pathway to the respect and promotion of human rights is not obstacle-free. Human rights' debate still struggles with the conception of human rights as a collective mechanism, which endorses the common good above the individual. As such, human rights' violations might be excused, if considered constitutive of public good and aim

the protection of the masses. To challenge the specific internalized perception at a governmental and individual level, a new perception must be structured that will display the human rights of the individual not in accordance with the public good. Additionally, given the accelerating rate of the development of western societies, human rights have been also criticized for setting and multiplying the framework of western way of life. At last, human rights' violations create distrust about the role and protection of international organizations, and as such, demotivate individuals to uphold them, leading to the construction of a new context among the public where those are excluded.

There is no single aspect of social life, where human rights have not been dragged in the center of its core. Not just the universality, but also the configuration of human rights and their principles, along with the obstacles that their implementation impinges have been investigated by a large number of researchers, in an effort to build a platform where the foundations of the societies must be built on. What follows is a thorough analysis of the outcomes of the research conducted in the fields of human rights, from a socio-psychological perspective.

2.2.2. The Convention on the Rights of the Child

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), a legally binding document, guarantees the rights of the child and defines the obligations of the states in 54 articles. The Convention uses the single form, and not the plural, since it recognizes each child as an autonomous personality. The CRC has been ratified by all states but one, the United States of America (OHCHR, 2014). It is accompanied by three Optional Protocols, specifically referring to the involvement of children in hostilities, the sale of children, child prostitution and pornography and a communications procedure. The Convention's implementation is monitored by the Committee on the Rights of the Child.

Guided by four Principles, the CRC is a legal document above any national law. The Principle of Non-Discrimination guaranteed at Article 2 of the

CRC, determines that “States Parties shall respect and ensure the rights set forth in the present Convention to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child's or his or her parent's or legal guardian's race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status”⁸. Discrimination must not take place in any domain of the child's life, but must be also restricted in domains that prevent the development of the child. Discrimination can be either direct or indirect, by applying for example policies or practices that might seem equal for all, but in practice excluding individuals or groups of children. Discrimination might be constructed based on social, cultural obstacles and attitudes or beliefs of the society. Treating unequal individuals as equals is also an example of discrimination.

Article 3 of the CRC guarantees the Principle of the Best Interest of the Child. Article 3 states that “in all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration”⁹. The Principle of the Best Interest must be determined for each child individually and for each case separately, and in conjunction with the interest of other individuals, such as family members or the immediate environment. The Principle of the Best Interest is important since the child is not autonomous during childhood, and many decisions are taken by the parents or legal guardians of the child. As such, it provides a guideline on how decisions related to the child must be taken and applied. To determine the child's best interest a systemic procedure must be followed. Moreover, the

⁸ UN General Assembly, *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, 20 November 1989, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 1577, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b38f0.html> [accessed 7 September 2017].

⁹ UN General Assembly, *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, 20 November 1989, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 1577, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b38f0.html> [accessed 7 September 2017].

child's best interest must not focus just on short-term estimates and consequences, but also on long-term ones.

The participation of the child, translated as the right to express his/her views on all matters that affect her or him, guaranteed at Article 12, is not up to the discretion of the State to elaborate on it, but a legal obligation. As the principle defines, the views of the child must be given due weight according to the child's age and maturity. For a child to be able to provide her or his opinion, States are obliged to provide appropriate, accurate, and diverse information, based on the developmental level of the child and on a language s/he understands. The child must not prove his or her abilities to form her/his own opinion; rather States must assume that each child can do so. The Convention does not set an age limit according to which a child can express her/his point of view. In contrast, States should provide children with all the necessary accommodations to formulate their own opinion and express it. The child's experiences, environmental and social factors, as well as the level of support provided to the child, contribute to developing the child's skills to form an opinion. It is up to the child to express her/his views; it's based on a voluntary decision. The participation of the child is a process and not a one-off event, which requires the child to be informed after a decision is taken, on how her/his views were considered (Hodgkin & Newell, 2007).

The fourth principle guarantees the right to life, survival and development (Article 6). States have the legal obligation to promote survival and development at the maximum degree possible, that considers both the present and future life of the child. The specific principle is related to other articles, such as Article 27, that recognizes the right of the child to a standard of living for the child's holistic development. As such, states are responsible to support by any means the parents/guardians of children to enable them to fulfill their role. The eradication of poverty its one mean towards the goal.

Cyprus ratified CRC in 1991, with the 1990 Convention on the Rights of the Child (Ratification) Law (Law 243/1990) [ο περί της Συμβάσεως περί των Δικαιωμάτων του Παιδιού (Κυρωτικός) Νόμος του 1990 (N. 243/1990)]. An

independent institutional authority, the Commissioner for Children's Rights, was established in 2008 with the aim to monitor the implementation of the CRC within the national law, policies, and practices. As of 2012, the main areas of concern and recommendations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child¹⁰ point out, among others, to: the absence of coordination mechanism among the authorities; the limited means provided to the Commissioner to fulfill effectively her role; the lack of budgetary items specifically addressing the needs of the children; the absence of data regarding children; the limited dissemination and awareness of the public in regards to the CRC and the lack of compulsory training of children on human rights; the non-application of the principle of the best interest of the child in all procedures affecting children; the high number of children involved in traffic accidents; the inclusion of corporal punishment of children in state laws and the widespread beliefs of corporal punishment as an appropriate means of educability; the high percentages of domestic violence directed toward women and children reflecting traditional beliefs and practices based on gender roles; the non-implementation of inclusive education; the prevalence of alcohol and substances use among youth; the inadequate measures related to asylum-seeking children; and to the lack of a juvenile justice system. Regarding education, the Committee specifically refers to inadequate measures implemented within schools, which relate to the Turkish Cypriot children having limited access to education, since language lessons are not provided in their native language, the absence of early childhood education, and the implementation of religious education as a compulsory and a divisive component. The Committee points out a state discrimination against children of Turkish origin, based on non-availability of resources and measures specifically tailored for that population. As it was initially referred,

“the Committee reiterates its observation (CRC/C/15/Add.205, para. 5) that the State party, as a consequence of events that

¹⁰ Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child, Cyprus, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/CYP/CO/3-4 (2012).

occurred in 1974 and that resulted in the occupation of part of the territory of Cyprus, is not in a position to exercise control over all of its territory and consequently cannot ensure the application of the Convention in areas not under its control. However, it remains a matter of concern to the Committee that no information on children living in the occupied territories could be provided”.

While the CRC has been ratified as mentioned above by all states but one, indeed, Turkish-speaking children residing in the northern part of Cyprus, under the auspices of a non-recognizable state, find themselves in a peculiar state, where there is no mechanism or international instrument that guarantees their protection, participation and development. While the government of the Republic of Cyprus provides nationality to those children, once it is required, it is incapable of ensuring that their rights are respected and promoted, since it cannot exercise control on the areas they reside. This population of children in Cyprus becomes particularly vulnerable under those conditions.

Children being equal members of the society and having opportunities for active and meaningful participation within all the domains results at a healthy personal and social development. In the reality of Cyprus, young people seem to be ‘left out’ from the political or civil society arena, where decisions are taken related to matters that concern them. In a recent survey performed with a sample of Greek Cypriot youth, “77% of the Greek Cypriot youth surveyed felt that they did possess power to influence their families, only a fifth of them felt that they had an impact on their neighborhoods, while only one tenth believed that they had an input on their municipalities or their country” (University of Nicosia et al, 2009, p. 92). Additionally, 53% of the Greek Cypriots believed that there is “insufficient representation of young people in Cypriot politics” (p. 94). According to the same study “78% of Greek Cypriots stated that they never devoted their spare time participating in social or political organizations” (p. 66). Their non-participation was attributed, by one third of the participants, to a lack of interest, while further reasoning was attributed to lack of time and the perceived influence of political parties. The fact that civil society organizations and youth organizations in Cyprus are highly politicized has been reported by other researchers as well (Menschaert et al, 2007). It has also been reported

that those organizations are in urban areas, making it hard for young individuals from rural areas to access them.

Even though, major improvements have been established on the implementation of CRC at a policy and practice level, various issues related to the access and participation of children in all domains of life remain at a theoretical level. The implementation of the CRC is a continuous process based on reflection and revision, and Cyprus, being on the right track, must postulate a place in the international arena, as a state that promotes and respects the rights of each child that resides on the island.

2.2.3. The Concept of ‘Universalism’

Intense and various discourses shape and affect the representations of human and children’s rights shared within a specific society and a specific era. Do the international instruments provide a safety net for violations conducted within the private sphere? Do they promote western values and modes of practice? Are rights applied similarly independent of cultural differences? Do they promote rights over duties? Do they have a focus on individual versus collective rights? Do they have an impact on the social construction of a given society? The concept of human rights has been also criticized for promoting individualism (Sunstein, 1995), that it does not prevent the violation of human rights by societal discourses, such as militarism, rather than the state (Constantinides, 2008), whilst it has been mistakenly associated being in contradiction with religious beliefs and dogmas (Abdullahi, 2000).

A perennial debate revolves around the universality of human rights, with cultural relativism being a dispute on how human rights are perceived and applied. Mickelson (1998) describes how “the discipline of anthropology has been associated with ... projecting the individualism characteristic of modern Western society onto other cultures” (p. 24). Within this debate, universalism and cultural relativism are seen as two extreme ends of a continuum, where in-between lies a vast area of gap with no intermediaries. Not demanding individual differences, a universal household offers a cozy home, where any

person feels nice to belong to. Acknowledging cultural differences, a cultural household offers a cozy home, where the comfort of identity and belonging are prevalent. As such, both arguments provide a solid ground for their supporters. Moreover, even though, human rights are seen as a safety net that protects individuals from any harmful customs or traditions applied for specific groups, at the same time, they have been criticized for being a source of power that diminishes cultural differences and promotes assimilation of cultures.

CRC, as a human rights instrument, could not escape from the debate. The fact that it has been ratified by all but one state, indicates that it is a legal document accepted at a universal level. Simultaneously, being ratified by all but one state, indicates that, at an international level, it is a legal instrument above the national laws, which determines both the court decisions, as well as, at a certain extent, the law formation and amendments. As Constantinides (2008) reports though for the UDHR, the fact that the document has “international legal universality...is an insufficient method of establishing the universality of human rights” (p. 55).

At this moment, I should project that the CRC, as it has been formulated, leaves room for interpretation. This interpretation is highly affected by the societal context, in other words, the cultural, political, economic, and historical conditions of a specific society at a specific time period. Guidelines provided by the Committee on the Rights of the Child do set a specific framework for its interpretation. It's this exact characteristic of the CRC that actually makes it a pioneer one, since the common framework supports the universality, but the fact that the social conditions has an impact on its interpretation, I personally regard it as its main advantage, since as Constantinides (2008) states, human rights should not be seen either as frozen or as fixed principles.

For the purposes of the current study the term ‘universalism’ has been adopted and used both at the title and the main body of the research. The social context and different processes interplay and result in different representations of universal concepts, such as that of children’s rights, not only among cultures, but even within a single socio-political geographical space. It was purposefully

chosen to be put under the microscope, in an effort to prompt further discussion and research on the actual use of the term. In this case, cultural relativism is not applicable, since individuals are within a single context; it is rather specific national practices which relate to the conflict and specific representations of childhood, which threaten the term's applicability. What I tend to explore is whether 'conditional relativism', a term that seems to define the context, does have an impact on the application of children's rights within a specific geographical location.

2.2.4. Research on Human Rights

Close to the ending of the second decade of the new millennium, what characterizes today's era is the technological advancement in most of the domains of the daily lives of the individuals. Those advancements have made it possible for people living far away from each other to interact and exchange products, ideas, values, knowledge, and goals. The space has been minimized via the use of technology, and due to the circumstances, people have become more aware of individuals and groups all over the globe. Deducting the ignorance that existed due to the physical space among individuals, societies experience a new era, where there is a free flow of information and a minimization of the control of information by the states. This sharing of knowledge has provided the ground of defining importance to the promotion and respect of human rights and raise them to the podium of the ideals of humanity, and at the same time has raised awareness about human rights violations that take place around the globe: the trade of small arms, the human trafficking, transnational crimes, e-crimes and terrorism are but a few examples of human rights' violations that afflict humanity. The deconstruction of the physical space has been, also, accompanied by a fear of imposition of specific values or norms from the dominant cultures to the disempowered ones. And according to Wehr et al, "the dominant group has no need to alter the status-quo, and the subordinate group often has few methods available to persuade the dominant group to change" (Abu-Nimer, 1998, p. 111).

Research on human rights has tried to capture whether there is a similar understanding of human rights among various cultures. The plurality in social realities and world perspectives can be a source of generating differences on how human rights are perceived and understood, and as a consequence on how they are applied. As Tharoor (1999) pointed out “rights and values are defined and limited by cultural perceptions”. To start with, cultures are framed by the degree they endorse individualistic or collectivistic traits. As such, the interpretation of the human rights depends on the cultural framework pre-existing within a society. For example, Article 3 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child refers to the obligation of the States to ensure that the best interest of the child must be promoted in every decision taken. The Committee on the Rights of the Child (2013) stated that the best interest of the child means that “it should be adjusted and defined on an individual basis, according to the specific situation of the child or children concerned, taking into consideration their personal context, situation and needs” (p. 9). In individualistic societies though, the best interest of the child is determined by adding up the specific circumstances of the child, along with any restrictions or conflicts that might arise in relation to the rest of the rights of the child. In collectivist societies, it is interpreted in relation to the common good and the best interests of the group or the impact it has on the society. The context that the interpretation takes place determines its outcome; the beliefs and values within a culture filter the processing of human rights at an individual level.

The discussion related to the similar interpretation of human rights at a universal level derives from the same need that drove the examination of other phenomena, even cognitive ones, on whether the developmental steps taken follow a similar path around the globe or whether individuals at a similar stage of development share the same understanding or not in various cultures. Other than focusing on whether human rights are accepted worldwide and at what level, it has been also considered how the expression of human rights is manifested in diverse ways within a cultural plurality. For example, Spini and Doise (1998) demonstrated that while there was a universal consensus for

human rights at an abstract level that could not be supported at an applied level. Additionally, Malley-Morrison et al (2015) explored the principles of moral engagement and pro-social agency with non-Western, non-European participants. They concluded that despite the universality of moral agency, “the particular issues that can engage moral agency, the particular actions and values that may be viewed as right and wrong, and the relative predominance of personal versus collective agency on behalf of what seem like just causes for human rights violations or state violence seem likely to vary cross-culturally” (p. 85).

The universality of human rights was portrayed in various ways by the researchers. Abrams et al (2015) explored the application of the concept of equality among respondents in the UK. The results of their study revealed that despite individuals shared a similar understanding of what equality is, once it came to specific groups which have not been yet “appreciated” within the society, they applied the term in a dissimilar way, being less generous with those unprivileged groups. For a specific principle of human rights, that of equality, there was a consensus of the application of the principle with the societal beliefs for specific groups.

Whereas the societal values and beliefs have an impact on the practices exercised daily, the focus of research also turned into those practices that affect the child’s development. The first theories that tried to explain the development of various phenomena in children were the socialization models, founded on the belief that children were exposed through the society to a number of behaviors which consequently learn to imitate. Those models were developed in an era where the child was considered a mental vacuum, and therefore learned through imitation skills. As such, the family was considered the core unit within which learning took place. Much emphasis within the same time period was placed on the rearing practices of parents, and as such children developed various characteristics and behaviors due to the parenting style that their parents adopted. Cherney et al (2008) reported that the attitude of the parents about the children’s rights is not influenced by the culture the child lives in, but

rather by the parental style which is, of course, highly influenced by the culture. Attention was placed particularly on authoritarian parenting. As such, children who were raised within authoritarian families were more prone to become authoritarians and apply human rights restrictions as adults. Similar results were obtained by studies on Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), which explored individual differences and according to which societies must be structured based on group hierarchies. Individuals high in SDO were more prone to exhibit prejudism, political and social ideologies that lead to social phenomena such as meritocracy or racism, to support policies based on hierarchy and conservatism, and to uphold beliefs of human supremacy over other creatures (Pratto et al., 1994; Whitley, 1999; Wilson & Sibley, 2013; Graça et al., 2018)

Regardless of the consensus among the research results on the impact of the rearing practices to the support of human rights at an individual level, the specific framework utilized by those studies exhibited limitations: it did not share an understanding of how human rights support develops among children, in other words assumed that there were no differences among children and adults, it explained phenomena as an individual characteristic without taking into consideration the social context within which they take place, it failed to explain variations among individuals (i.e. why some adults raised by authoritarian parents support human rights), and failed to explain variations of behaviors of the same individual according to the target group.

The aforementioned deficits of the studies were identified and tried to be overcome through the application of cognitive models, which took into consideration the cognitive schemata of the children at various stages, in other words the developmental stage of the child at each phase. Conservation and perspective taking are two elements that characterize the conquest of the stages. With the increase of age, the young child acquires stability and flexibility on the mode of thinking, with an additional ability for multi-perspectivity and a shift of the focus from the self to one's group, to other groups and within the group. Basic implication of the specific mode of thinking is that one cannot teach

or enforce understanding about different perspectives, since children can only comprehend up to the cognitive level their stage corresponds.

Piaget's theory (1932) of moral development and Kohlberg's theory (1976) on moral judgment are both based on cognitive development. Piaget (1932) elaborated on the moral judgment of the child, by supporting that there are two different forms of moral judgment: the heteronomous morality and the autonomous one. The heteronomous morality is characterized by an egocentric thought and behavior and is based on relations of constraint (relations among individuals who are not at the same developmental level and are characterized by an exercise of power control for the individual). Piaget (1997) stated that social interactions that are based on social relations of constraint, do not result at cognitive development because they do not lead into active assimilation. The autonomous morality is based on relations of cooperation, where there is mutual respect and there is a symmetry among the developmental level of the participants. Kohlberg also specified levels of moral judgment, "where the early levels are characterized by an emphasis on concrete rewards and satisfactions, the middle levels by an emphasis on conformity to authority, and the latter levels by an emphasis on individual judgment" (Killen and Rutland, 2011, p. 24).

Inspired by the above framework, several studies illuminated how various age groups differ in their understanding of human rights. The results of a study on human rights implemented by Melton (1980) were in accordance with the developmental stages of moral development assembled by Piaget and Kohlberg. Melton found that indeed older children constructed human rights, independent of the authority figure or the power an individual possessed.

A conceptualization of children's rights was further investigated among nurturance and self-determination rights, where it was considered that children would differ in the way they would concept nurturance and self-determination rights. Indeed, at a study conducted by Ruck et al (1998) it was found that younger children were more prone to support nurturance rights over the self-determination rights, explained by the researchers as the development of different reasoning among the two different types of rights, along with a different

understanding based on the social knowledge constructed by the daily experiences of the children. Despite those results were not correlated with the levels of Piaget by the researchers, the difference on the possession of the control of power among the nurturance and self-determination rights, directs to the developmental level that the child is and the way the morality can be understood at that level. A few years later, Ruck et al. (2002) did not find any differences among younger children and adolescents on the endorsement of nurturance and self-determination rights in the context of home. The support of those rights by their mothers did not differ from the support declared by 10th graders either, once they evaluate the content and the psychological maturity of their child. Such results are in accordance with the original work of Piaget (1932) on moral judgment, where this form of morality was primarily related to the kind of social relations children found themselves in.

McFarland & Mathews (2005) have demonstrated that adults who reached the last stage of their moral development, despite they would seem similar in their support of human rights with adults from the previous level of moral development, those adults would differ on the way they would defend human rights in cases of contradictions.

At a study compiled by Cherney et al (2008) the outcomes of the research conducted in three countries revealed that the adults' considerations of the competency of children to enact on their human rights, for example the right to participate in decision making, was based on the age determined by the legal system as the age of competence. Adults in the three countries matched the maturation of the children with the age limit provided by the state. In another study, Avery (1988) examined political tolerance, defined as "the willingness to extend basic human rights to one's least-liked socio-political group" (p. 183). In his study, which was carried out among black and white students, Avery found no differences on political tolerance among various age groups or among individuals who differed in terms of race, even though he did find differences among female and male participants, with the second group exhibiting more tolerance.

Other than having diverse results of whether human rights' support develops at a developmental sequence and as such, variations among various age groups exist, there are two major limitation of this framework: (a) it fails to explain the perseverance of various phenomena on adults, since with the acquisition of the last level of development, one would expect that the justification of human rights violations wouldn't prevail in adults, and (b) it does not acknowledge the social context that a child develops.

The intellectual navigation within the field of human rights, could not exclude the various attitudes which might supersede in the cognitive structure of human rights and which might lead to a distinct behavioral discernment. To start with, Crowson (2004) found that "individuals who were high in need for closure [being the individual need to define vagueness, the explanation of the term is ours], lower in moral judgment development, and who described themselves as politically conservative, were more likely to endorse restrictions on political and civil rights" (p. 248). Another finding of the study was that political conservatism was not strongly related with attitudes toward civilian constraint, an outcome that, as explained by the author, derives by the consideration of specific groups or individuals within a society, even by liberals, as harmful for the betterment of the society.

Authoritarianism is an aspect thoroughly examined by social psychologists as a variable associated with multiple social phenomena. Its association with human rights attitudes was a fundamental research question explored with a zeal by the researchers. The results of the studies indicated that individuals high in authoritarianism come to endorse in a lesser degree the human rights or any principles related to their applicability. Fetchenhauer & Bierhoff's (2004) results though, supported that while indeed individuals high in authoritarianism did not care about human rights, they were willing to get into a war, to "protect" human rights in other states or occasions. Despite, according to the above researchers, individuals high in authoritarianism are ethnocentric and do not have a great concern for out-group individuals, they do possess individual characteristics, such as a punitive and aggressive reaction in cases

of “misbehavior”, which explain the need to react with military intervention when violations of human rights take place outside of their own “home”.

At a study conducted by Crowson and Debacker (2008) it was found that authoritarian individuals, men and individuals who thought that knowledge could not be subject to change, but rather was absolute and provided, were more prone to support human rights restrictions. Similarly, Crowson et al (2006) found that authoritarianism and social dominance orientation were variables that had a direct impact on the justification of restrictions of human rights in relation to the 9/11 events.

The results of a study conducted by Cohrs et al (2007) indicated that authoritarianism or political affiliation were related but not a sufficient factor to provide evidence for the behavior of individuals regarding human rights, neither had a direct impact. The individuals ready to act to support human rights were the ones who supported human rights without any restrictions and even at the expense of their own group. The same authors suggested that individuals were more prone to accept violation of human rights once social safety was at stake. At the same time, their results indicated that the military enforcement was not related to the human rights behavior, a different outcome from previous studies, which the authors supported by indicating to the presentation of the military intervention not as a humanitarian act, but rather as a means to achieve political ends. Malley-Morrison et al (2015) found out that the capacity of individuals to differentiate among right or wrong was the one related with prosocial agency (the belief that the individual can make a change) and activism.

Another dichotomy highly explored in social psychology research is the conservatism-liberalism. The system justification theory, even though up to the current point has not been correlated with the applicability of human rights, threw light on the vicious cycle of threats and anxiety, which cause the acceptance of various practices conducive to the maintenance of the status-quo and specifically, how the epistemic, existential and relational needs work towards that direction, which in the case of intractable conflicts lead to the adoption of conflict supporting beliefs and resign any alternative, peaceful future (Hennes

et al., 2012; Jost et al., 2015). Based on the results of various studies, conservatives are more prone to use intuitive thinking and base their arguments on existing stereotypes than liberals are (Jost & Krochik, 2014), have a tendency to support practices and adopt attitudes which do not pose a threat to the status-quo (Jost, 2017), engage in economic system justification (Jost et al., 2017), tend to deal with social problems in a monolithic way that provides for right/wrong solutions (Jost et al., 2017a), experience higher threat and fear (Jost et al., 2017a), appreciate and exhibit higher levels of group consensus (Jost et al., 2018) and are more unlikely to disobey the authority (Jost et al., 2018). Those differences among conservatives and liberals can be used to explain the merging of ideas, attitudes and behaviors among majority and minority individuals in certain cases (Hennes et al., 2012). Future research can provide evidence on whether system justification can polarize individuals to the extent that they support practices which deprive certain groups of their rights.

Hackett et al (2015) revealed the association among human rights concerns and global community welfare. The results of the specific study provided evidence that individuals who value humanity, at the same time are more prone to act and support human rights, even in cases where there is a heated debate related to the justification of a violation. McFarland et al (2012) also explored the reasons behind the prediction of human rights support by the identification with all humanity. As the authors described

“Identification with all humanity predicts concerns of a global nature, priority given to human rights over national self-interests, a willingness to invest national resources to defend human rights in situations of grave abuse, less ethnocentric valuation of human life, greater knowledge regarding global humanitarian concerns and a greater desire to learn information on these concerns, and a willingness to give to international relief efforts. It predicts these beyond the power of other identifications, the related constructs cited above, general personality, and positive and negative emotionality” (p. 849).

To provide a coherent picture of human rights, McFarland (2015) summed up the various predictors of human rights support. Based on the literature

review conducted, he supported that generalized prejudice and its roots (authoritarianism and social dominance) are inhibitors of human rights' application, while identification with all humanity, globalism and universalism, political ideology and political party support are strong predictors of human rights support. There are weaker predictors as well. According to the aforementioned researcher those are: the values, the nationalism, the dispositional empathy, the principled moral reasoning, the belief in the possibility of creating a better world, formal education, global and human rights knowledge, need for structure, religious faith, and big-five personality factors. At his study, Avery (1988) demonstrated gender differences, with women being more likely not to extend the human rights to the groups they did not like, a result that might be a possible explanation of the gender differences found in reconciliation studies as well.

Within the context of Cyprus, a recent study conducted in 2018, measured the levels of awareness of children's rights among the members of the society, along with the degree the State complies with the provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (Angelides et al., 2018). The study, conducted among children and adults, brought into the foreseen that individuals are not even aware of how the child is defined, expressing different age groups within that zone. Interestingly enough, the results of the study also indicated that participating children refer to children as being a property of the parents, with the latter being entitled with the 'privilege' to adopt any form of action that they consider necessary, even a violent one, for the child's nurture. Participating adults focused on provision and protection rights, while there was a small reference to participation rights. Participants of the study also identified racism, abuse, and lack of support by the State as the main issues experienced by Cypriot society regarding children's rights.

The omnipresence facet of human rights, despite a constitutive element, evokes the examination of human rights in a wider context and makes imperative the diffusion of information among the fields to reach a deeper understanding of the field of human rights. Vigorous evidence and an

accumulated body of knowledge on various aspects of human rights is provided mostly by the field of law, while as Migacheva (2015) pointed out, the field of social psychology does not inform and affect the policy making regarding human rights. As the same author describes “our failure to participate in the shaping of human rights policy leaves individual experience without adequate representation; this is an ironic omission, considering that the main beneficiary of human rights is the individual” (p. 147). Not only the knowledge utilized by other theories developed in the field, can provide an insight on the understanding of human rights, but the general framework that guided social psychology research can easily explain the route that human rights’ research has taken. The predilection to specific cognitive or psychological structures upon which researchers piled up their research outcomes is an ingredient ready to be used. Concurrently, while Angelides’ et al study (2018) initiated the efforts of exploring the concept of children’s rights within the Cypriot context, did not explore other constructs that may have a tremendous impact on the applicability form they take. The current study aims to explore those constructs to examine their impact on universality and inalienability of children’s rights within the context in Cyprus. What follows is a summary of the research conducted related to human rights violations.

2.2.5. Research on Human Rights’ Violations

One could expect that the human rights’ properties, along with the precursor dispositions on behalf of the states to support and promote human rights, once they ratify the international instruments, would be fundamental in lessening the violations observed and increasing the basic human life standards that each individual enjoys. While specific efforts have transcended conventional assumptions and conceptualizations on behalf of the states and have driven societies to a different inception of human rights, there has been also a perpetual drift owing to various political, economic, cultural or other conditions that restrict the full enjoyment of human rights by all individuals.

While the Seville Statement on Violence (UNESCO, 1986) states that violence is not inherited in human genes nor it is genetically programmed in human nature, violence, either direct or structural, is manifested in various aspects and forms of daily life and results in a sequence of human rights violations at an individual or collective level. According to the World Health Organization's (WHO) data of 2015, 663 million people still rely on unimproved water sources, there are 438 000 malaria deaths of whom the 90% occurred in the Africa Region and in children under 5 years, while 35% of women experience physical/ sexual violence by a partner and/or sexual violence by a non-partner in their lifetime (World Health Organization, 2015). Gross violations of human rights committed in various regions, along with the indifference of the international community, "when the world's near-total inaction in Aleppo called to mind similar failures in Rwanda and Srebrenica in 1994 and 1995" (Amnesty International, 2016, p. 13), provide the ground for the arousal of a populist surge, which "permits" the violation of rights of individuals or specific groups. According to the data of Amnesty International, in 2016, 23 war crimes were committed in at least 23 countries, 22 countries saw people killed for peacefully standing up for human rights, 36 countries violated international law by illegally sending refugees back, the bombing of hospitals was a routine in Syria and Yemen, activists were killed by governmental officials for protesting against exploitation and infrastructure projects, impunity was provided for war crimes, voices were dissented in an effort to "protect" the state, while individuals were dismissed or forcibly disappeared, journalists were held in detention and media outlets were closed down, while new laws were adopted that increase the authorities' power to access and retain digital communication and data.

The social stratification of a society has a direct impact on the justification of restriction or violations of human rights targeting specific groups. In different spatial and time zones, certain groups become more salient within a community, while others less. This is in accordance with one of the major findings of research on social exclusion, that children do understand that prejudicial behavior is unfair but when the group identity is salient, they won't apply moral

reasons (Killen & Rutland, 2011). Furthermore, the amount and quality of contact that individuals have with vulnerable groups can have a determinant effect on the way individuals justify human rights violations. As such, research on human rights cannot be de-framed of its socio-cultural and historical context.

A marked increase in research has been documented related to human rights violations in an effort to understand why those are tolerated and, in an effort, to deter and reverse abusive practices. Processes and mechanisms that guide the acceptance or violation of specific rights were documented. In a study conducted by Staerkle and Clemence (2004) it was found that while there was a consensus regarding the human rights principles, there was not the same consensus regarding the violation of rights (except for the prohibition of inhumane treatment). According to the authors, the condemn of the violation differs among individuals who follow a rights-based approach, and as such, “independent of the context of the violation or the characteristics of the individual, consider any violation as unacceptable, and individuals who follow a context-based approach, and as such consider that, the violation becomes a legitimate sanction of an unacceptable act” (p. 404).

Violations of human rights and especially of specific rights, which at specific moments emerge within the social context as controversial, regarding the extent that their applicability or restriction can severe individuals, groups or societies have been also the affair of research. Examples of such rights are the right to protection from torture, and the freedom of speech. As such, Kull et al. (2008) carried out a study in 16 countries aiming to examine whether torture should be prohibited in any case or should be allowed for the common benefit. The results of the study indicated that specific beliefs within a society, such as the priority given to political or economic issues, has an impact on whether justification for the application of torture is provided or not. At the same time, there was a difference among individuals related to how authoritarian a person was or his/her desire to know that his/her group is superior to other groups.

A study conducted almost 5 decades ago in USA, trying to explore children’s attitudes on freedom of dissent, revealed that even though children

avored freedom of speech, that favor was primarily a concept taught at school not as a right attributed to all individuals and without being applied in real life situations (Zellman & Sears, 1971). The authors found that in real life situations, children were not granted freedom of speech as a right, but rather as a privilege that could be exercised only by those individuals that were favored by the dominant-adult culture.

Years after that study, Downs and Cowan (2012) examined various factors that might affect how an individual rates the freedom of speech, with their sample being adults. In their study, they found that individuals high in authoritarianism did not give significance to the freedom of speech. As the authors explained, a probable explanation is that authoritarian individuals consider speech as a means to “promote equality and criticize the government” (p. 1368), and as a means that can exercise criticism towards traditional values. On the other end of the spectrum, the more liberal an individual was, the higher was the importance attributed to the freedom of speech. Another outcome of the particular study was a gender difference, with men being stronger supporters of free speech, but at the same time women declaring more understanding on the harm caused by hate speech. This outcome might have been the result of the experiences of the two genders within the patriarchic societies, as the authors documented.

The type of governance, along with the character of the inhabitants, has been shown to affect the evaluation of human rights by individuals (Staerkle et al., 1998). The study provided evidence that the general public attributes responsibility in cases of human rights violations to the inhabitants of a state, when it's a democratic one, while once the regime is authoritarian, the responsibility is attributed to the state, since individuals are considered powerless to have a political will and action. Additionally, in another study conducted by Doise (2002) the interviewees felt that nations should protect the rights of the individuals who have shown a respect to the nation itself (for example the legal immigrants) in comparison to those who haven't done so (for example the illegal immigrants).

There is a consensus among the academic community that research on human rights has prevailed within the Western societies. As such, it has failed to examine understanding or endorsement of human rights violations or restrictions upheld in different contexts. Research has documented how specific practices lead to mass violations of human rights for specific populations, such as the female genital mutilation (Onuh et al., 2006) or the sterilization of individuals with mental disabilities (McCavitt, 2013), but a criticism that arose was whether western notions of various groups, such as women or children, are used as an excuse to 'reform' other cultures to assimilate the western one (Mickelson, 1998). Furthermore, research remains opaque in other areas considered uncontested terrains. For example, it was not until recently that Woods (2016) put under the microscope of the field of social psychology the discussion related to the violation of rights of the future generations. Additionally, it would be instructive to note possible differences among the genders related to the conceptualization of human rights in patriarchic societies. Finally, it would be interesting to note whether there would be any difference in the research results of studies which portray the characteristics or mechanisms that individuals deploy to justify the violation or restriction of human rights for specific groups or individuals or in specific cases, once the scenario changes to being threatening to any aspect of the identity of the individual. Such a finding would be in accordance to Moscovisci's criticism towards theories that make a distinction among the cognitive processes that tolerant and prejudiced people employ, since, according to him, those processes do not seem to differentiate in times of danger in real life situations.

The literature review on the concept of human rights in modern societies brought to the foreseen the need for an extensive investigation of how those are understood and applied. This need becomes urgent for children's rights since research conducted so far other than minimal, focused on parental style and nurturance. Acutely aware of this shortage of research, I designed a set of research questions that aimed (a) to capture the content of social representations of children's rights, among educators and children, (b) to

examine whether some of them are shared, and (c) to consider whether various factors, such as the gender, the experience of traumatic historical events, and the levels of patriotism and nationalism shape differently those representations. Furthermore, research on violations of human rights has, among others, revealed that violations of rights become acceptable or even personally 'executed' by individuals under certain conditions. In the current study, I seek to understand whether indeed violations of children's rights are 'permitted' in Cyprus for the 'other', which in the case of the Greek Cypriot community is the Turk or the Turkish-Cypriot, or are collectively legitimized for the sake of the nation and its survival. Other than exploring the degree to which national practices are considered or not as infringement of children's rights, as described before, the readiness of individuals to extend children's rights to the children of one's least-liked socio-political group (political tolerance) and possible differences in the responses when the least liked socio-political group relates to the Cyprus issue were set as research questions of the current study.

2.2.6. The Role of Human Rights Education

Violations of human rights can become normative under certain societal conditions and legitimized as a needed mechanism based on other salient discourses prevalent within a society. The international documents which define the human rights for all individuals determine the State's obligations for the promotion and fulfilment of the rights for all individuals under their jurisdiction. But, those documents cannot be employed for resisting discourses, such as nationalism, which after all result in framing the application of human rights into a specific context and a specific target group. This can be only achieved via the endorsement of a rights-based approach within a society. Establishing a rights-based approach is the work of education. Human rights education can be considered the methodology through which a rights-based approach is built within the society. In other words, the international documents set the ground for the application of human rights at a State level, whereas

human rights education sets the ground for human rights respect and promotion at an individual and collective level. Both contribute to the universality, indivisibility and interdependence of human rights. Various discourses and normative practices cannot translate into human rights violations, once a rights-based approach is embodied within the society's and State's policy and practice.

The UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (U.N. General Assembly, 2011) adopted in 2011 by the UN General Assembly, the Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (Council of Europe, 2010), along with the World Programme of Human Rights Action (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2004) other than affirming the necessity of human rights education for achieving societies based on the foundations of peace, human rights, social justice, democracy and development, provided a definition, the methodological tools and the content for human rights education.

The Council of Europe (2010) defines human rights education as the

“education, training, awareness raising, information, practices and activities which aim, by equipping learners with knowledge, skills and understanding and developing their attitudes and behaviour, to empower learners to contribute to the building and defence of a universal culture of human rights in society, with a view to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms”.

Learning about human rights, is a necessary element within human rights education but does not actually convey the spirit and philosophy of the human rights education; in other words, it knowledge about the international instruments and the rights included in them is essential, but inadequate if not taught in conjunction with learning through and for human rights. Learning through human rights indicates that the methodology and materials used, are conducive the promotion and respect of human rights (Council of Europe, 2012); in other words, you cannot actually preach about human rights, without applying them in daily school life. Learning through human rights presupposes creating space where all voices can be heard, cultural differences are respected, and

individuals are empowered through the process (Kotziamani, 2010). At last, learning for human rights entails components that lead children into actions against human rights violations (Council of Europe, 2012).

Concurrently, human rights education must aim toward advancing the knowledge, skills and attitudes of the learners. The objectives set must aim towards developing competencies over the aforementioned three areas. The 'traditional' mode of teaching which focused on knowledge acquisition does not lead to critical thinking of prevalent discourses within the society or practices that are considered normative and how those exclude, marginalize or violate the rights of specific individuals or groups. At the same time, it does not develop a sense of responsibility for social change that would safeguard the rights of all.

The complexity of human rights, and the interrelation of various concepts, discourses and representations within a society must not be ignored or specifically omitted within a human rights training. A holistic approach must be employed by any means, exposing the learner to a plethora of interrelations and social aspects, projected via a micro- and macro-, and a present- and future-perspective, that lead to a critical endorsement of a rights-based approach. Thematic areas that focus either on specific groups of people or specific situations, framing both enjoyment and violations of rights, can be included within the human rights education. But the content must be accompanied by a child-centered, participatory and reflective methodology based on experiential learning that addresses the needs and interests of the learners, applied within all subjects of the curriculum.

A diversity of fields prevails within the educational arena, such as democratic citizenship education, peace education, global education, intercultural education and anti-racist education, without incorporating an antagonism among them, but rather endorsing a reciprocal exploration of social conditions through a diverse set of approaches. All together can be seen as the many colors within a single drawing.

Understanding the importance of teachers' training and its importance in the configuration of a rights-based approach within the society is an essential

component that must accompany any human rights education programs incorporated by the State. Teachers' training can be viewed as the pinnacle of the professional development of educators. Behind its necessity lurks the various own discourses of educators which may come to resist the universality of rights. As research has identified, the universality, inalienability and interdependency of human rights are neither a replica among the various cultures, nor a reflection of a common understanding (Zembylas et al., 2015, 2016, 2016a, 2016b; Doise, 2012); they are conditioned via the social conditions and the specific contextual factors from where they depart. By stating that, a major difficulty for educators emerges which is the negotiation among the universality and the 'localization' of rights based on the actual social conditions within a specific time period and an era (Zembylas et al., 2016). Other challenges that may arise and declare the teachers' training essential evolves around the controversial character of the themes that human rights education involves: the fact that during the discussion of those controversial topics, disclosure of events may take place, with educators feeling inadequate to deal with it, and the fact that contradictions with the 'official' curriculum may emerge (Zembylas et al., 2016). Additionally, as Zembylas et al. (2016a) report another difficulty experienced by educators is on how to make the theme under exploration relevant to students. Those challenges differ from the ones that educators are come across on a daily basis within the educational praxis. Once educators feel competent to teach for, about and through human rights though, then human rights education has the potential to challenge existing power structures, dominant discourses, and stereotypes that prevail within a society (Zembylas et al., 2016a), which can lead to societal changes.

Within a setting bothered by an intractable conflict human rights education has been framed within an institutional arrangement, consolidating a limited discourse of human rights based on the violations experienced by the in-group protracted by the out-group, leaving no room for critical analysis of other aspects or the violations of the rights of the other (Zembylas et al., 2016b). Human rights education as applied in Cyprus did not embrace multi-

perspectivity, neither affiliated the framework as incomplete or highly conceptualized by the local context. On the contrary, it entailed a fragile web of daily practices that sustained the hegemonic discourses around the collective victimization.

2.3. The Infusion of Human Rights Within the Theories of Social Influence and Social Representations

2.3.1. Human Rights by the Lens of the Theory of Social Influence

A heated debate of the past was the direction of influence among society and individual and the degree of such an influence. While the debate came to the fore, since the formation of social groups characterized by specific norms and the interdependence among its members, which later were developed and became known as societies, research has contributed to the discussion, resulting into a consensus of the bidirectional influence among the two.

The end of the second World War though, meant the initiation of two major movements: the first movement composed by academics, politicians and intellectuals produced a milestone document, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), while the second movement, composed by psychologists and researchers, based its efforts in identifying the circumstances under which individuals obey or disobey into an authoritative figure and can be manipulated by it. While the one movement tried to control human behavior by establishing mechanisms responsible to prevent future atrocities, the second movement aimed to provide an understanding and a framework to explain the human behavior and indicate the circumstances under which individuals can tolerate the violation of human rights of their fellow human beings, in other words, to explore the social influence.

According to Turner, social influence is “the procedures, through which people in a direct or indirect way influence the thoughts, feelings, and actions of others” (Gardikiotis, 2008, p. 16). A number of experiments took place within and outside the laboratories in order to target the elements and the means of social influence.

Asch believed that individuals can resist to the actions which derive by the rules and values imposed by the group, since the individual is a rational being (Papastamou, 1989a). This belief has a direct connection with the

resistance enacted by the individuals, once a human rights violation is initiated by the state or the majority within a state. Asch conducted several experiments, where he presented a number of lines, and individuals were required to indicate the line that was identical with the line-archetype. Some of the individuals were confederates, while the rest were the subjects of the experiment. While the majority of the subjects were influenced by the answers of the accomplices, 25% of them did not conform (Asch, 1956). During the interviews Ash conducted, he realized that the subjects who conformed to the majority were shocked under the realization that the rest of the group had a different opinion. There was a socio-cognitive conflict that created a fuzziness about the already established schema, which led to negotiating the representation of the reality. Asch's experiments have documented that not all individuals conform to the rules imposed by the majority. The diversity among the "voices" objected to the unanimity was a factor that created conditions which allowed to the subject not to conform, according to Asch. Also, the number of subjects who conformed increased, once the beliefs should be expressed publicly. This has important implications on the way individuals can be manipulated to conform or provide resistance. For the voices of vulnerable groups to be "heard" within the society, the persistence on their rights should be shared and expressed by more than one group within the society, while the justification to commit human rights abuses comes into the foreplay by groups who have a strong need to belong to a specific group.

Milgram's experiments (Milgram, 1974), which demanded from participants to submit electroshocks to an accomplice of the experimenter during an aptitude task, were also part of the efforts to investigate the circumstances that humans obey to an authoritative figure, even if the rules of that figure could cause harm to a fellow human being. Milgram's goal was to examine various circumstances that lead an individual to violate the human rights of another person, and as such to provide an understanding of how unacceptable, horrified events of the world history, such as the Holocaust, took place.

Sherif's (described at a previous session), Asch's and Milgram's experiments formed the functional model, based on 6 main arguments: (a) the inequality among the transmitter and the receiver. Due to this inequality the transmitter 'holds' the one and only truth, (b) the conformity is an essential ingredient for the continuation of the group, (c) social control is the element that permits social influence. Without it, the majority cannot have an influence on the minority, (d) dependence is another element that preserves the relations among the group members, (e) the majority uses the insecurity individuals feel for the instability of their environment to increase compliance to the social rules and values. In other words, compliance provides individuals with security about who they are, and (f) objectivity about reality is based on the facts individuals experience, and on the facts, they perceive as real, through what the group professes (Papastamou, 1989).

Various outcomes that derived from the experiments that led to the formation of the functional model, such as the reduction of the social influence, once the anonymity of the individuals was ensured, have driven researchers into the second model, the genetic one. The genetic model presupposes a conflict of ideas, which oppose each other (Papastamou, 1989). Social influence does not happen in the form of social control, but can lead to social change. As such, the influence is exercised not only by the transmitter to the receiver, but in various forms and by and towards various other agents, which results in innovation, meaning that the original, dominant position supported by the majority is deconstructed (Papastamou, 1989). This has important implications in the field of human rights, since the different voices expressed by various groups within the society come to halt the already established construction of human rights understanding and application withheld within a society.

According to Deutch & Gerard (1955) two forms of influence provide the motives to individuals to alter their thoughts and behaviors. The normative influence is based on the need to belong and as such the individual is influenced by the rules and values of the group in an effort to be part of the group.

Transferred into the field of human rights, the normative influence implies that violations of human rights can be more easily justified or committed by individuals who need to belong to a specific group and with their justification or behavior come to “deserve” their belongingness to the group. On the other hand, informational influence is based on the need to know the truth/reality and as such, individuals can change their thoughts and actions to reestablish the rules and values that respond to reality. According to Deutch & Gerard (1955), the more the individual is exposed to the social influences, the more becomes uncertain about its own representations, even in the cases that the individual seems to be stable about his/her representations. As specified by the same authors, this is especially applicable when the individuals have strong ties with the rest of the group members, rather than just forming a gathering of individuals.

As Moscovisci supports the base of social influence is conflict, not meant as physical, but rather as socio-cognitive. The prerequisite of conflict is also the one that affects normative and informational influence (Wood et al., 1994). The resolution of the conflict can result to a change, but the form of that resolution is highly connected with the type of influence applied. Three different forms of influence can be applied: normalization, conformity and innovation (Gardikiotis, 2008). According to Moscovisci (1976), normalization is the tendency of individuals to express behaviors and beliefs, by avoiding conflict, which abide to the norms of the majority and as such, establish a common rule that will serve the common good. The experiments of Sherriff declared the human need to adjust behavior in order to find something acceptable by the people engaged. Conformity is the form of influence that takes place when there is a majority and a minority with divergent, conflicting opinions. The conflict usually ends with the minority succumbing to the views of the majority. Conformity prevailed at Ash’s experiments presented above. At last, innovation is the form of influence that derives

from the viewpoints of a minority, which manages to reorganize the society, by suggesting new ideas.

Within the theory of social influence, the words majority and minority are not meant to represent numbers. The majority, other than being superior in number, it also represents the normative position of the group (Gardikiotis, 2008). The majority holds the subjective truth and according to its positions, the actions and future plans are regulated. The majority also possess power within the society, usually both in status and economic. On the other hand, minority does not possess any power or status within the society and represents a position different from the one of the majority. The question that arises is whether the minority has the potential to influence the positions of the majority and in what way.

To answer the above question and in opposition to the traditional models which captured social influence as being affected by the numerical superiority of one group to another, Moscovisci formed a theory of social influence based on innovation. As Moscovisci (1976) pointed out, the traditional models could not explain phenomena where groups that were less in numbers succeeded in having their views respected and becoming the norm within a society due to the behavior they adopted. As he stated, for minority to be successful, must have a consistent behavior regarding its position. Consistency though, is a necessary but not sufficient condition. Moscovisci's experiments showed that once there are two minority sources, then the consistent behavior is effective, but when there is only a single minority source, a pliable behavior turns to be more effective (Moscovisci, 1976). The minority's goal must be to "crack" the perceptions of the majority. Once achieved, the success of the minority does not depend solely on introducing a new perception, but also on altering the perception of the majority as the unique source that forms the rules. To be successful, the minority must also aim towards the silent majority, in other words, towards the individuals who do not create the perceptions, rather they are the ones who sustain them by adopting and using them. The minority must directly attack the beliefs of the majority, and the conflict must be intense to

have a radical change. The minority must also manage to differentiate the source that transmits the new perception from its content (Papastamou, 1989), since it becomes easier for the members of the majority to adapt the perception, once they don't relate it with specific characteristics of the transmitting source. The minority must aim to cause a change in the private sphere. Once the characteristics above are put in place, innovation can be the outcome.

The above discussion has important implications for the applicability of human rights. Normalization sheds light on how diverse opinions related to human rights come to converge, conformity provides an understanding on how specific groups within the society become "silent", while innovation explains the process by which the human rights of vulnerable groups, such as the women, the individual with disabilities, the refugees and so forth, has led to the formation of specific Conventions attending the specific needs of those groups. Additionally, organised collective action of these groups is what often sustains the struggle for the application of human rights and resistance to their violations.

2.3.2. The Theory of Social Representations

While in the past knowledge acquisition was highly connected with an understanding of the environment and the ability to sustain the social relations within a community, elements that were ascribed to the elders, once the communities grew and became more diverse a paradigm shift was enacted, with the knowledge produced within laboratories being the only acknowledgeable. The 20th century revealed a scientific shock, once knowledge, including scientific knowledge came to be understood as not absolute, but rather as affiliated and influenced by the perceptions and understandings of a specific era and of a specific context. Knowledge came to be understood as an amalgamation of the social

interactions, the collective or institutionalized facts based on the practices and beliefs of the society, and the science. A theory that tried to acknowledge this amalgam and provide the means to explore it was the theory of social representations. Bar-Tal (2014) and Jovchelovitch (2007) compare the social representations with the myths and belief systems of the traditional and modern societies or of specific groups within the society, to provide an understanding of the way the representations are formatted.

“Social representations should be seen as a specific way of understanding and communicating what we know already” (Moscovici, 2000, p. 31). The theory of social representations tries to provide an insight on how a stimulus extracts a specific response within a specific milieu. According to Moscovici, social representations “enable the individuals to adjust themselves in the material and social world, and to facilitate communication between the members of a community” (Psaltis, 2007, p. 65). In other words, social representations enable individuals to place themselves within a society and to communicate. By saying so, one ascribes a dual element to the social representations: they cannot exist without a cultural context and a communication context. Since, social representations are generated and preserved within a specific social milieu (ideologies, context, era, status-quo etc) they are not stable entities. As Jovchelovitch (2007) supports they cannot capture the whole reality and they do not reflect the actual world. Even though, social representations are not stable and are being influenced by the time and context they belong to, once formed they become stabilized for the individuals who share them, leaving room only for minor divergences. Since they also contribute to the coherence of a group, they become part of the group’s history: they define the past and guide the future.

As Sammut et al. (2015) describe, the theory of social representations has allowed for a distinction between the core and the peripheral components of the social representations. As they support, “the core ...defines the social representation and its reason for existence. The peripheral component consists of beliefs, ideas and stereotypes that serve to make the social representation

relevant and applicable to a social milieu” (p. 9). The core aspect does not change or it is very difficult to change, while the peripheral does. Social representations are better studied in times of social conflict, in times where there is a “corrosion” of the consensus exhibited within a society, and as such the core and the peripheral components can be more easily identified.

Additionally, for social representations, to serve their purpose, two mechanisms are put in place: anchoring and objectification. Anchoring refers to the process when something unfamiliar becomes familiar once categorized into the existing structure (Moscovici, 2000). In other words, the new element is classified according to the signification the object has or the experiences of the individual in the past. For example, up to 1973, the American Psychiatric Association, included homosexuality in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM). A new element within the society, homosexuality, was constructed based on what was already known, and as such characterized as a mental disorder, even by the scientific community. Additionally, the discourse employed for a specific representation, makes use of the familiar and existing structures within a society. On the same example, until nowadays, in more conservative societies, as Cyprus, the associations which try to promote the rights of homosexual individuals, classify it as a birth defect (based on a genetic abnormality), which cannot be altered, and as such, something that must be accepted within the society. A discourse that would deploy homosexuality as a choice, would have been considered threatening, and as such, rejected. Staerkle (2004) points out the importance of media on creating familiarity for human rights violations that take place worldwide. As Lerner and Goldberg stated, the media in western countries report human rights abuses in developing countries in a form that does not relate with the listener, forming a belief that it such a violation cannot take place in my country and that there must be a reason it happens, usually caused by the victim (Staerkle, 2004).

Objectification is the process by which a concept is assigned to a concrete image to be projected in that way (Moscovici, 2000, p. 42). In simple words, once there is information flow within a society, there is a filtering of the flow and retention of the elements considered compatible with the existing information. Once this is achieved, the information is taken out of its context and combined with the existing information within the society (Moliner and Abric, 2015). For example, at a study conducted by Jodelet in 1991 (Wagner et al., 1999), the researcher observed that the participants, who lived in rural areas and were farmers used words of their daily life, such as “souring” to describe mental illness; via the process of objectification, they transferred their concrete daily experiences to understand a more abstract phenomenon. As such, they became able to conceptualize it and make it intelligible.

As Doise et al explicitly state, “objectification aims to create truths obvious to everyone, independent of any social or psychological determinism; anchoring denotes the intervention of such determinisms in their genesis and transformation” (Gély & Sanchez-Mazas, 2006, p. 397). In this way, the two processes interplay to accommodate the understanding of objects and others within a specific society.

The mode of communication is an integral part of the social representations. Within the theory of social representations there are three different forms of communication (Moscovici, 2000): diffusion, propagation and propaganda. The diffusion mode applies when the information sharing is almost identical and thus, there is no room for variation. As Staerkle (2015) reports, “diffusion is a normalization process that produces terms of reference” (p. 286). That means that social representations are shared among the members of the society and become the roadmaps in terms of values and understanding among its members. This form of communication is established once there is an equality among the transmitter and the receiver, and as such there is an interplay of positions among the two. The propagation mode deteriorates information to be in accordance with the existing schemata and non-threatening for the identity of the individual. The information is shared by a central authority,

while members of the out-groups are excluded since they do not share the same beliefs. According to this mode of communication, only specific parts of the information are processed, the ones in accordance with the existing schemata. The parts of the information considered as 'opposite' are rejected as not valid, since are considered threatening. This mode results to preserve the status-quo, as it is shaped by the dominant groups within a society, but it also provides room to shape attitudes towards the new information. At last, propaganda mode does not permit any influence by the new information. The individuals distant themselves from the new information and form stereotypes about it. It allows for an antagonism among the various representations. Propaganda is used to shake the representations shared by the majority or by the dominant groups within a society. The different modes of communication affect both the social interactions and the understanding of the world, and as Jovchelovitch (2007) states "through different styles of communication and interaction representations produce different systems of knowledge" (p. 108). One can easily find parallels among the theory of social influence and the three different forms of influence (normalization, conformity and innovation) with the modes of communication employed within the theory of social representations.

The outcome of the communication is affected by the degree that the group is open to new information as well. Once reached by the new information though, the mode of communication affects the outcomes of the communication, which are categorized into hegemonic (shared by all members), emancipated (shared by sub-groups within groups) and polemical (Psaltis, 2012). As the same author supports, the polemical representations tend to be mutually exclusive and arise in certain cases where there is not a consensus within a society or there is social conflict. Those representations are based on propaganda and strive to become hegemonic, meaning that they "can become shared by all members of a highly structured group, without them having being produced by the group" (p. 381).

Gillespie has also referred to the term alternative representations, which is a component of the social representations focusing on the characteristics of the members who do not share the same representation (Sammut et al., 2015). Alternative representations are part of the representations held by an individual and can be thought of as a defending mechanism that protects the core of the representation, but cannot be considered as cognitive polyphasia, since they remain in the shadows and do not get into a dialectic confrontation with the core (Gillespie, 2008). A representation can be rejected once it's considered threatening to an aspect of the identity of the individual or the group (Breakwell, 2001). At the same time, Gillespie (2008) pinpoints to seven semantic barriers that block any change of the core of the representation or the rejection of the old one and the adoption of a new one, such as the prohibited thoughts, where the alternative representations are discarded as dangerous, or undermining the motive of those who support it. By stating all the above, the question that arises is how social representations change?

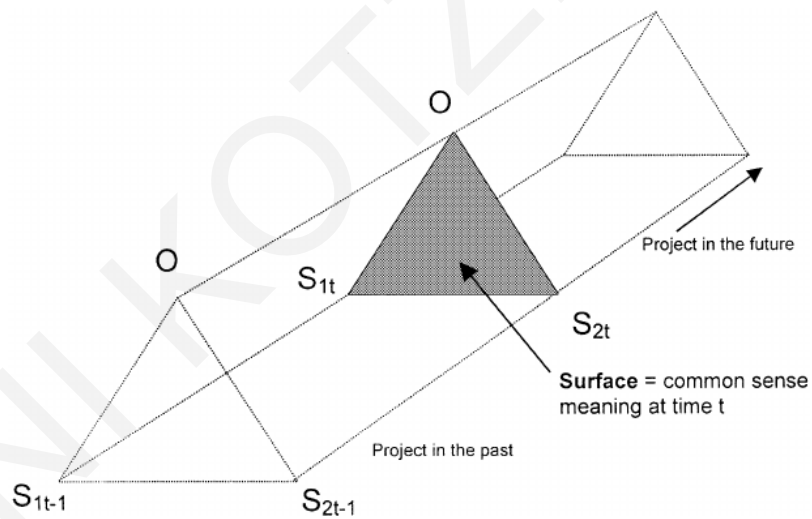
Other than the processes of anchoring and objectification that Moscovici (2000) pointed out, four socio-cultural approaches of self-reflection (rupture, social contact, movement between contexts and semiotic dialogicality) have been discussed as the medium through which the representation itself is being thought and acted upon (Kadianaki & Gillespie, 2015). Moreover, according to Wagner & Kronberger (2001), a new representation comes into the scene when the discourse among various groups and the one presented in the media becomes identical.

The interplay of elements is what provides significance to the theory of social representations. The Toblerone model of social representations has tried to capture in a more representationsl way the elements which characterize and are needed in social representations (Figure 1 depicts the model) (Sammut et al., 2015). The minimum elements required are two subjects (communication) and an object (a shared concern). The object though cannot be seen separated by the subjects; it is part of their activity (Wagner et al., 1999). Such requirements also entail the status that communication has on the social

representations: not only without it a social representation does not exist, but it is also vital for the circulation and the re-construction of social representations. As the model shows, the past, the present and the future are all elements of the model.

The processes in the private sphere are those that bring changes of the social representations in the public sphere (Abreu Lopes & Gaskell, 2015). The study of social representations should also focus upon three different processes of change: the ontogenesis (how representations get active throughout an individual's life span), the sociogenesis (how representations are circulated within a society) and the microgenesis (how representations are discussed in an individual level) (Flick et al., 2015).

Figure 1. *The Toblerone Model of Social Representations*



Contemporary societies are characterized by diversity in various aspects of life. There are not clear boundaries or strong bonds among the members of the communities. Rather, everyone can belong to various communities which gain significance once they have a purpose to serve a goal. "Social representations are formed in the context of de-traditionalized public spheres, where communities are confronted with diversity of world-views and practices that constantly challenge the

structures of taken-for-granted realities and make the new a common feature of everyday life” (Jovchelovitch , 2007, p. 118). At the same time, cognitive polyphasia allows individuals to hold a variety of beliefs/rationalities, even some of them being contradictory. It should be also stated that individuals possess only part of the representation that others possess, a result of the world plurality. The importance of investigation of social representations can be identified as a means of understanding the mechanisms that feed, maintain or differentiate the social representations within groups or societies, and how those have an impact on a societal and individual level.

Social representations differ from attitudes. While both are based on cognition, attitudes are measured as individual cognition, while social representations are regarded as the cognition evolved by a specific group of people, within a specific era at a specific space. As Breakwell (2001) reports, “they are generated in social interaction, they are shared by a number of individuals, they refer to social phenomena, they are manifested in social artifacts, and they serve social functions for the communities or groups that evolve them” (p. 271).

Being a member of the Cypriot society and being raised within a setting far from liberating for individuals due to the constraints set by the intractable conflict, I am very well aware that knowledge is not produced only in laboratories or within the academia. On the contrary, especially in places where all actions are incubated in the conflict management, as in my country, knowledge is produced and shared, among others, through stories, symmetrical or asymmetrical among those who share them and those who ‘absorb’ them as non-contestual facts. This specific characteristic of the country I aimed to conduct my research, made the theory of social representations as the ideal ‘lens’ through which I could explore the the universality and inalienability of children’s rights in Cyprus, without even admeasuring all the other elements of the theory of social representations.

2.3.3. Social Representations of Human Rights

The historical evolution of the field of human rights is a glaring example of the infusion of scientific and everyday knowledge. The UDHR was the outcome of the collective wisdom of professional academics and political scientists, who formulated a justified document, so well written that its magnitude is appreciated even with the passage of seventy years and still provides an indisputable, valid document, applicable to the characteristics of the modern society. The subsequent Covenants and Conventions though, not only were formed through the coordinated efforts of individuals and organizations “experts” on the field, but also with the additional assistance of “experts” on the groundwork. Not only the design of those documents came to be the intermix of “expert” and “non-expert” knowledge, but also the monitoring of human rights has been related with the everyday knowledge, through evidence deriving from different sources. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other agents scrupulously investigate abuses and report formal and informal barriers to the committees responsible to evaluate the protection of fundamental rights by the Member States. There is no other field where the expertise of the “ordinary” people is represented in various forms; yet the investigation of the representations of human rights has been minimally researched by the academia.

Despite the universality of human rights, not all individuals and societies share the same representations. Human rights have caused a rigorous division of the West with the rest of the world; they provided the ground to extend the gap between the Western countries and the developing ones. Between states one can distinguish the ones which protect and promote the human rights and the ones which suppress them. But, while Western states promote and protect the human rights of their citizens, they neglect the social harm and the violations of rights inflicted by their corporations or their political actions on the vulnerable population of the developing countries. Additionally, within states, one can easily distinguish among groups which enjoy their rights, and groups

deprived of them. Public investment and policies perpetrate the current status-quo and weaken the socially excluded. In all cases, human rights are promoted within the limits that will not affect the accumulated capital. All the above, result into different representations of human rights according to the context applied, resulting at a change of those representations with the passage of time by adding new elements that cross the previously well-defined boundaries. It is true though, that at the specific moment of their existence, they cohere the Western world and create its history, by defining its past and guiding its future. Same coherence is observed among the most privileged groups within states, the so-called “Fourth World”.

In a study with a sample of 6,791 university students from 35 countries, it was found that there were no major differences in the way individuals understand and organize the perception of human rights in the different countries (Doise, 2002). The results have shown that the way the individuals experience the promotion and respect of human rights within their countries affects their way of thinking and as a result, individuals can be categorized into one of the four categories: advocates¹¹, personalists¹², skeptics¹³, and governmentalists¹⁴ (Doise, 2002). Other studies have indicated that individuals do not understand human rights in a similar way and do not give the same importance to the various rights. Various social factors and institutions affect throughout his/her lifespan how an individual perceives them (Doise, 2002).

¹¹ Advocates: expressed high efficacy at both a personal and governmental level in having the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights respected (Doise, 2002).

¹² “Personalists: human rights concern them personally, but it is not very easy for governments to do anything” (Doise, 2002, p. 119).

¹³ Skeptics: expressed low efficacy at both a personal and governmental level in having the articles of UDHR respected (Doise, 2002).

¹⁴ “Governmentalists: Personally, they are quite powerless in achieving respect for human rights, but the government can be more efficient” (Doise, 2002, p. 119).

An example from UK reveals how representations are circulated within the society and how the processes that take place in the private sphere lead to a change at the public sphere. At the beginning of the 20th century societal reconstructions started taking place in UK. A new form of social status and recognition was provided to the workers through different provisions that provided a societal safety net. Those provisions, such as the insurance, equipped the workers with the interest and commitment to contribute more, but at the same time added a policing reality since the good character and ethos of the worker should be deployed to enjoy the provisions (Garland, 2002). This effort to make workers more efficient resulted at uniting the nation by caring for all its citizens. This welfare system later paved the way for the development of human rights and their acceptance within the society.

Doise (2002) also explained how the social representations of a given era have influenced and affected the expression of the human rights in specific ways. For example, a major belief of the previous century was that a democratic system should be safeguarded and protected by any means, a belief that can be read through the lines of the European Convention. There was also a large movement of workers from the least to the most industrialized European countries, resulting in documents specifically stating the rights of immigrant workers. So, as the author explains, there was a move from the notion of the “citizen” to the notion of the “individual”, meaning that each individual’s rights must be protected unrelated to being a citizen of a state or not.

Individuals belong to various groups and tend to form their social representations according to those groups, and the status that group provides them within the society, an individual can hold a series, even contradictive interpretations of what human rights are. For example, at a study conducted by Doise et al. (1999) individuals who valued conservatism could sacrifice more easily the individual rights for the wellbeing and safety of the society. Furthermore, as Moghaddam & Riley described, “members of minority or low power groups give higher priority to their personal rights, whereas members of

majority or high-power groups give higher priority to the duties that low power groups need to enact” (Abrams et al., 2015, p. 29).

The social representations of human rights are highly influenced by the salient identities of the group. For example, in cases of intractable conflicts where the ethnic identity is salient among the opposing parties, the social representations of human rights for each group differ both on how they are manifested and the functions they serve. As Doise (2002) reports, when there is a violation that concerns a group of people that is not accepted by the majority, that violation gets to be justified. On the same scope, Staerkle et al (2015) report that in cases where the identity is threatened, “human rights intervene as a means to build a positive self and a positive social identity” (p. 137). At the same time, social representations of human rights can make “visible” specific aspects of the identity of the group or the individual, which might be stereotypical. For example, the violations of human rights in non-Western countries are considered to be the result of the behavior of the citizens who possess specific characteristics, that allow those violations to take place (Staerkle et al., 2015).

The applicability of human rights in collectivist societies has been also brought to the forefront. Marková et al. (1998) conducted a study with participants from three post-communist countries and three capitalist countries, all situated geographically in Europe. The results indicated that the social representations of the individual did not differ despite the collectivist ideology that was enforced in the post-communist countries. The authors explained the results by arguing that the values associated with the individual, being democracy, freedom and justice, are correlated with the survival of the individuals, and as such cannot be easily deleted from the social representations. Other than the aforementioned results, once individuals are not ‘awarded’ independence, the Western approaches to extract human rights on an individual basis might be unsuccessful in collectivist societies. Furthermore, the imposition of the international instruments in environments where people feel inferior might be unattainable or a utopia, and the cost from its promotion

out-weighting its benefits, and as such excluded from the list of the values. In such environments, the interpretation of human rights differs from the one attributed by individuals within societies where human rights 'originated' from.

One can state that anchoring, as a process, was the one that enabled the formation of the international instruments on human rights. Human rights have been dominated by the logic of assigning responsibility for an individual's "fate" to the government as well. In other words, human rights transformed the private business into public. It's no longer a person's responsibility to get schooling, have adequate standard of living, and so forth. It became the responsibility of the State to provide those and make sure that all individuals have equal that is not equivalent to the same, access. In other words, the new element, the state's responsibility was classified according to the individual's responsibility, and one can attribute their universality into the effectiveness of this process. The same process can be held responsible for the outcry by the general population to impose sanctions in cases of violations of human rights by governmental agents. Even though, the instruments refer to individual rights, the sovereignty of the states is proclaimed and protected within the process, an element rejected by the general population since it does not comply with the penalties and sanctions imposed in cases of an individual unlawfulness resulting in violation of human rights.

Academics and experts on the field in the mid of the 20th century gathered to manage "inhumanity" and prevent future atrocities, by establishing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Social representations of human rights outline the common origin of humanity, they set common goals for all states and indicate the actions of the present and future. However, in the 21st century violations of human rights has become a normal, daily aspect of the modern society, forming a culture of tolerance for the perpetrators and the violations. Human rights violations are kept in silence; the oblivion of the violations allows the continuation of everyday life, while the acknowledgment and punishment of the perpetrators disappears in the background. Additionally, as Gély & Sanchez-Mazas (2006) support, this silence for

violations is more possible to happen when it occurs in the homeland rather than abroad; in other words, it is easier for individuals to recognize an event as violating the human rights when it happens in another country rather than our own. According to the same authors, this outcome is due to the form of communication that takes place about the events at home and abroad. The way that the information for the event is transmitted is in accordance to the existing schemata of the individuals, which leads to the ignorance or rejection of the opposing argument that there is a correlation among the event and violation of human rights by governmental agents of their homeland. Moreover, a study conducted by Ausderan (2014) revealed that an international outburst towards a specific government for human rights violations has a direct impact on how the civilians perceive those violations. Several experiments that took place in the laboratories were initiated by an effort to explain how obedience to an authoritarian figure can lead individuals or masses to the violation of the rights of others (Ibhawoh, 2013). Another mode of communication, propaganda, is shared by vulnerable groups within the society, which emphasize that rights are undeniable, and their group is deprived of them. They try to change the representations shared by the majority and change the status-quo. Human rights can be the means by which disadvantaged groups challenge the legitimacy of the existing social order.

In cases of gross human rights violations, the outcome of the communication becomes hegemonic, since the collective abuses create traumatic experiences manipulated by the authorities to transmit messages with a political end, built on the notion of competitive victimhood, as it was discussed earlier. The hegemonic social representations shared by all members of the in-group, prevent the acknowledgment of any violations of human rights against the other side and become the collective narrative that creates the coherence for the future policies and practices of the state. In this case, human rights ignore the boundaries of humanity, which affect each person, legitimizing the members of the out-group as individuals non-deserving respect of their human rights.

2.3.4. Adults' and Children's Social Representations of the Rights of the Child

Social representations stem from several transmitters, while various social constructs, as gender, influence the way those are conveyed to the recipient. Such a statement becomes problematic in terms of defining the individual, as a passive recipient of the already existing structures. A dynamic model of the formation, deformation, transmission, and adoption of social representations prevails, rather than a monolithic linear pathway, through which individuals establish connections with social representations. Within such a model, one can foretell that social representations are not equally shared by all members of the society. What is of intriguing importance, is to explore whether children share the same representations as adults related to their rights.

The pathway indicates that social representations are conditioned by abundant social constructs and elements. One of them, is the salient defined context, within which individuals live, elaborated by the era, the geographical space, as well as by the historical and social conditions. From the moment of birth, human beings get assigned specific elements of their identity, which shape their perceptions and understanding. As Admin (1998) reports "much of what enters our consciousness comes from the culture around us" (p. 4). This means that the child is born in a society with already existing structures, constructs, ideas and representations. Individuals within different cultures and societies develop according to the 'needs' of their societies. Cross-cultural studies in modern and traditional societies (Piaget, 1976), concluded that in specific societies individuals did not reach the formal operation stage. If the argument of Cole et al. (1996) that, "society is the bearer of the cultural heritage without which the development of the mind is impossible" (p. 253), then the context within a person lives has an impact on the cognitive development of the individual and the social representations a society holds. If the argument is valid, then children do not construct their own social representations, but only absorb the existing ones. In this case, children would share the same representations with adults. At the same time though, if one applies the Piaget's

notion of development (Psaltis and Zapiti, 2014), the sediment of social representations of children differs from that of adults. Furthermore, if through learning, adults intentionally based on specific conceptions about childhood, provide access only to specific representations or parts of them, then children come to internalize only those. By doing so, children come to frame their representations according to the bits of representations they are exposed to.

A social element that defines social representations is social interaction. Social interaction plays a role in cognitive development by clustering objects and ideas once a child is born, but also, affects the formation and sharing of the social representations children behold. The child identifies objects and names them, through the interaction with other individuals, which enables the child to cluster that object into a specific category. Similar route is followed in the case of values, beliefs and practices that children acquire. So not only children are born to a pre-defined context (Corsaro, 1990) with specific social representations, but also, through social interactions come to echo, denounce or negotiate those. Additionally, the form of interaction has a detrimental effect on the social representations of the child. Piaget (1997) states that social interactions that are based on social relations of constraint, relationships among individuals of non-similar developmental stages, do not result at cognitive development because they do not lead into active construction. To simplify, social interactions among a child and an adult cannot be negotiated by the child, once they are not comprehensible, and are transmitted by the adult with no actual processing on behalf of the child. This notion of the asymmetry of relations has a direct application within the concept of social representations, once those are shared through an asymmetry which does not lead to the construction of that representation. On the other hand, social relations of cooperation lead to active construction. Once there is a socio-cognitive conflict, “a conflict of points of view, socially produced and cognitively solved” (Psaltis & Zapiti, 2014), a disequilibrium is created, where the individual needs to re-organize the cognitive schemata to ‘accommodate’ the new element. The outcomes of the social interaction are internalized and brought again into the

surface during other interactions (Doise et al., 1975). The social interactions of children with their peers, brings into the discussion another element that might influence the possible diverse representations of children compared to that of adults, the social play.

A major part of children's life is constructed around social play. Social play behaviors appear as early as the first year of an infant's life. At the first years of a child's life, social interactions with peers focus on the manipulation of the environment and objects, and as such, children communicate with peers to exchange toys, manipulate an object or imitate each other by using objects. At a later point, children interact with their peers more frequently and with more complexity. The durations of the interactions are longer and children start to coordinate their behavior with the behavior of their partners. Children start using simple imitation games. From the age of 3 to 6, social play becomes more complex and there is an introduction of the socio-dramatic play. Preschool children give positive attention and approval to their peers, accept their peers and show affection to them by sharing their objects/toys for a while. Social play provides room for collaboration, and opportunities for undertaking roles. Through those collaborations and roles, a sharing of representations avails. Despite the fact that it's possible for children to share social representations of adults through social play, those are negotiated and framed by the experiences of the children within a different context, tuned to address their needs. As a result, children are not passive recipients of the already existing representations, but negotiate and alter those through social play.

Communication has been cited as the foundation of social interaction. Children establish and maintain interpersonal contact and interactions through communication. The ability of communication improves and supports the social interactions of the child. At the same time, language supports the sharing of social representations. Moscovici (2000) states that "there are no social representations without language, just as without them there is no society" (p. 159). Tomasello (2005) also reports that "participating in linguistic communication with other persons is a crucial, perhaps even necessary

condition for the normal development of understanding of beliefs” (p. 16). Thus, language can be considered as a system that mediates among society, individuals, and social representations. Is it possible to argue that according to the stage of language an individual has acquired, acquires and respective social representations? If yes, do adults hold different representations than children based on their language acquisition?

The application, negotiation and sharing of social representations within specific contexts, create “what Searle calls social or institutional facts: such things as marriage, money and government, which only exist due to the shared practices and beliefs of a group” (Tomasello, 2005, p. 6). Those social or institutional facts shape the surrounding social representations, by establishing core systems that not only inhibit cognitive development, but also inhibit ‘evolution’ of the social representations. Social institutional facts might imply the sharing of those by adults and children, a sharing that is not based on negotiation, but rather at an undeniable truth that leaves no room for interpretation. In this case, the argument of same representations among children and adults is valid.

At last but not least, an argument that can contribute to the debate of similarities of representations among children and adults is based on the ‘minority influence’ explained by Moscovici (2000). As he points out, minorities are in position to change the existing cognitive schemata of a society, which are the ones hold by the majority group. To do so, the minority group needs to interact with the majority group or at least find a way to have its positions heard. From that time, up to the point that a change in the cognitive schemata takes place, is a long process in which the minority needs to have consistent arguments, throughout an extended period. Moscovici’s minority influence is very important since it documents the way that groups interact between them and how the cognitive schemata (on an individual or collective basis) start changing. If children are seen as a distinct group within the society, and once those are seen as a minority, via the lens of mini-humans, possessing mini-rights, then, the specific minority despite its continuous interaction with the

adult-majority, cannot perpetuate the representations shared by children to the adult population. One can argue that there is a one-way influence of social representations, and that is from adults to children, without the vice versa being applicable. Future research could examine whether social representations hold by children do have an impact on the representations adults hold.

As supported by literature, children do adopt the representations of adults. Concurrently, they also construct their own (Emler et al., 1990), which are influenced by peer interaction, and the peer culture already existing among them (Corsaro, 1990). It is the degree of internalization, according to Piagetian and Moscovician thinking, that would change, depending on the quality of the relationships they establish with either adults or peers. It is highly possible that polyphasia may also exist, since children position themselves differently when they interact with peers compared to their adult interactions. The current study aims to explore the differences among children's representations of their rights and those of adults.

2.4. The Concept of Childhood

2.4.1. Who a Child is

Biology, wars, diseases, road accidents, criminality, and unhealthy daily practices are but a few among the plethora of the variables that determine the quantity of life for individuals or groups within contemporary societies. The relationships between those variables are complex, multilayered and entangled, but at the same time being both relational and situational. One of those variables, biology, determines the quantity of life, with solidified categories based on developmental and needs-based criteria. Those stages though become essentialist within a given cultural, health, legal, economic and political context, with unquestioned and consensual practices within a specific time era, which come to determine not just the quantity, but also the quality of life. Childhood comes to be understood through such a process. At the same time, childhood is not just defined by the practices of the context and the specific era, but also through the understanding of adulthood (James & James, 2008), which extrapolates measurements that lead to the specification of another period of life, that of childhood. All that said, childhood becomes a concept that cannot be easily determined and identified.

International instruments, and specifically the Convention on the Rights of the Child, though, define children as the individuals of ages 0-18. This worldwide unquestionable age range of children has brought to the surface another characteristic, that of dealing with children not within a specific context, as Jenks (1996) supports, but as a universal phenomenon. Pufall & Unsworth (2004) claim that children have come to be treated as humans with dignity and rights, while James & James (2008) support that there is a universal consensus that childhood is a period of life where the individual develops and has special needs to be attended. Those assumptions, created a concern that childhood is dealt as a biological state, rather than a state socially constructed that is influenced by the economic, political, and historical context frame within which

is enacted. But the universal assumption of childhood is characterized by general principles, and as such it is not contradictory to the perception of childhood within a specific context. The meaning attributed to childhood varies across different time periods and different cultures, while within the same culture it differs across domains, such as those of justice and welfare. Childhood as a social construct is based on a greater context where various factors, such as the age, the gender, and the social class (Montgomery, 2009) operate and interact. At the same time, children are part of this greater context, and as such, they are also agents who construct and negotiate the meaning of childhood.

Historically, the chronological age for children and youth periodically changes. The terms “childhood”, “adolescence” and “youth” emerged in the late Middle Ages, while up to then, it was considered natural for children to take part in the same activities as adults. According to Hendrick (1997), childhood took many forms until it was shaped into the one that it currently is, characterized in the modern era, as pointed out by Burman (1996), as a period in need of nurturance and protection. Even though it was perceived and treated differently throughout history, there were four common features at any historical point: the need to control, identify the existence, define the desirable state of childhood, and the need to incorporate the concept into a larger philosophy concerning the meaning of life.

According to Muncie et al. (2002), childhood passed by various phases. Initially, the ‘natural’ child was recognized as being different than the adult, and as such treated as an individual. The concept of the ‘romantic’ child, which evolved around the end of the 18th century, was a period that children were conceived as pure, innocent entities that could not cause any harm, but could be manipulated to do so. Through the next phase, the ‘evangelical’ child was conceived as “sinful polluted creature” (p. 25), a conception in direct contrast with the beliefs of the previous era. During the following years a debate around child labor and the use of children to support the family income and as such the reasoning for giving birth to additional number of children aroused. The

expansion of the state demanded a way to control the masses and 'implant' the ideologies of the elite onto the general population. As such, the concept of schooling was developed, which encompassed the concept of childhood as a period of life in need of nurturance. The following period, children came to be under the protection of the state. Legislation about children was enacted and the rights of the children were written down, and childhood came to be accepted as such. States overtook the responsibility of enforcing the rights of the child. Later, the notion of childhood attracted the interest of the professionals, whom sought answers by studying this specific population. A new concept of childhood followed, where the psychological well-being of children was placed under the microscope. During that phase, through the examination of maladjusted or delinquent children, childhood was acknowledged as an important phase in life and for the future development of individuals. At the upcoming phase, the child came to be part of the welfare system, and as such, the child being part of a family, but also a public responsibility.

The notions of contemporary childhood treat children as different entities than adults, and at the same time beyond any experimental conditions. Another characteristic of the modern societies is the technological advancement, which according to James & James (2008), has resulted in children and young people having access to the same spaces and information as adults, interweaving even further the boundaries among childhood and adulthood.

As Steans (1998) states, "the state defines what are defined as" private "decisions, such as which one can marry and the legal status of children" (p. 68). The state to which Steans refers includes attitudes and behaviors of societal members, along with representations, which shape the framework, even the legislative one, within which an individual develops. This framework substantiates that the 'state's beliefs' are disseminated within the society, and as such becomes normative for the dominant groups to oppress the weakened. This has extended implications for children, since are being manipulated and oppressed by the dominant groups. Apart from the competition among various groups within the society and the oppression of specific groups, societies are

also divided into collective and individualistic, which differ in the imposition and the distance of power (Georgiou & Stavriniades, 2013) they exercise on individuals.

"Horizontal collectivism, which emphasizes self-perception as the rest of the members, emphasizes common goals and interdependence. Vertical collectivism emphasizes group cohesion, respect and subordination to the norms of the group, and the commandments of those in power. Horizontal individualism is characterized by the tendency for the individual to stand out from the groups and to treat men as equal in matters of value, dignity, and rights. Finally, vertical individualism involves the individual wanting to stand out and gain authority, especially through direct competition with others" (Georgiou & Stavriniades, 2013, p. 70).

According to the type of power exercised within a community, children, at best, negotiate their space and power.

2.4.2. Who the 'Normal' or 'Ideal' Child is

The biological concept of childhood is formulated via specific developmental stages that the child goes through. Specific benchmarks reached by the child acknowledge his/her 'normal' development. The delay in the development or failure to achieve the specific skills of the benchmark on behalf of the child, marks the beginning of the lament by the parents for the acquisition of a child who does not meet the 'specifications'. As disturbing as it sounds, societies bear the responsibility of constructing the image and content of the 'normal' and 'ideal' child. The specific construction has detrimental effects on individuals who do not resemble it.

The representations that prevail in society as to the "value" of children, influence the way parents respond to their children's needs and thus, determine the environment in which a child develops. For example, in the United States, until the year 1992, parents of disabled children provided consent so that their children would stay in institutions that tried to reduce self-injurious behavior through electroshocks (Self-Injurious Behavioral Inhibition) (Shapiro, 1993). The consent of the parents was provided because of various representations

related to childhood: (a) the parental involvement does not add any value to the development of children with disabilities or with mental health problems; 'experts' bear the responsibility to 'fix' the problem, (b) the problem and the difficulties are attributed to the 'abnormal' child, who should receive treatment by specialized individuals to return to "regularity", and (c) it is not worthy to raise such a child.

Around 1970 in the United States, the exposure of the unbearable conditions, for any human being, that existed in institutions functioning for children in care, individuals with disabilities and individuals with mental health issues, led to the concept of "normalization", and its establishment as part of that society's philosophy (Shapiro, 1993), a notion that soon expanded worldwide. As Wolfensberger et al. (1972) states "normalization is the utilization of means which are as culturally normative as possible, in order to establish and/or maintain personal behaviors and characteristics which are as culturally normative as possible" (p. 15). As the same authors support, deviance is a social fact and construction, since it is established by attributing negative value to a behavior that is not aligned to what is considered culturally normal. The concept of normalization meant the transfer of people outside the institutions. It is also related with best practices in the fields of education and social services. Normalization meant that individuals considered as deviant should have a life similar to the one of their "normal" peers. As such, the services provided to support those individuals should be free, appropriate and in the least restrictive environment. That meant the increase of visibility of the 'non-normal' and 'non-ideal' children.

The concept of normalization did not mean the displacement of the representations of the society regarding the 'ideal' or 'normal' child. While the social isolation and institutionalization, the denial of medical treatment and death are not part of the agenda of modern societies, the genetic engineering and biomedical screening can be examples of elucidating the need to 'protect' the 'ideal' or 'normal' child within the contemporary societies. Genetic engineering is concerned with identifying and replacing the faulty gene, while

the genetic screening searches “for certain genes that are predisposed to disease, already diseased, or may lead to disease in future generations of the same family” (McDonnell et al., 2003, p. 78). Both practices aim to eliminate deficiencies among newborn children, and as such, eliminate abnormality before taking place. Mandatory genetic screening results from a perception that the life of a child is not worthy when the child has a defect. And as very well stated by the parent of a child with Down syndrome “in this liberal and individualistic society, there may be no need for eugenic legislation. Physicians and scientists need merely provide the techniques that make individual women, and parents, responsible for implementing the society’s prejudices, so to speak, by choice” (Zuckoff, 2002, p. 189). The above extract clearly presents the well stacked value attributed to the ‘ideal’ and/or ‘normal’ child.

2.4.3. The Impact of the Conception of Childhood on Individual and Societies

In ancient Greece and Rome, the expression of love of a man toward a young boy, even at the young age of 12, was not condemnable, neither apart of the normative practices of the society. In ancient Greece, those practices constituted the educational praxis as well. In another part of the world, girls in China suffered a permanent disability due to the unbearable “leg mourning”, which according to it a girl had to have very tiny feet to get married, which was achieved with the use of tiny wooden shoes, which created an anomaly to the growth of the leg and therefore a lifetime disability (Karzis, 2008). History has also recorded several cases of killings of full-fledged newborn girls, either due to beliefs about the value of the baby-girl or as a counterbalance to population ratios, following the death of men in the battlefields. In the ancient Sparta, children born with disabilities were thrown over the cliff, since not having a “healthy” body was considered a life unworthy to live. Not a long time ago, in the middle of 1900’s the Eugenics movement believed that people are born with specific abilities inherited from one generation to the next. Affected by the

Eugenics' beliefs, the Nazis started the extermination of specific groups of people who were considered inferior, having as a starting point the people with disabilities. Even today, abortion seems to be acceptable by the masses, only if you carry a disabled child. In 1994 in Argentina's Penal Code was "specified that abortion was a crime against life and against a person, punishable by four years of imprisonment. The only exceptions were when a women's health or life was endangered by the pregnancy, or in the case of rape or incest of a 'mentally insane or idiot women'" (Chiarotti, 2005, p. 2). Article 169A of the Criminal Code Law [o peri Poinikou Kodika Nomos (KEF. 154)] in Cyprus, also defines that the medical termination of pregnancy is allowed when there is a sufficient risk of the child born with physical or mental anomalies that will result in the child being severely disable. Other than shocking, through the aforementioned examples, becomes evident that the way the concept of childhood is defined and understood has an impact on children, families and society in general. As an example, Jenks (1996) reports that the incidents of children abuse did not increase from the previous or ancient years. What changed and the reporting increased, is the perception of childhood, which determines those incidents nowadays as unacceptable and punishable crimes, and as such bring them to the public scene.

To start with, societies tend to scapegoat specific groups to attribute responsibilities for various phenomena with advert effects on society members. Children, and especially youth, has been historically an easy target for attributing either the criminality, drug-abuse, or degradation of ethical values observed in a society, the non-progress of the society or the lack of outcomes that would advance it. The media become an agent within the process with a capacity of leading the masses, transforming events and creating an atmosphere of insecurity. In such a way, they promote a "moral panic" regarding youth and their behavior and generate a public fear and concern. For example, Hall described adolescence as troublesome because young people move "back to the primitivism of childhood and forward to the rational and civilized state of adulthood" (Muncie et al., 2006, p. 16). It is a period of life that the general

population perceives as a rebellious one, less ethical, and in need of more control and surveillance. Due to their dependence on adults, children's life and behavior is being controlled by them. As Hendrick (1997) reported the exercise of control by adults to children is referred as 'age-patriarchy', "expressed as a demand for obedience – over children's space, bodies, and time" (p. 49). In societies where children are not seen as equals, but rather as mini-humans with mini rights, such perceptions become a barrier to the development and prosperity of children. Over-control by adults disempowers children, since as Sobsey (2001) states, "restricting people from doing what they want to keep them safe is disempowering" (p. 12).

At the same time, the practices applied within a society are fueled by various ideologies. For example, modern societies condemn responsibility to children and young individuals for the increase of crime, affected by the ideology of communitarianism, where the communitarian values include the "mutual obligation, self-discipline and individual responsibility" (McLaughlin et al., 2001, p. 303). The family's contribution is a reified conclusion, loading the burden on children and their families, once children are considered as having on their disposal less ethical and moral values, and as such in need of more control and surveillance, but at the same time they are individuals with responsibilities. By doing so, the focus also turns to those children whom their families are unable to provide the appropriate environment to grow and develop, and as such, requiring the state's assistance. Those are being defined as the vulnerable children or children in need of care. Several concerns arise with the interference of the state within what was traditionally considered as private, but the specific provision became an important one, since the states are called to be proactive rather than reactive. In other words, preventive measures instead of treatment are being enforced with the involvement of the state in the affairs of the family. The states implement the 'In Loco Parentis', where adults or institutions enact on behalf of the children, in other words are assigned with the legal responsibility of upbringing children of parents, who are incapable of doing so.

Moreover, children are handled uniformly, since they are considered to belong to this specific group, which shares certain characteristics. The monolithic dealing of children as a single entity substantiates among diverse environments. The environments which shape the young people are not restricted to a single one; rather, there are multiple environments that one should address such as the family, the school, the work settings, the community and so forth (Bogenschneider, 1996). The salience of the child identity among the various environments, results at a sedimentation of the autonomous personality of the child and to its volitional subordination to his/her vulnerability as a child. Being treated similarly only based on their age is contradictory to the best interest of the child, as it is expressed at the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The concept of childhood resonates with the economic and social concerns of the society. While up to the industrial revolution children were perceived as an asset of their parents, afterwards, there was a turnaround in considering children an important element of society, since having a strong community of children equaled with a strong labor force in the future. Additionally, children as they comport the future generation, can either upgrade the nation or degenerate it. Other than the introduction of the welfare system and the diffusion of certain parenting skills for the upbringing of 'normal' individuals and the betterment of the nation, the formulation of formal institutions that would support the nurture of children came to the fore with the establishment of schooling. At the very beginning, the concept of schooling was contradictory to other perspectives of childhood. For example, parents who economically could not afford 'childhood', since that meant educating and training the children without them being part of the wage-earning labor force, were not automatically emancipated from the normative dimension of child labor as coercive for the survival of the life. But as the future and survival of the nation and its identity, started relying excessively on the education of the children, the representations about childhood held by the parents were altered to align with those of the nation.

Contemporary theorists and researchers have concluded that the interaction of the individual with the natural and social environment does affect development, but this effect is not the result of the particular period in which the individual grows. It is also influenced by the past through the values, customs and knowledge transferred from the ancestors to the next generations. A modern generation of researchers looked at the impact of specific factors (mainly social) on child development. For example, Psaltis & Zapiti (2014) conducted a series of experiments to explore how gender and knowledge affects social interaction and growth. Indeed, in their experiments it was revealed that these two elements have an impact, changing the way we perceive the interaction in the development from monolithic to multidimensional. It is a characteristic example of how representations of a specific type of identity, that of gender, structures social interaction and thus, processes of socially constructing knowledge. In a similar manner, one would expect social representations of childhood to structure other representations, those of children's rights through social constructive processes.

Family is the frame within which the child develops and as such, it is directly related to the evolution of the society. The trends and values of the social context in which a family operates, greatly influence the structural and functional characteristics of the family. As such, the representations of childhood within the society have an impact on the social life of the parents, the financial domain of the family, the parenting style adopted, the relationships developed among the family members, and even the family planning, and the future actions of the family members. The impact of the concept on families ends up with constellation of practices detrimental to the functioning and structure of the family. As Burman (2012) supports, various beliefs about childhood can add to the family distress, and especially to mothers and the way they choose to raise their children. The concept of childhood can also affect the quality of parent-child interactions, the family-orchestrated experiences and the health and safety that is provided by the family to the child.

The traditional concepts of children as family members linked together by "blood ties", does not embrace the development of members, but rather it focuses on the responsibility of the offspring to obey to the elders and take care of them. Such concepts prevail in patriarchal societies, where the sex of the child also determines its role within the society, and the sex of the parent determines its role in the family. For example, the male guardian adopts a more authoritarian style, avoiding emotional attachment with the child, but at the same time exercising strict control and imposing his will as a protector of the family. The gender roles within the traditional family are so strong that in modern societies, even couples of the same sex have an impulse to reproduce these roles (Ciano-Boyce & Shelley-Sireci, 2003). Additionally, the role of guarding the child appointed to persons affiliated with the child due to inheritance or legal commitment is not a guarantee for the healthy development of the child.

How childhood is conceived has also impact on the family type. In modern societies, different types of family exist, for example single parent family, extended family, and LGBT families and many more. Once childhood is conceived as a critical period of life, where the child is vulnerable and its development dependent on the guardians, there is an immediate impact on the function of the family. For example, the parental involvement of children growing up with homosexual parents is limited either because children are subject to sanctions by friends (Anderssen et al., 2002) and limit the parent's direct contact with school, or because there are specific attitudes within the school on behalf of teachers who "condemn" the raising of children by LGBT people. In a recent survey carried out in Portugal among students, 92% agreed that homosexual parents are not interested in the good of the child, 84% that homosexuals should not have children because it is a sin and 80% that homosexuality is learned in from contact with homosexual persons (Costa et al., 2014). Representations in society about homosexuality in conjunction with representations about childhood, co-exist and act, resulting at making the family dysfunctional.

Children “are not a burdensome responsibility but a critical resource to society which can be mobilized to achieve higher social goals” (Commission of the European Communities, 2009, p. 2). Even though, children are full of energy, ideas, and passion to work within their communities and countries to make structural changes and demolish injustice, and are the ones having the most interest in participating within their local communities, their countries’ governance, and the international associations that deal with issues that bother humanity, their participation is limited or absent. Children’s participation is opposed because of certain beliefs within the societies related to childhood and civic life. According to Driskell (2002), those can be summarized to the adults not transferring their responsibilities to children due to fear of the latest failing their childhood, children considered as being unreliable or naïve to take decisions, children considered as being unable to understand the long-term consequences of an action or lacking the necessary skills or making mistakes, whilst adults know what children want since they were once children. De Guevara (2004) also supports that the broadening of political participation may be stopped or confronted by the elite, whose interests are threatened by the children’s participation.

The importance of youth development and their inclusion within the society has been recognized by international organizations and agencies. In 1965, the member states of the United Nations adopted a declaration for youth, while the year 1985 was proclaimed as youth year (United Nations System Action for Youth, 1997). In 1995, the United Nations adopted the World Program of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond, which focuses on the following 10 priorities: education, employment, hunger and poverty, health, environment, drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, leisure time activities, girls and young women, and the full and effective participation of youth in the life of society and decision-making (United Nations System Action for Youth, 1997). Starting from August 12, 2010 the United Nations proclaimed 2010 as the International Year of Youth. Furthermore, the Council of Europe in 2009 adopted a resolution with which it recognizes the young people as “a resource

to society” and until 2018 stresses the importance of cooperation within the European countries in order to promote opportunities for young people, and promote active participation and social inclusion (The Council of the European Union, 2009).

2.4.4. Childhood in the Context of Cyprus

The concept of childhood has not been studied thoroughly in the Cypriot context, especially in the more recent years. Accounts of how childhood used to be perceived can be implicitly inferred through documents or art installations. One of those relates to the inclusion of children in the labor force of mines during the mid of the 20th century. As Antoniou (2004) reports, children in Cyprus could initiate work in mines from the age of 13, even though most children were among 15-17 years. The same author describes that even young children of primary school age would accompany their parents to the mines and helped them in the process. The reasons that drove the children to mine labor force was poverty, drought, the unbearable debts of the family to ushers, the fact that the specific job did not require training or specialized skills and mine companies payed regularly and on time. During those ages, children in Cyprus were perceived as helpers of the family, and once this was accomplished the child gained status within the society (Antoniou, 2004). At the same time, childhood was not perceived as different than adulthood, since by the descriptions provided by Antoniou (2004), children did not only join the labor force as adults, but also adopted the habits of the adults during free time, such as alcohol consumption and playing cards. But at the same time, childhood was conceived as an incomplete state of adulthood, meaning that children were not viewed as equal members of the society, taking into consideration that children were paid half of the money that men did, but the same amount as women did.

In the absence of explicit information and research related to how childhood is defined in Cyprus, a thorough analysis of the practices applied at a State’s level, can also reflect an endorsement of representations regarding

children from the society, related to those practices. For that reason, the position statements of the Commissioner for Children's Rights in Cyprus have been analyzed as a bridge of bringing together the conceptions about childhood in the island of Cyprus. One can assert that the statements of the Commissioner refer to incidents based on isolated events and not a coherent system of beliefs and practices exercised daily, representative of the social representations system existing within the Cypriot society. Those practices though, as isolated as they might seem, might not lead to generalizations, but they do convey a portrait of the conception of childhood in Cyprus. By entangling the conceptions of childhood and children's rights at a political level, it does become accessible a representations field at the ground level as well. The State is not an invisible mechanism, but a mechanism supported by its institutions (such as schools) and the people who serve those institutions (such as educators). As such, by analyzing the representations of childhood and children's rights at a political level provides an insight to the representations that the individuals who uptake the role of serving the State's institutions share. Those individuals cannot be seen or treated apart from the society in general.

At the same time, the Statements of the Commissioner represent an alternative representation about childhood and children's rights, a representation shared by human rights institutions worldwide, based on international law. Among the responsibilities of the Commissioner is to monitor and supervise the implementation of the provisions of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child¹⁵. Conforming to her responsibilities, the Commissioner cannot express her own representations or the ones that are prevalent within the Cypriot society. On the contrary, she is responsible to challenge the existing representations within the Cypriot society, once those are not compatible with

¹⁵ The responsibilities of the Commissioner for Children's Rights in Cyprus are determined at the Law of the Commissioner of Children's Rights of 2007 [74(I)/2007 and 44(I)/2014]. Retrieved on May 15, 2019 by www.cylaw.org

the concept of child and his/her rights defined in the Convention. At the same time, the various mechanisms deployed to confront the alternative representations expressed by the Commissioner are nothing more than the semantic barriers described by Gillespie (2008), in order to protect the hegemonic representations which 'protect' the sovereignty of the State, as it is described below.

As of October 14, 2017, the Commissioner posted at her website¹⁶ 101 position statements, reports or public interventions. Within the nine years since the establishment of the Institution (2008-2017) the Commissioner publicly reports children's rights abuses on a regular basis, based on the provisions of the Convention of the Rights of the Child. Of those 101 statements, twenty-nine are related to educational issues, thirteen to incidents of violence experienced by children, three are related to poverty and the social benefits' system, nine to migration, fourteen are related to the media, nine to the family, three to the justice system, thirteen to health issues, and eight are related to entertainment of children and sports activities.

To start with, through the decisions taken by the State's Authorities, the child in Cyprus is not understood yet as an independent right holder, in other words, as an autonomous personality with rights. For example, on January 2013, the Commissioner published a Statement¹⁷ related to the right of the child to contact and communicate with his/her parent on detention, which was deprived of because of a disciplinary measure toward the parent on detention. As stated at the Statement, the Commissioner had received a number of complaints which reported that children were allowed to talk via a phone line

¹⁶ Website of the Commissioner for Children's Rights, Cyprus. www.childcom.org.cy

¹⁷ Statement of the Commissioner for Children's Rights, Cyprus, Leda Koursoumba, relating to children's rights of communication with their parent on detention (January 2013). Retrieved October 7, 2017 from <http://www.childcom.org.cy/ccr/ccr.nsf/All/657FAD3FB0CB4FC7C2257B24003CE575?OpenDocument>

with their parent on detention during a visit, since they were separated by a thick glass, that the parent on detention had six visits of which only in two s/he was allowed to see his/her children, there was not a child-friendly environment, while it was prohibited for children to use the bathroom, the detainee was deprived of his/her benefit to be visited by his/her children as a disciplinary measure in cases of disturbing behavior, to restricted calls, and to the use of the same space from children to visit their parents as adults. In other words, children could visit the parent in detention, within the context of the social and family rehabilitation program of the parent or as a reward system toward the parent. The rights of the child were absent. In another Statement¹⁸ dated August 31, 2015, the Commissioner expresses her position related to a decision of the Supreme Court based on a unilateral application for suspension of the deportation order of a third-country national, whom was a mother of a 12-year-old child born in Cyprus. As the Commissioner stated, the Court did not take into consideration the impact of the decision on the child, neither the lawyers of the applicant brought to the Court the principle of the best interest of the child. In both cases, it becomes apparent that the child was not considered as a personality with rights that would be highly affected by the decisions taken. Neither the Court, nor the practices applied within the prison system, took into consideration the impact of their decisions or practices on the rights of the child. The absence of the child as a right holder is clearly exhibited in both cases.

Another perception related to childhood that emerges through the position statements of the Commissioner is the one that considers the child as a 'property of the parents'. Fifty years ago, the perception of the child belonging to the parents was especially apparent in Cyprus via the exercise of corporal

¹⁸ Statement of the Commissioner for Children's Rights, Cyprus, Leda Koursoumba, related to a court decision for deportation of a mother of an underage child (August 31, 2015). Retrieved October 7, 2017 from <http://www.childcom.org.cy/ccr/ccr.nsf/All/0DB6609132539406C2257EBB0023A9EC?OpenDocument>

punishment. A very traditional quote shared by parents to teachers was “the meat belongs to you, the bones belong to me” [to kreas diko sou, ta kokkala dika mou], as an indication that the teacher could punish the child as much as s/he wanted, as long as the child wouldn’t be inflicted with a serious body harm. Even though Cypriot society does not anymore approve the use of corporal punishment as a discipline measure for children, other indicators pinpoint to the perception of children belonging to parents still being apparent within the Cypriot society. For example, the Commissioner published a Statement¹⁹ for the right of the child to sexuality education, after the Ministry of Education and Culture asked the opinion of the Attorney General, based on demands of a group of parents, which wanted to have the right to demand their children’s opt-out of sexuality education, in cases they consider that this education is in contradiction to their religious or philosophical beliefs. The Commissioner concluded at her Statement that each child has a right to sexuality education, which helps him/her to prepare for adulthood, and under conditions that protect the child, while it’s the state’s duty to offer and implement sexuality education. The Commissioner emphasized that children opting out of sexuality education classes can be only justified in cases of indoctrination on behalf of the State. In another Statement²⁰, the Commissioner criticizes the legislation that relates to the allowances provided for children and their families, as part of the social policy exercised on the island of Cyprus. At the specific statement, the Commissioner points out

¹⁹ Statement of the Commissioner for Children’s Rights, Cyprus, Leda Koursoumba, related to the right of the child to sexuality education (July, 2017). Retrieved October 7, 2017 from

<http://www.childcom.org.cy/ccr/ccr.nsf/All/AD6611ACA517A1D4C22581600033C972?OpenDocument>

²⁰ Statement of the Commissioner for Children’s Rights, Cyprus, Leda Koursoumba, related to the prerequisite of residence for a certain period of time in the areas controlled by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus for the provision of social welfare benefits. Retrieved October 7, 2017 from

<http://www.childcom.org.cy/ccr/ccr.nsf/All/12C85642ECC6B291C22582D3003A7EC6?OpenDocument>

that the allowances provided to children are based on the residence status of the parents. She specifically refers to children, Cypriot nationals, who are excluded from the social benefits system, since their parent from third country does not fulfill the requirement for residency for a specific time period on the areas controlled by the government of the Republic. This is another example of a legislative policy that considers children not as independent entities, but rather as part of a family system.

At a number of Statements of the Commissioner related to education, the violation of the right of the child to participate in the process is repeatedly expressed by the Commissioner. The right of the child to participate in any decision that concerns him/her is also stated in another Statement²¹ of the Commissioner dated 06/08/2010. Through this Statement, the Commissioner expresses her concerns related to the voluntary recruitment of minors in the national forces. The Commissioner expressed her concerns that the signed consent provided by the parents of the minor is not enough to excuse the recruitment of the minor. The Commissioner stresses that the child must also be involved in his voluntary recruitment and that for the child and the parents to reach a decision, they must have information related to the duties that the child will have to perform during his service in the army. In general, the right of the child to participate in the decision making is expressed by the Commissioner in most of the recommendations inducted within her Statements. Such a repetition leads to the conclusion that the children's voices are marginalized and their participation is minimal within the Cypriot society.

Dealing with and treating children as adults is an additional representation related to childhood deriving through the statements of the Commissioner. The above conclusion derives from three statements of the

²¹ Position of the Commissioner regarding the voluntary recruitment of minors in the army (August 6, 2010). Retrieved October 12, 2017 from <http://www.childcom.org.cy/ccr/ccr.nsf/All/292BA6618F26B04CC22577770038F126?OpenDocument>

Commissioner. The first one²² was the result of the investigation of a complaint submitted by the parents of a newborn that were restricted from breastfeeding their child during a flight. The Commissioner concluded that breastfeeding is a primary right of a child, and a secondary for the parents. The Commissioner pointed out that the non-obstruction of in-flight nourishment and the use of improvised solutions based on the goodwill of other passengers when the persons involved are impeded cannot be regarded, in any way, as a policy. She concludes that any policy must support and safeguard children's rights and the airline has an obligation to inform the public for the policy. Otherwise, the airline has an obligation to exhaust, in advance, all the support, to the fullest extent possible, of the rights of affected children. The second Statement²³ relates to the prohibition of smoking in all playgrounds, either those are in closed or open areas. The Commissioner responded to an article of a newspaper about the bill related to smoking that was discussed among the members of the Parliamentary Committee of Health, in July 2016. The Commissioner repeated her statement that smoking, including alternative forms, must be prohibited in places where children gather, including the homes of children. The Commissioner also stated that smoking must be prohibited to all spaces close to places where children gather or spaces that lots of people gather, such as the public transportation stops and the playgrounds. The Commissioner summed up by stating that she expects that the House of Representatives will

²² Position of the Commissioner for Children's Rights, Cyprus, Leda Koursoumba, for the right of newborns to breastfeed during the flight (August 2013). Retrieved October 14, 2017 from

<http://www.childcom.org.cy/ccr/ccr.nsf/All/A5D87E96F9E34C70C2257BC6002FC12C?OpenDocument>

²³ Statement of the Commissioner for Children's Rights, Cyprus, Leda Koursoumba, for smoking (October 21, 2016). Retrieved October 12, 2017 from <http://www.childcom.org.cy/ccr/ccr.nsf/All/E9F905E5A0F02CA8C2258053002ED8FE?OpenDocument>

promote the specific right of the children. The third Report²⁴ refers to the demand of football clubs to ask money from parents for the free transfer of their children. Among others, the Commissioner recommends the establishment of rules by the Federations specifically designed for children that will serve the best interest of the child. As it becomes apparent from the description of the observations and recommendations of the Commissioner in the three examples above, in many social spaces and legal ones, the child is not considered as an independent entity with special needs, and as such the child's rights are dealt unanimously as that of the adults. In other words, the best interest of the child is not evaluated by the adults; rather, the decision-making process is characterized by notions that serve the interests of adults, rather than children.

In the ancient tragedy, "Iphigeneia in Aulis", the daughter of Agamemnonas, Ifigeneia, was sacrificed by her father to the goddess, for the good of the nation. Despite the fact that the story seems distant from today's reality, another concept related to the childhood that seems to prevail in Cyprus, is that of children belonging to the nation. As Spyrou (2008) reports,

"political entities such as nation states, must, if they wish to reproduce themselves and maintain control over their subjects, find ways to inculcate in children understandings of the meaning of 'good' and 'proper' citizenship, in order to produce the kind of citizen who will believe in the state's ideological legitimacy and who will work towards serving its interests" (p. 149).

To support the above argument, three of the Commissioner's statements are explored below. The first Statement²⁵ was published based on a question

²⁴Report of the Commissioner for Children's Rights, Cyprus, Leda Koursoumba, on the practice applied by two football clubs to ask money from parents of amateur children footballers for their free transfer (May 12, 2016). Retrieved October 14, 2017 from <http://www.childcom.org.cy/ccr/ccr.nsf/All/8189B74B711EE457C2257FB100318416?OpenDocument>

²⁵ Statement of the Commissioner for Children's Rights, Cyprus, Leda Koursoumba, related to the religious education in public schools (November, 2012). Retrieved October 7, 2017 from

posed by the Ministry of Education and Culture to the Commissioner, related to the circumstances that a request for a child to opt-out from religious classes should be granted, based on the religious beliefs of the child or his/her parents. The Commissioner supported the right of the parents to demand for their child to opt-out of religious classes, based on the fact that religious classes within the Greek-Cypriot educational system are highly Greek-Orthodox confessional, clearly theistic and have religious orientation. The Commissioner stressed out though that the right to opt-out from religious classes, must be in accordance to the beliefs, needs and wants of the child him/herself, according to his/her age and maturity. The Commissioner makes clear that once the religious classes lead into a cohere understanding of the various religions that enables the crossing of religions, opting-out of classes would not be feasible, since it is on the best interest of the child to obtain the most out of its education. But in this case, the Commissioner supported the right to opt-out of religious classes, since those lead to an indoctrination of the Christian Orthodox belief. The argument of the Commissioner is supported by Spyrou (2008), who states about the curriculum of the Greek Cypriot education, “how a particular kind of child is constructed through educational policy and practice – the national citizen – who will develop a strong sense of national identity that will serve to sustain both the state and the Greek nation at large” (p. 156).

The second statement refers to a response of the Commissioner to an article titled “Imprisoned Memorials” [Filakismena Mnimata]²⁶ published at the newspaper Truth [Alitheia] at 18/09/2012. The Commissioner states at her

<http://www.childcom.org.cy/ccr/ccr.nsf/All/8068DCF786DBF7A5C2257AD40041120F?OpenDocument>

²⁶ Statement of the Commissioner for Children’s Rights, Cyprus, Leda Koursoumba, related to an article presented to the newspaper “Truth” [Alithia] titled “Imprisoned Memorials” [Filakismena Mnimata]. Retrieved October 7, 2017 from

<http://www.childcom.org.cy/ccr/ccr.nsf/all/BAA64EE7503B561BC2257A7F001D7C88?opendocument>

response that the State must respect the values and traditions of the nation within the context of public education, but in relation to the spirit of peace and collaboration of nations and individuals promoted by the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The Commissioner concluded that the visits to the specific memorial by children of young ages (pre-primary and primary school children) might not serve the best interest of the child, taking into consideration the discomfort children feel, by experiencing through the memorial the atrocities of the past. She even recommended that such visits by older children should be implemented after a preparation of the children and via a pedagogical approach of what the memorial teaches for the past. The specific statement of the Commissioner generated a heated public debate and a turn against the Commissioner, whom as the reactors supported, she does not support the values of the nation, and tries to enforce the nation to forgo its history and abuse by past colonizers and conquerors. The argument was directly related to the future of the nation and in conjunction with the Cyprus problem, to the argument that by not teaching the history of the island, Cyprus will be handed over to its diachronic enemy, Turkey.

The third statement of the Commissioner from which this conception of childhood becomes apparent as a period of life that prepares the children to serve the ideologies of the nation, is one that relates to the social benefits provided by the social policy system in Cyprus²⁷, which was published in September 2017. According to the statement, vulnerable groups of children are excluded from the social welfare system due to the provision for staying for at least five years before applying for either the Minimum Income Benefit or the Child Benefit and the Single Parent Benefit, at the areas controlled by the

²⁷ Statement of the Commissioner for Children's Rights, Cyprus, Leda Koursoumba, related to the provision of staying for a specific period of time to the areas controlled by the Government of the Republic, for the provision of social welfare benefits. Retrieved October 14, 2017 from

<http://www.childcom.org.cy/ccr/ccr.nsf/All/F1CE523E919D5125C22581B6002384BB?OpenDocument>

Government of the Republic. As the Commissioner supports, this provision is discriminatory, since based on a neutral criterion it excludes children with Cypriot citizenship, such as Turkish Cypriot children, children of returnee parents, and children of single parent families with the parent responsible for the child being a national of a third country. The Commissioner also reports how children who are European citizens and children who have status of international protection, such as refugees or children with supplementary protection status do not have access to social benefits due to their length of residence in the areas controlled by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus. Through the observations and recommendations of the Commissioner, it becomes evident that even the social policy system has built a safety net around the children who 'belong' to the nation, excluding the rest from the fulfillment of their basic rights.

The concept of the child belonging either to the family or the nation is not a newly introduced concept. Reynaert et al (2009) discussed the shift among old practices of child rearing, where contemporary ones consider the family as the core of upbringing the child and the State intervening only in cases that the family is incapable of fulfilling that role or as a supportive mechanism to the family. Extended to the role of family and State, Molinari et al (2002) discussed the contemporary assumptions of family functioning in the western societies, as one that is a more private one, obscuring the implementation of the rights of the child. At last, Daiute (2008) challenges the conception of the child within the CRC, stating that

there's a process of socialization implied, via expressions about the prominent role of "States Parties" and families to make decisions on the child's behalf, qualifications like "taking into account the rights and duties of the child's parents," and exceptions such as accommodations to State Parties recruiting children into armed conflict at age 15 when necessary, although childhood is otherwise protected up to age 18. (Daiute, 2008, p. 708).

Daiute is one researcher discussing the notion of the child belonging to the child or the nation embedded in the CRC. She pinpoints to the developing capacities

and maturity of the child that CRC focuses, as an example of the dependent and vulnerable nature of the child, qualities that the family and the nation undertake to 'develop'. As a concluding remark, the notion of the child belonging to the family or the nation is a notion discussed not as unfolding via the representations of various societies hold about children and childhood, but also through the international instrument developed to protect children's rights, the CRC.

To sum up, the statements of the Commissioner for Children's Rights in Cyprus, provide the lens through which the gaze must be directed in relation to the perceptions about childhood that exist within the Cypriot context. Childhood is still conceptualized in Cyprus not far from the way it was conceptualized during the period that children worked in mines. Children are still experienced as part of a larger unit, that of the family, and who will eventually grow up to serve the ideologies of the nation. As such, they are not given a voice, neither they participate in the decision-making processes that affect them. In general, children are not represented as independent right holders, but rather as passive, dependent objects, as entities who do not have the maturity or skills to act and form their own future.

An aim of the current study is to explore the content of the representations of childhood described above, among the population of educators and children. At the same time, the focus on the representations shared for the specific population, cannot overlook how major stakeholders within a specific setting diffuse representations about this period of life. For that reason, the predominant social representations regarding children manifested (a) in the printed press of the Greek Cypriot community and (b) in the circulars read to children at the beginning of the year signed by the Archbishop of Cyprus, were set as research questions of the current study. Since in Cyprus, as the analysis of the Commissioner's statements confirmed, the representations of childhood and the application of children's rights are shaped and restricted by the notions shared for the nation and its survival, which is highly affiliated with the solution of the Cyprus Problem, the study explores the social and

psychological relating to the representations of intergroup relations that predict the aforementioned representations or alternative and critical representations that resist and challenge the above view of childhood.

ELENI KOTZIAMANI

3. CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Mixed Methods Design

The education, media and Church have been noted at the literature review as contextual factors affecting the social impact of segregation in Cyprus. Althusser (2006) has listed such institutions as Ideological State Apparatuses, which function by a unified ideology guided by the dominant class, which comes to also function as a repression to preserve the status-quo. Either as contextual factors or ideological state apparatuses, the said institutions were considered important to be studied, especially within the content of Cyprus, a conflict-affected society, to examine their role in forming and sustaining social representations and/or suppressing alternative ones related to children and their rights. As Bar-Tal (2014) underlines “societies that have a state have an advantage... [they] have at their disposition organs, institutions, and organizations, as well-trained staff to plan, to form, to transmit, to control, and to disseminate their official narrative with the themes through the course of the conflict” (p. 5.19). The present study indicates specific elements and/or dynamics within the power structural system and the institutions that serve it, such as the media, the education, and the Church, that as Tint (2010) describes, “leave a society’s consciousness embedded in the conflict” (p. 240). Research that illustrates institutional representations within the society which might perpetuate the status-quo, can provide an important insight that can lead to another pathway promoting collaboration and peaceful interaction, rather than cynicism and inaction; by doing so, alternatives might come to the forefront for societies with conflict or post-conflict societies.

The study utilized a mixed methods inquiry that drew upon both qualitative and quantitative design. The decision on using a mixed methods research was not based on the accumulation of the advantages of each method, rather, as explained below, it was considered necessary for the purposes of the study. Two of the purposes of mixed methods is complementarity and completeness (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2008). As such, the current study was

designed as a one-phase study in which both qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analyzed in parallel to provide a more coherent framework of the social representations regarding children's rights. The lack of data and research results on the representations of children's rights was the initial rationale behind the use of mixed methods research. The researcher did not have previous results to illuminate her pathway, other than a theoretical background of various sub-areas. The lack of existing research was experienced as an advantage though, to "think outside the box", as Brannen (2008, p. 55) defined as an opportunity of the mixed methods design.

The use of both qualitative and quantitative methods, but at the same time the mix of qualitative methods was considered essential in providing the means for adequate explanation of the social representations of children's rights in the context of a country with a prolonged history of animosity among its inhabitants. As Wagner et al. (1999) support, the social representations theory enables the researcher to understand a phenomenon not as a static one, but within a historical and pragmatic dynamic at a macro level. If the current research, used only a questionnaire designed to collect both qualitative and quantitative data, the content of the social representations of children's rights would be made available, along with the children's rights violations related to representations of the prolonged conflict experienced by the Greek Cypriots and the differences of individual positioning in the representational field of children's rights. It would fail to capture and address though the impact of important institutions within the Cypriot society, such as the media and the Church, and as such, the research would have failed to provide a full account of how that content may be shared, formed or challenged. In the same manner, if only thematic analysis was used to examine how the institutions construct children's rights in their messages to the public, would have provided a social reality, but without being able to identify whether that reality, supported a social representation shared among the Greek Cypriot society. It is sometimes more "important to understand the processes by which, and the specific context in which, things happen, and how these are understood by participants" (Maxwell,

2013, p. 32). To sum up, the use of mixed methods research enabled to have a more fine-grained picture of the structural dimensions of the representations of children's rights and enabled the researcher to stand critically towards the results obtained. At the same time, it allowed to chart the ideological positions of crucial socialization actors and ideological apparatuses.

Another decision that had to be taken was the presentation of the results. A decision was taken, solely based on the fact that quantitative results entailed the participation of children. It was considered important to explore first the data provided by children and then, to contrast those with the representations about children's rights and childhood shared by institutions. Based on that perception, the structure of the current study starts with the presentation of the methodology and results obtained by the questionnaires administered to children and educators, followed by the qualitative analysis of the printed press, and at the end the qualitative analysis of the circulars of the head of the Church. A discussion for each of the three components is provided, followed by a discussion based on a synthesis of the results at the end of the study.

Quantitative and qualitative data were collected via a questionnaire administered to educators and children that reside in Cyprus, aiming to assess the content of social representations, variations in individual positioning, and variations in social representations shared by adults and children, as well as the way that the variations in social positioning correlate with other belief systems. It also investigated the relation among those representations and other belief systems, as the concepts of childhood and the impact of conflict and division on the inhabitants of Cyprus. Furthermore, via the questionnaire, the present research study aimed at investigating the relationship among political tolerance (specified as the extend to which individuals are willing to respect and promote human rights to other groups) and various other variables.

To explore in depth the social representations related to children's rights in Cyprus, a country with a prolonged period of conflict, it was considered essential to determine whether those representations are related to societal beliefs and social institutions. The role of key institutions was examined via the

qualitative part of the research. Those institutions were the media, and specifically the printed press, and the Church.

Qualitative research was considered as a better tool to examine the contextual factors, that might have an impact on the formation, transferability and sustainability of certain representations regarding children's rights within the Cypriot society. In this case, qualitative research provided for in-depth analysis of an area that has been unexplored within the Greek Cypriot community, that of the social representations of children's rights. It enabled the researcher to capture information conveyed within the language used within the sources examined each time, along with the specific characteristics of the representations that those institutions shared.

The aim of qualitative methodology was to capture the content of social representations of children's rights in Cyprus as shared by the two ideological apparatuses, the media and the Church. That content was examined whether it reflects the historical and social context by which representations are constructed and how that context might have an impact on the representations shared by each institution. The data analysis used resources already shared within the society, and as such, can be considered as 'authentic' resources that have not been constructed for the purposes of the study. Qualitative research allowed to search for meanings, and links among various concepts of interest to the current study. It permitted, via the standpoint of the researcher, to attend to power disparities among those institutions and the general population, that permit the perpetuation of certain representations, along with any particular motives that drove those institutions in sharing specific representations. This complexity could not be attended by quantitative research alone.

Children's rights in the Greek Cypriot press were examined via a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the social representations related to the rights of the child in the printed media. The power of media in shaping the public opinion, creating awareness for social problems or shaping the political agenda have been reported by several researchers (De Vreese, & Boomgaarden, 2006; McLaughlin, 2019; Ribeiro, 2017; Schoenbach et al., 2005; Seul & Ribeiro,

2015; Goddard & Saunders, 2001). Cyprus printed press could not be an exception to the rule. The representations shared via the newspapers in the Greek Cypriot community have been thoroughly investigated for several vulnerable groups within the specific context, such as the migrants (Kadianaki & Andreouli, 2017; Avraamidou et al., 2017) or the LGBTI individuals (Kadianaki et al., 2018). Concurrently, newspapers have been reported to be a contextual factor fueling specific conceptions and trespassing specific narratives, representations or identities related to the Cyprus Problem among the Greek Cypriot community (Avraamidou, 2017; Avraamidou & Kyriakides, 2015).

Literature supports that people today rely on multiple sources to be informed, one of them being the social media (Welbers & Opgenhaffen, 2018; Bertot et al., 2012). While within the traditional media, the authors/journalists are the ones who hold the information and share it with others, within the social media the users create the content (Bertot et al., 2012), which is negotiated and reformed according to a dialogue developed among various users (Porter, 2008). The introduction of the social media in the lives of the people in Cyprus has altered the information sharing among the public, providing for space for alternative 'visuals' and 'stories' about the 'other' (Karayianni, 2013). The traditional media though in Cyprus, defined mainly by the television and the newspapers, still, highly affect not only the collective remembrance in relation to the Cyprus problem, but also the representations about the peace negotiations (Avraamidou & Psaltis, 2019) or groups, perceived to be a 'threat' to the traditional and 'pure' form of the Greek Cypriot society problem.

Having a constructive role within the society and having a profound impact on the lives of individuals and the adoption of measures at a national and international level, traditional media are controlled and disseminated by adults, for the large majority to an adult audience. This is especially true, when it comes to the print media and specifically the newspapers. Newspapers can be described as a child-free territory, where adults-journalists report or comment to events, institutions, incidents, and/or aspects of practices of the society, among them those related to children. Participation of children is either minimal

or absent within the production and consumerism of newspapers. Duveen and Lloyd (1990) report that the child is part of a wider community, and as such become part of the existing social representations of that community (ontogenesis) and shape their social identities. The child through social interaction and information presented via the media (microgenesis), becomes a recipient of the existing social representations the child negotiates and elaborates on the existing representations. As Duveen and Lloyd (1990) very explicitly describe

“These microgenetic processes will have led to ontogenetic transformations in the child’s representation of the world, but the social representations of their community are unlikely to be influenced by these particular microgenetic processes. In this case there is ontogenesis without sociogenesis, a state of affairs which is a characteristic feature of childhood given the negligible influence which children are able to exert on the representations held by their community” (p. 180).

To recapitulate, indeed, on one hand, newspapers are a powerful tool that shapes representations within the society, on the other hand, children do not shape that tool, neither have access to it, and as such do not seem to be provided with the opportunity to become agents of social change within their communities.

Under those conditions, it was considered essential to examine whether the newspapers do form social representations regarding the rights of the child in Cyprus, to what extent, and their content. Being an integral part of the Cypriot society and the Cyprus problem, the role of the media in forming and shaping representations related to children and their rights has not, so far, been investigated by researchers. This is the first time, that a research study conducted in Cyprus will investigate the representations of children shared by the newspapers, in an effort to provide an understanding on how those might construct a specific image of the ‘ideal’ Greek Cypriot child, promote practices that intercept the realization of children’s rights or advance ethnic priorities. Psaltis (2012) has noted that “a multiplicity of sources of asymmetry (expertise, gender, race, social class) in society, penetrate the educational praxis” (p. 384).

Looking at the print press as another source of asymmetry within the society and understanding its role in forming representations regarding the rights of the child, can be a valuable tool for action taking. The media play a decisive role on the application of children's rights, by embodying the way the reproduction or emergence of new representations is achieved through the social control and monitoring they apply.

At last, the sociogenesis of social representations of children's rights, in other words, the process by which meaning is attributed to children's rights via the interaction among individuals, and the way this meaning is diffused within the society, was considered important to be examined, beyond the printed press, through an important agent within the Greek Cypriot community, namely the Church. Having economic and political power and granted a role in the educational affairs, the Church has been reported to be an agent, beyond the government, of paramount importance within the Greek Cypriot society, as it was illuminated in the literature review. Additionally, a study complied with Greek Cypriot teachers confirmed the statement that religious education either "entrenches ethnic, national and political cleavages or "helps promote mutual understanding, peace and social cohesion" (Loukaides and Zembylas, 2017, p.176). The Church was found to be highly affiliated with the Greek Cypriot educational system, as religious and ethnic goals are interlaced into the fabric of education (Bryant, 2004; Koutselini-Ioannidi & Persianis, 2000). Therefore, it was considered essential to examine whether the Church facilitates a specific understanding of children's rights and/or whether it exposes educators and students into specific discourses, compatible or not with the Convention on the Rights of the Child. At the same time, it was important to examine how the Church frames those representations within the context of the Cyprus Issue. Reflecting on the way those representations are diffused within the community of educators and students and how they may form or reproduce predominant ideologies about children's rights can provide an insight on practices that permit or prohibit the full realization of children's rights within the Cypriot society.

Confidence and relevance indicators were employed within the qualitative analysis of the data. As such, to examine the core of the representations of children's rights I used two methods to carry the analysis, with the use of a software and without. Results did not reveal any inconsistencies among the two methods. Additionally, an effort was invested to approach the data from at least two perspectives, which in some cases led to different results. This does not threaten the validity or reliability of the results, since as Bauer & Gaskell (2000) report this is an indication that "social phenomena look different as they are approached from different angles" (p. 345). Another confidence indicator is the transparency and procedural clarity (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). As such, I placed particular effort in presenting in detail the procedure that I employed for the analysis, along with the process and the data that I followed to reach into forming an argument. Another tactic I employed to ensure confidence and relevance, was the presentation of a sufficient number of extracts and not a single one, in other words I was careful on constructing the corpus, which Bauer & Gaskell (2000) report as a confidence and relevance marker. By doing so, I projected evidence that the argument presented was not based on a random extract that presented an idea in fragments, but that it served a specific ideology which also served a specific purpose. The thick reportage of the text and the detailed description of the social conditions enable the reader to examine by his/her own means the language used and the social milieu, which are also reported by Bauer & Gaskell (2000) as confidence and relevance indicators. At last, according to the same authors, surprise is another relevance marker. It is true that throughout the process, I came to gain insights that resulted in changing my mind. An example of such a process is the two themes that emerged through the qualitative analysis of the circulars of the Church, which at the end I came to understand that they are not contradictory, but rather an extension of the same representation. To sum up, all the aforementioned indicators were employed to ascertain the quality of the procedure of the qualitative analysis.

The data collected out of both qualitative and quantitative research, were analyzed drawing from literature on intractable conflicts, contact, political tolerance, human rights, childhood and social representations.

3.2. Questionnaire Administered to Educators and Children

3.2.1. Research Questions

Research was led by a main research question about the social representations within the Greek Cypriot community regarding the children's rights, as those are expressed by educators and children. The focus was whether social representations of children's rights are anchored on certain beliefs related to the Cyprus problem, and as such prohibit the full realization of children's rights in the Cypriot social reality. The main research question was supported by several sub-questions that relate to the quantitative and qualitative part of the research. Those were:

Research Question 1: What is the content of the social representations of children's rights among educators and children in Cyprus?

It was expected that the representations held by adults will differ from that of adolescents, with the two different groups emphasizing different rights as important ones.

Research Question 2: Is the content of children's rights violations related to representations of the prolonged conflict (the Cyprus problem) experienced by the Greek Cypriots?

It was expected that both adolescents and adults would relate directly the violation of children's rights as a result of the Turkish occupation in Cyprus.

Research Question 3: What are the differences of individual positioning in the representational field of "children's rights" in both the adult and children population?

It was expected that the variations in positioning would be organized in a systematic way. The specific research question examined the anchoring of the social positioning in relation to various group characteristics. It was expected that differences would be noted among social positioning and gender, religiosity, quantity and quality of contact, levels of realistic and symbolic threat and war related experiences. Differences were also expected among different perceptions of group identification and of childhood.

Research Question 4: Are there any specific representations of children's rights shared by adults and children?

It was expected that children would share similar representations with adults, highly related to violations of children's rights highly accepted as such in the Cypriot society, such as parental child beating.

Research Question 5: To what extent national practices²⁸, related to the promotion of the moral values of the nation, are considered as infringements to children's rights?

It was expected that the violations of children's rights directly related to the Cyprus problem or which threaten national identity or the perceived historical continuation of the narrative exhibited in the Greek-Cypriot community would not be regarded as violations. In other words, it was expected that individuals would legitimate the violation of children's rights, once the "national security" or "national interest" would be at stake.

²⁸ Specific events or situations were named as 'national practices', since they consist of practices applied by agents of the nation, such as the educational system or the army, or applied on most of the children's population for a prolonged period of time.

Research Question 6:

- (a) What is the relationship among political tolerance [defined by Avery (1988) as the readiness of individuals to extend children's rights to the children of one's least-liked socio-political group] and age, gender, political persuasion, religiousness, quantity and quality of contact, levels of realist and symbolic threat, and war related experiences during the events.
- (b) Is there a difference in the responses when the least liked socio-political group relates to the Cyprus issue (Turkish Cypriots and Turks)?

3.2.2. Participants

The population of the research study was educators (ages 21-65) and children (ages 14-17) who reside in the areas where the Republic of Cyprus exercises effective control. For the school year 2016-2017, the total number of educators was 14.950 (all levels of education). Specifically, for the same time period, the teaching personnel numbered as indicated below by level of education of interest to the current study: pre-school and pre-primary educators 2.495, primary educators 4.283, and secondary educators 5.976 (Republic of Cyprus-Statistical Service, 2018). The total number of students attending secondary education was 55.212, enrolled in 167 schools (middle schools and high schools) (Republic of Cyprus-Statistical Service, 2019).

For the purposes of the quantitative part of the research, the sample of the research study was 1.200 educators (of all educational levels) and 1.200 students (of high schools only), from all geographical regions of Cyprus. For the children's sample, in order to be representative of the population, the percentages of people residing in urban and rural areas as indicated below (the percentages were extracted from the general population estimates available at the Republic of Cyprus-Statistical Service, 2016) were used to indicate the number of children from each region:

Table 1. *Children's sample of the research study according to region and rural/urban area*

District	Urban Area		Rural Area		Total No of participants
	% of the total population	No of participants	% of the total population	No of participants	
Nicosia (38.9%)	28.5%	343	10.4%	124	468
Limassol (30%)	21.3%	255	6.7%	82	336
Larnaca (17%)	10%	120	7%	84	204
Pafos (10.6%)	7.5%	91	3.1%	36	127
Ammochostos (5.5%)	—	—	5.5%	65	65
Total		809		391	1200

As for the educators' sample, initially, the statistical information about the number of schools in each district were obtained via the Ministry's website. All schools of all educational levels were counted in. Talent (music or athletic schools), private and evening schools were not part of the population of the study. Table 2 presents the number of schools chosen from each district to participate in the study for educators' sample.

Table 2. *Number of schools in each district utilized to form educators' sample*

District	Level of Education	No of schools in each district	Number of schools at the educators' sample
Nicosia	Pre-primary	106	6
	Primary	125	8
	Middle Schools	25	2
	High Schools*	17	4
	<i>Total</i>	<i>273</i>	<i>20</i>
Limassol	Pre-primary	62	2
	Primary	85	1
	Middle Schools	18	5
	High Schools*	15	3
	<i>Total</i>	<i>180</i>	<i>11</i>
Larnaca	Pre-primary	53	3
	Primary	61	3
	Middle Schools	11	1
	High Schools*	9	1
	<i>Total</i>	<i>134</i>	<i>8</i>
Pafos	Pre-primary	35	2
	Primary	41	2
	Middle Schools	7	1
	High Schools*	10	1
	<i>Total</i>	<i>93</i>	<i>6</i>
Ammochostos	Pre-primary	16	1
	Primary	19	1
	Middle Schools	3	2
	High Schools*	5	1
	<i>Total</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>TOTAL</i>		<i>723</i>	<i>50</i>

*High Schools include vocational schools.

Same procedure was followed for the children's population, without taking into consideration the element of the educational level, since only the

high schools were counted in the sample, along with vocational schools. As such, the sampling procedure utilized took into consideration the proportion of population in the specific district and the location of the school (urban or rural area) for the purposes of both the educators' and students' sample, and the type of school (pre-primary, primary, middle school, high school, and vocational school) for the educators' sample. Table 3 presents the number of schools chosen from each district and level of education to participate in the study for children's sample. It is noted that the number of schools participating in the study is lower than the original number of schools from each district, since some of the schools refused to participate and no alternative was identified for its substitution.

Table 3. *Number of high schools in each district utilized to form children's sample*

District	No of high schools* in each district	Number of schools from each district participating at the children's sample
Nicosia	17	3
Limassol	15	2
Larnaca	9	1
Pafos	10	1
Ammochostos	5	1
<i>Total</i>	56	8

*High schools include vocational schools.

3.2.3. Demographics

The final number of educators participating at the current study was 389. Twenty three percent (23%) of the educators was male, where 77% was female. Gender was significantly correlated with level of education $r=-.22$ ($p<.01$), indicating that men had more probabilities of having a holding a master's degree or PhD than women. Nine percent (9%) of educators served in pre-primary education, 35% in primary, 49% in secondary, 6% in vocational and 2% were special educators. Sixty seven percent (67%) worked in schools located in

urban areas, while the rest 31% in schools located in rural areas. In total, 42% worked in schools located in the district of Nicosia, 27% in the district of Limassol, 10% in the district of Larnaca, 13% in the district of Paphos, and 8% in the district of Ammochostos. Of those though, only 22% resides in villages. The number of educators holding a master's degree reached 58%. Another 4% had obtained a PhD. The vast majority, 94%, was Cypriot nationals. Table 4 presents the demographics of the educators participating in the study in a detailed form.

Table 4. *Demographics of the participating educators*

Level of Education	Gender		Degrees obtained			Years of Experience			
	Male	Fem	BA	MA	PhD	1-10	11-20	21-30	31+
Pre-Primary (33)	0	33	16	16	0	8	10	10	4
Primary (135)	25	110	38	89	6	22	69	40	2
Secondary (191)	45	142	88	93	8	31	99	42	14
Vocational (22)	15	7	3	17	2	7	11	3	0
Special Education (7)	2	5	1	6	0	3	2	2	0
Total (389)	88	297	146	221	16	71	191	97	20
Total (%)	23%	76%	38%	57%	4%	18%	49%	25%	5%

Out of the 389 educators, 308 were parents, a percentage as high as 80%. At the time completing the questionnaire, 68% of the educators who had the dual identity of being parent and educator, were parents of an underage child.

Furthermore, 23% of the participating educators stated that they personally experienced a traumatic event during the historical events of the past in Cyprus (1960-1974). Half of the educators (51%) stated that one of the members of their family or a relative experienced a traumatic event during the historical events of the past. Of those, 22% stated that they had a relative as a missing person, 17% that they experienced the war (referring to the Turkish invasion in 1974), another 17% that their family members had been forced to

abandon their houses and experienced displacement, 12% that a family member was a war prisoner, 9% stated that a family member participated as a soldier in the battlefield, while another 9% stated that they had a family member that died due to the events of the past. Other descriptions provided for war related experiences of family members or relatives were injuries, psychological problems due to traumatic experiences, and loss of the right to enjoy and use their properties. Ninety percent (90%) of those experiences were related to the Turkish invasion of 1974, 6% to the coup that took place in July 15, 1974, 3% to the events that took place during the British rule in Cyprus and the struggle for independence (1954-1959), and only 1% reported that those traumatic events were the result of the events of 1963.

A high percentage of the participating educators (64%) considers themselves as a victim of the Cyprus problem. There is a statistically significant relationship between considering yourself a victim of the Cyprus problem and the years of teaching, $\chi^2=13.70$, $p=.033$, suggesting that more teaching experience was related to a bigger likelihood of reporting being a victim of the Cyprus problem.

When asked whether participants belonged to a group, whose rights are violated in Cyprus, 71% responded negatively, while 29% responded positively. Of those, the vast majority (81%) reported that their rights are violated due to the Cyprus problem. Four percent reported that their rights are violated based on their professional status (being educators), while 2% reported rights violations based on gender, and another 2% for not believing in God. Other groups reported by single individuals were people with disability, mother, orphan, and migrant. Being a member of a group that its rights are violated was significantly related to service years, $r=.11$ ($p<.05$), suggesting that educators who had more years of experience were more likely to report that they belong to a group that their rights are violated.

The final number of children participating at the current study was 565. Forty seven percent (47%) resided in the district of Nicosia, 22% in the district of Limassol, 18% in the district of Paphos, and 13% in the district of

Ammochostos. The researcher was not granted access to any of the public secondary schools in the district of Larnaca. The 63% of participating children attended schools in urban areas, while 37% attends schools located in rural areas. Fifty seven percent (57%) of the children lived in towns, while another 43% resided in villages. The vast majority of the children participating in the study were Cypriot nationals (91%), while the rest 9% were children of other nationalities. The participants' mean age was 16.3 (SD=.91, range 15-18).

For the 86% of the participants their father was Cypriot and 80% of the participants had a Cypriot mother. The parents' origin was from 31 countries, with 5% of the fathers who had other origin that of being Greek and 5% of the mothers being Romanians. Four hundred and eighteen (418) participants (74%) had both parents being Cypriots, while 48 participants (9%) had both parents being of another nationality. The rest 98 participants (17%) had one of the two parents being of another nationality. The unemployment rate for father's reached 3%, while it was double for mothers (6%). Five percent (5%) of the participants did not state their father's profession, while another 7% did not state their mother's profession. As such, it is not clear whether in this case, the children meant to state that their parent is unemployed or missed to fill their parents' profession. Nine percent (9%) of the participants also stated that their mother was a housewife, increasing the number of households with one parent being at the labor force. Table 5 presents other demographics of the children participating in the current study.

Table 5. *Demographics of the participating children*

Variable	Description	Percentage
Gender	Male	36%
	Female	63%
	Other	0.2%
Age	15	20%
	16	36%
	17	33%
	18	10%
Grade	First	38%
	Second	37%
	Third	26%
Orientation Group ²⁹	Classical Studies [Κλασσικό]	11%
	Mathematics-Physics [Πρακτικό]	41%
	Financial Studies [Οικονομικό]	25%
	Commercial Studies [Εμπορικό]	9%
	Hotel Studies [Ξενοδοχειακά]	8%
	Decoration Studies [Διακοσμητική]	2%
	Graphic Design [Γραφικές Τέχνες]	3%
	Foreign Languages [Ξενόγλωσσο]	1%

Fifty six percent (56%) of the participating children stated that one of the members of their family or a relative experienced a traumatic event during the historical events of the past. Of those, 27% stated that they had a relative whom experienced the war (referring to the Turkish invasion in 1974), another 25% that their family members had been forced to abandon their houses and

²⁹ Children who attend high schools in Cyprus have to choose among various studies, which focus on different subjects.

experienced displacement, 12% stated that a family member participated as a soldier in the battlefield, another 9% stated that they had a family member that died due to the events of the past, 8% that a family member was a war prisoner, while 7% that they had a relative as a missing person, and 5% that they had a relative injured during the events and experiencing consequences throughout his/her life. Other descriptions provided for traumatic experiences of family members or relatives were violence personally experienced by a family member, psychological problems due to traumatic experiences, separation from other family members, enclavement, and loss of the right to enjoy and use their properties. Ninety seven percent (97%) of those experiences were related to the Turkish invasion of 1974, 2% to the coup that took place in July 15, 1974, and 1% to the events that took place during the British rule in Cyprus and the struggle for independence (1954-1959). None of the children reported that those traumatic events were the result of the events of 1963. At last, 41% of the participating children considers themselves as a victim of the Cyprus problem.

When asked whether children belonged to a group, whose rights are violated in Cyprus, 87% responded negatively, while only 14% responded positively. Of those, two fifths of them (40%) reported that their rights are violated, since their opinion is not taken into consideration as children, especially when it comes to educational affairs. A particularly typical response of that group was the one that follows: *"The leaders of our state prevent our development and they destroy our future by taking decisions that we do not have the right to express our opinions about"*. Another 15% reported that being students makes them belong to a vulnerable group. Twenty percent (20%) of the children reported that they belong to a group that their rights are violated, due to the Cyprus problem. Four percent (4%) reported that their rights are violated based on their sexuality (being homosexual), while another 4% reported having no free time as children. Other groups reported by single individuals were being female, a member of a minority group, being a child in general, living in poverty, not having adequate education, and living in unhealthy

family conditions. From all the above, the equal number of children who feels being vulnerable, either because of age or the Cyprus issue is noted. Another interesting outcome is that despite gender was reported only by a single child as a construct that creates vulnerability in children, 73% of the children who consider themselves as members of a vulnerable group were female, while the rest 27% were male. A chi-square test though revealed that feeling a member of a vulnerable group did not significantly differed by gender $\chi^2(1)=2.26, p=.133$.

When asked to report whether they had read the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 56% of the educators reported that they did not, compared to 86% of the children, while 44% of the educators and only 14% of the children reported that they had read it. Forty seven percent (47%) of the educators reported that they know quite well which the rights of the child are, while another 35% reported that they know which the rights are at a great degree and 9% that they have excellent knowledge. The respective percentages for children were 45%, 23% and 4%. Only 9% of the educators reported that they don't know well which the rights of the child are. One fourth of the participating children (25%) reported that they don't know well which the rights of the child are, while another 4% reported that they don't know them at all.

3.2.4. Procedure

I. Educators' Questionnaire

After an initial phone contact with the head teachers of the school, the researcher visited the school at an appointed day and time, informed the educators about the purpose of the research and distributed the consent form, along with the questionnaire. The consent form (Appendix 3) provided information to the participants regarding their voluntary and informed participation, the precautionary measures for anonymity and confidentiality, and the ability of the participant to withdraw at any point without any consequences.

The educators' questionnaire was administered to 50 school units (14 pre-primary schools, 19 primary schools, 7 lower secondary schools, 8 higher secondary schools and 2 vocational schools), where approximately 1.211 educators teach. Of those 50 school units, 5 belonged to the district of Ammochostos, 6 to the district of Paphos, 8 to the district of Larnaca, 11 to the district of Limassol and 20 to the district of Nicosia. Twenty-four (24) of those units were in rural areas, while the rest 26 schools were located to urban areas. The questionnaire was administered during June 2018. The specific time was chosen as appropriate to administer the questionnaire, since during the end of the school year, educators feel more relaxed and, in most cases, have more free time. For example, pre-primary and primary educators have two days at the end of the school year, where children do not attend school. At the same time, the exam period in secondary education ends early in June, but educators must be present at the school community until the end of June. As such, the specific time-period was considered as appropriate for the administration of the questionnaire.

The response rate for the educators' questionnaire was 32%. Specifically, the response rate for each level of education has been the following: 66% for pre-primary educators, 40% for primary educators, 27% for educators at the secondary level, and 26% for educators who teach at the vocational level. A similar indication for willingness to participate was noted during the initial contact of the researcher with the head teachers of the schools. The head teachers of pre-primary units were very enthusiastic and willing to inform the teachers of their school about the research in order to participate, the head teachers of the primary units expressed their willingness but were not enthusiastic, while the majority of the secondary and vocational units agreed to inform the educators, but also, informed the researcher for all the obstacles that might restrain the educators of the school units from participating. At the same time, the response rate for each district has been noted as: 39% for Nicosia, 33% for Limassol, 30% for Larnaca, 34% for Paphos, and 16% for Famagusta.

In general, there was a great resistance on behalf of educators in filling out the questionnaire. Possible reasons for the resistance, as those were noted during the administration of the questionnaire were mainly two: (a) the fact that the questionnaire included questions which related to the Cyprus Problem, and (b) the length of the questionnaire and the time needed for its completion. In regard to the fact that the questionnaire included questions related to the Cyprus problem, especially in the area of Famagusta, where the response rate was very low, the educators in two of the school units were extremely negative in completing it, to the point of interacting with the researcher with hostility, claiming that she was part of a greater movement which tries to impose a solution that is not accepted by the locals. Even though, this argument was not presented by educators in other districts, other comments noted at the questionnaires which related to the Cyprus Problem indicated the reluctance of the educators to complete a questionnaire that related the Cyprus Problem with children's rights.

II. Children's Questionnaire

A similar but slightly differentiated procedure was followed for the distribution of the questionnaire to students who attend high schools. To start with, an initial phone contact with the head teachers of the school established the consent of the head teacher to provide the space and time to the students to participate in the research project. A contact person from the school was determined by the head teacher, responsible to be in touch with the researcher and follow the procedures required for the successful implementation of the research.

As a first step, the researcher sent the consent forms to the contact person of each school with the direction to be administered to all students of six random classes of the school (two classes of first grade, two of second grade and two of third grade). It was not possible though to ensure that random allocation would be fulfilled, since the contact person, along with the

headteacher of the school had to decide upon the six classes that would participate in the research. Their decisions might have been based on criteria set by them, unknown to the researcher. The consent form (Appendix 4) provided information to the participants regarding their voluntary and informed participation, the precautionary measures for anonymity and confidentiality, and the ability of the participant to withdraw at any point without any consequences. For a child to participate at the research, the consent of one of the parents and the child were required. Adequate time was provided for the consent forms to be distributed to the students and be returned to the contact person specified for the purposes of the current research.

Once the consent forms were collected, the researcher visited the school at an appointed day and time and distributed the questionnaire to the students who declared their interest to participate in the research project by completing the consent form. The questionnaire was administered by the researcher to the students in six different time periods (one for each class). The researcher before the distribution of the questionnaire reminded the children about the purpose of the research and their voluntary participation. Children were provided with 45 minutes to complete the questionnaire. At the end of the time period, questionnaires were collected independent of whether children had completed all the questions or not. Children who did not participate in the study were given assignments by the educators, in order not to disturb the research procedure.

The children's questionnaire was administered to 7 school units (6 high schools and 1 vocational school). Of those 7 school units, 1 belonged to the district of Ammochostos, 1 to the district of Pafos, 2 to the district of Limassol and 3 to the district of Nicosia. Access to any of the schools that reside in the district of Larnaca was not provided to the researcher. Three (3) of those units were in rural areas, while the rest 4 schools were located in urban areas. The questionnaire was administered during the period March to May 2019.

3.2.5. Measures

The questionnaire for educators was firstly formed in English with items designed by the researcher and grounded on the literature or adapted by research instruments used in previous studies. A diverse group of experts provided feedback on content and face validity. The revised and validated questionnaire was translated in Greek and modified accordingly.

The questionnaire consisted of demographics such as gender, age, level of education, being a refugee or not, having personal war related experiences based on the events of the past, religiosity, nationality, parenthood and familiarity with the CRC. The term nationality was included as a term that tried to capture the participation of individuals with an immigrant, refugee or other background, and not as a measure of ethnic or national identification. Other scales measuring quantity and quality of contact, levels of realistic and symbolic threat, concepts of childhood, political tolerance, along with statements measuring social positioning for children's rights violations and word maps related to children's rights were also included.

The children's questionnaire was exactly the same as the educators' questionnaire, except from specific questions related to demographics. Additionally, the question of having personal experiences of a traumatic event during the events of the past was removed from the children's questionnaire, since all the events were held more than 40 years ago, and none of the children had lived a personal experience of those events. The indirect experiences of children though were still included, since children had to fill out whether any of their family members or relatives experienced a traumatic event of the past.

Effort was devoted so that the questionnaire would not exceed thirty minutes for its completion by educators and forty-five by children.

Below the constructs used in the adults' and children's questionnaire are described in more detail.

Demographics of the Participants

At the very beginning of the questionnaire, educators had to respond to eleven items related to personal characteristics. Those were the gender, age, the level of education they acquired (BA, MA or PhD), their citizenship, the level of education they teach (pre-primary, primary, secondary, vocational or special), their years of service, whether their school is located in urban or rural area, and whether they live at an urban or rural area, whether they are parents or not, if they have read the CRC, and whether they are familiar with the rights of the child.

Similar information was retrieved from children. Those were the gender, age, citizenship, the grade they attend and their studies, whether their school is located in urban or rural area, and whether they live at an urban or rural area, the country of citizenship and the profession of both parents, if they have read the CRC, and whether they are familiar with the rights of the child.

The Content of Social Representations of Children's Rights

A word association task was used to explore the content of social representations of children's rights. Word association task is a technique widely used to explore both the content, as well as the importance provided to the content within the social representations studies (Barreiro et al., 2014; Wagner et al., 1999, Sarrica and Contarello, 2004). As Sarrica and Contarello (2004) report about the word association task, "it is one of the more frequently used procedures in social representation studies, especially during exploratory phases of research, when it is necessary to leave participants free to express the significant categories they use" (p. 554). As such, participants were asked to write down the first five words that cross their minds once they hear the phrase 'children's rights'.

The Content of Social Representations of Violations of Children's Rights

An open-ended question was used to elicit the responses of participants about the content of violations of children's rights. Specifically, participants were asked to identify which right of the child is violated the most in Cyprus nowadays and whom is the agent which causes the violation.

Recognition of Violations of Children's Rights

Doise (2002) measured differences in individual positioning among individuals from five countries by presenting 21 various situations of restrictions of rights. Inspired by the specific tool and in the absence of a tool that measures agreement regarding children's rights violations, a new instrument was developed and used for the purposes of the study. Two out of the four items from Doise's scale that related with children's rights were kept, but rephrased. Those were: obliging children to work in factories, and parental child-beating. The scale consisted in total of 19 items. A number of items originated from the work of the Commissioner of Children's Rights in Cyprus and were constructed based on the position statements of the Commissioner on actual complaints that the Commissioner received and evaluated as violations of children's rights. Participants indicated the degree to which a situation is a violation of a child's rights on a five-point scale: certainly not, not really, not sure, maybe yes, and certainly yes³⁰. The 19 items had high reliability ($\alpha=.88$ total, $\alpha=.86$ educators, $\alpha=.89$ children).

³⁰ In Greek the five-point scale was translated as: Σίγουρα όχι, Μάλλον όχι, Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η, Μάλλον ναι, Σίγουρα ναι. The exact same translation was used in the rest of the scales with the same choice of responses.

National Practices

Fourteen (14) items describing events or situations that take place in schools or within the society and children have experiences of, were presented, asking from participants to indicate the degree to which they are a violation of children's rights on a five-point Likert scale: certainly not, not really, not sure, maybe yes, and certainly yes. The events or situations were named as 'national practices', since they consist of practices applied by agents of the nation, such as the educational system or the army, or applied on most of the children's population for a prolonged period of time. One example of such a practice is the teaching of orthodox religion within the educational institutions. The 14 items had high reliability ($\alpha=.86$ total, $\alpha=.90$ educators, $\alpha=.84$ children).

A principal axis factor analysis was conducted on the 14 items with orthogonal rotation (varimax). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, $KMO=.85$ for educators and $KMO=.83$ for students ('meritorious' in both cases) (Field, 2013). An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each factor in the data. Two factors had eigenvalues over Kaiser's criterion of 1 and in combination explained 53.77% of the variance for the educators' questionnaire. The two factors were retained due to the large sample size, the convergence of the scree plot and Kaiser's criterion on this value. The same analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for two factors for the students' questionnaire. The two factors in combination explained 45.59% of the variance. Table 6 shows the factor loadings after rotation. The items that cluster on the same factor suggest that factor 1 represents school infringements related to national rituals ('School Rituals' factor), while factor 2 represents other national infringements outside the school context ('Societal Rituals' Factor). Despite the item "The school denies organizing a mutual activity with a school from the Turkish Cypriot community during school hours" loaded with Factor 2, it was finally included with items of factor 1, since it was related to school rituals. As such the final factors had high reliabilities: 'School Rituals' Cronbach's $\alpha=.89$

for educators and .75 for children, and 'Societal Rituals', Cronbach's $\alpha=.85$ for educators and .86 for children.

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Table 6. Summary of exploratory factor analysis results for national regulations (N=350 educators, N=525 children)

Item	Rotated Factor Loadings Educators		Rotated Factor Loadings Children	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
The school teaches Orthodox Christianity to all children.	.70		.50	
The school enforces Greek Cypriot children to participate at mass events that relate with the history of the nation and are organized during school hours (i.e. the celebration of October 28).	.81		.82	
The school enforces children of other nationality to participate at mass events that relate with the history of the nation and are organized during school hours (i.e. the celebration of October 28).	.81		.69	
The school enforces Greek Cypriot children to participate at mass events that relate with the religion of the majority and are organized during school hours (i.e.the holy water at the beginning of the year).	.86		.78	
The school enforces children of other nationality or religion to participate at mass events that relate with the religion of the majority and are organized during school hours (i.e.the holy water at the beginning of the year).	.73		.47	
Children of pre-primary and primary age visit the Imprisoned Memorial.	.57		.34	
The government denies providing nationality to a 17-year-old child born and raised in Cyprus.		.58		.59
A child who lives in Cyprus cannot be operated in public hospitals, since s/he doesn't have the Cypriot nationality.		.70		.59
The army teaches to a recruited 17year old child death slogans.		.64		.55
The parent teaches "bad words" to his child about the Turkish Cypriots.		.79		.82
The parent prohibits his 15year old child to form friendships with a Turkish Cypriot schoolmate.		.74		.85
The parent prohibits his 15-year-old child to cross the roadblock to visit the house of a Turkish Cypriot friend ((in case there is no concern for molestation/ harm to the child).	.43	.44		.63
The army teaches to a recruited 17year old child death slogans for the Turks.	.31	.70		.73
The school denies organizing a mutual activity with a school from the Turkish Cypriot community during school hours.	.33	.53		.64
Eigenvalues	5.63	1.90	4.27	2.12
% of variance	40.23	13.55	30.46	15.13
A	.90	.87	.77	.88

Note: Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold

Patriotism and Nationalism

Roccas et al. (2008) developed a multidimensional model of group identification which contains four different dimensions: “how much the individual views the group as part of who s/he is (importance), how much s/he wants to benefit the group (commitment), how much s/he views the group as superior to other groups (superiority), and how much s/he honors, reveres, and submits to the group’s norms, symbols and leaders (deference)” (p. 280). The 16 items comprising the scale were all included at the questionnaire administered to both educators and children. For the purposes of the current study though, and based on Kosterman’s and Feshbach’s (1989) work, 8 items of the scale of Roccas were used to assess patriotism (the importance and commitment items), and four items to assess nationalism (the superiority items) in a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree³¹. One statement was excluded due to low relation to the factor. As such the following items were included in the patriotism scale: “I feel strongly affiliated with Cyprus”, “Belonging to my country is an important part of my identity”, “I am glad to contribute to my country”, “It is important to me that I view myself as a member of my country”, “I am strongly committed to my homeland”, “It is important to me that others see me as a Greek Cypriot”, and “It is important to me to serve my homeland”. The following items were included in the nationalism scale: “Other states can learn a lot from us”, “Compared to other countries, my country is particularly good”, “Relative to other states, we are a very moral country”, and “My homeland is better than other groups in all respects”. The seven items of patriotism had a high reliability, $\alpha=.88$ total ($\alpha=.90$ educators and $\alpha=.86$ children). The four items that comprised nationalism had a reliability of $\alpha=.71$ ($\alpha=.76$ for educators and $\alpha=.67$ for children).

³¹ The five point scale was translated in Greek as: Διαφωνώ απόλυτα, Διαφωνώ, Ούτε διαφωνώ ούτε συμφωνώ, Συμφωνώ, Συμφωνώ απόλυτα.

Concept of Childhood

Sixteen (16) questions tried to bring into the surface the perceptions of childhood existing in the Greek Cypriot society. One item, “it is not the nursing infant which is important, but the adult that it will become” was retrieved by D’ Alessio’s (1990) work. The rest of the items were formed according to perceptions about childhood that seem to exist within the Cypriot society, as those are presented through the statements of the Commissioner for Children’s Rights. Those perceptions derive from the actual complaints submitted to the Commissioner, and the response provided by the authority that relates to the complain submitted. Examples of such items are “It takes a nation to raise a child”, “the child is a miniature of adults”, “the child is the portrait of the nation’s ideal” and “the purpose of life in childhood is to ‘collect’ as many experiences and knowledge to best prepare for life in adulthood”.

A principal axis factor analysis was conducted on the 16 items with orthogonal rotation (varimax). An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each factor in the data. For the educators’ data, four factors had eigenvalues over Kaiser’s criterion of 1, while for children’s data five factors had. Identifying differences among the group of educators and the group of children regarding their perceptions of childhood was expected, since the age gap among the two groups, along with the one group experiencing childhood at the time being form distinct perceptions of what childhood is. Furthermore, the specific scale was constructed for the purposes of the current study, and as such, it was expected that the factors extracted for the two groups would not be identical.

Based on the scree plot and observations regarding the items included in each factor, and how those are identical among the two groups, factor analysis was re-conducted, this time adding a limitation to extract only 3 factors for each data set. The results obtained suggested that for children, Cronbach’s α was much higher when the items loaded on 3 factors (forced), rather than five. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the

analysis: KMO=.84 ('meritorious') for educators and KMO=.72 ('middling') for children (Field, 2013). The three factors which had eigenvalues over Kaiser's criterion of 1 in combination explained 36.87% of the variance for the educators' questionnaire and 25% of the variance for children's data set. Table 7 shows the factor loadings after rotation. The items that cluster on the same factor suggest that factor 1 represents a conservative view of childhood, while factor 2 included items which indicate the child as a means to serve other interests in his/her preparation for adulthood rather than an independent entity. Only one item of factor 3 was identical among the two groups, and as such, factor 3 was not taken into consideration.

To be able to compare results that derive from each data set, only the items that loaded similarly were kept for each factor. Based on the items of factor 1 for the data set of educators, and including items 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 for the data set of students as well, Cronbach's α was very similar to the items included in factor 1 for the data set of students. As such, factor 1, the conservative view of childhood included items 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 (α =.81 educators, α =.62 children). Cronbach's α for items of factor 2 was very low (α =.58 educators, α =.51 children), and as such, the scale was not used for further analysis. From this point forward, the scale Conservative View of Childhood refers only to the items of factor 1, obtained after factor analysis and as explained above.

Table 7. Summary of exploratory factor analysis results for concepts of childhood for educators (N=346) and children (N=519)

Item	Rotated Factor Loadings Educators			Rotated Factor Loadings Children		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
It is not the nursing infant which is important, but the adult that it will become.			.59			.36
The nursing infant is an instinctive being, in need of guidance and protection, up to the point that will become a rational adult.		.47				.47
In educating the child, a family may deal with the child as it likes, as long as it does it with love.	.45					.45
The child lacks maturity and experiences. As such, there is no need to participate in decisions that affect his/her life.			.53	.50		
The child of today's era has been provided with many rights, and as such being spoiled and with less moral values.	.58			.39		
A child must succeed in school to lead a successful life as an adult.	.58			.51		
The child has a moral debt to continue his/her ancestors' heritage.	.67			.53		
Family is the primary institution that decides on all issues that affect the child. The decisions are articulated with reference to the needs of the family.	.62			.43		
Family has an obligation to support the child to grow and develop. As such, the child has an obligation to support the parents when they grow old.	.61					.36
The best interest of the family is always in accordance to the best interest of the child.	.48			.38		
It takes a nation to raise a child.	.42				.51	
The child is a miniature of adults.		.49			.38	
The child is the portrait of the nation's ideal.		.43			.56	
The purpose of life in childhood is to 'collect' as many experiences and knowledge to best prepare for life in adulthood.		.54			.47	
The nursing infant has an absolute kindness.		.46				
The child is a useful member of the society.		.45			.38	
% of variance	26.05	6.87	3.95	13.07	7.34	4.60
A	.82	.65	.51	.63	.57	.44

Note: Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold

Political tolerance

Political tolerance was defined by Avery (1988) as the readiness of individuals to extend basic human rights to one's least-liked socio-political group. The measure of political tolerance was divided in two parts, by introducing a small variation to the scale used by Avery. At the first part of this section, participants divided 16 ethnic groups into three categories: those they like the least, those they like a lot, and those they neither like, nor dislike³². The second part of this session asked individuals to range their willingness to extend 10 rights (retrieved by the Convention on the Rights of the Child and modified to fit the context of Cyprus) to their least-liked groups ($\alpha=.92$ total, $\alpha=.94$ educators, $\alpha=.91$ children).

The first part of the measure was repeated for socio-political groups, with a single item in the second part asking participants to complete whether they are ready to extend children's rights to the children of the socio-political groups they least like.

Experiences of War Related Events

The educators' questionnaire included 4 items that measured whether an individual had war related experiences during the events of the past.

³² The group of the Turks was introduced as it represents the constant enemy of the nation. The group of the Greeks was included, since it represents the 'ethnos' that Greek Cypriots affiliate with. The groups of the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots were also chosen, since they represent the two larger communities of Cyprus. The group of Kurds was included, since there is a tendency for Greek Cypriots to identify with their struggle, while the group of Saudi Arabians was included, based on their different religious belief, that is considered to be applied in an extremist manner. Nine (9) out of the 16 ethnic groups were chosen due to the high percentage of migrants from those regions that reside to Cyprus. Those ethnic groups are: British, Romanians, Bulgarians, and Germans (from European Union), and Philippines, Russians, Sri-Lankans, Syrians, and Georgians (third-countries nationals). The information was retrieved from the Statistical Service of Cyprus website, Ministry of Finance for the purposes of the statistical records of the population 2011. Retrieved April 6, 2018 from

<http://www.cystat.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/All/32DCF1B1D5F73997C2257973003704DF?OpenDocument&sub=2&sel=1&e=&print>

Participants had to respond with a 'yes' or 'no' in the following questions: "Did you experience a traumatic event during the events of the past (1960-1974)", "Did any of your family members or relatives experience a traumatic event during the events of the past (1960-1974)", "Do you consider yourself to be a victim of the Cyprus problem" and "Are you a member of a group whose rights are violated"? In all cases, participants were provided with space to explain, in case they responded with a 'yes', either what the traumatic event was, why they consider themselves victims of the Cyprus problem or how their rights are violated. The children's questionnaire included the same items, but the first one, since children were born a long time after the events took place in Cyprus.

Hellenocentrism – Cypricentrism

Moreno (1986) introduced the 'Moreno question', which aimed at providing an insight of the interrelation among multiple identities, and specifically of the sub- and supra-state identities, in the context of countries with secessionist movements. The 'Moreno question' was first introduced in research related to Cyprus by Peristianis (1995). Smith described ethnic nationalism as seeing "the nation as a cultural community that is formed on the bases of a pre-existing ethnical and ethnic ties and focuses attention on the genealogy of its members, however fictive; on popular mobilization of the 'folk'; on native history and customs; and on the vernacular culture" (Peristianis, 2006, p. 102). At the same time, "territorial/civic nationalism sees the nation as a political community of citizens that inhabits a given territory and whose members are equal before the law irrespective of ethnicity, religion, class, or other particularistic criteria" (Peristianis, 2006, p. 101). As such, Hellenocentrism is a concept used to describe of Greek Cypriots who exhibit strong passion and belief to sustain the Helleno-Christian ideals and, as such, they are closely related to motherland Greece (ethnic nationalism), while Cypricentrism to describe those who are detached from the so-called motherland and promote the Cypriot identity (territorial/civic nationalism). The two distinct categories have been used in several studies in Cyprus (Psaltis,

2012a; Psaltis and Cakal, 2016) and research has shown that members of each category experience trust and threat for the members of the other community in a different way, with those being more attached to the motherlands (Hellenocentrism) experiencing higher levels of threat for the other community and lower levels of trust. Concurrently, Peristianis (2006) supports that while focus on the two distinct nationalisms does exist within the Greek Cypriot community, a dual identity becomes increasingly more accepted. A single item measuring Hellenocentrism and Cypricentrism was induced in the questionnaire, asking from participants to choose among five options indicating their feelings regarding their identity: “only Greek and not Cypriot”, “Greek and a bit Cypriot”, “to the same extent Greek and Cypriot”, “Cypriot and a bit Greek” and “only Cypriot and not Greek”. The first two options measure a hellenocentric orientation, the third one a dual one, while the last two a cypricentric one.

Quantity of Contact

Two (2) items were used to assess the quantity of contact individuals had with members of the other community. The first item asked participants to state how much contact they actually had with members of the other community (defined as just being at the same physical space with members of the other community) (opportunity for contact), while the second item asked participants to state how much contact they had with members of the other community, where they actually had to interact with members of the other community (quantity of contact).

Valenced Contact

Barlow et al. (2012) used a single-item for both positive and negative contact to reveal possible subordinate dimensions. At the aforementioned study, a one-item scale measured negative contact with the statement “on average, how frequently do you have negative/bad contact with black people”, where individuals had to circle an option from 1 never to 7 extremely frequently.

The same construct was used for positive contact, with the words negative/bad altered to positive/good. For the purposes of the current research study, two items were used to measure valenced contact: “on average, how frequently do you have negative/bad contact with Turkish Cypriots?” and “on average, how frequently do you have positive/good contact with Turkish Cypriots?” Respondents had to state the frequency at a scale from ‘0=never’ to ‘100=always’.

Realistic Threat

Eleven (11) items focused on political and economic threats experienced by individuals. Participants indicated their agreement with the statements using a 6-point Likert Scale from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”, with an additional option ‘I don’t have an opinion’. For the purposes of the analysis, the option ‘I don’t have an opinion’ was treated as missing value. Higher rates of agreement indicate a higher level of perception of realistic threat. Five items were retrieved from Schweitzer et al. (2005). Those were: “Turkish Cypriots get more from the Republic of Cyprus than they contribute”, “Turkish Cypriots have increased the tax burden on Greek Cypriots”, “Turkish Cypriots must be eligible for the same health care benefits as Greek Cypriots” (reverse coded for the construction of the scale), and “Turkish Cypriots must be as entitled to subsidized housing or subsidized utilities (water, electricity, sewage) as poor Greek Cypriots are” (reverse coded for the construction of the scale), “the children of Turkish Cypriots should have the same rights to attend public schools in southern part as Greek Cypriot children do” (reverse coded for the construction of the scale). One item of the Schweitzer et al. (2005) realistic threat scale “refugees are not displacing Australian workers from their jobs” was revised to “Turkish Cypriots take jobs away from Greek Cypriots”. Five items were added to the scale. Those were: “the more power Turkish Cypriots have in this country, the more difficult it is for Greek Cypriots”, “people from the Turkish Cypriot community commit a lot of crimes that affect Greek Cypriots”, “I

can work for a Turkish Cypriot boss” (reverse coded for the construction of the scale), “Turkish Cypriots are responsible for the increase of drug trafficking”, and “rotating presidency will result in domination of the minority over majority”. The 11 items produced a reliable scale ($\alpha=.86$ total, $\alpha=.88$ educators, $\alpha=.85$ children). All items were extracted from a well-known reliable scale of realistic threat and were not devised for the first time. Despite that, a factor analysis was performed to determine whether they could form a set of coherent subscales. Despite scale items seemed to correlate in two factors, further analysis indicated that those behave in a similar manner, and as such, it was decided that all items of the realistic scale should be used in conjunction.

Symbolic Threat

The symbolic threat section was constructed by 10 items considered as threats to beliefs (even religious), traditions, values and morality of the ingroup. Participants indicated their agreement with the statements using a 6-point Likert Scale from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”, with an additional option ‘I don’t have an opinion’. For the purposes of the analysis, the option ‘I don’t have an opinion’ was treated as missing value. Higher rates of agreement indicate a higher level of perception of symbolic threat. Five items were retrieved from Schweitzer et al. (2005). Those were: “Turkish Cypriots must learn to conform to the rules and norms of Greek Cypriots if they want to live in the southern part”, “Turkish Cypriots undermine the Greek Cypriot culture”, “Turkish Cypriots should accept Greek Cypriot ways”, “the values and beliefs of Turkish Cypriots regarding social relations are compatible with the beliefs and values of most Greek Cypriots” (reverse coded for the construction of the scale), “the values and beliefs of Turkish Cypriots regarding family issues and socializing children are quite similar to those of the Greek Cypriots” (reverse coded for the construction of the scale). One item from Schweitzer et al. (2005) which measured both moral and religious issues was split into two items. As such the following two items were formed: “the values and beliefs of Turkish Cypriots

regarding religious issues are compatible with the Greek Cypriots” (reverse coded for the construction of the scale) and “the values and beliefs of Turkish Cypriot regarding moral issues are compatible with Greek Cypriots” (reverse coded for the construction of the scale). The item from Schweitzer et al. (2005) scale “the values and beliefs of refugees regarding work are basically quite similar to those of Australians” was rephrased to “Turkish Cypriots have different work ethics”. Two items were added to the scale: “Turkish Cypriots raise their children with less values” and “marriages among Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots are a threat to the Greek Cypriot culture”. The 10 items produced a reliable scale ($\alpha=.87$ total, $\alpha=.89$ educators, $\alpha=.85$ children). All items were extracted from a well-known reliable scale of symbolic threat and were not devised for the first time. Factor analysis also indicated that scale items seemed to correlate in two factors, but further analysis indicated that those behave in a similar manner, and as such, it was decided that all items of the symbolic scale should be used in conjunction.

Religiosity

To measure how religious a person considers him/herself to be, single items that measured the importance and strength were used to capture religious salience. To measure importance participants were asked to state how important part of their life they consider religion to be. The participants had to declare the importance on a scale from 0 (Not important at all) to 100 (Extremely important). To measure the strength of religion, participants had to respond to a single item, phrased as “to what extent do you consider yourself a religious person”. Participants were provided with a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from ‘Not religious at all’ to ‘Extremely religious’. The items were retrieved from General Social Surveys conducted by the Association of Religion Data

Archives³³. The rating scales were modified to meet the purposes of the study. One item also captured frequency of religious places attendance. Another item asked for religious affiliation. Provided with several world religions, the participants had to circle the one affiliated with. Despite the participants were asked to specify a communal background through the aforementioned question, an additional question was added to examine the participants' perception of that affiliation, as a freely-chosen one or as a part of the identity provided by the geo-sociopolitical space an individual is born and raised.

Table 8 presents the reliabilities of all scales.

Table 8. *Reliabilities of Scales*

Scale	Total Cronbach's α	Educators' Questionnaire Cronbach's α	Children's Questionnaire Cronbach's α
Recognition of Violations of Children's Rights	$\alpha=.88$	$\alpha=.86$	$\alpha=.89$
National Regulations	$\alpha=.86$	$\alpha=.90$	$\alpha=.84$
School Rituals	$\alpha=.82$	$\alpha=.89$	$\alpha=.75$
Societal Rituals	$\alpha=.86$	$\alpha=.85$	$\alpha=.86$
Patriotism	$\alpha=.88$	$\alpha=.90$	$\alpha=.85$
Nationalism	$\alpha=.71$	$\alpha=.76$	$\alpha=.67$
Conservative View of Childhood	$\alpha=.65$	$\alpha=.81$	$\alpha=.62$
Political Tolerance-Extension of rights to the least liked ethnic group	$\alpha=.92$	$\alpha=.94$	$\alpha=.91$
Realistic Threat	$\alpha=.86$	$\alpha=.88$	$\alpha=.75$
Symbolic Threat	$\alpha=.87$	$\alpha=.89$	$\alpha=.81$

³³ Retrieved from <http://www.thearda.com/>

3.3. Children's Rights in the Greek Cypriot Press

3.3.1. Data

For the purposes of the descriptive part of the study, the researcher identified articles published in four different newspapers for eleven days, November 15 to November 25 for three consecutive years, from 2014 to 2016.

The specific time period was chosen since during this period four different events are celebrated or commemorated: two of the events are related to children's rights; another event is related to the national problem; the last one to an ethnic event that also relates to the national problem. Those events are held on November 15, 17, 18 and 20 and usually do have a certain media coverage. On November 20, 1989 the international community via the United Nations General Assembly adopted unanimously the Convention on the Rights of the Child. As such, November 20 has been declared and celebrated as a Universal Children's Day. Focusing on the specific time period, 5 days before and 5 days after the Children's Rights Day, it was expected that the print press would include more articles related to children and debates related to children's rights. At the same time, November 15 is a date anchored at the Cyprus Problem, since during that day the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' (TRNC) was proclaimed as a separate state recognized only by Turkey. During that day, in the northern part of Cyprus the day is celebrated as a national day with festivities and a military parade, while in the southern part, elementary school and middle school students protest within their schools by organizing specific activities stating their disagreement, while high school students protest with a march that ends in front of specific roadblocks that divide the members of the two communities. As such, November 15 is associated with the Cyprus Problem and it's a day where students and not adults protest, an event widely covered by the press. November 17 is also the day of commemoration of the 1974 Greek student uprising against the Greek Junta in Greece and during the day Greek Cypriot students demonstrate against fascism and dictatorship, events which receive extensive media coverage. Finally, November 18 is the

European Day for the protection of children against sexual abuse. Taking all the above into consideration, the specific 11-day period was considered as one that would have high coverage of events related to children, and at the same time, the combination of the different events allowed to examine whether specific representations of children shared by the media are related to political or national agendas.

The four daily newspapers were selected based on their different political and ideological identities. This allowed for a richer sample. Despite a more detailed description of the printed press, along with the ways it shapes the representations, is provided at the literature review, it is important to remind here the ideological spectrum of the four newspapers selected. As such, *Fileleftheros* [Φιλελεύθερος], meaning the liberal, was founded in 1955, claiming to be the only independent newspaper, not affiliated with any political party and is the newspaper with the highest circulation numbers. *Simerini* [Σημερινή], publishing since 1976, affiliates with the right-wing party, characterized by conservatism and nationalism. *Haravgi* [Χαρavyγή], publishing since 1956, affiliates with the left party, while *Politis* [Πολίτης], publishing only for the last 20 years, proclaims to be independent (Christophorou, 2010). Relevant newspaper articles were identified using the database of the private company Matrix Media.

3.3.2. Method

All four newspapers of the specific time period were thoroughly read by the researcher, who identified all articles related to children. The researcher first created a database of all the newspapers of the specific time period (the newspapers were provided in pdf format by the private company Matrix Media). Due to archive reasons, no keywords were used to extrapolate all relevant articles. As such, the researcher collected all relevant articles by reading the newspapers page by page. To set an article as in relevance to the current research it had either to refer to a child or children as a group or to children's

rights. Articles with a main focus to a specific student or students as a group, to specific institutions highly correlated with children, such as schools or social services were also regarded as relevant. Only articles with a national geographical focus on the island of Cyprus were selected. Those with an international or European focus were considered as non-relevant and were excluded (for example articles related to street children or child labor in other countries). Additionally, articles which referred to young people but did not specifically mention children were also excluded from the analysis. Articles which referred to institutions related to children such as schools, but which did not have direct relevance to children (for example teachers' strike, teachers' appointment system or facilities' construction) were also excluded from the data corpus. The pages dedicated to sports were not read, and as such not included in the analysis. A total of 489 articles were identified for the sum of the three years (see Table 9). Appendix 7 provides a full list of the articles presented at each newspaper and were related to children and their rights.

Table 9. *Data corpus by newspaper and year*

Newspaper	2014	2015	2016	Total
Fileleftheros	21	55	44	120
Simerini	36	52	32	120
Haravgi	25	56	25	106
Politis	47	56	40	143
Total	129	219	141	489

The media analysis had two aims: the first one was to provide information regarding the visibility of children or thematic areas related to them in the newspapers during a three-year period. The second aim focused on providing an insight on the newspaper representations regarding children and their rights. For the purposes of the aims of the study, first, a quantitative content analysis provided the means to measure the frequency of content. Since no previous research was conducted related to the representations of children's rights in the

Greek Cypriot printed press, the frequency of content was considered important to be examined, in order to provide data that would indicate under what cases newspapers present themes about children and their rights and the importance they provide to the coverage. The quantitative data would provide for a more complete image of the representations shared by newspapers, once used in conjunction with the results of the qualitative analysis. Specifically, the following research question with sub-questions were set:

Research Question 1: How frequent and in what terms do issues related to children appear in the newspapers?

- 1.1. Is there a difference in the number of articles related to children presented by each of the four newspapers? How does it relate to the size of the newspaper?
- 1.2. Do newspapers present a specific type of genre, when reporting on children's issues?
- 1.3. What is the space of the articles related to children's rights?
- 1.4. In what thematic areas do articles on children focus on?

Quantitative analysis could not provide answers to whether specific social representations related to children are maintained and shared via the newspapers in the Greek Cypriot society. For example, quantitative analysis could not provide information of how children are portrayed or whether specific ideologies and practices related to children are challenged. For that reason, a qualitative analysis complemented the quantitative one, by exploring the latent content, which was no other than the underlying messages within the identified articles. The following research question was set:

Research Question 2: Which are the predominant social representations regarding children manifested in the specific four Greek Cypriot newspapers?

Articles were divided into four different genres, according to the literature (Avraamidou et al., 2017; Rich, 2015). The first category was general news, defined as the articles that described an event that occurred. The core news articles were factual lacking an analysis or subjective comments. The second genre, defined as feature, also informed about an event or facts, but were written in a more detailed style, with an extensive research background, were usually longer and had a different style writing. The third, was commentary or opinion articles which presented the views of the author and one could easily identify the arguments of the writer for or against a specific event. Newspaper editorials, which contained the institutional stance of the newspaper, were also part of this kind of articles. Finally, a fourth category was articles that were announcements of specific organizations or institutions, research outcomes or interviews.

All articles included in the data corpus were used for the purposes of quantitative analysis (quantitative data set), based on various descriptive characteristics. For the purposes of the qualitative analysis a specific number of articles was selected and further analyzed (qualitative data set). To form the qualitative data set, purposeful sampling was applied, satisfying the following conditions: (a) the same number of articles was chosen by each newspaper (N=10), (b) the same number of articles was chosen for each year (N=40), and (c) only general news articles and commentary/opinion articles were included in the data set, with an equal number of both genres. Feature articles were excluded from the qualitative data set since the number identified in the press was minimal, while other articles which focused on research or description of events were considered by the research that would not add at the dimension of the representations that the printed press beholds, and thus, were also excluded from the qualitative data set. The researcher then proceeded to a random selection of the articles that satisfied the above conditions, resulting into a data set of 72 articles (Table 10).

Table 10. *Data set for qualitative analysis*

Newspaper	2014	2015	2016	Total
Fileleftheros	6	6	6	18
Simerini	6	6	6	18
Haravgi	6	6	6	18
Politis	6	6	6	18
Total	24	24	24	72

A qualitative thematic analysis was employed to comprehensively analyze the 72 articles in line with the broader research question. Via an inductive approach, where a thorough reading of the articles was performed, the outcome was a list of what the articles content was based on initial ideas, as the first step (a thorough clarification of the inductive approach and how codes and themes are constructed is provided at the Methodology chapter). Those ideas were systematically searched, and initial codes were generated. By doing so, five codes and 14 sub-codes emerged (see Table 11). The same text could be assigned into more than one code. A detailed coding frame ensured consistency among coding (Appendix 5 provides for the full list of codes and sub-codes and their description).

An extensive reading and rereading of the extracts corresponding to the four codes and sub-codes, enabled me to come across themes which provided data meaningful to the research question. As such, the analysis explored different themes that appeared in the corpus of data of the newspapers' articles selected and identified core representations.

The description of the results of the quantitative analysis of the data corpus are detailed in Chapter 4, presenting a description of data related to the type of genre for each articles for the four newspapers by year, the size of the articles, the themes that appeared at the front page of the newspapers, whether the articles cited other sources, the sex of the journalist, the presentation of articles by day, and the thematic areas that those presented.

Table 11. *Codes and sub-codes of the data set*

Code	Sub-Codes
1. Violence	1.1. Forms of Direct Violence 1.2. Forms of Structural Violence 1.3. Causes of Violence
2. Family	2.1. Family Ties 2.2. Children's Development 2.3. Birth 2.4. Family Threat
3. Education	3.1. Role of Education 3.2. Cost of Education 3.3. Curriculum
4. Participation	4.1. Students' Demonstrations 4.2. Students' Elections 4.3. General Participation of Children 4.4. Type of Children's Participation

3.4. **Children's Rights Within the Circulars of the Church**

3.4.1. **Data**

The current study analyzed the written circulars that the Archbishop of Cyprus sent to the schools of the Greek Cypriot community from 2007 to 2017. In 2007 the Commissioner for Children's Rights Institution was established in Cyprus by law, and as such, 2007 is a landmark in Cyprus for the promotion of children's rights. The ten-year period was considered essential to provide an insight on whether the representations remain constant or change in the more recent period. This is the first time that the circulars were studied in a systematic manner and, the first time they were associated with children's rights.

The circulars were considered as the best data to answer the research questions for several reasons. To start with, they are formal documents signed by the head of the Church directed to the students. As such, the circulars, promulgated by the Archbishop, are constructed thoughtfully, articulating the

exact inviolable meanings and ideals the Church wishes to transmit to the population of the study, therefore, they represent the official, institutional stance of the Church. At the same time, they are directed to the students and therefore, deal with matters directly related to them. Lastly, they are to be read within the school community, and as such, the messages are attuned towards the educators as well, also a population of interest to the current study.

All circulars were signed by the Archbishop. One cannot identify who wrote them, but since they were signed by the leader of the Church, they do represent the official stance of the Church. The circulars were retrieved by the archive system of the website of the Ministry of Education and Culture, where all documents sent to schools are kept in a digital form, and where they were archived as a message to be read to the students. The circular for the school year 2010-2011, was not available in the archive system of the Ministry of Education and Culture, and as such, it was retrieved from the archive of the Church of Cyprus. In total, 11 documents were included in the analysis.

The circulars were one and a half to three pages long and were addressed to students. The circulars addressed students (“My dear students”)³⁴ for the years 2007-2014 by using three different forms of the word “students” in Greek: mathites [μαθητές], spudastes [σπουδαστές], and fitites [φοιτητές]. While the definitions of the words do not restrain their use, in daily life, those three words are used to refer to three different chronological periods of education: the word [mathites] for primary and secondary education, while the words [spudastes] and [fitites] to the tertiary. In 2015 and 2016 the initial sentence is “My dear children and young people”³⁵. In 2017 the address is “My

³⁴ [Αγαπημένοι μου μαθητές και μαθήτριες, σπουδαστές και σπουδάστριες, φοιτητές και φοιτήτριες]

³⁵ [Αγαπητά μου παιδιά, νέοι και νέες]

dear children”³⁶. Throughout the circulars though the terms ‘children’, ‘students’, and ‘young people’ are used interchangeably.

3.4.2. Method

A qualitative thematic analysis was employed to comprehensively analyze the data. As stated by Braun and Clarke (2006), “thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (p. 79), while Willig (2013) states that, thematic analysis, as any qualitative analysis, generates insights and conclusions that aim to answer the research question. The data corpus were the circulars sent to the school communities by the church leader at the beginning of school year (for the years 2007-2017). The way specific conceptualizations of rights are shared by a major institution within the Greek-Cypriot community, namely the Church, and the way those representations evolve, in cases they do so, over time, along with how those might be related to conceptualizations about the Cyprus Issue or childhood were the main aims of the analysis. Since the Church has been noted to be a contextual factor in the Cyprus Issue, while no previous research has elaborated on the role of various institutions on the realization of children’s rights, thematic analysis was identified as suitable to address the research question, since its flexibility, allowed for a complex and detailed description of the data, and generation of themes based on initial ideas and codes. Furthermore, thematic analysis, allowed to acknowledge specific meanings in the data related to children’s rights that the Church shares through the circulars, and whether and how the Church connects those meanings with other concepts. The viability of the meanings throughout the years reveals the Church’s intention to make those representations stable and shared among a wider social context.

Thematic analysis has several advantages compared to other means of qualitative research. One should note though, that the researcher is part of the

³⁶ [Αγαπητά μου παιδιά]

social context within which research takes place, and as such, one cannot diminish the role the context has played in the identification of themes. At the same time though, through a detailed description of the method used, the researcher aims to guide the reader through its standpoint and enable him/her to understand the criticism developed via the standpoint of the researcher.

An inductive approach was applied, where a coding frame was constructed by reading line-by-line the data set, composed of all 11 circulars of the Archbishop. The six steps proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) served as a guideline to the current study. As such, the data were read multiple times and initial ideas were noted down. As a second step, those ideas were systematically searched, and initial codes were generated. By doing so, five codes emerged. The same text could be assigned into more than one code. Appendix 6 provides for the full list of codes and their description. General themes were searched for and once identified, those were reviewed in relation to the initial ideas and the codes generated. At last, the themes were defined, and the report was produced.

4. CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

4.1. Results of Data Collected via the Questionnaire

The quantitative data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (IBM SPSS Statistics, Version 25).

4.1.1. Preliminary Analysis

Initially, data screening was performed for outliers and missing values. Frequency tables indicated five wrong entered values for the children's data, which were corrected accordingly.

Normality was not a great concern for both the educators' and children's data, since the sample size exceeded the 300 individuals in both cases. According to the central limit theorem, normal distribution is expected once the samples are big enough (Field, 2013). The large sample size put a concern on outliers rather than normality. For that reason, the 5% Trimmed Mean was examined, suggesting that the extreme scores did not have a strong influence on the mean for all the scales examined.

The distribution of scores on continuous variables was checked for skewness and kurtosis. Table 12 presents the results for skewness, kurtosis and Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for all scales used. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was significant for all the scales examined, an indication that normality was violated, which was expected due to the large sample size (Pallant, 2010). As indicated, based on information provided at Table 12, in a number of cases, the z-scores of skewness and kurtosis surpass the accepted levels, also suggesting problems with normality. Kim (2013) supports that in large samples, there is no need to consider z-values, instead we can check normality via the absolute values of skewness and kurtosis and via the histograms. This is also supported by Tabachnick & Fidell (2007), who state that z-scores of skewness and kurtosis are sensitive with large samples, thus, inspecting the shape of a distribution is

instead recommended. A careful examination of the skew absolute values shown at Table 12, indicates that there are no values larger than 2, except in the case of quantity of contact. The same applies for kurtosis, where there are no absolute values of kurtosis larger than 7, except in the case of quantity of contact. As such, there is no reason to assume a problem with normal distribution of the data.

To verify the normality of distribution of the data, the histograms, normal probability plots, and the normal Q-Q Plots were also examined. George & Mallery (2010) determine as acceptable cut points for skewness and kurtosis values between -1.96 and +1.96 to prove univariate distribution. The results presented in Table 12 indicate skewness and kurtosis only with the following scales: extending children's rights to the ethnic group least liked, extending children's rights to the socio-political group least liked, the Violation of Children's Rights scale, and quantity of contact. This does not necessarily indicate a problem, since for example, if we consider the scale 'extending children's rights to the ethnic group least liked', participants even though they declared their dislike for specific groups, they were more than willing to extend children's rights to those groups as well. As a result, it is possible that the nature of the construct being measured caused the specific negative skewness. To obstruct any further doubts regarding the normal distribution of the scales, a non-parametric test was used, the Mann-Whitney U Test, to determine differences among educators and children in a number of scales. As such, the aforementioned scales were used without any transformation.

Preliminary Analysis for Mann-Whitney U Test

The test was considered appropriate to be used since the need was to test differences among two independent groups, educators and children, on a continuous measure. According to Pallant (2010), "the actual distribution of the scores does not matter, as the scores are converted to ranks" (p. 227). The test

was used as an additional means to verify the results obtained by the independent samples t-test.

Table 12. *Results of normality of distribution of data for all scales used*

	Skewness			Kurtosis			Kolmogorov v-Smirnov Sig.
	Statistic	Std. Error	z-score	Statistic	Std. Error	z-score	
Recognition of Violations of Children's Rights	-1.529	.084	18.20	2.910	.167	17.43	.000
School Rituals	.076	.082	.93	-.518	.163	3.18	.000
Societal Rituals	-1.076	.081	13.28	.787	.162	4.86	.000
Patriotism	-.670	.081	8.27	.674	.162	4.16	.000
Nationalism	-.096	.080	1.2	.042	.160	.26	.000
Conservative View of Childhood	.011	.080	.14	.405	.159	2.55	.000
Political Tolerance-Extension of Rights to Ethnic Groups least liked	-1.046	.084	12.45	.946	.168	5.63	.000
Political Tolerance – Extension of Rights to Socio-Political Groups least liked	-1.760	.087	20.23	2.663	.173	15.39	.000
Hellenocentrism-Cypriocentrism	-.106	.183	.58	.861	.166	5.19	.000
Opportunity for Contact	1.539	.083	18.54	1.669	.165	10.12	.000
Quantity of Contact	2.878	.082	35.10	8.928	.165	54.11	.000
Realistic Threat	.080	.085	.94	.582	.170	3.42	.000
Symbolic Threat	.649	.097	6.69	.315	.193	1.63	.000
Religiosity – Strength of Religion	-.342	.082	4.17	.060	.164	.37	.000

Preliminary Analysis for Exploratory Factor Analysis

All scales were analyzed to determine whether they could form a set of coherent subscales. At the end, factors were extracted for only one of the scales: the national regulations as infringements of children's rights. Despite scale items in both realistic and symbolic threat scales seemed to correlate in two factors, further analysis indicated that those behave in a similar manner, and as such, it was decided that all items of the realistic and symbolic scales should be used in conjunction.

The minimum amount of data for factor analysis was satisfied, provided that both data sets had more than 300 cases (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007), and as such the criterion of ratio of over 12 cases per variable was satisfied.

The correlation matrix did not contain any values above .9, suggesting that the assumption of multicollinearity was not violated (Pallant, 2010). Additionally, Barlett's test of sphericity was significant, while the KMO index was above .6, which is suggested as the minimum value (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). All values of the antiimage matrix were above .5, while the determinant of matrix was above 0.00001, which, once more, suggested that there was no multicollinearity. At the table 'reproduced correlations', at the residual parts, there was an indication of items over .05, but those items did not surpass 50% of the total items.

Preliminary Analysis for Multiple Regression

The correlation among the independent variables was less than .7, stating that there was no indication for multicollinearity. To further explore the multicollinearity assumptions, the values of Tolerance and VIF (Variance Inflation Factor) were also explored. Tolerance values were much higher than .10, while the VIF values were lower than 10, further supporting the conclusion that multicollinearity was not an issue, and no further action of removing intercorrelated independent variables was needed. The Normal Probability Plot (P-Plot) indicated that the points lied in a reasonably straight diagonal line, suggesting that there were no major deviations from normality. Independency of errors was also tested via the Durbin-Watson, and the value in all cases was near 2 (>1 and <3), which indicates that the specific assumption was also met. As for outliers, those were tested by inspecting the Mahalanobis distances that were produced. The critical value based on the independent variables entered in the model was above the maximum value in the data file, based on the maximum value. Additionally, the Cook's distance value was much lower than 1, suggesting no major problems. The Casewise Diagnostics Table presented

16 cases (4%) with standardized residual values above .2 or below .2. Scatter plots also indicated no major deviations from normality. Since the assumptions of outliers, normality, linearity, homoscedasticity and independence of residuals were met, the model can be generalized to the general population.

Preliminary Analysis for Discriminant Function Analysis

Box' s test was not significant, fulfilling the assumption of covariance matrices being equal across the groups for both the educators' and children's data set. The two groups were the two clusters created based on the acceptance of the 19 statements as violations or not. The rest of the assumptions (normal distribution, groups being mutually exclusive, absence of outliers, and no indication of multicollinearity) were also met. At last, the smallest of the two groups of the clusters, in both educators' and children's data set, was much above the number of predicted variables (2) times 5.

Missing Data

The Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) Test was performed for both educators' and children's data. The null hypothesis was that data are missing in a random way. Statistically non-significant results fail to reject the null hypothesis and indicate that the data are randomly missing. On the contrary, statistically significant results indicate that the data are missing in a systematic way.

The results for the educators suggest that the data were randomly missing, $\chi^2=643.33$, $df=628$, $p=.33$ (scales included: recognition of violations of children's rights, school rituals, societal rituals, patriotism, nationalism, conservative view of childhood, political tolerance-extension of rights, hellenocentrism-cypricentrism, opportunity for contact, quantity of contact, realistic threat, symbolic threat, strength of religion, having himself/herself or a family member war related experiences of the events of the past, feeling a victim

of the Cyprus Problem, and being a member of a vulnerable group). Based on Little's test results, the data for educators are Missing Completely at Random (MCAR), which means that the probability that a value for a certain variable is missing is unrelated to the value of other observed variables.

The results for the children suggest that the data are randomly missing, $\chi^2=41.061$, $df=30$, $p=.086$ (scales included: recognition of violations of children's rights, school rituals, societal rituals, patriotism, nationalism, realistic and symbolic threat). The results of the analysis of the scales hellenocentrism-cypriocentrism, opportunity for contact, quantity of contact, strength of religion, political tolerance-extension of rights, and conservative view of childhood for children's data also demonstrated that the data are randomly missing, $\chi^2=63.570$, $df=62$, $p=.421$.

While the data were missing at random, missing values above 5% were reported for a large amount of scales in both the educators' and children's data collected. Only for patriotism, nationalism, and societal rituals for both educators and children the missing values were below 5%, and for school rituals in the case of children. For children's data, the highest percentage of missing data was reported for realistic and symbolic threat scales, reaching 16%. This is in line with the difficulty identified by the researcher during the completion of the questionnaire by the children, when it became apparent that the time provided to the children for filling the questionnaire was not adequate for all the children. As such, children with 'less academic skills' or 'slower readers' could complete only part of the questionnaire within the time provided. The scales of realistic and symbolic threat were at the end of the questionnaire, and this explains the higher percentage of missing values for those scales. It is not clear though, why the percentage of missing data for educators was above 5%, since there were no restrictions in the completion of questionnaire. Missing values of the instruments for the quantitative data must be below 5%, which according to Tabachnick & Fidell (2007) is an acceptable percentage for further analysis. In studies conducted in educational settings, it is very common to have missing values over and above 5% (Pampaka et al., 2016; Porter & Ecklund, 2012). To

have reliable and generalizable results, missing data must be treated with caution.

Trimming or winzorizing were considered as non-appropriate methods for handling the missing data, since they would reduce the sample size, and they would remove from the sample a specific type of children, those who did not have enough time to fill the whole questionnaire. Same applies for educators' questionnaire, since the Little's test results indicated that the data were MCAR. The maximum likelihood and Bayesian methods were also regarded as inappropriate to be used for the specific cases, since the method is provided for data when they are missing at random (MAR), and according to Sinharay et al (2001), the method "may give erroneous results if the missingness mechanism is MNAR" (p. 319).

Single imputation was used for educators' and children's data based on providing correct results for MCAR. Expected maximization (EM), a technique that creates a missing data correlation matrix and imputes missing values on the likelihood of the distribution of the shape of the missing data was applied for educators' data. Analysis was conducted in two phases: firstly, raw data were analyzed. Secondly, the analysis was repeated with the data after applying expected maximization technique. No major differences were identified. Since the results indicated no differences among raw data and after applying EM, reporting was compiled with raw data, to avoid any biases that may derive from imputation techniques and retain the sample size.

Correlations

Significant bivariate correlations were also identified among the various scales. Tables 13 and 14 present the direction and size of the correlations for the data collected by both educators and children. What the results suggest is that the strength of the correlations ranges from small to medium, in most of the cases. Furthermore, while patterns of correlations do exist among the two groups, in other cases significant differences among the scales are observed.

The results will be discussed in detail at a later point. In general though, Tables 13 and 14 point out that higher levels of patriotism and nationalism have medium to large correlation with conservative view of childhood. At the same time, higher levels of patriotism and nationalism are correlated with higher levels of realistic and symbolic threat. At last, higher levels of patriotism and nationalism are also negatively correlated with school and societal rituals, which suggests that individuals with higher levels of patriotism and nationalism are more prone not to consider specific rituals as violations of children's rights. The same pattern is repeated for individuals with higher levels of realistic and symbolic threat. Moreover, individuals who adopt the Cypriot identity are more prone to acknowledge that specific rituals applied either in school settings or in the society violate the children's rights. Same applies for children who indicated higher number of quantity of contact with members of the 'other' community, while they also have lower levels of patriotism and nationalism. At last, individuals who consider themselves more religious, have higher levels of patriotism and nationalism, behold concepts of childhood that do not conform with contemporary notions, they experience higher levels of realistic and symbolic threat, they had less quality experience with Turkish Cypriots, and they failed to recognize that specific rituals violate children's rights.

Table 13. Reporting table of correlations among scales for educators' data

	Recognition of Violations	School Rituals	Societal Rituals	Patriotism	Nationalism	Conservative view of childhood	Political Tolerance	Realistic Threat	Symbolic Threat	Religion Strength	Cypriocentrism	Opportunity for Contact	Quality of Contact
Violations	1	.40**	.56**	-.05	-.06	-.25**	.21**	-.09	-.07	-.02	.01	-.04	.02
School Rituals	.40**	1	.53**	-.37**	-.23**	-.37**	.10	-.36**	-.29**	-.38**	.19**	-.01	.16**
Societal Rituals	.56**	.53**	1	-.13*	-.19**	-.31**	.31**	-.30**	-.20**	-.20**	.14**	-.03	.04
Patriotism	-.05	-.37**	-.13*	1	.68**	.40**	-.01	.31**	.27**	.44**	-.03	-.07	-.17**
Nationalism	-.06	-.23**	-.19**	.68**	1	.47**	-.18**	.32**	.31**	.37**	.11*	-.15**	-.13*
Conservative view of childhood	-.25**	-.37**	-.31**	.40**	.47**	1	-.18**	.32**	.29**	.25**	-.01	.04	-.07
Political Tolerance	.21**	.10	.31**	-.01	-.18**	-.18**	1	-.48**	-.42**	-.21**	-.04	.04	.07
Realistic Threat	-.09	-.36**	-.30**	.31**	.32**	.32**	-.48**	1	.74**	.33**	-.04	-.15**	-.31**
Symbolic Threat	-.07	-.29**	-.20**	.27**	.31**	.29**	-.42**	.74**	1	.34**	.01	-.16**	-.29**
Religion Strength	-.02	-.38**	-.20**	.44**	.37**	.25**	-.21**	.33**	.34**	1	-.08	-.10	-.21**
Cypriocentrism	.01	.19**	.14**	-.03	.11*	-.01	-.04	-.04	.01	-.08	1	-.06	.01
Opportunity for Contact	-.04	-.01	-.03	-.07	-.15**	.04	.04	-.15**	-.16**	-.10	-.06	1	.37**
Quality of Contact	.02	.16**	.04	-.17**	-.13*	-.07	.07	-.31**	-.29**	-.21**	.01	.37**	1

*p<.05, **p<.01

Table 14. Reporting table of correlations among scales for children's data

	Recognition of Violations	School Rituals	Societal Rituals	Patriotism	Nationalism	Conservative view of childhood	Political Tolerance	Realistic Threat	Symbolic Threat	Religion Strength	Cypriotism	Opportunity for Contact	Quality of Contact
Recognition of Violations	1	.16**	.65**	-.01	-.17**	-.24**	.21**	-.15**	.02	.00	.04	.09*	-.04
School Rituals	.16**	1	.38**	-.25**	-.24**	-.15**	.30**	-.29**	-.28**	-.19**	.13**	.10*	.13**
Societal Rituals	.65**	.38**	1	-.19**	-.23**	-.23**	.47**	-.39**	-.30**	-.09*	.17**	.16**	.12**
Patriotism	-.01	-.25**	-.19**	1	.55**	.30**	-.18**	.29**	.24**	.36**	-.17**	-.08	-.12**
Nationalism	-.17**	-.24**	-.23**	.55**	1	.38**	-.23**	.24**	.14**	.25**	-.09*	-.05	-.04
Conservative view of childhood	-.24**	-.15**	-.23**	.30**	.38**	1	-.15**	.21**	.16**	.16**	-.09*	-.09*	-.05
Political Tolerance	.21**	.30**	.47**	-.18**	-.23**	-.15**	1	-.58**	-.45**	-.11*	.13**	.18**	.14**
Realistic Threat	-.15**	-.29**	-.39**	.29**	.24**	.21**	-.58**	1	.67**	.22**	-.16**	-.14**	-.30**
Symbolic Threat	.02	-.28**	-.30**	.24**	.14**	.16**	-.45**	.67**	1	.21**	-.22**	-.12*	-.25**
Religion Strength	.004	-.19**	-.09*	.36**	.25**	.16**	-.11*	.22**	.21**	1	-.07	-.06	-.02
Cypriotism	.04	.13**	.17**	-.17**	-.09*	-.09*	.13**	-.16**	-.22**	-.07	1	.08	.05
Opportunity for Contact	.09*	.10*	.16**	-.08	-.05	-.09**	.18**	-.14**	-.12*	-.06	.08	1	.34**
Quality of Contact	-.04	.13**	.12**	-.12**	-.04	-.05	.14**	-.30**	-.25**	-.02	.05	.34**	1

*p<.05, **p<.01

Frequencies of Responses among Educators and Children

Table 15 presents the means and standard deviations for all the scales used for the purposes of the current study, for both educators' and children's data. A detailed description based on the frequencies for each scale follows Table 15. Comparisons among the groups of educators and children indicate statistical differences among the two groups, which are discussed below.

Table 15. *Descriptive Statistics of all Scales and differences among educators and children*

Scale	Range	Educators		Children		Comparisons		
		M	SD	M	SD	U	Z	Sig.
Recognition of Violations	1-5	4.28	.55	4.00	.72	68249	-5.51	.00
School Rituals	1-5	2.97	1.10	3.04	.83	90446	-1.64	.102
Societal Rituals	1-5	4.14	.79	3.95	.92	89810	-2.86	.004
Patriotism	1-5	3.86	.71	3.74	.71	89540	-2.83	.005
Nationalism	1-5	3.02	.74	2.89	.72	94897	-2.29	.022
Conservative view of childhood	1-5	2.92	.75	3.00	.60	101334	-1.62	.106
Political Tolerance-Extension of Rights	1-5	4.02	.92	3.88	.89	72878	-3.08	.002
Hellenocentrism-Cypriocentrism	1-5	3.22	.65	3.46	.91	74196	-5.11	.00
Opportunity for Contact	1-8	2.06	1.58	2.29	1.71	84976	-2.07	.039
Quantity of Contact	1-8	1.56	1.17	1.66	1.32	92215	-.55	.585
Realistic Threat	1-5	2.99	.86	2.90	.74	83563	-2.01	.045
Symbolic Threat	1-5	3.06	.71	3.25	.70	74156	-3.90	.000
Religiosity – Strength of Religion	1-5	2.98	.71	2.98	.87	94102	-.05	.960

4.1.2. Analysis

Recognition of Violations of Children's Rights

The Recognition of Violations of Children's Rights Scale had a mean of 4.28 (SD=.55) for educators and 4.00 (SD=.72) for students on a 5-point Likert scale (1-5), suggesting a rather strong agreement that the statements are violations of children's rights. A Mann-Whitney U Test revealed significant difference in the agreement level whether the statements are a violation of children's rights among educators (Mdn=4.37, n=344) and children (Mdn=4.21, n=510), U=68249, z=-5.51, p=.00, r=.19 (small effect according to Cohen, 1988). Table 16 presents the frequencies of responses of educators and

children respectively, regarding their agreement of whether the statements are a violation of children's rights. Looking at Table 16 the statement with the strongest agreement that the action is a violation of children's rights is the imposition of a child by his/her family to drop out of school at the age of 15, when compulsory education in Cyprus is over. Both educators and children agree that such an action is a violation of children's rights. The statement with the lowest mean for educators is the one related to the school taking decisions about educational affairs without taking into consideration the opinions of the children. While almost half of the educators support that such an action is a violation of children's rights, another 1/5 of the educators do not consider it as a violation. This result might reflect their professional experience and everyday practice, based on a wider perception that stands in Cyprus that educators are the professionals in regard to educational affairs and as such, the only responsible to take the 'right' decisions. The statement with the lowest mean for children is the one related to a 14year old child working after school to assist his/her family. More than ¼ of the children do not agree that the statement is a violation of children's rights. While at the majority of the statements, educators agreed at a higher degree that those represent a violation of children's rights, children's mean was above the educators' in the two statements that relate to schooling and decision making within it. At last, various differences reported among educators and children related to statements affiliated with parenting might be seen as positioning in the representational field that depends on the educators' role as parents.

Table 16. *Frequencies of responses of educators and children regarding recognition of children's rights violations*

Statement (Ed=educators) (Ch=children)		Definitely not (%)	Probably not (%)	Not sure (%)	Probably yes (%)	Definitely yes (%)	Mean (SD)
The pilot prohibits a mother to breastfeed her new-born during a flight.	Ed	3	2	6	17	73	4.56 (.88)
	Ch	10	12	21	26	31	3.57 (1.30)
The parent prohibits to his/her child to form friendships with specific schoolmates of the child.	Ed	4	13	18	26	40	3.85 (1.20)
	Ch	7	12	14	34	33	3.73 (1.24)
The parent teaches bad words to his/her child.	Ed	2	3	4	16	75	4.58 (.88)
	Ch	14	10	12	14	50	3.77 (1.49)
The parent takes decisions related to the family, without taking into consideration the children's views.	Ed	2	6	14	23	55	4.23 (1.02)
	Ch	7	6	6	21	60	4.22 (1.21)
The parent prohibits his/her 15year old child to visit a friend's house (in case there is no concern for molestation or harm to the child).	Ed	3	9	10	35	44	4.08 (1.07)
	Ch	9	5	8	23	54	4.08 (1.28)
A sports federation demands money from the parents to allow the child to compete with another federation.	Ed	3	5	20	24	48	4.08 (1.08)
	Ch	7	11	23	26	33	3.66 (1.23)
When a 14year old child works after school to assist his/her family.	Ed	2	9	14	23	52	4.13 (1.10)
	Ch	9	19	22	23	27	3.40 (1.31)
A child, Cypriot national, lives with his/her mother who is from a country out of the European Union, since his father abandoned him. The government imprisons the mother to expel her, since she resides illegally in Cyprus.	Ed	2	2	12	24	60	4.40 (.89)
	Ch	8	6	18	22	45	3.89 (1.28)

Statement (Ed=educators) (Ch=children)		Definitely not (%)	Probably not (%)	Not sure (%)	Probably yes (%)	Definitely yes (%)	Mean (SD)
The parent forces the child to stop schooling after she finishes compulsory education (at the age of 15).	Ed	2	3	2	10	83	4.69 (.82)
	Ch	8	3	3	8	77	4.43 (1.22)
The school undertakes decisions regarding educational affairs without taking into consideration the views of the children.	Ed	6	14	14	28	38	3.78 (1.25)
	Ch	6	6	5	21	63	4.31 (1.15)
The school administration expels a child that was accused by his classmates of sexual harassment, without providing the opportunity to the accused child to express his views.	Ed	2	1	3	26	68	4.59 (.74)
	Ch	4	4	9	27	57	4.31 (1.01)
The Ministry of Education and Culture undertakes decisions related to education without taking into consideration the views of the children.	Ed	5	11	18	28	39	3.85 (1.19)
	Ch	4	4	7	20	65	4.38 (1.06)
Two adults smoke at the open space of a café, located next to a playground.	Ed	6	17	9	21	47	3.84 (1.34)
	Ch	9	16	18	21	37	3.60 (1.35)
Parental child beating for disobedience.	Ed	1	2	4	10	83	4.72 (.73)
	Ch	9	4	6	10	71	4.30 (1.29)
The government provides allowances and financial assistance only to children who are Cypriot nationals.	Ed	5	6	11	26	53	4.15 (1.14)
	Ch	9	6	13	22	50	3.98 (1.29)
A child, 10 years old, works after school to assist financially his family.	Ed	3	3	5	9	81	4.63 (.91)
	Ch	10	5	10	21	55	4.06 (1.30)
The parent of a child is imprisoned for a crime. When he gets in a fight in the prison, the guards deprive him of his children's visit.	Ed	3	4	12	21	60	4.32 (1.01)
	Ch	6	6	22	24	42	3.92 (1.17)

Statement (Ed=educators) (Ch=children)		Definitely not (%)	Probably not (%)	Not sure	Probably yes (%)	Definitely yes (%)	Mean (SD)
A child, 17 years old, is recruited in the army with the consent of the parents, without the child's consent.	Ed	3	6	21	25	46	4.05 (1.08)
	Ch	5	8	14	24	48	4.01 (1.20)
The parent teaches his child to beat other children as a means to resolve conflicts.	Ed	3	3	7	13	75	4.54 (.94)
	Ch	10	4	10	16	61	4.12 (1.34)

Further in-depth analysis was performed with educators' data to identify whether various demographics had an impact on whether specific statements were considered or not as violations by the participants of the study. The demographics and other variables tested were: gender, age, level of education, years of teaching experience, specialty, place of residence, being a parent, having read the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), having knowledge of the rights of the children, having experienced either personally or via family members of war related experiences during the events of the past, whether they felt or not as victims of the Cyprus problem, if they considered themselves being a part of a vulnerable group.

To start with, an independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the extend of differences of whether a statement was a violation of children's rights among various groups. There was no significant difference in scores for males ($M=4.19$, $SD=.63$) and females ($M=4.29$, $SD=.51$), $t(123)=-1.36$, $p=.18$; those who lived in urban ($M=4.26$, $SD=.54$) and rural areas ($M=4.29$, $SD=.52$), $t(378)=-.48$, $p=.64$; those who personally did not have war related experiences ($M=4.25$, $SD=.56$) and those who did ($M=4.28$, $SD=.49$), $t(364)=-.32$, $p=.75$; those who did not have family members with war related experiences of the events in the past ($M=4.26$, $SD=.62$) and those who did have ($M=4.26$, $SD=.47$), $t(330)=.06$, $p=.96$; and those who did not consider themselves a victim of the Cyprus problem ($M=4.26$, $SD=.63$) and those who did ($M=4.26$, $SD=.49$), $t(359)=-.005$, $p=.99$. At the same time there was a significant difference of

considering a statement a violation or not of children's rights among parents ($M=4.24$, $SD=.52$) and non-parents ($M=4.39$, $SD=.58$), $t(384)=-2.31$, $p=.02$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference $=-.15$, 95% CI: $-.29$ to $-.02$) was small ($d=.24$)^{37,38}. Educators behold a double role, with the majority of them (80%) being parents. Representations of parenthood as being responsible to provide for the basic needs and the 'principles' to the child can explain the differences in scores among educators and children in statements which relate to the nurture of children. A significant difference of considering a statement a violation or not of children's rights was also identified among those who read the CRC ($M=4.40$, $SD=.45$) and those who did not ($M=4.17$, $SD=.56$), $t(378)=4.52$, $p=.00$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference $=.24$, 95% CI: $.13$ to $.34$) was moderate ($d=.46$). Furthermore, a significant difference was identified among those who did not consider themselves a member of a vulnerable group ($M=4.23$, $SD=.58$) and those who did ($M=4.36$, $SD=.44$), $t(248)=-2.31$, $p=.02$; it represented a small size effect ($d=.29$). Significant bivariate correlation was identified among being familiar with children's rights and the degree of agreement of whether the statements were violations of children's rights or not, $r=.15$, $p=.004$.

To sum up, educators who read the CRC, who were aware of which are the rights of the child and were not parents themselves were more prone to

³⁷ Partial correlation was used to explore the relationship between the levels of considering a statement a violation of children's rights and being a parent, while controlling for age. There was a small, positive, partial correlation between considering statements as violations of children's rights and parenthood, controlling for age, $r=.11$, $n=376$, $p=.039$, with being a parent associated with lower levels of considering a statement as a violation of children's rights. An inspection of the zero order correlation ($r=.12$) suggested that controlling for age had very little effect on the strength of the relationship between the two variables. As such age and parenthood have independent effects on the dependent variable.

³⁸ Partial correlation was run to determine the relationship between the levels of considering a statement a violation of children's rights and being a parent, while controlling for gender. There was a small, positive partial correlation, whilst controlling for gender, which was statistically significant, $r=.12$, $n=383$, $p=.017$. However, zero-order correlations showed that there was a statistically significant, small correlation, $r(381) = .12$, $n = 383$, $p=.021$, indicating that gender had very little influence in controlling for the relationship between parenthood and levels of violations.

consider a statement as a violation of children's rights than not. It is highly possible, that through everyday routines, parents take decisions that might violate or not support children's rights possibly to save time and/or energy, which may later lead to cognitive dissonance and a 'harder' positioning related to children's rights. Concurrently, educators who perceived the statements as violations of children's rights were also more prone to acknowledge various school and societal rituals as violating the rights of the child, were more willing to extend the rights to the children of their least-liked ethnic group, and were expressing less conservative concepts about childhood.

The same procedure was followed for the children's data. Independent-samples t-test revealed significant differences of considering a statement a violation or not of children's rights among boys ($M=3.77$, $SD=.70$) and girls ($M=4.13$, $SD=.71$), $t(555)=-5.82$, $p=.00$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference $=-.36$, 95% CI: $-.48$ to $-.24$) was moderate ($d=.49$). Significant differences were also identified among children who had family members that had a war related experience ($M=3.90$, $SD=.75$) and those who did not have a family member with a war related experience ($M=4.12$, $SD=.68$), $t(504)=-3.39$, $p=.001$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference $=-.22$, 95% CI: $-.34$ to $-.09$) was small ($d=.30$). Significant differences were identified among those who did not consider themselves a victim of the Cyprus problem ($M=3.86$, $SD=.80$) and those who did ($M=4.21$, $SD=.82$), $t(497)=-5.99$, $p=.00$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference $=-.35$, 95% CI: $-.47$ to $-.24$) was moderate ($d=.54$). At last, significant differences were identified among those who did not consider themselves a member of a vulnerable group ($M=3.95$, $SD=.75$) and those who did ($M=4.18$, $SD=.56$), $t(105)=-2.91$, $p=.004$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference $=-.23$, 95% CI: $-.38$ to $-.07$) was moderate ($d=.57$).

A Kruskal-Wallis H test showed that there was a statistically significant difference on the level of recognition of violations as such between the different grades, $H(2)=8.65$, $p=0.013$, with a mean grade score of 256.85 for grade A, 295.96 for grade B and 301.37 for grade C. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted

p-values showed that there were significant differences between children who attend grade A compared to grade B ($p=.042$, $r=-.12$), and compared to grade C ($p=.034$, $r=-.13$). No statistical difference was identified among children who attend grade B and grade C. A statistically significant difference was also found between the towns children lived, $H(3)=20.693$, $p=0.000$. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p-values showed that there were significant differences between the levels of recognition of violations among the children who reside in Ammochostos compared to those residing in Lefkosia ($p=.000$, $r=.24$), compared to those residing in Limassol ($p=.002$, $r=.26$) and those residing in Pafos ($p=.036$, $r=.21$). No significant differences were identified among the comparisons of Pafos and Lefkosia, Limassol and Lefkosia, and Pafos and Limassol. At last, there was a significant effect of the orientation of the studies children attended on the levels of recognition of violations as such, $H(7)=44.17$, $p=.000$. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p-values showed that there were significant differences among the children who attended financial studies and those who attend mathematics ($p=.026$, $r=.17$), those who attend hotel studies compared to those who attend mathematics ($p=.000$, $r=.30$) and those who attend classical studies ($p=.000$, $r=.44$), those who attend decorative studies compared to those who attend mathematics ($p=.023$, $r=.21$) and those who attend classical studies ($p=.022$, $r=.39$). Significant bivariate correlations were identified among familiarity with children's rights and the degree of agreement on whether the statements were recognized as violations of children's rights or not, $r=.08$, $p=.01$.

To sum up, girls, children who were aware of which are the rights of the child, who had family members with war related experiences of the past, who considered themselves a victim of the Cyprus problem, did not consider themselves a member of a vulnerable group, and were attending higher grades of the secondary school were more prone to consider the statements as violations of children's rights. At the same time, children who perceived the statements as violations of children's rights, as with the educators' results, were also more prone to acknowledge various school and societal rituals as violating

the rights of the child, were more willing to extend the rights to the children of their least-liked ethnic group, and were holding less conservative conceptions about childhood. In addition to the educators' results, those children held less nationalistic beliefs, had more opportunities for contact with members of the other community (opportunity for contact), and experienced lower levels of realistic threat.

Identifying potential groups of educators exhibiting similar responses based on their conception of children's rights was essential and as such cluster analysis was used. All 19 items of the variable "Recognition of Violations of Children's Rights" were included in the analysis. A two-step cluster analysis was introduced: as a first step, hierarchical clustering (with square Euclidian interval) was performed, while as a second step a k-means analysis was conducted. This method extracted two different groups of educators: the first cluster included 266 individuals (68%), while the second cluster 123 individuals (32%). Table 17 presents the means for each of the two clusters about the statements related to the recognition of violations of children's rights.

In general, the responses of individuals in cluster 1 are more supportive that all the aforementioned situations are violations of children's rights, whereas individuals in cluster 2, have a different opinion regarding what consists a violation of the rights of the child. Looking closer to similar means among the two clusters, one can identify that both clusters consider violations of children's rights situations related to violence, when this violence is applied (parental child beating) or taught by family members to the child (teaching bad words or to beat other children), situations related to vital means for surviving and developing, such as food, and family members, especially the 'mother', and situations related to child labor or school dropping. In two other situations (the demand of money by a sports federation to allow a child to compete with another federation and the expulsion of a child by a school without listening to his/her opinion) the individuals seemed to agree at a similar level about both situations being a violation of children's rights.

Table 17. *Means of the two clusters for educators in relation to the statements*

Situation	Cluster 1	Cluster 2
The pilot prohibits a mother to breastfeed her new-born during a flight.	4.73	4.07
The parent prohibits to his/her child to form friendships with specific schoolmates of the child.	4.17	2.94
The parent teaches bad words to his/her child.	4.65	4.32
The parent takes decisions related to the family, without taking into consideration the children's views.	4.56	3.33
The parent prohibits his/her 15year old child to visit a friend's house (in case there is no concern for molestation or harm to the child).	4.44	3.15
A sports federation demands money from the parents to allow the child to compete with another federation.	4.17	3.59
When a 14year old child works after school to assist his/her family.	4.39	3.39
A child, Cypriot national, lives with his/her mother who is from a country out of the European Union, since his father abandoned him. The government imprisons the mother to expel her, since she resides illegally in Cyprus.	4.56	3.76
The parent forces the child to stop schooling after she finishes compulsory education (at the age of 15).	4.82	4.39
The school undertakes decisions regarding educational affairs without taking into consideration the views of the children.	4.20	2.80
The school administration expels a child that was accused by his classmates of sexual harassment, without providing the opportunity to the accused child to express his views.	4.76	4.17
The Ministry of Education and Culture undertakes decisions related to education without taking into consideration the views of the children.	4.29	2.90
Two adults smoke at the open space of a café, located next to a playground.	4.18	3.07
Parental child beating for disobedience.	4.90	4.24
The government provides allowances and financial assistance only to children who are Cypriot nationals.	4.59	2.93

Situation	Cluster 1	Cluster 2
A child, 10 years old, works after school to assist financially his family.	4.86	4.13
The parent of a child is imprisoned for a crime. When he gets in a fight in the prison, the guards deprive him of his children's visit.	4.65	3.58
A child, 17 years old, is recruited in the army with the consent of the parents, without the child's consent.	4.38	3.26
The parent teaches his child to beat other children as a means to resolve conflicts.	4.79	3.95

The responses of the individuals in cluster 2 differ in the other half situations. Specifically, they differ in cases where the situation relates to the nurturance of children by the family. In this case, individuals in cluster 2 provide for a right to the family to nurture the child. In other words, there is a misconception regarding the right of the child to a family. An indicative example is through the situation where a parent in jail is prohibited from seeing his/her child, due to his/her misbehavior in jail. Educators of cluster 2 fail to recognize the right of the child to a family within this situation. They based their response on the rights and/or responsibilities of the parent, and not on the rights of the child. Additionally, individuals in cluster 2 support that parents can prohibit their children to form friendships once they do not approve them, and that parents are the exclusive decision makers within the family. At a same motive, educators of that cluster do not consider the non-participation of children in the educational affairs as a violation of children's rights. Two other situations that individuals of cluster 2 differ and do not consider them as violations is when the state provides allowances only to children who are Cypriot nationals and when adults smoke next to the playground. To sum up, educators of cluster 2 set conditions for the application of the rights of the child, with those conditions being controlled either by family members or state institutions.

Furthermore, more individuals who were not parents were also identified to be part of Cluster 1, rather than Cluster 2, as those clusters exhibited from

analysis of the responses regarding violations of children's rights. A χ^2 test for independence indicated a significant association between being a parent and clusters, $\chi^2(1)=4.35$, $p=.03$. Based on the odds ratio, the odds of people being more open to the conception of children's rights is 1.86 higher if they are not a parent rather than if they are parent. As such, it was concluded that parenthood provides a different perception for children's rights, but one that does not support their full realization. A χ^2 test for independence indicated also a significant association among having read the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and clusters, $\chi^2(1)=8.853$, $p=.003$. Based on the odds ratio, the odds of people being more open to the conception of children's rights is 1.98 higher if they had read the CRC, rather than not. No other variable was identified to be associated with clusters, reaching statistical significance.

The same procedure was followed to identify potential groups of children based on their conception of children's rights. This method extracted two different groups of children: the first cluster included 437 individuals (86%), while the second cluster 73 children (14%). Table 18 presents the means for each of the two clusters about the statements related to recognition of violations of children's rights.

The results obtained are in consistency with the results obtained for educators. Children in cluster 1 are, in general, more supportive that all the statements are violations of children's rights, whereas children in cluster 2, have a different opinion regarding what consists a violation of the rights of the child. The responses of the individuals in cluster 2 differ in cases where the situation relates to the nurturance of children by the family, but in a different way than the educators of cluster 2. Children in cluster 2 provide for a right to the family to upbringing its child with the means the family considers appropriate, even if those means entail setting restrictions for friendships, taking decisions without taking into consideration the opinion of the child, forcing the child to drop out of school, child beating as a form of teaching practice, and teaching violence to the child. While educators condemn the teaching and using of violence by family members, the children of cluster 2 do not consider it inappropriate as a teaching

method. It can be a possibility that such a perception might reflect personal experiences of children within the family setting. Additionally, children of cluster 2 differ from the educators in cluster 2 as they do not consider a violation of children's rights the provision of allowances by the state only to children who are Cypriot nationals. In general, children of cluster 2 do not acknowledge restrictions of children's rights set by family members as violations of their rights. As such, it can be concluded that the results obtained are in consistency with the educators' results but serve a different function. Educators of cluster 2 share a position that reinforces their hegemonic position over children, while children of cluster 2 have developed a form of "false consciousness" that reinforces their subjugation to adults and institutions like the family, the school and the state.

Table 18. *Means of the two clusters for children in relation to the statements*

Situation	Cluster 1	Cluster 2
The pilot prohibits a mother to breastfeed her new-born during a flight.	3.69	2.96
The parent prohibits to his/her child to form friendships with specific schoolmates of the child.	3.86	2.89
The parent teaches bad words to his/her child.	4.10	2.09
The parent takes decisions related to the family, without taking into consideration the children's views.	4.54	2.45
The parent prohibits his/her 15year old child to visit a friend's house (in case there is no concern for molestation or harm to the child).	4.39	2.37
A sports federation demands money from the parents to allow the child to compete with another federation.	3.87	2.59
When a 14year old child works after school to assist his/her family.	3.50	2.80
A child, Cypriot national, lives with his/her mother who is from a country out of the European Union, since his father abandoned him. The government imprisons the mother to expel her, since she resides illegally in Cyprus.	4.19	2.26
The parent forces the child to stop schooling after she finishes compulsory education (at the age of 15).	4.87	1.93

Situation	Cluster 1	Cluster 2
The school undertakes decisions regarding educational affairs without taking into consideration the views of the children.	4.57	2.90
The school administration expels a child that was accused by his classmates of sexual harassment, without providing the opportunity to the accused child to express his views.	4.53	3.11
The Ministry of Education and Culture undertakes decisions related to education without taking into consideration the views of the children.	4.58	3.31
Two adults smoke at the open space of a café, located next to a playground.	3.72	3.08
Parental child beating for disobedience.	4.69	2.16
The government provides allowances and financial assistance only to children who are Cypriot nationals.	4.29	2.14
A child, 10 years old, works after school to assist financially his family.	4.41	2.12
The parent of a child is imprisoned for a crime. When he gets in a fight in the prison, the guards deprive him of his children's visit.	4.14	2.59
A child, 17 years old, is recruited in the army with the consent of the parents, without the child's consent.	4.25	2.91
The parent teaches his child to beat other children as a means to resolve conflicts.	4.48	2.10

For children's data, a χ^2 test for independence indicated a significant association between gender and clusters, $\chi^2(1)=9.39$, $p=.002$. Based on the odds ratio, the odds of children being more open to the conception of children's rights is 2.08 higher if they are boys rather than girls. A χ^2 test for independence also indicated a significant association between grades and clusters, $\chi^2(2)=12.63$, $p=.001$. Furthermore, a χ^2 test for independence also indicated a significant association between studies attended and clusters, $\chi^2(7)=38.18$, $p=.000$. At last, a χ^2 test for independence also indicated a significant association between the area the school is located and clusters, $\chi^2(1)=5.87$, $p=.015$. Based on the odds ratio, the odds of children being more open to the conception of children's rights is 1.85 higher if they live in rural rather than urban

areas. Surprisingly, no significant association was identified among clusters and having read the CRC.

School and Societal Rituals

The scale School Rituals had a mean of 2.97 (SD=1.10) for educators and a mean of 3.04 (SD=.83) for children, on a 5-point Likert scale (1-5). The corresponding means for the scale Societal Rituals was 4.14 (SD=.79) for educators and 3.95 (SD=.92) for children. A Mann-Whitney U Test revealed a non-significant difference in the agreement level whether the school rituals are a violation of children's rights among educators (Mdn=3.00, n=358) and children (Mdn=3.00, n=540), $U=90446$, $z=-1.635$, $p=.102$, $r=-.05$. On the other hand, the Mann-Whitney U Test revealed a significant difference in the agreement level regarding societal rituals being a violation of children's rights among educators (Mdn=4.29, n=374) and children (Mdn=4.14, n=540), $U=89810$, $z=-2.855$, $p=.004$, $r=-.09$. Table 19 presents the frequencies of responses of educators and children respectively, regarding their agreement of whether the statements presenting national regulations are a violation of children's rights. While the particular scale resembles the previous one, since participants had to declare whether a set of 14 statements were a violation of children's rights or not, in fact, at this session the statements were mostly concerned with actions performed mainly by institutions of the government, such as the school or the army and tuned towards threats for the nation via the language, the religion or the history teaching.

Table 19. *Frequencies of educators' and children's responses to statements related to national regulations as to whether they comprise violations of children's rights*

Is it a violation of the rights of the child when: (Ed=educators) (Ch=children)		Definitely not (%)	Probably not (%)	Not sure (%)	Probably yes (%)	Definitely yes (%)	Mean (SD)
The school teaches orthodox Christianity to all children.	Ed	21	15	15	22	28	3.20 (1.51)
	Ch	20	20	18	22	21	3.03 (1.42)
The school forces Greek Cypriot children to participate at mass events that relate with the history of the nation and are organized during school hours (i.e. the celebration of October 28).	Ed	41	24	11	12	13	2.32 (1.42)
	Ch	30	23	20	16	11	2.55 (1.35)
The school forces children of other nationality to participate at mass events that relate with the history of the nation and are organized during school hours (i.e. the celebration of October 28).	Ed	23	22	16	19	19	2.90 (1.46)
	Ch	15	15	27	26	16	3.13 (1.29)
The school forces Greek Cypriot children to participate at mass events that relate with the religion of the majority and are organized during school hours (i.e.the holy water at the beginning of the year).	Ed	37	23	12	13	16	2.48 (1.48)
	Ch	24	26	19	17	14	2.72 (1.37)
The school forces children of other nationality or religion to participate at mass events that relate with the religion of the majority and are organized during school hours (i.e.the holy water at the beginning of the year).	Ed	18	18	13	21	30	3.28 (1.49)
	Ch	8	12	19	31	30	3.63 (1.25)
Children of pre-primary and primary age visit the Imprisoned Memorial.	Ed	21	23	25	13	18	2.83 (1.37)
	Ch	26	27	22	15	10	2.55 (1.28)
The government denies providing nationality to a 17-year-old child born and raised in Cyprus.	Ed	1	4	19	27	49	4.18 (.95)
	Ch	5	4	12	27	52	4.18 (1.09)

Is it a violation of the rights of the child when: (Ed=educators) (Ch=children)		Definitely not (%)	Probably not (%)	Not sure (%)	Probably yes (%)	Definitely yes (%)	Mean (SD)
A child who lives in Cyprus cannot be operated in public hospitals, since the child does not have the Cypriot nationality.	Ed	3	2	9	24	62	4.40 (.94)
	Ch	5	4	7	17	68	4.39 (1.07)
The army teaches to a recruited 17year old child death slogans.	Ed	6	8	15	22	49	3.99 (1.23)
	Ch	11	11	27	21	31	3.50 (1.32)
The parent teaches bad words to his/her child about the Turkish Cypriots.	Ed	3	3	9	23	63	4.41 (.95)
	Ch	12	7	13	19	50	3.88 (1.39)
The parent prohibits his 15year old child to form friendships with a Turkish Cypriot schoolmate.	Ed	3	4	7	22	66	4.44 (.96)
	Ch	7	6	9	18	59	4.17 (1.24)
The parent prohibits his 15 year old child to cross the roadblock to visit the house of a Turkish Cypriot friend (in case there is no concern for molestation or harm to the child).	Ed	11	11	24	23	31	3.52 (1.33)
	Ch	10	8	18	26	38	3.74 (1.30)
The army teaches to a recruited 17year old child death slogans targeting the Turks.	Ed	6	7	17	22	48	4.01 (1.20)
	Ch	11	9	20	25	36	3.65 (1.33)
The school denies organizing a joint activity with a school from the Turkish Cypriot community during school hours.	Ed	6	6	25	25	38	3.83 (1.19)
	Ch	8	8	22	24	38	3.77 (1.25)

Of note are the percentages of the responses for the Societal Rituals items, indicating a convergence in conceptions of constituting a violation of children's rights. The army teaching death slogans directed to any group is considered a violation of children's rights by almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of the educators and $\frac{3}{5}$ of the children. The percentage rises to 86% for educators once bad words for Turkish Cypriots are taught by the family members and not the army. While the

percentage of children supporting that is a violation when it takes place by family members increased to 69%, the difference is not as large as with educators. Seventy six percent (76%) of educators and 79% of children consider a violation of the rights of the child the refusal by the State to provide for nationality to a 17year old child born and raised in Cyprus. At the same time, 86% of educators and 85% of children consider a violation of children's rights the non-provision of medical care to children who do not have the nationality.

Eighty eight percent (88%) of educators and 77% of children stated that the prohibition by the parent to develop a friendship among his/her child and a Turkish Cypriot classmate of his/her is a violation of children's rights. This is an interesting result, since the corresponding percentage of educators considering a violation of children's rights a parent forbidding his/her child to form friendships with specific children at his school, without specifying the nationality of the child, did not surpass 66%, while for children it was 67%. The results indicate that the group of Turkish Cypriot children is not considered a threat for children to hang out with. It can be hypothesized that other groups of children are considered by educators as more threatening to the well-being of one's own children and that might be the reason for the higher percentage of individuals considering it a non-violation when the identity of the group that the parent forbids his/her child forming relationships is not identified. As for the group of children, it might be an indication that past animosities and experiences of the older generations might create skepticism among children about their impact on their lives, and as such, more children consider the setting of restrictions an appropriate measure.

Half of the educators (54%) and 64% of children support that it is a violation of children's rights for a parent to prohibit his/her child to cross the roadblock to visit the house of a Turkish Cypriot friend. Twenty four percent (24%) of the educators and 18% of children are not sure whether this is a violation, where only 22% of educators and 18% of the children consider it as a non-violation. At the previous session, when asked whether it is a violation of children's right for a parent to prohibit his/her child visiting a friend's house, the corresponding percentage for educators was 79% and for children 77%, while

12% of educators and 14% of children supported that it is not a violation. Despite the percentages of educators and children that consider prohibiting one's child to visit a friend's house decreased when the specific house was across the roadblock, it is extremely important to recognize that more than half of the educators and children still consider it a violation, while a quite high percentage in both groups is uncertain. The specific frequencies indicate that both educators and children acknowledge that setting restrictions to the friendships a child develops, even if those restrictions are related to a national issue and possible fears and threats that accompany it, the action is, still, a violation of children's rights.

Interestingly enough, 63% of educators and 62% of children consider it a violation of children's rights when the school denies organizing a joint activity with a school from the Turkish Cypriot community. Twenty five percent (25%) of the educators and 22% of children are skeptical whether it is a violation or not, while only 12% of the educators and 16% of children do not consider it a violation. This result has important implications for projects bringing together schools from both communities during school hours, based on the fact that the current sample of educators and children had minimal contact with members of the other community, and still, more than 3/5 of them consider it a violation to prohibit such events from taking place.

It is also important to discuss, the statements about celebrations organized during school hours which relate to religious practices or national celebrations associated to the history of the nation. The first statement asked from participants to declare whether it is a violation of children's rights or not when the school forces Greek Cypriot children to participate at mass events that relate with the history of the nation and are organized during school hours (i.e. the celebration of October 28, an event that occurred in Greece and is celebrated as an ethnic victory against the opponent). The key word at this point was the word 'enforces' translated in Greek as 'have to participate' [πρέπει να συμμετέχουν]. Sixty five percent (65%) of the educators and 53% of children, support that it is not a violation of children's rights, while only 25% of educators

and 27% of children support that it is. When children of other nationalities are enforced to participate, then the percentage of educators which supports that it is not a violation drops to 45%, and of children to 30%, while those who support that it is a violation increases to 38% for educators and 42% of children. When it comes to religious events, 60% of the educators and 50% of children support that forcing Greek Cypriot children to participate at those religious events taking place within the school hours is not a violation of the children's rights, while 29% of educators and 31% of children support that it is a violation. If the children who are enforced to participate are of other religion, then only 36% of the educators and 20% of the children support that it is not a violation, while 51% of educators and 61% of children support that it is. The aforementioned results suggest that while a high percentage of educators is open to respect the culture and religion of children who are not Greek Cypriots, they do conceive Greek Cypriots as a homogeneous group that shares the same religion and the burden to continue the history of the nation and succeed in preserving its identity, by participating in rituals that promote those concepts. Simultaneously, higher percentages of children, rather than educators, support that either forcing Greek Cypriot or children of other nationality or religion to participate in mass events that relate to the history or the religion of the nation is a violation of children's rights. This might be the result of the participating children of this study, which were not only Greek Cypriots, but the sample included also children from other nationalities or religions, reaching as high as 9%, something that did not happen with the sample of educators who were either Greek Cypriots or Greeks. As a result, children may have firsthand experience of having to participate in such events or may experience the discomfort and awkwardness of their classmates, when those events take place. They may even hold discussions among them on how children of other nationalities or religion feel during the implementation of such events. To test this hypothesis, an independent t-test was conducted. On average, students of other nationality were more prone to acknowledge the forced participation of children into religious or historical celebrations by the school as a violation of children's rights, than Cypriot students. The differences

in all cases were not significant and represented small size effects (Table 20 presents the results of the analysis). Based on the results, it may be accurate to state that educators hold more assimilationist views compared to children.

Table 20. *Results of the independent samples t-test conducted among Cypriot children and children of other nationalities*

	Nationality	Mean	(SE)	Difference		p	BCa 95% CI	d
The school enforces Greek Cypriot children to participate at mass events that relate with the history of the nation and are organized during school hours.	Cypriot	2.53	.060	.019	t(556)=-.89	.38	[-.61, .24]	.08
	Other	2.72	.204					
The school enforces children of other nationality to participate at mass events that relate with the history of the nation and are organized during school hours.	Cypriot	3.12	.057	.08	t(555)=-.36	.72	[-.50, .34]	.03
	Other	3.20	.202					
The school enforces Greek Cypriot children to participate at mass events that relate with the religion of the majority and are organized during school hours.	Cypriot	2.69	.060	.39	t(556)=-1.74	.08	[-.85, .06]	.15
	Other	3.08	.219					
The school enforces children of other nationality or religion to participate at mass events that relate with the religion of the majority and are organized during school hours.	Cypriot	3.61	.056	.21	t(552)=-1.13	.26	[-.58, .16]	.10
	Other	3.82	.178					

Forty four percent (44%) of the educators and 53% of children indicated that it is not a violation of children's rights when children of primary and pre-primary age visit the Imprisoned Memorial. At the Greek version of the questionnaire it was clearly specified that children not only visit the Memorial, but also take a look of the gallows. Thirty one percent (31%) of educators and 25% of children support that it is a violation of children's rights, while ¼ of the participants, both of educators and adolescents, are skeptical whether it is or not a violation. The Imprisoned Memorial is highly affiliated with the struggles of the nation to gain independence and the sacrifices of its people to achieve it, and as such it is considered as a Memorial of great importance to the history of the nation. This might have been the reason that a high percentage of educators and children, almost half of them, minimize the negative impact such

a monument might have on the mental health of children, especially of pre-primary age, by exaggerating the importance such a monument might have for the preservation of the nation.

There was a significant effect of teaching experience of educators on school rituals $H(6)=19.65$, $p=.003$ and societal rituals, $H(6)=18.17$, $p=.006$. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p-values showed that there were significant differences for school rituals only among the group of educators with 11-15 years of service compared to those who had 21-25 years of service ($p=.016$, $r=.27$) and compared to those who had 26 to 30 years of service ($p=.017$ $r=.28$). Significant differences for societal rituals were identified among the group of educators with 26 to 30 years of teaching experience compared to those who had 6 to 10 years ($p=.024$, $r=.35$) and those who had 11-15 years of service ($p=.012$, $r=.29$). Tables 21, 22, 23 and 24 present significant differences among perceptions of whether specific school or societal rituals infringe children's rights among various groups of educators and children respectively after conducting independent-samples t-test.

Table 21. Differences among perceptions of whether specific school rituals infringe children's rights among educators after conducting independent-samples t-test

		Mean	SD	t	Df	P	Mean Dif.	BCa 95% CI	D
Gender	Male	3.06	1.16	.53	383	.59	.07	-.19 to .33	.05
	Female	2.98	1.08						
Live Area	Town	2.93	1.11	-2.17	378	.03*	-.30	-.56 to -.03	.22
	Village	3.22	1.07						
Being a parent ³⁹	Yes	2.91	1.06	-2.95	384	.003**	-.41	-.68 to -.14	.30
	No	3.32	1.21						
Having read the CRC	Yes	3.11	1.06	1.69	379	.09	.19	-.03 to .42	.17
	No	2.92	1.13						
Personal war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	2.76	1.09	2.21	364	.03*	.30	.03 to .57	.23
	No	3.06	1.11						
Having a family member with war related experiences of the events of the past	Yes	2.87	1.09	2.08	363	.04*	.24	.01 to .47	.22
	No	3.11	1.12						
Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	2.81	1.10	4.07	359	.00**	.49	.25 to .72	.43
	No	3.30	1.09						
Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	3.08	1.08	-.79	353	.43	-.10	-.36 to .15	.08
	No	2.98	.79						

*p<.05, **p<.01

³⁹ Partial correlation was used to explore the relationship between school rituals and being a parent, while controlling for age. There was a small, positive, partial correlation between school rituals and parenthood, controlling for age, $r=.15$, $n=376$, $p=.006$, with being a parent associated with lower levels of recognizing specific school rituals as violations of children's rights. An inspection of the zero-order correlation ($r=.16$) suggested that controlling for age had very little effect on the strength of the relationship between the two variables. Partial correlation was also run to determine the relationship between school rituals and being a parent, while controlling for gender. There was a small, positive partial correlation, whilst controlling for gender, which was statistically significant, $r=.14$, $n=383$, $p=.005$. Zero-order correlations showed that there was a statistically significant, small correlation, $r(381)=.15$, $n = 383$, $p=.005$, indicating that gender had very little influence.

Table 22. Differences among perceptions of whether specific societal rituals infringe children's rights among educators after conducting independent-samples t-test

		Mean	SD	t	Df	P	Mean Dif.	BCa 95% CI	D
Gender	Male	3.98	.94	-2.10	383	.04*	-.20	-.39 to -.01	.21
	Female	4.18	.73						
Live Area	Town	4.11	.78	-1.60	378	.11	-.15	-.34 to .04	.16
	Village	4.26	.78						
Being a parent ⁴⁰	Yes	4.08	.78	-2.82	384	.005**	-.28	-.47 to -.08	.29
	No	4.36	.78						
Having read the CRC	Yes	4.24	.72	2.06	379	.04*	.17	.01 to .32	.21
	No	4.07	.82						
Personal war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	4.00	.83	1.98	364	.049*	.19	.001 to .38	.21
	No	4.19	.76						
Having a family member with war related experiences of the events of the past	Yes	4.08	.80	1.64	363	.10	.13	-.03 to .29	.17
	No	4.21	.74						
Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	4.09	.78	1.73	359	.09	.15	-.02 to .32	.18
	No	4.24	.78						
Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	4.21	.73	-.73	353	.47	-.07	-.24 to .11	.08
	No	4.14	.79						

*p<.05, **p<.01

⁴⁰ Partial correlation was used to explore the relationship between societal rituals and being a parent, while controlling for age. A small, positive, partial correlation was identified, controlling for age, $r=.12$, $n=376$, $p=.019$. An inspection of the zero-order correlation ($r=.15$) suggested that controlling for age had very little effect on the strength of the relationship between the two variables. Partial correlation was also run to determine the relationship between societal rituals and being a parent, while controlling for gender. There was a small, positive partial correlation, whilst controlling for gender, which was statistically significant, $r=.15$, $n=383$, $p=.004$. Zero-order correlations showed that there was a statistically significant, small correlation, $r(381) = .14$, $n = 383$, $p=.006$, indicating that gender had very little influence.

Table 23. Differences among perceptions of whether specific school rituals infringe children's rights among children after conducting independent-samples t-test

		Mean	SD	t	Df	P	Mean Dif.	BCa 95% CI	d
Gender	Male	2.89	.85	-3.64	553	.000**	-.27	-.41 to -.12	.31
	Female	3.16	.83						
Live Area	Town	3.06	.84	.08	559	.94	.01	-1.36 to .15	.01
	Village	3.05	.86						
Having read the CRC	Yes	3.10	.90	.58	554	.56	.06	-.14 to .27	.05
	No	3.04	.83						
Having a family member with war related experiences of the events of the past	Yes	3.05	.88	-.43	502	.67	-.03	-.18 to .11	.04
	No	3.02	.81						
Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	4.09	.86	-2.73	469	.007*	-.22	-.39 to -.06	.25
	No	3.86	.96						
Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	3.30	.85	-2.88	492	.004*	-.32	-.44 to .05	.26
	No	2.98	.84						

*p<.05, **p<.01

Table 24. Differences among perceptions of whether specific societal rituals infringe children's rights among children after conducting independent-samples t-test

		Mean	SD	t	Df	P	Mean Dif.	BCa 95% CI	d
Gender	Male	3.56	.95	-7.73	553	.000**	-.60	-.75 to -.45	.66
	Female	4.16	.84						
Live Area	Town	3.97	.91	1.17	559	.24	.09	-.06 to .25	.10
	Village	3.87	.98						
Having read the CRC	Yes	3.75	1.06	-1.81	554	.07	-.21	-.44 to .02	.15
	No	3.96	.91						
Having a family member with war related experiences	Yes	3.97	.96	-.64	502	.52	-.05	-.22 to .11	.06
	No	3.92	.92						
Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	4.09	.86	-2.68	498	.008**	-.22	-.39 to -.06	.24
	No	3.86	.96						
Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	4.09	.83	-1.60	492	.11	-.20	-.44 to .05	.14
	No	3.90	.96						

*p<.05, **p<.01

The results displayed at the Tables above indicate that educators who were not parents were more prone to acknowledge specific school and societal rituals as violating the children's rights. Additionally, educators who did not have a personal traumatic experiences from the events of the past also were more prone to indicate national regulations, school and societal ones, as breaching children's rights, while educators who did not consider themselves victims of the Cyprus Problem also acknowledge more the school rituals as violating the rights of the child. Gender was another variable that distinguished different perceptions with females being more prone to acknowledge specific societal rituals as violating children's rights. At last, having read the CRC also drove educators to acknowledge more specific societal rituals as violating children's rights. Interestingly enough, the quantity of contact also had an impact on the acknowledgment of societal rituals as violating children's rights, with those who had a number of contacts (from scarce to a lot) being more likely to acknowledge the specific societal rituals as violating children's rights ($M=4.27$, $SD=.75$), than those who never interacted with members of the other community ($M=4.09$, $SD=.80$), $t(364)=-2.06$, $p=.04$, mean dif $=-.18$, 95% CI: $-.36$ to $-.01$, $d =.22$

Educators who acknowledged school and societal rituals as violating children's rights held less strong patriotic and nationalistic beliefs, experienced lower levels of realistic and symbolic threat, were less religious, had more quantity of contact with members of the other community, were more prone to extend children's rights to the children of their least liked ethnic group, held less conservative views of childhood and were more Cypriocentric as well.

As for children's data, there was a significant effect of the orientation of the studies children attended on school rituals, $H(7)=18.68$, $p=.009$. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p-values showed that there were no significant differences between any of the 7 different groups. Significant bivariate correlation was identified among familiarity with children's rights and societal rituals being considered as violations of children's rights, $r=.08$, $p=.022$ (Kendall's tau b).

The results indicate that female children were more prone to acknowledge specific school and societal rituals as violating the children's rights. Additionally, children who considered themselves as victims of the Cyprus Problem acknowledged at a higher degree that specific societal rituals violate children's rights, while children who considered themselves as being members of a group that its rights are violated also considered specific school rituals as violations of children's rights. An interesting result is that the studies that children followed seem to have an impact on the school and societal rituals being recognized as violations of children's rights. Moreover, children who acknowledged school and societal rituals as violating children's rights held less strong patriotic and nationalistic beliefs, experienced lower levels of realistic and symbolic threat, had more quantity of contact with members of the other community, were more prone to extend children's rights to the children of their least liked ethnic group, held less conservative views of childhood and were more Cypriocentric as well. At the same time children who declared a less strong religious belief characterized more school rituals as violations of children's rights, while children who had more opportunities for contact did the same for societal rituals.

Another interesting result that should be noted is that children who felt as victims of the Cyprus Problem were more prone to acknowledge the specific school and societal rituals as violating children's rights. On the contrary, educators who felt as victims of the Cyprus Problem were less prone to acknowledge the specific societal rituals as violating children's rights.

Patriotism and Nationalism

The scale Patriotism had a mean of 3.86 (SD=.71) for educators and a mean of 3.74 (SD=.71) for children, on a 5-point Likert scale (1-5), strongly disagree to strongly agree. The scale Nationalism had a mean of 3.02 (SD=.74) for educators and a mean of 2.89 (SD=.72) for children. The results suggest that both groups, educators and children, were more prone to agree with

patriotic rather than nationalistic statements. Table 25 presents the frequencies for the scale Patriotism, while Table 26 presents the frequencies for the scale Nationalism. A Mann-Whitney U Test revealed a significant difference in the levels of patriotism among educators (Mdn=4.00, n=374) and children (Mdn=3.86, n=538), $U=89540$, $z=-2.834$, $p=.005$, $r=-.09$. It also revealed a significant difference in the levels of nationalism among educators (Mdn=3.00, n=381) and children (Mdn=3.00, n=586), $U=94897$, $z=-2.286$, $p=.022$, $r=-.07$.

Table 25. *Frequencies of Patriotism scale among educators and children*

	Strongly Disagree (%)		Disagree (%)		Neither Agree or Disagree (%)		Agree (%)		Strongly Agree (%)		Mean (SD)	
	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch
Educators=Ed Children=Ch												
I feel strongly affiliated with Cyprus.	1	2	4	6	15	24	45	40	34	27	4.07 (.87)	3.83 (.97)
Belonging to this country is an important part of my identity.	1	2	4	7	14	16	47	43	34	31	4.09 (.86)	3.95 (.97)
I am glad to contribute to my country.	1	1	2	3	7	20	58	51	31	24	4.17 (.73)	3.95 (.82)
It is important to me that I view myself as a member of my country.	2	2	5	6	22	29	52	43	19	19	3.80 (.88)	3.72 (.91)
I am strongly committed to my homeland.	3	3	8	11	23	32	44	35	22	20	3.73 (.99)	3.58 (1.02)
It is important to me that others see me as a Greek Cypriot.	4	9	12	14	32	31	36	29	17	18	3.48 (1.03)	3.33 (1.17)
It is important to me to serve my homeland.	3	2	6	8	23	24	52	45	16	21	3.74 (.89)	3.75 (.94)

Table 26. *Frequencies of Nationalism scale among educators and children.*

	Strongly Disagree (%)		Disagree (%)		Neither Agree or Disagree (%)		Agree (%)		Strongly Agree (%)		Mean (SD)	
	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch
Educators=Ed Children=Ch												
Other states can learn a lot from us.	1	6	12	9	26	27	41	41	20	17	3.68 (.96)	3.56 (1.05)
Compared to other countries, my country is particularly good.	3	8	20	21	36	37	31	27	10	7	3.23 (.99)	3.03 (1.04)
Relative to other states, we are a very moral country.	6	8	28	21	37	44	22	22	7	5	2.96 (1.01)	2.96 (.98)
My homeland is better than other groups in all respects.	22	34	43	35	27	26	7	4	2	2	2.24 (.93)	2.04 (.94)

The results confirm the results of other studies conducted in post-conflict settings (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005), suggesting that high identification with the ingroup, in this case patriotism, is a common phenomenon, or even better aftermath, of the cycle of violence and conflict individuals experience within those settings. The frequencies from Table 26 indicate that more than half of the educators and students support that other states can learn a lot from Cyprus. The statement with the highest disagreement in the nationalism scale is the one that Cyprus is better than other groups in all respects.

There was a significant effect of the service years of educators on patriotism, $H(6)=16.95$, $p=.009$. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p-values showed that there was a significant difference among the educators with 11-15 years of service compared to those who had more than 31+ years of teaching experience ($p=.011$, $r=-.31$). Significant bivariate correlation for educators was identified among age and patriotism, $r=.14$, $p=.008$. Significant bivariate correlation was also identified among age and nationalism, $r=.13$, $p=.01$, There was a significant effect of the town educators lived on nationalism, $H(4)=13.46$,

$p=.009$. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p -values showed that there was a significant difference among the educators who reside in the town of Ammochostos compared to those who reside in Lefkosia ($p=.010$, $r=-.24$), those who reside in Larnaka ($p=.008$, $r=-.41$), and those who reside in Limassol ($p=.025$, $r=-.26$). Significant bivariate correlation was identified among familiarity with children's rights and patriotism, $r=.15$, $p=.003$, and nationalism, $r=.11$, $p=.031$.

There was a significant effect of the town children lived on nationalism, $H(3)=12.64$, $p=.005$. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p -values showed that there was a significant difference only among the children who reside in Pafos compared to those who reside in Lefkosia ($p=.003$, $r=-.18$). Significant bivariate correlation for children was identified among familiarity with children's rights and patriotism, $r=.08$, $p=.046$.

Tables 27, 28, 29 and 30 present significant differences among levels of patriotism and nationalism and various groups of educators and children after conducting independent-samples t -test. The results indicate that being a parent is associated with higher levels of both patriotism and nationalism. Additionally, having a family member that experienced war related events or feeling a victim of the Cyprus Problem is associated with higher levels of patriotism for both educators and children. At the same time though, having a family member with war related experiences and feeling a victim of the Cyprus Problem has been associated with lower levels of nationalism for the group of children. For the group of educators, having personally experienced a war event of the past has been associated with higher levels of patriotism and nationalism. At last, for the group of children, males and children who do not consider themselves as members of a vulnerable group had higher levels of patriotism (even though in the last case the confidence intervals crossed zero).

Table 27. Significant differences among feelings of patriotism and various groups of educators after conducting independent-samples t-test

		Mean	SD	t	df	P	Mean Dif.	BCa 95% CI	d
Gender	Male	3.83	.79	-.51	380	.61	-.04	-.21 to .12	.05
	Female	3.88	.69						
Live Area	Town	3.86	.73	-.31	374	.76	-.03	-.20 to .15	.03
	Village	3.89	.66						
Being a parent ⁴¹	Yes	3.94	.65	3.84	380	.00**	.34	.17 to .51	.39
	No	3.60	.86						
Having read the CRC	Yes	3.90	.68	.79	376	.43	.06	-.09 to .20	.08
	No	3.84	.74						
Personal war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	4.08	.69	-3.39	364	.001**	-.30	-.47 to -.12	.36
	No	3.78	.71						
Having a family member with war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	3.95	.68	-2.33	363	.021*	-.17	-.32 to -.03	.24
	No	3.77	.74						
Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	3.97	.65	-4.25	359	.000**	-.33	-.48 to -.14	.45
	No	3.65	.78						
Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	3.94	.63	-1.49	353	.14	-.12	-.29 to .04	.16
	No	3.81	.75						

*p<.05, **p<.01

Moreover, educators who exhibited higher levels of patriotism and nationalism also experienced higher levels of realistic and symbolic threat, had less quantity of contact with members of the other community, held more conservative beliefs regarding childhood and considered themselves as more religious. At the same time, educators who experienced higher levels of nationalism had less

⁴¹ Partial correlation was used to explore the relationship between patriotism and being a parent, while controlling for age. There was a small, negative, partial correlation between levels of patriotism and parenthood, controlling for age, $r=-.16$, $n=376$, $p=.003$, with being a parent associated with higher levels of patriotism feelings. An inspection of the zero order correlation ($r=-.19$) suggested that controlling for age had very little effect on the strength of the relationship between the two variables.

opportunities for contact with members of the other community and were less willing to extend children's rights to the children of their least liked ethnic group. Same pattern was identified for children. Table 31 presents the differences among educators and children who never had contact with members of the other community and those who had in their feelings of patriotism and nationalism.

Table 28. *Significant differences among feelings of nationalism and various groups of educators after conducting independent-samples t-test*

		Mean	SD	t	df	P	Mean Dif.	BCa 95% Cl	d
Gender	Male	3.04	.84	.24	380	.81	.02	-.16 to .20	.02
	Female	3.02	.71						
Live Area	Town	3.00	.74	-1.09	374	.28	-.10	-.28 to .08	.11
	Village	3.10	.73						
Being a parent ⁴²	Yes	3.08	.72	2.94	380	.003**	.27	.09 to .46	.30
	No	2.80	.79						
Having read the CRC	Yes	3.02	.71	.17	376	.86	.01	-.14 to .16	.02
	No	3.01	.77						
Personal war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	3.20	.79	-2.97	364	.003**	-.27	-.44 to -.09	.31
	No	2.94	.70						
Having a family member with war related experience	Yes	3.01	.73	-.01	363	.99	-.001	-.15 to .15	.00
	No	3.01	.74						
Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	3.05	.70	-1.68	359	.09	-.13	-.29 to .02	.18
	No	2.92	.78						
Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes			.08	353	.94	.01	-.16 to .18	.01
	No								

*p<.05, **p<.01

⁴² Partial correlation was used to explore the relationship between nationalism and being a parent, while controlling for age. A small, negative, partial correlation between nationalism and parenthood, controlling for age, $r=-.12$, $n=376$, $p=.022$, with being a parent associated with higher levels of nationalistic feelings. An inspection of the zero order correlation ($r=-.15$) suggested that controlling for age had very little effect on the strength of the relationship between the two variables.

Table 29. Differences among feelings of patriotism and various groups of children after conducting independent-samples t-test

		Mean	SD	t	df	P	Mean Dif.	BCa 95% CI	d
Gender	Male	3.82	.79	2.24	553	.026*	.14	.02 to .26	.19
	Female	3.68	.66						
Live Area	Town	3.72	.72	-.30	559	.76	-.02	-.14 to .10	.03
	Village	3.74	.69						
Having read the CRC	Yes	3.65	.75	-1.14	554	.25	-.10	-.27 to .07	.10
	No	3.75	.70						
Having a family member with a war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	3.82	.69	-2.08	502	.038*	-.13	-.25 to -.01	.19
	No	3.69	.71						
Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	3.87	.68	-3.37	498	.001**	-.22	-.34 to -.09	.30
	No	3.65	.72						
Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	3.66	.68	1.02	492	.000**	.10	.09 to .28	.09
	No	3.76	.72						

*p<.05, **p<.01

Table 30. Differences among feelings of nationalism and various groups of children after conducting independent-samples t-test.

		Mean	SD	t	df	P	Mean Dif.	BCa 95% CI	d
Gender	Male	2.94	.75	1.12	553	.27	.07	-.05 to .19	.10
	Female	2.87	.68						
Live Area	Town	2.87	.71	-.73	559	.46	-.04	-.16 to .07	.06
	Village	2.92	.71						
Having read the CRC	Yes	2.90	.76	.02	554	.99	.001	-.17 to .18	.00
	No	2.90	.70						
Having a family member with war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	2.83	.71	2.68	502	.008**	.17	.04 to .29	.24
	No	2.99	.70						
Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	2.81	.71	2.53	498	.012*	.17	.04 to .29	.23
	No	2.97	.73						
Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	2.60	.76	3.79	492	.000**	.36	.17 to .54	.34
	No	2.96	.71						

*p<.05, **p<.01

Table 31. *Differences among feelings of patriotism and nationalism and educators and children who had contact and those who had not after conducting independent-samples t-test*

			Mean	SD	t	df	P	Mean Dif.	BCa 95% CI	D
Patriotism	Educators	Never Had Contact	3.89	.72	1.40	363	.16	.11	-.05 to .27	.15
		Had Contact	3.77	.70						
	Children	Never Had Contact	3.82	.71	3.48	509	.001**	.23	.10 to .36	.31
		Had Contact	3.59	.65						
Nationalism	Educators	Never Had Contact	3.06	.71	2.16	363	.03*	.18	.02 to .34	.23
		Had Contact	2.88	.80						
	Children	Never Had Contact	2.94	.70	1.40	509	.16	.09	-.04 to .23	.12
		Had Contact	2.84	.71						

*p<.05, **p<.01

Conservative View of Childhood

The scale Conservative View of Childhood had a mean of 2.92 (SD=.75) for educators and a mean of 3.00 (SD=.60) for children, on a 5-point Likert scale (1-5), suggesting moderate levels of agreement with the statements. A Mann-Whitney U Test revealed a non-significant difference among the conservative concepts of childhood held by educators (Mdn=3.00, n=385) and children (Mdn=3.00, n=561), U=101334, z=-1.62, p=.11, r=-.05. Table 32 presents the frequencies of responses of educators and children, regarding their conceptions of childhood. All the concepts of childhood presented assumed the child not as an entity per it, but rather as a dependent individual in need of guidance and assistance. The specific concepts were retrieved by traditional models of conception of childhood. Interestingly enough, what can be extracted from

Table 32 is that both groups of participants, educators and students, disagreed with three of the statements of childhood related to the nation (that a nation is needed to raise a child, that the child is the ideal portrait of the nation and that the child has a moral debt to continue the legacy of his/her ancestors), suggesting that childhood is not related to nation ideals. At the same time, both groups had lower means in the following statements: the interest of the child is always in accordance to the interest of the family, the child does not have to participate in decision making since s/he lacks maturity and experience, and the child must succeed at school in order to succeed in life.

Independent samples t-tests were conducted to compare the childhood agreement among various groups of educators. Only the items that constructed the scale 'Conservative views of childhood' were used. There was a significant difference in scores for educators who personally experienced a war event in the past and educators who did not, among those who considered themselves as victims of the Cyprus Problem and those who did not, and among educators who were parents and those who were not. Tables 33 and 34 present the results of the independent samples t-tests conducted for educators and children. Significant differences for children were identified among males and females, children who had a family member with a war related experience than those who did not have, children who felt victims of the Cyprus Problem than those who did not, and children who were members of a vulnerable group.

Educators who held more conservative views of childhood experienced higher levels of realistic and symbolic threat, expressed more strong religious beliefs, and were less willing to extend children's rights to the children of their least-liked ethnic group. Same pattern was identified for children, but in addition, children with more conservative views of childhood also identified more with the Hellenic identity and had less opportunities for contact with members of the other community.

Table 32. *Frequencies of the concepts of childhood by educators and children*

	Strongly Disagree (%)		Disagree (%)		Neither Agree or Disagree (%)		Agree (%)		Strongly Agree (%)		Mean (SD)	
	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch
Educators=Ed Children=Ch												
It is not the nursing infant which is important, but the adult that it will become.	25	8	45	20	12	22	14	33	5	17	2.29 (1.12)	3.29 (1.20)
The nursing infant is an instinctive being, in need of guidance and protection, up to the point that will become a rational adult.	1	1	10	4	13	12	49	45	28	38	3.93 (.95)	4.14 (.88)
In educating the child, a family may deal with the child as it likes, as long as it does it with love.	8	8	32	16	21	24	29	34	10	18	3.00 (1.16)	3.39 (1.18)
The child lacks maturity and experiences. As such, there is no need to participate in decisions that affect his/her life.	16	32	53	35	20	21	9	8	2	4	2.27 (.91)	2.17 (1.08)
The child of today's era has been provided with many rights, and as such being spoiled and with less moral values.	11	19	26	30	27	31	28	13	9	7	3.00 (1.15)	2.60 (1.15)
A child must succeed in school to lead a successful life as an adult.	13	20	51	31	23	29	12	14	2	6	2.38 (.92)	2.53 (1.13)
The child has a moral debt to continue his/her ancestors' heritage.	11	17	31	32	27	31	26	15	6	5	2.87 (1.10)	2.60 (1.08)
Family is the primary institution that decides on all issues that affect the child. The decisions are articulated with reference to the needs of the family.	3	10	23	24	23	31	39	27	11	7	3.31 (1.06)	2.97 (1.10)

	Strongly Disagree (%)		Disagree (%)		Neither Agree or Disagree (%)		Agree (%)		Strongly Agree (%)		Mean (SD)	
	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch
Educators=Ed Children=Ch												
Family has an obligation to support the child to grow and develop. As such, the child has an obligation to support the parents when they grow old.	7		23	4	27	18	31	37	11	40	3.15 (1.12)	4.13 (.87)
The best interest of the family is always in accordance to the best interest of the child.	7	10	45	32	23	34	20	19	6	5	2.74 (1.04)	2.77 (1.03)
It takes a nation to raise a child.	9	11	35	35	30	35	21	16	6	3	2.80 (1.04)	2.65 (.98)
The child is a miniature of adults.	3	8	27	23	21	32	40	30	9	8	3.26 (1.05)	3.07 (1.07)
The child is the portrait of the nation's ideal.	10	8	37	26	34	41	16	22	3	5	2.63 (.95)	2.90 (.98)
The purpose of life in childhood is to 'collect' as many experiences and knowledge to best prepare for life in adulthood.	2	2	13	4	17	18	46	44	23	33	3.76 (.99)	4.01 (.92)
The nursing infant has an absolute kindness.	3	2	34	15	28	35	25	37	10	11	3.05 (1.05)	3.41 (.94)

Table 33. Differences among conservative views of childhood and various groups of educators after conducting independent-samples t-test

		Mean	SD	t	df	P	Mean Dif.	BCa 95% CI	d
Gender	Male	3.05	.76	1.80	380	.07	.16	-.01 to .34	.18
	Female	2.89	.74						
Live Area	Town	2.93	.76	.38	374	.70	.04	-.15 to .22	.04
	Village	2.90	.71						
Being a parent	Yes	2.97	.72	2.21	380	.02*	.21	.02 to .39	.23
	No	2.76	.83						
Having read the CRC	Yes	2.89	.79	-.68	376	.50	-.06	-.21 to .10	.07
	No	2.94	.72						
Personal war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	3.18	.65	-4.03	363	.000**	-.36	-.53 to -.18	.42
	No	2.82	.70						
Having a family member with a war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	2.89	.70	.22	362	.83	.02	-.13 to .17	.02
	No	2.91	.76						
Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	2.97	.70	-2.63	358	.009**	-.21	-.36 to -.05	.28
	No	2.76	.77						
Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	2.84	.73	.80	352	.42	.07	-.09 to .24	.09
	No	2.91	.73						

*p<.05, **p<.01

There was a significant effect of the orientation of studies children attended on the level of conservative views of childhood, $H(7)=41.63$, $p=.000$. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p-values showed that there were significant differences among the children who study classical studies compared to those who study financial studies ($p=.010$, $r=-.25$) and compared to those who follow hotel studies ($p=.004$, $r=-.37$). Significant difference was also identified among children who study mathematics-physics compared to those who study financial studies ($p=.000$, $r=-.22$) and those who attend hotel studies ($p=.001$, $r=-.25$). There was also a significant effect of the town children lived on the level of conservative views of childhood, $H(3)=23.39$, $p=.000$. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p-values showed a significant difference among children who

reside in Ammochostos compared to those who reside in Lefkosia ($p=.024$, $r=-.16$) and those who reside in Limassol ($p=.034$, $r=-.20$). Significant difference was also identified among the children who reside in Pafos compared to the ones who reside in Lefkosia ($p=.000$, $r=-.21$) and those who reside in Limassol ($p=.002$, $r=-.24$). At last, there was a significant effect of the grade students attended on the level of conservative views of childhood $H(2)=7.75$, $p=.021$. A pairwise comparison indicated a significant difference only among children who attend grade A compared to those who attend grade B ($p=.016$, $r=.14$).

Table 34. *Differences among conservative views of childhood and various groups of children after conducting independent-samples t-test*

		Mean	SD	t	df	P	Mean Dif.	BCa 95% CI	D
Gender	Male	3.12	.60	3.33	551	.001**	.18	.07 to .28	.28
	Female	2.94	.59						
Live Area	Town	2.97	.59	-1.26	557	.21	-.06	-.17 to .04	.11
	Village	3.03	.62						
Having read the CRC	Yes	2.95	.62	-.81	552	.42	-.06	-.21 to .09	.07
	No	3.01	.60						
Having a family member with a war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	2.89	.62	3.49	501	.001**	.19	.08 to .30	.31
	No	3.08	.59						
Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	2.89	.59	3.10	497	.002**	.17	.06 to .28	.28
	No	3.06	.62						
Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	2.79	.59	2.91	491	.004**	.23	.08 to .39	.26
	No	3.03	.62						

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$

Political Tolerance

The scale Political Tolerance consisted of 4 different sub-scales. The first one consisted of a list of ethnic groups, where participants had to divide them into those they didn't like at all, to those that they neither liked or disliked, and to those that they liked a lot. It should be noted that a high percentage of the educators, approximately 1/3 of them (30%), chose not to proceed with the

task. A quite large number of those participants wrote that the question demanded from participants to proceed to a racist action and that they chose not to respond for that reason. The same resistance was not prevalent with children (only 3% of the children did not proceed with the task). Table 35 presents the frequencies of the responses for each ethnic group.

Table 35. *Percentages of likeness of various ethnic groups by educators and children*

	Not liked at all %		Neither Liked or Disliked %		Liked a lot %		Mean (SD)	
	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch
Ed=Educators Ch=Children								
Greeks	2	2	24	18	75	80	2.73 (.49)	2.78 (.47)
Russians	5	8	52	53	43	39	2.38 (.58)	2.31 (.61)
Germans	15	16	53	59	33	25	2.18 (.66)	2.09 (.64)
Syrians	8	21	65	62	27	17	2.18 (.56)	1.97 (.61)
Turks	46	50	41	42	13	9	1.67 (.70)	1.59 (.64)
Americans	6	6	60	45	34	49	2.27 (.57)	2.43 (.61)
Philippines	5	10	71	69	24	21	2.19 (.50)	2.10 (.55)
Romanians	12	12	67	61	21	27	2.09 (.57)	2.14 (.61)
British	11	10	54	40	35	51	2.24 (.64)	2.41 (.66)
Turkish Cypriots	9	23	62	56	30	21	2.20 (.59)	1.99 (.66)
Kurdish	7	15	62	69	31	16	2.24 (.57)	2.00 (.55)
Georgians	6	9	58	63	36	28	2.31 (.57)	2.20 (.57)
Bulgarians	10	15	64	63	26	22	2.15 (.58)	2.06 (.60)
Saudi Arabians	12	16	71	70	18	14	2.06 (.54)	1.98 (.55)
Sri Lankans	4	14	73	69	23	17	2.18 (.49)	2.03 (.55)
Greek Cypriots	2	2	28	20	70	78	2.68 (.52)	2.77 (.46)

Note: Percentages for the groups of Turks, Greeks, Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots appear in bold.

As indicated at Table 35, half of the educators (46%) and children (50%) who completed the task reported the Turks, as the ethnic group least liked. This percentage is comparatively high, taking into consideration that the second ethnic group least liked by the educators, the Germans, was reported by 15% of the educators. The second highest percentage of children regarding their least liked ethnic group was the Turkish Cypriots (23%). At the same time, the percentage of educators who reported that they did not like at all the group of Turkish Cypriots was only 9%. The results indicate a clear distinction by the educators among the group of Turks and Turkish Cypriots. The fact that more than 1/5 of the children though reported its dislike towards the specific group, suggests that there is a tendency of not positive feelings for Turkish Cypriots among a quite large number of children. At the same time, the group of Turks is the one reported the least by educators and children, as a group they like a lot. Two educators commented on their non-preference for the Turks. The first one, whom chose to write only the group of Turks under the groups least liked stated: *“the reason I don’t like it is based on the [past] events lived and which continue to experience the Greeks all over the world [ο απανταχού Ελληνισμός], along with the personal traumatic experiences of the Turkish invasion”*. The second educator did not write any of the groups under any column but reported: *“they are all people of the same God! But the Turks, not as individuals, but as organized leadership, violate many of my rights!”* Thirty percent of educators (30%) and 21% of children reported that Turkish Cypriots are a group they like a lot. The group most liked by educators is the group of Greeks (72%), followed by the group of Greek Cypriots (70%). On the other hand, the group most liked by children was the Greeks (80%) followed by the group of Greek Cypriots (78%). The third most reported group as one liked a lot was the group of Russians (43%) for educators and the group of Americans (49%) by the children. Greeks and Greek Cypriots were reported only by 2% of the educators and children for each group, as a group not liked at all. The results suggest that despite educators and children consider Turkish Cypriots and Turks as two distinct groups, expressing their likeness to the first one and their dislike to the

second one, the same cannot be supported for the Greeks and the Greek Cypriots. In this case, it seems that educators and children have similar positive feelings for the two groups.

To further explore possible differences among the group of educators who completed the task and those who did not, the scale was transformed into a binary one, dividing the participants into those who did complete the task and those who did not. No significant differences were identified among the educators who completed and those who did not complete the task, as presented at Table 36.

Table 36. *Differences among educators who completed the scale and those who did not after conducting independent-samples t-test*

Completion of the task by educators			
	Completed	Did not complete	
Patriotism	M=3.84 SD=.75	M=3.96 SD=.61	t(383)=-1.52, p=.13, mean dif=.12, 95% CI: -.04 to .28, d=.16
Nationalism	M=2.98 SD=.74	M=3.12 SD=.73	t(383)=1.70, p=.09, mean dif=1.41, 95% CI: -.02 to .30, d=.17
Realistic Threat	M=2.99 SD=.73	M=2.99 SD=.68	t(357)=.002, p=.99, mean dif=.00, 95% CI: -.17 to .17, d=.00
Symbolic Threat	M=3.06 SD=.72	M=3.03 SD=.68	t(356)=-.36, p=.72, mean dif=-.03, 95% CI: -.20 to .14, d=.04

Political tolerance was then measured by asking participants to identify whether they would extend 10 rights retrieved by CRC to the children of the group they liked the least. The specific scale had a mean of 4.02 (SD=.92) for educators, and a mean of 3.88 (SD=.89) for children, on a 5-point Likert scale (1-5), suggesting a quite high willingness to provide for the rights of the child to all children, even in the cases that the participants did not like the ethnic group of the children. A Mann-Whitney U Test revealed significant difference in the willingness levels of educators (Mdn=4.20, n=316) and children (Mdn=4.00, n=528), U=72878, z=-3.08, p=.002, r=.11 (small effect according to Cohen, 1988). Table 37 presents the frequencies of the educators' and children's

responses. What becomes apparent from Table 37 is that the two dimensions that educators and children appear less willing to provide for children of their least-liked group is to acquire nationality and the practice of their religion within the educational system.

Table 37. *Frequencies of the responses regarding the extend they would allow the children of their least liked groups to adhere to specific rights*

Would you extend the rights below to the children of your least-liked group?	Certainly not %		Not really %		Not sure %		Maybe yes %		Certainly yes %		Mean (SD)	
	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch
Educators=Ed Children=Ch												
To attend public schools in Cyprus.	7	7	4	6	11	18	27	29	52	40	4.14 (1.17)	3.89 (1.21)
To acquire nationality once born in the areas controlled by the government of Cyprus.	10	10	7	9	25	23	29	27	30	31	3.62 (1.25)	3.61 (1.28)
To use freely their language within the Greek Cypriot schools.	9	7	7	11	12	20	32	22	41	40	3.89 (1.27)	3.77 (1.28)
To practice their religion at school during the times that Greek Cypriot children practice their religion (i.e. during morning pray).	8	10	11	10	18	26	29	25	34	30	3.71 (1.26)	3.55 (1.28)
To gather in associations to learn about their traditions, customs, and history.	4	5	4	5	9	16	38	36	44	39	4.14 (1.04)	3.99 (1.08)
To be provided with the same economic assistance or other allowances (i.e. computer purchase) as the Greek Cypriot children.	6	5	6	7	12	16	36	31	41	41	4.01 (1.13)	3.98 (1.13)

Would you extend the rights below to the children of your least-liked group?	Certainly not %		Not really %		Not sure %		Maybe yes %		Certainly yes %		Mean (SD)	
	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch
Educators=Ed Children=Ch												
To have free medical care, independent of the status of their parents.	6	5	6	2	9	16	30	29	50	48	4.12 (1.15)	4.12 (1.08)
To be able to hold the Greek or Cypriot flag during cultural/historical celebrations (i.e. parade).	8	10	8	9	18	26	24	22	43	32	3.85 (1.27)	3.56 (1.30)
To have equal opportunities to be elected in the student councils.	3	4	3	3	6	11	28	26	60	56	4.39 (.95)	4.27 (1.04)
To represent the school at European or world events.	4	6	5	5	8	14	28	29	55	46	4.25 (1.07)	4.03 (1.17)

The third step in examining political tolerance was characterized by the same procedure but with a list of various socio-political groups. Once more, the response rate among the educators was not the expected one, with less than 2/3 of the participants dividing the groups into the ones they liked, those they did not like at all, and those they neither liked or disliked. Table 38 presents the percentages for each group.

The frequencies shown at Table 38 below indicate that in general, educators and students do not have a specific sociopolitical group that they do not like. The group with the highest percentage of dislike was the Muslims (15% of educators and 26% of children), followed by the homosexuals, either men (10% of educators and 25% of children) or women (10% of educators and 18% of children), while the group of Buddhists also had a high percentage of dislike among children (20%). At last, the group of children was the group most reported by educators (71%) and children (80%) as a group they really like,

followed by the group of third age individuals (67%) and the individuals with disabilities (63%) for educators and the groups of women (78%) and men (75%) for children.

Participants were asked to indicate whether they would support the rights of the children of their least liked group to be applied at the same way applied for all children. Table 39 presents the frequencies of responses along with the means for the groups of educators and children. A Mann-Whitney U Test revealed significant difference in the willingness levels to apply the rights of the child to the children of their least-liked sociopolitical group, among educators (Mdn=5.00, n=281) and children (Mdn=5.00, n=513), $U=60802$, $z=-4.26$, $p=.00$, $r=.15$ (small effect according to Cohen, 1988).

Table 38. *Frequencies of likeness of socio-political groups by educators and children*

	Not liked at all %		Neither Liked or Disliked %		Liked a lot %		Mean (SD)	
	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch	Ed	Ch
Ed=Educators Ch=Children								
Homosexual Men	10	25	64	46	26	29	2.17 (.58)	2.04 (.73)
Men	1	1	45	24	54	75	2.53 (.52)	2.74 (.47)
Asylum Seekers	5	12	64	62	31	26	2.26 (.55)	2.14 (.60)
Overweight	2	3	55	48	43	49	2.41 (.53)	2.46 (.55)
Disabilities	1	1	36	34	63	65	2.62 (.50)	2.65 (.49)
Homosexual Women	10	18	64	49	27	32	2.17 (.58)	2.14 (.70)
Women	0	2	40	20	59	78	2.59 (.50)	2.77 (.46)
Children	0	2	29	18	71	80	2.71 (.46)	2.78 (.45)
Third Age	1	2	32	29	67	69	2.66 (.49)	2.67 (.51)
Heterosexual	3	10	55	39	43	51	2.40 (.54)	2.41 (.67)
Migrants	3	8	58	63	38	30	2.35 (.54)	2.22 (.57)
Muslims	15	26	59	56	27	18	2.12 (.63)	1.92 (.66)
Mental Health	4	6	54	60	41	35	2.37 (.57)	2.29 (.57)
Refugees	2	3	49	52	49	45	2.47 (.54)	2.41 (.56)
Buddhists	5	20	66	60	29	19	2.24 (.53)	1.99 (.63)

Note: the highest percentages at each category appear in bold.

Table 39. *Frequencies of applying the rights to the children of their least – liked sociopolitical group*

	Certainly not	Not really	Not sure	Maybe yes	Certainly yes	Mean (SD)
Educators	1%	2%	6%	18%	73%	4.59 (.80)
Children	4%	3%	14%	20%	59%	4.27 (1.07)

There was a significant effect of the level of education of educators on the willingness to extend rights to the children of their least liked ethnic group, $H(2)=6.27$, $p=.043$. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p-values showed that there was a significant difference among educators who hold a bachelor's degree compared to those who have a master ($p=.039$, $r=-.13$). There was a significant effect of the level educators teach on the willingness to extend rights to the children of their least liked ethnic group, $H(4)=14.43$, $p=.006$. Post-hoc test identified differences among educators who teach in primary schools and those who teach in vocational schools ($p=.006$, $r=.28$). As for children's data, there was a significant effect of the town children lived on the willingness to extend rights to the children of their least liked ethnic group, $H(3)=17.61$, $p=.001$. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p-values showed that there was a significant difference among the children who reside in Lefkosia compared to those who reside in Ammochostos ($p=.004$, $r=.19$), and the children who reside in Lefkosia compared to those who reside in Pafos ($p=.018$, $r=.15$).

Independent samples t-tests were conducted to compare the willingness to extend children's rights to the children of their least liked ethnic group among various groups of educators and children. Tables 40 and 41 present the results of the independent samples t-tests conducted. Significant differences for educators were identified among those who had read the CRC and those who hadn't and those who had a family member that experienced a war event of the past. Among children, significant differences were identified among males and

females, and children who were members of a vulnerable group. At last, educators and children who were not willing to extend children's rights to the children of their least liked ethnic group, experienced higher levels of realistic and symbolic threat and were more religious. Children who were not willing to extend children's rights to the children of their least liked ethnic group also declared that they had less opportunities for contact and quantity of contact and held more Hellenocentric beliefs. Furthermore, significant difference was identified among the levels of political tolerance among children who never had contact with members of the other community (M=3.78, SD=.92) and those who had (M=4.14, SD=.76); $t(369)=-4.72, p=.00$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean dif.=-.37, 95% CI: -.52 to -.21) was medium ($d=.49$).

Table 40. *Differences among levels of political tolerance and various groups of educators after conducting independent-samples t-test*

		Mean	SD	t	df	P	Mean Dif.	BCa 95% CI	D																																																																																				
Gender	Male	3.87	1.08	-1.51	319	.13	-.19	-.43 to .06	.17																																																																																				
	Female	4.05	.87							Live Area	Town	3.97	.93	-.98	312	.33	-.13	-.38 to .12	.11	Village	4.10	.94	Being a parent	Yes	4.01	.89	-.28	318	.78	-.04	-.29 to .22	.03	No	4.04	1.06	Having read the CRC	Yes	4.24	.80	3.80	314	.000**	.39	.19 to .60	.43	No	3.85	.98	Personal war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	3.98	1.03	.52	309	.61	.06	-.18 to .31	.06	No	4.04	.90	Having a family member with a war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	4.12	.86	-2.04	308	.043*	-.21	-.42 to -.08	.23	No	3.91	.98	Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	4.09	.84	-1.38	304	.17	-.15	-.37 to .06	.16	No	3.94	1.04	Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	4.19	.84	-1.83	300
Live Area	Town	3.97	.93	-.98	312	.33	-.13	-.38 to .12	.11																																																																																				
	Village	4.10	.94							Being a parent	Yes	4.01	.89	-.28	318	.78	-.04	-.29 to .22	.03	No	4.04	1.06	Having read the CRC	Yes	4.24	.80	3.80	314	.000**	.39	.19 to .60	.43	No	3.85	.98	Personal war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	3.98	1.03	.52	309	.61	.06	-.18 to .31	.06	No	4.04	.90	Having a family member with a war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	4.12	.86	-2.04	308	.043*	-.21	-.42 to -.08	.23	No	3.91	.98	Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	4.09	.84	-1.38	304	.17	-.15	-.37 to .06	.16	No	3.94	1.04	Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	4.19	.84	-1.83	300	.07	-.21	-.45 to .01	.21	No	3.97	.94						
Being a parent	Yes	4.01	.89	-.28	318	.78	-.04	-.29 to .22	.03																																																																																				
	No	4.04	1.06							Having read the CRC	Yes	4.24	.80	3.80	314	.000**	.39	.19 to .60	.43	No	3.85	.98	Personal war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	3.98	1.03	.52	309	.61	.06	-.18 to .31	.06	No	4.04	.90	Having a family member with a war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	4.12	.86	-2.04	308	.043*	-.21	-.42 to -.08	.23	No	3.91	.98	Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	4.09	.84	-1.38	304	.17	-.15	-.37 to .06	.16	No	3.94	1.04	Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	4.19	.84	-1.83	300	.07	-.21	-.45 to .01	.21	No	3.97	.94																			
Having read the CRC	Yes	4.24	.80	3.80	314	.000**	.39	.19 to .60	.43																																																																																				
	No	3.85	.98							Personal war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	3.98	1.03	.52	309	.61	.06	-.18 to .31	.06	No	4.04	.90	Having a family member with a war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	4.12	.86	-2.04	308	.043*	-.21	-.42 to -.08	.23	No	3.91	.98	Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	4.09	.84	-1.38	304	.17	-.15	-.37 to .06	.16	No	3.94	1.04	Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	4.19	.84	-1.83	300	.07	-.21	-.45 to .01	.21	No	3.97	.94																																
Personal war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	3.98	1.03	.52	309	.61	.06	-.18 to .31	.06																																																																																				
	No	4.04	.90							Having a family member with a war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	4.12	.86	-2.04	308	.043*	-.21	-.42 to -.08	.23	No	3.91	.98	Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	4.09	.84	-1.38	304	.17	-.15	-.37 to .06	.16	No	3.94	1.04	Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	4.19	.84	-1.83	300	.07	-.21	-.45 to .01	.21	No	3.97	.94																																													
Having a family member with a war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	4.12	.86	-2.04	308	.043*	-.21	-.42 to -.08	.23																																																																																				
	No	3.91	.98							Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	4.09	.84	-1.38	304	.17	-.15	-.37 to .06	.16	No	3.94	1.04	Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	4.19	.84	-1.83	300	.07	-.21	-.45 to .01	.21	No	3.97	.94																																																										
Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	4.09	.84	-1.38	304	.17	-.15	-.37 to .06	.16																																																																																				
	No	3.94	1.04							Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	4.19	.84	-1.83	300	.07	-.21	-.45 to .01	.21	No	3.97	.94																																																																							
Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	4.19	.84	-1.83	300	.07	-.21	-.45 to .01	.21																																																																																				
	No	3.97	.94																																																																																										

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$

Table 41. Differences among levels of political tolerance and various groups of children after conducting independent-samples t-test.

		Mean	SD	t	df	P	Mean Dif.	BCa 95% CI	D
Gender	Male	3.53	.96	-6.87	336	.000**	-.55	-.71 to -.39	.75
	Female	4.08	.76						
Live Area	Town	3.90	.93	.64	540	.52	.05	-.10 to .20	.06
	Village	3.86	.80						
Having read the CRC	Yes	4.00	.88	1.30	536	.19	.14	-.07 to .36	.11
	No	3.86	.88						
Having a family member with war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	3.97	.90	-1.95	492	.05	-.16	-.32 to .00	.18
	No	3.81	.89						
Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	3.93	.91	-.80	490	.43	-.07	-.23 to .10	.07
	No	3.86	.89						
Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	4.17	.74	-3.26	95	.002**	-.33	-.54 to -.13	.67
	No	3.84	.92						

Hellenocentrism-Cypriocentrism

As for the degree that participants felt Greeks or Cypriots, 349 educators and 521 children completed a single item with 5 statements, ranging from 'just Greek and not at all Cypriot' to 'just Cypriot and not at all Greek'. The first two options referred to ethnic identity, while the last two on national identity. The specific scale had a mean of 3.22 (SD=.62) for educators and 3.46 (SD=.91) for children on a 5-point scale (1-5), indicating that the vast majority of individuals from both groups attributed equal significance to both the ethnic and the national identity. The percentage of educators that ascribed the same value to both identities was much higher (71%) than the percentage of children (44%). Hellenocentrism was not particularly prevalent in none of the groups. The second higher percentage was provided for the response 'Cypriot and a bit Greek' (1/5 of educators and 1/3 of children). A quite large percentage of children (13%) stated that they feel only Cypriot and not Greek at all, demonstrating an identification with the national identity. Table 42 presents the

frequencies for both groups. A Mann-Whitney U Test revealed significant difference in the adoption of either the ethnic, dual or national identity among educators (Mdn=3.00, n=349) and children (Mdn=3.00, n=521), $U=74196$, $z=-5.110$, $p=.00$, $r=.02$ (small effect according to Cohen, 1988).

Table 42. *Percentages of how Greek or Cypriot participants of the two groups felt*

	Only Greek and not Cypriot	Greek and a bit Cypriot	To the same extent Greek and Cypriot	Cypriot and a bit Greek	Only Cypriot and not Greek
Educators	2%	2%	71%	20%	4%
Children	4%	6%	44%	34%	13%

While the percentages of the individuals who adopt the dual identity are quite similar among male and female participants for educators (73% of male and 70% of female) and children (45% of male and 44% of female), the percentages differ among individuals who adopt the ethnic or the national identity. Twenty six percent (26%) of female educators, compared to 19% of male educators and 53% of female children, compared to 35% of male children adopted the national identity. At the same time 7% of male educators, compared to 3% of female educators, and 19% of male children, compared to 4% of female children, adopted the ethnic identity. The above results suggest that male participants, either educators or children, are more inclined to adopt the ethnic identity, while female participants the national one. An independent samples t-test confirmed that there was a significant difference in children's male scores ($M=3.24$, $SD=1.05$) and female ($M=3.58$, $SD=.79$); $t(293)=-3.81$, $p=.000$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean dif. $=-.34$, 95% CI: $-.50$ to $-.18$) was a medium size effect ($d=.45$). No significant differences were identified among female and male educators though.

Since there was a difference among the educators and children, it was considered important to examine whether age was a significant factor that

affected the identity the individual adopted. As shown at Table 43, the percentage of individuals who adopt the ethnic identity increases with the increase of age. The opposite effect applies to the national identity, where the percentage of individuals who adopt it decreases with the increase of age. A chi-square test for independence though indicated no significant association between age and identification with national or ethnic identity among children, $\chi^2(12, n=521)=18.65, p=.10, \phi=.19$.

Table 43. *Percentages of children adopting the ethnic or national identity*

	Ethnic Identity	Dual Identity	National identity
15 years old	6%	40%	54%
16 years old	9%	44%	47%
17 years old	11%	43%	45%
18 years old	16%	51%	33%

Significant bivariate correlations for educators were identified among familiarity with children's rights and the adoption of the ethnic or national identity, $r=-.11, p=.041$. There was a significant effect of the orientation of the studies attended on the adoption of the ethnic or local identity, $F(7, 42)=4.23, p=.001$. Independent samples t-tests were conducted to compare the adoption of either the ethnic, dual or national identity among various groups of educators and children. There was a significant difference among educators who read the CRC ($M=3.14, SD=.61$) and those who did not ($M=3.29, SD=.69$); $t(336)=-2.13, p=.034$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean dif. $=-.15, 95\%$ CI: $-.29$ to $-.01$) was a small size effect ($d=.23$). At last, children who adopted the ethnic identity experienced higher levels of realistic and symbolic threat.

Quantity of Contact

The scale Opportunity for Contact had a mean of 2.06 ($SD=1.58$) for educators and of 2.29 ($SD=1.71$) for children on an 8-point Likert scale (1-8),

suggesting minimal opportunity for contact among the two groups and members of the other community (Turkish Cypriots). Minimal quantity of contact is suggested by examining the means for quantity of contact, which were 1.56 (SD=1.17) for educators and 1.66 (SD=1.32) for children. Table 44 presents the frequencies of both opportunities and quantity of contact for educators and children. The percentages indicate that half of the educators and half of the children never encountered a Turkish Cypriot even at the same physical space while being aware of it. At the same time, 70% of both educators and children never interacted with Turkish Cypriots before, a considerable high number of individuals based on the fact that interaction among the members of the two communities was initiated more than 15 years before the completion of the current study. A Mann-Whitney U Test revealed significant difference in amount of opportunity for contact experienced by educators (Mdn=1.00, n=358) and children (Mdn=2.00, n=514), $U=84976$, $z=-2.066$, $p=.039$, $r=.07$ (small effect according to Cohen, 1988). As for quantity of contact, a Mann-Whitney U Test revealed non-significant difference in the amount of quantity of contact experienced by educators (Mdn=1.00, n=366) and children (Mdn=1.00, n=513), $U=92215$, $z=-.546$, $p=.585$, $r=-.0001$.

Both opportunity and quantity of contact with members of the other community were significantly correlated with lower levels of realistic and symbolic threat for both educators and children. Additionally, quantity of contact was also significantly associated with religiosity for educators, stating that individuals who experienced more contact with members of the other community, were describing themselves as less religious.

Both scales, opportunity and quantity of contact, were transformed into a binary variable, by recoding all individuals who reported that never had opportunities or experiences with members of the other community as 0, and all other options ranging from once a year to every day as 1.

Table 44. *Frequencies of Quantity of Contact with Turkish Cypriots among educators and children*

	Never	Once or twice a year	Five or six times a year	Once a month	Twice or three times per	Once a week	More than once a week	Every day	Mean (SD)
Educators - Opportunity for Contact	53%	24%	10%	3%	5%	4%	3%		2.06 (1.58)
Children - Opportunity for Contact	48%	20%	12%	8%	6%	3%	2%	1%	2.29 (1.71)
Educators - Quantity of Contact	69%	21%	6%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1.56 (1.17)
Children - Quantity of Contact	68%	18%	6%	2%	3%	2%	1%	1%	1.66 (1.32)

There was a significant association between the quantity of contact and whether or not educators personally had a war related experience of the events of the past, $\chi^2(1)=13.08$, $p<.001$. Based on the odds ratio, the odds of educators to have contact if they experienced a personal trauma during the events of the past was 2.5 times higher than if they hadn't any such experience. There was a significant association between the quantity of contact and whether or not educators had a family member that experienced a war event of the past, $\chi^2(1)=4.44$, $p<.05$. Based on the odds ratio, the odds of educators to have contact if they had a relative who experienced a trauma during the events of the past was 1.6 times higher than if they didn't have a relative. Significant association was also identified between the quantity of contact and whether or not educators felt victims of the Cyprus problem, $\chi^2(1)=8.71$, $p<.01$. Based on the odds ratio, the odds of educators to have contact if they felt victims of the Cyprus Problem was 2.1 times higher than if they didn't. As for children's data, there was a significant association between the quantity of contact and gender, $\chi^2(1)=5.36$, $p<.05$. Based on the odds ratio, the odds of children to have contact

was 1.6 times higher if they were female than male. There was a significant association between the quantity of contact and having read the CRC, $\chi^2(1)=6.40$, $p<.05$. Based on the odds ratio, the odds of children to have contact was 2 times higher if they had read the CRC than not.

Valenced Contact

The next two questions were directed only to those individuals who had higher levels of quantity of contact with Turkish Cypriots. One hundred and eight (108) educators and 104 children completed the questions. The scale of Negative Contact had a mean of 11.11 (SD=19.7) for educators and 11.44 (SD=23.1) for children on a scale of 0 (never) to 100 (always). The results indicate that of those individuals who had higher levels of quantity of contact with members of the other community, that experience was rarely negative. The scale of Positive Contact had a mean of 63.89 (SD=33.8) for educators and 70.38 (SD=33.8) for children, suggesting a rather pleasant and/or positive experience for both groups, once interaction took place.

Sixty two percent (62%) of the educators who had contact with Turkish Cypriots stated that this contact was never negative, while another 25% recognized it as always positive. One percent of the individuals (1%) characterized it as always negative, while 6% of the participants characterized it as never positive. At a scale from 0-100, only 9% of the educators ranged it to the scale from 50-90 (rather negative), in comparison to 30% who ranged it as non-negative (10-40). At the scale of positive contact with Turkish Cypriots, 24% of the educators characterized it as non-positive (10-40) and 48% as rather positive (50-90).

The results for children show that 66% of them rated their contact as never negative, while another 39% as always positive. Two percent of the children (2%) characterized it as always negative, while 4% as never positive. At a scale from 0-100, 10% of the children ranged it to the scale from 50-90 (rather negative), in comparison to 23% who ranged it as non-negative (10-40).

At the scale of positive contact with Turkish Cypriots, 21% of the children characterized it as non-positive (10-40) and 38% as rather positive (50-90).

Realistic Threat

The Realistic Threat scale had a mean of 2.99 (SD=.71) for educators and of 2.90 (SD=.74) for children on a 5-point Likert scale (1-5), with an additional option of "I don't have an opinion", which was handled as a missing value. The results suggest that both groups experience moderate levels of realistic threat about the Turkish Cypriot community. A Mann-Whitney U Test revealed significant difference in the levels of realistic threat experienced by educators (Mdn=3.00, n=359) and children (Mdn=2.90, n=506), $U=83563$, $z=-2.007$, $p=.045$, $r=.06$ (small effect according to Cohen, 1988). To sum up, educators experience higher levels of realistic threat than children.

The frequencies shown at Table 45 indicate that educators experience higher levels of threat when those relate to the politic and economic life, such as the rotating presidency, their contribution in the economy via tax payments, and specific social allowances, which also relate to their contribution as citizens into the state's economy. When the statements referred to social benefits, such as education and health, educators agreed that those should be provided under the same requirements as for Greek Cypriots, experiencing low levels of threat. Moreover, educators experience low levels of threat in relation to various societal problems; they don't consider the 'other' community as responsible for the crime increase and the drug trafficking or the reduction of jobs in the Greek Cypriot community. It should be also noted that in almost all statements, one third of the educators hesitated to take position and was uncertain on whether they agreed or disagreed with the statements.

As for the children's responses, even though they seem to experience lower levels of realistic threat compared to educators, the frequencies displayed at Table 45 indicate that only when it comes to social benefits, such as education and health, the children experience the same low levels of threat as

educators. When it comes to political or economic life, a high percentage of children states that it does not have an opinion. This might have been the result of the lack of information and/or participation of children to the political and economic life of the island. Children experience high levels of realistic threat regarding the political life, only when the statement referred to power rather than governance or economic policies. When it comes to social benefits, children experience lower levels of threat, while when it comes to social issues, such as drug trafficking and increase of crime, there is not a strong consensus, with some children experiencing lower levels of threat and others higher. As with educators, one third of children was uncertain whether it agreed or disagreed with the statements.

Table 45. *Frequencies of responses for the scale Realistic Threat for both educators and children*

		Strongly Disagree %	Disagree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Agree %	Strongly agree %	I don't have an opinion %	Mean (SD)
Educators (Ed) Children (Ch) Turkish-Cypriots (TC)								
The more power TC have in this country, the more difficult it is for GC.	Ed	4	18	32	28	14	5	3.30 (1.07)
	Ch	6	9	30	31	15	9	3.41 (1.09)
People from the TC community commit a lot of crimes that affect GCs.	Ed	7	36	37	10	5	6	2.67 (.94)
	Ch	3	18	36	23	9	11	3.19 (.99)
I can work for a Turkish Cypriot boss	Ed	8	15	29	32	8	9	3.18 (1.08)
	Ch	18	17	23	24	9	10	2.87 (1.27)
Rotating presidency will result in domination of the minority over majority	Ed	4	14	26	32	17	8	3.47 (1.09)
	Ch	2	8	35	11	6	37	3.16 (.91)
TCs are responsible for the increase of drug trafficking	Ed	8	36	32	11	4	9	2.64 (.96)
	Ch	10	20	31	17	7	16	2.90 (1.11)
TC take jobs away from GC	Ed	9	40	33	9	2	7	2.50 (.86)
	Ch	11	26	33	13	7	11	2.76 (1.08)
The children of TCs should have the same rights to attend public schools in southern part as GC children do.	Ed	4	10	25	38	18	6	3.59 (1.03)
	Ch	7	8	20	34	22	9	3.62 (1.15)
TC get more from the Republic of Cyprus than they contribute	Ed	3	7	29	37	19	5	3.66 (.98)
	Ch	3	9	29	19	10	30	3.33 (1.03)
TC have increased the tax burden on GC	Ed	3	12	35	24	11	14	3.33 (.99)
	Ch	4	8	29	15	5	40	3.16 (.97)
TCs must be eligible for the same health care benefits as GCs	Ed	7	15	26	37	10	5	3.27 (1.09)
	Ch	5	6	21	37	25	7	3.77 (1.07)
TCs must be as entitled to subsidized housing or subsidized utilities (water, electricity, sewage) as poor GCs are	Ed	16	29	27	17	4	7	2.61 (1.10)
	Ch	9	12	22	27	17	13	3.37 (1.23)

Realistic threat was correlated with the strength of religion for both educators and children, indicating that individuals who experienced higher levels of threat also indicated a stronger attachment to religion. Additionally, educators and children who experienced higher levels of realistic threat also experienced higher levels of symbolic threat. Significant bivariate correlation for educators was identified among levels of realistic threat and age, $r=.13$, $p=.014$. Significant bivariate correlations for children were identified among realistic threat and age, $r=.13$, $p=.005$. There was a significant effect of the level of education of educators on the levels of realistic threat experienced, $H(2)=12.61$, $p=.002$. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p-values showed that there was a significant difference only among the educators with a bachelor degree compared to those with a master's ($p=.008$, $r=.16$). As for children's data, there was a significant effect of the grade children attended, $H(2)=11.38$, $p=.003$, and of the orientation of the studies children attended, $H(7)=15.76$, $p=.027$ on the levels of realistic threat children experienced. Pairwise comparisons showed significant differences among children of grade A compared to children of grade C ($p=.002$, $r=-.18$). Pairwise comparisons for different studies children attend showed that there was no significant difference among the children. Tables 46 and 47 present the significant differences identified for educators and children after conducting independent samples t-tests. Significant differences for educators were identified among educators who lived in a town and educators who lived in a village, educators who had read the CRC and those who had not, and educators who had personally experienced a war related event of the past than those who did not. Significant differences were identified among male and female children and children who considered themselves as victims of the Cyprus problem than those who did not. Significant difference was identified among the levels of realistic threat among children who never had contact with members of the other community ($M=3.04$, $SD=.74$) and those who had ($M=2.61$, $SD=.69$); $t(487)=6.09$, $p=.00$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean dif.=.43, 95% CI: .29 to .56) was medium ($d=.55$). Significant difference was identified among the

levels of realistic threat among educators who never had contact with members of the other community (M=3.16, SD=.65) and those who had (M=2.66, SD=.70); $t(349)=6.55$, $p=.00$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean dif.=.50, 95% CI: .35 to .65) was medium to large ($d=.70$).

Table 46. Differences among levels of realistic threat and various groups of educators after conducting independent-samples t-test

		Mean	SD	t	Df	P	Mean Dif.	BCa 95% CI	d
Gender	Male	2.91	.76	-1.15	354	.25	-.10	-.27 to .07	.12
	Female	3.01	.70						
Live Area	Town	3.04	.71	2.40	348	.02*	.22	.04 to .40	.26
	Village	2.81	.71						
Being a parent ⁴³	Yes	3.03	.69	2.45	354	.02*	.23	.05 to .42	.26
	No	2.80	.79						
Having read the CRC	Yes	2.87	.69	2.60	350	.01*	-.20	-.35 to -.05	.28
	No	3.07	.72						
Personal war related experience of events of the past	Yes	3.13	.81	-2.03	344	.04*	-.19	-.37 to -.01	.22
	No	2.94	.69						
Having a family member with war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	2.96	.75	.94	344	.35	.07	-.08 to .22	.10
	No	3.03	.68						
Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	3.03	.77	-1.59	341	.11	-.13	-.29 to .03	.17
	No	2.90	.61						
Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	2.95	.79	.51	334	.61	.04	-.13 to .21	.06
	No	3.00	.69						

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$

⁴³ Partial correlation was used to explore the relationship between levels of realistic threat experienced and being a parent, while controlling for age. There was a small, negative, partial correlation between levels of experienced threat and parenthood, controlling for age, $r=-.15$, $n=376$, $p=.007$, with being a parent associated with higher levels of realistic threat. An inspection of the zero order correlation ($r=-.18$) suggested that controlling for age had very little effect on the strength of the relationship between the two variables.

Table 47. Differences among levels of realistic threat and various groups of children after conducting independent-samples t-test

		Mean	SD	t	Df	P	Mean Dif.	BCa 95% CI	d
Gender	Male	3.10	.79	4.65	498	.00**	.32	.18 to .45	.42
	Female	2.78	.69						
Live Area	Town	2.89	.76	-.12	502	.90	-.01	-.14 to .12	.01
	Village	2.90	.72						
Having read the CRC	Yes	2.76	.68	-1.56	498	.12	-.15	-.35 to .04	.14
	No	2.91	.75						
Having a family member with war related experience of the events of the past	Yes	2.86	.80	.95	475	.34	.07	-.07 to .20	.09
	No	2.92	.71						
Victim of the Cyprus Problem	Yes	2.95	.82	-1.66	471	.10	-.12	-.25 to .02	.15
	No	2.84	.69						
Member of a Vulnerable Group	Yes	2.78	.69	4.65	498	.00**	.32	.18 to .45	.42
	No	3.10	.79						

Symbolic Threat

The Symbolic Threat scale had a mean of 3.06 (SD=.71) for educators and of 3.25 (SD=.70) for children on a 5-point Likert scale (1-5), with an additional option of "I don't have an opinion", which was handled as a missing value. The results suggest that both groups experience moderate to high levels of symbolic threat about the Turkish Cypriot community. A Mann-Whitney U Test revealed significant difference in the levels of symbolic threat experienced by educators (Mdn=3.00, n=358) and children (Mdn=3.17, n=491), $U=74156$, $z=-3.895$, $p=.000$, $r=.13$ (small effect according to Cohen, 1988). Children experience higher levels of symbolic threat than educators.

The frequencies shown at Table 48 indicate that educators experience high levels of symbolic threat when the statements were related to religion and marriage, and specific rules set by the Greek Cypriots. As for morality, family issues, and social relations, there is not a consensus among the educators, with a few of them experiencing high threat and others experiencing low threat.

Educators experience low levels of symbolic threat when it comes to the nurture of children by their family, with the vast majority of them supporting that Turkish Cypriots do not raise their children with less values. A percentage over 30% disagreed with the statement that Turkish Cypriots undermine the Greek Cypriot culture or that they have different work ethic than Greek Cypriots. As in the Realistic Threat scale, in all but one statements, one third of the educators hesitated to take position and was uncertain on whether they agreed or disagreed with the statements.

As for the children's responses, they seem to experience higher levels of symbolic threat compared to educators. As with educators, children agree that Turkish Cypriots must conform to the rules and norms of their community, and that they should accept Greek Cypriots' ways, indicating high levels of symbolic threat at those two statements. Concurrently, they also experience high levels of symbolic threat when it comes to religion and marriage, a result compatible with educators'. Children responded like-minded with educators regarding the nurturance of Turkish Cypriot children with less values, with 1/3 of children disagreeing with the statement. A much higher percentage of children though disagreed with the statements related to compatibility of Turkish Cypriots' morality, social relations, and family issues to the Greek Cypriots' ones, suggesting experiencing higher levels of threat into those three issues. Higher levels of threat they experience related to work ethic of Turkish Cypriots. At last, as with educators, 1/4 of children was uncertain whether it agreed or disagreed with the statements.

It is also important to note that a high percentage of educators and students share assimilationist views, based on the statements that the members of the other community should conform to the rules and norms of the in-group and accept the in-group's ways.

No significant bivariate correlations were identified among symbolic threat and various groups of educators. Significant bivariate correlations for children were identified among symbolic threat and age $r=.10$ $p=.030.$, a result also found in Kyriakidis' study (2020). There was a significant effect of the level

of education of educators, $H(2)=6.62$, $p=.037$ on the level of symbolic threat educators experienced. Once more, pairwise comparisons indicated a significant difference among educators who have a bachelor's degree compared to those who have a master's ($p=.037$, $r=.13$). There was also a significant effect of the town children lived, $H(3)=10.68$, $p=.014$. Pairwise comparisons with adjusted p-values showed a significant difference among the students who reside in Limassol and those who reside in Ammochostos ($p=.009$, $r=.24$). Levels of symbolic threat were significantly affected by the grade children attended, $H(2)=13.04$, $p=.001$. Pairwise comparisons showed a significant difference among students of grade A compared to students of grade B ($p=.003$, $r=-.16$) and students of grade C ($p=.014$, $r=-.15$).

Independent samples t-tests were conducted to compare the levels of symbolic threat among various groups of educators and children. No significant differences were identified among various groups of educators. There was a significant difference among the levels of symbolic threat among male children ($M=3.37$, $SD=.74$) and female ($M=3.17$, $SD=.67$); $t(485)=3.04$, $p=.002$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean dif.=.20, 95% CI: .07 to .33) was a small size effect ($d=.28$). Significant difference was also identified among the levels of symbolic threat among children who felt as victims of the Cyprus Problem ($M=3.32$, $SD=.73$) and those who did not ($M=3.18$, $SD=.68$); $t(460)=-2.21$, $p=.028$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean dif.=-.15, 95% CI: -.28 to -.01) was small ($d=.21$). Furthermore, significant difference was identified among the levels of symbolic threat among children who never had contact with members of the other community ($M=3.37$, $SD=.73$) and those who had ($M=3.00$, $SD=.59$); $t(362)=6.03$, $p=.00$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean dif.=.38, 95% CI: .25 to .50) was medium to large ($d=.63$). Significant difference was also identified among the levels of symbolic threat among educators who never had contact with members of the other community ($M=3.22$, $SD=.68$) and those who had ($M=2.73$, $SD=.64$); $t(347)=6.35$, $p=.00$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean dif.=.39, 95% CI: .34 to .64) was a medium to large size effect ($d=.68$). Finally, symbolic threat was

correlated with the strength of religion for both educators and children, indicating that individuals who experienced higher levels of threat also indicated a stronger attachment to religion.

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Table 48. *Frequencies of responses on symbolic threat items for both educators' and children's data*

	Educators (Ed) Children (Ch) Turkish-Cypriots (TC)	Strongly Disagree	Disagree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Agree %	Strongly agree %	I don't have an opinion %	Mean (SD)
Turkish Cypriots must learn to conform to the rules and norms of Greek Cypriots if they want to live in the southern part.	Ed	2	6	16	44	30	3	3.99 (.93)
	Ch	3	6	22	32	31	7	3.87 (1.04)
Turkish Cypriots undermine the Greek Cypriot culture.	Ed	8	36	33	9	6	9	2.66 (.99)
	Ch	4	18	33	18	7	20	3.06 (1.00)
Turkish Cypriots have different work ethic than Greek Cypriots.	Ed	6	24	34	12	3	22	2.79 (.94)
	Ch	2	11	29	25	6	27	3.29 (.94)
Turkish Cypriots should have to accept Greek Cypriots' ways.	Ed	5	18	31	31	11	5	3.26 (1.06)
	Ch	3	13	25	30	21	8	3.58 (1.09)
The values and beliefs of Turkish Cypriots regarding religious issues are compatible with the Greek Cypriots.	Ed	10	34	31	10	1	14	2.51 (.89)
	Ch	17	28	24	7	2	21	2.35 (1.00)
The values and beliefs of Turkish Cypriots regarding moral issues are compatible with Greek Cypriots.	Ed	7	18	38	19	2	16	2.89 (.93)
	Ch	11	20	29	14	2	24	2.68 (1.02)
The values and beliefs of Turkish Cypriots regarding social relations are compatible with the beliefs and values of most Greek Cypriots.	Ed	5	16	37	22	3	18	3.01 (.91)
	Ch	12	18	27	14	4	25	2.73 (1.09)

Educators (Ed) Children (Ch) Turkish-Cypriots (TC)		Strongly Disagree %	Disagree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Agree %	Strongly agree %	I don't have an opinion %	Mean (SD)
The values and beliefs of Turkish Cypriots regarding family issues and socializing children are quite similar to those of the Greek Cypriots.	Ed	5	16	36	20	4	20	3.02 (.94)
	Ch	12	20	26	14	4	24	2.72 (1.09)
Turkish Cypriots raise their children with less values.	Ed	8	36	30	3	2	20	2.43 (.82)
	Ch	12	27	23	8	5	26	2.58 (1.09)
Marriages among Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots are a threat to the Greek Cypriot culture.	Ed	11	34	28	12	7	8	2.68 (1.09)
	Ch	23	27	20	10	7	12	2.46 (1.22)

Religiosity

The scale Religious Salience had a mean of 66.86 (SD=33.28) for educators and 68.99 (SD=30.79) for children on an 11-point scale, ranging from 0-100. Regarding educators, 28% of the participants attributed extreme importance of religion to their lives. The respective percentage of individuals who attributed no importance at all reached 9%. Summing up the percentage of individuals who attributed from 10 to 40 on a scale of importance of religion to their lives (0-100), that percentage reached 14%, while from 50-90 the percentage of individuals was 48%. The results suggest that a percentage of educators that reaches up to 76% attributes moderate to extreme importance of religion to their lives. The frequencies of children are very similar to those of educators, with 29% of the children attributing extreme importance of religion to their lives. The respective percentage of individuals who attributed no importance at all reached 5%. Summing up the percentage of individuals who attributed from 10 to 40 on a scale of importance of religion to their lives (0-100), that percentage reached 15%, while from 50-90 the percentage of individuals

was 50%. The results suggest that a high percentage of children as well, 79%, attributes moderate to extreme importance of religion to their lives. We can only speculate the reasoning behind the higher levels of religiosity of children compared to educators. It is possible that Cyprus, being a rather small, and as such until recently very homogeneous and conservative society, it was more affiliated with the religion of the majority, with the children following the parents' pathway. It is also true that children are more rigid in their positions/beliefs, especially during the teenage years. It is quite surprising though, that during adolescence, while they stand critical and rejective major practices applied by the older generations, the same does not apply for religion. Such a course of (in)action stresses how well-established religious beliefs are in children's lives.

The mean for strength of religion was 2.98 (SD=.97) for educators and 2.98 (SD=.87) for children on a 5-point scale, suggesting moderate strength of religion for both groups. The frequencies related to the strength of religion are presented at Table 49. A Mann-Whitney U Test revealed non-significant difference among the strength of religion experienced by educators (Mdn=3.00, n=364) and children (Mdn=3.00, n=518), $U=94102$, $z=-.050$, $p=.960$, $r=-.001$.

Table 49. *Frequencies for strength of religion of educators and children*

	Not religious at all	Slightly religious	Moderately religious	Very religious	Extremely religious
Educators	9%	17%	46%	24%	4%
Children	7%	16%	52%	23%	2%

There was a significant effect of the level of education educators taught [pre-primary, primary, secondary, etc] on religion strength, $F(4, 358)=3.14$, $p=.015$, with educators of pre-primary education exhibiting the higher levels of religion strength. There was a significant effect of the town children attended school on religion strength, $F(3, 514)=3.75$, $p=.011$, with the children residing in the town of Pafos, being the smallest in terms of population towns in Cyprus, exhibiting higher levels of religious strength. There was a significant difference among the strength of religion and gender in educators' and children's data. The significant difference among male educators ($M=2.77$, $SD=1.14$) and

female ($M=3.04$, $SD=.90$) was $t(123)=-1.98$, $p=.05$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean dif. $=-.26$, 95% CI: $-.53$ to $.00$) was rather small ($d=.36$). There was also a significant difference among male children ($M=2.85$, $SD=.98$) and female ($M=3.05$, $SD=.80$); $t(312)=-2.43$, $p=.016$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean dif. $=-.21$, 95% CI: $-.37$ to $-.04$) was also small ($d=.28$). A significant difference was also identified among strength of religion and being a parent ($M=3.03$, $SD=.93$) and not ($M=2.73$, $SD=1.09$); $t(101)=2.21$, $p=.029$. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean dif. $=.31$, 95% CI: $.03$ to $.58$) was a moderate size effect ($d=.44$)⁴⁴.

When asked to note Church attendance, almost or more than 70% of both the educators and children reported that they attend the Church from once every two months to more than once a week. This can be considered quite high percentage of Church attendance.

Table 50. *Frequencies for church attendance for educators and children*

	Never	Only at events (marriage, funeral)	Once or twice a year	5-6 times per year	Once a month	2-3 times a month	Once a week	More than once a week
Educators	3%	9%	—	21%	21%	13%	14%	9%
Children	3%	12%	10%	28%	16%	18%	11%	3%

As for religious affiliation, 94% of the educators and 91% of children reported that they are Christian Orthodox. Three percent (3%) of the educators and 4% of the children reported that they are atheist. One percent (1%) of the children reported being Muslim and 2% that they are agnostic. The majority of the educators (66%) and students (47%) recognized that their religious

⁴⁴ Partial correlation was used to explore the relationship between strength of religion and being a parent, while controlling for age. There was a small, negative, partial correlation between strength of religion and parenthood, controlling for age, $r=-.12$, $n=355$, $p=.024$, with being a parent associated with higher levels of religious' affiliation. An inspection of the zero order correlation ($r=-.13$) suggested that controlling for age had very little effect on the strength of the relationship between the two variables. As such age and parenthood have independent effects on the dependent variable.

affiliation was the result of the environment they were born and raised. At the same time, 23% of the educators and 37% of children stated that their religious affiliation was their choice. Eight percent (8%) of the children reported that it was both their choice and a result of the place they were born and raised, while another 8% of children stated that it was their family's choice.

4.1.2. Research Questions' Results

Research Question 1: What is the content of the social representations of children's rights among educators and children in Cyprus?

The first question asked participants to indicate the first five words or phrases that came to their mind, once they encountered the phrase "Children's Rights". This is an exploratory method, that "allows to explore the meanings that individuals assign to an object" (Molinar & Abric, 2015, p. 90).

The word association task, completed by 358 educators, resulted in a text corpus of 1682 words, of which 164 were different forms. This result was the outcome of the replacement of: synonyms (for example, 'joy' and 'smile' were replaced by 'happiness'); different grammatical forms, such as the singular/plural (for example, violation was replaced by 'violations'); and, of the same concept in the positive and negative state (for example, 'no violence' was replaced by 'violence', since both concepts referred to the protection of children from violence). In most of the cases the form with the highest frequency was retained, while in the case of positive/negative state, the positive state was retained.

The analysis was accomplished via the use of the EVOG software. The minimum ($f=20$) and intermediate ($f=68$) frequency of the corpus of word associations was set, based on the distribution of frequencies. The mean of the rank was 2.92 ($M=2.92$). The aim was to distinguish "between high-frequency, low-frequency and idiosyncratic terms by comparing the cumulative percentage with regard to the total corpus of associations with the number of words with the

same position in the frequency table” (Barreiro, 2014, p. 325). Based on the frequency and mean ranking of the words, four different groups of words emerged (Table 51 presents the social representations of children’s rights based on the frequency and mean ranking of the associated words (Barreiro et al., 2014; Bruno & Barreiro, 2015; Sarrica, 2007):

(a) the words associated with the core of the social representations of children’s rights as those were provided by the educators. As indicated by Moliner & Abric (2015), the central core generates the overall meaning of the representation, how the elements are linked, and resists to change. The words associated to the central core were the words with high frequency associated by the participants the most and the most quickly; in other words, they had high frequency, above or equal to 68 and were reported first by the participants (mean rank <2.9) (Abric, 1993; Barreiro et al., 2014; Guimelli, 1993). The words were care, education, housing, love, security. All the associations refer to rights that underneath the ‘provision’.

(b) the words associated with the first periphery around the core. Those words are based on experiences and are more specific (Moliner & Abric, 2015). The periphery was made up of four associations: expression, food, health, and play. Those associations had a high frequency and a ranking higher than the mean. That means that those words were frequently associated with the concept of children’s rights but were not the first associations that came to the mind of educators. Two of those associations, the food and health are related to provisional rights, while the right to expression and the right to play are related to participation rights.

(c) the peripheral elements or the contrast zone (Barreiro et al., 2014; Sarrica, 2007), comprised by associations that were considered as important ones (ranking below the mean of 2.9) but for a few individuals (frequency less than the intermediate of 68). In other words, those associations in some cases can be the polemic representations shared by a minority group within the specific group (Moscovici, 2000). In this case, the associations considered as the peripheral elements were: equality, freedom, protection, and respect. For the

purposes of the current study though, the specific associations do not seem to challenge the central core, despite they all refer to rights that protect children. They just pinpoint to a group of educators within the overall group, that prioritizes protection over other rights of children.

(d) the second periphery of associations comprised of words with low frequency (<68) and a ranking above the mean (>2.9). Those associations are considered to be opinions or ideas of the participants, but not common thoughts. Those associations were: family, happiness, and responsibilities. Since those associations are not considered part of the structure of the social representations of children's rights, they will not be discussed further.

Table 51. *Frequency and mean ranking of the associated words – Educators*

		Frequency ≥ 68		Frequency < 68		
	Word	Frequency	Ranking	Word	Frequency	Ranking
Mean	care	68	2.853	equality	62	2.548
Range	education	224	2.500	freedom	56	2.464
<2.9	housing	82	2.720	protection	66	2.879
	love	88	2.807	respect	57	2.211
	security	104	2.654			
Mean	expression	69	2.928	family	51	3.196
Range	food	99	2.949	happiness	30	3.167
>2.9	health	112	3.170	responsibilities	20	3.400
	play	80	3.500			

The same procedure was followed for the word association task completed by the children. The replacement procedure was prepared in the exact same way as with educators and the analysis was also compiled with EVOC software. Five hundred and two (502) students, completed the task, resulting in a text corpus of 2105 words, of which 166 were different forms.

The minimum (f=28) and intermediate (f=69) frequency of the corpus of word associations was set, based on the distribution of frequencies. The mean of the rank was 2.78 (M=2.78). The four different groups of words that emerged, based on the frequency and mean ranking of the words, are presented at Table 52:

(a) the words associated with the core of the social representations of children's rights as those were provided by children. The words were equality, education, expression, and freedom. All the associations refer to rights that can be traced underneath the 'participation' pylon of the children's rights.

(b) the words associated with the first periphery around the core. The periphery was made up of four associations: housing, food, love, and protection from violence. The three first words are related to provisional rights, while the last one to protection.

(c) the peripheral elements or the contrast zone were: free will, the right to play, and freedom of thought. The specific associations do not seem to challenge the central core, since they all refer to participation rights, as the ones related to the core.

(d) the second periphery of associations comprised of words with low frequency (<69) and a ranking above the mean (>2.8). Those associations were: care, entertainment, family, free time, happiness, health, justice, protection, respect and security. Since those associations are not considered part of the structure of the social representations of children's rights, they will not be discussed further.

Other than the right to education, the rest of the rights or concepts that appeared in the core of the social representations of children's rights for educators were different than those that appeared in the core of children's social representations. The right to nutrition (food) appeared at the periphery of the representations of both groups. Two of the elements that appeared at the periphery of children's social representations, the right to housing and love, were identified at the core of the representations hold by educators. At the same time, the right to expression while it appeared at the periphery of the educators' representations, it also appeared at the core of the children's representations. While security and care appeared at the core of educators' representations, equality and freedom appeared at the core of students' representations. The right to health and the right to play appeared at the periphery of educators'

representations, while the right to protection from any form of violence appeared at the periphery of students' representations.

Table 52. *Frequency and mean ranking of the associated words - Children*

		Frequency ≥ 69		Frequency < 69		
	Word	Frequency	Ranking	Word	Frequency	Ranking
Mean	education	278	2.309	free will	28	2.357
Range	equality	107	2.720	play	52	2.635
<2.8	expression	222	2.216	freedom of	28	2.357
	freedom	216	1.847	thought		
Mean	food	88	3.216	care	35	3.571
Range	housing	95	3.074	entertainment	30	3.100
>2.8	love	73	3.233	family	34	3.765
	violence	69	2.971	free time	34	2.882
				happiness	42	3.119
				health	40	3.700
				justice	31	3.032
				protection	36	3.250
				respect	63	2.921
				security	42	3.500

The core of the representations of both groups, educators and children, indicate concrete differences on the way the two groups conceptualize children's rights. Other than the right to education, which appeared in both cores, the pattern of answers of children show a consistent core toward participation rights, while the educators' core consists of rights related to provisions. It is possible that the difference observed can be explained via an ontogenesis process of change: while in adolescence autonomy and freedom seem to be in the core of the representations, in adulthood the core is characterized by a responsibility to provide for children. It is also possible that adolescents take for granted the provisional rights, as those are provided by parents, and focus on the rights that relate to their autonomy. This difference in the core of the representations among the two groups has important implications on the applicability of children's rights. Educators share the belief that children's rights mainly are there to ensure that certain provisions are safeguarded for children to ensure their development. At the same time, once

the core is composed only by 'provisional' rights for educators, one can infer specific perceptions educators hold about children and childhood, such as that of a period of life where nurturance of children needs to take place, resulting in affecting the perceptions of children's rights. On the other hand, the core of the children's representations consists of four words, which relate to participation rights. The result is an indication of the perception children behold about their rights, experiencing them as the one and only 'vehicle' for participation. Once related with the results about the right most violated in Cyprus (research question 2), where the most popular answer among students was the violation of their right to express their opinion and that to be taken into consideration, it does not come as a surprise that children's core of representations has been determined by participation rights.

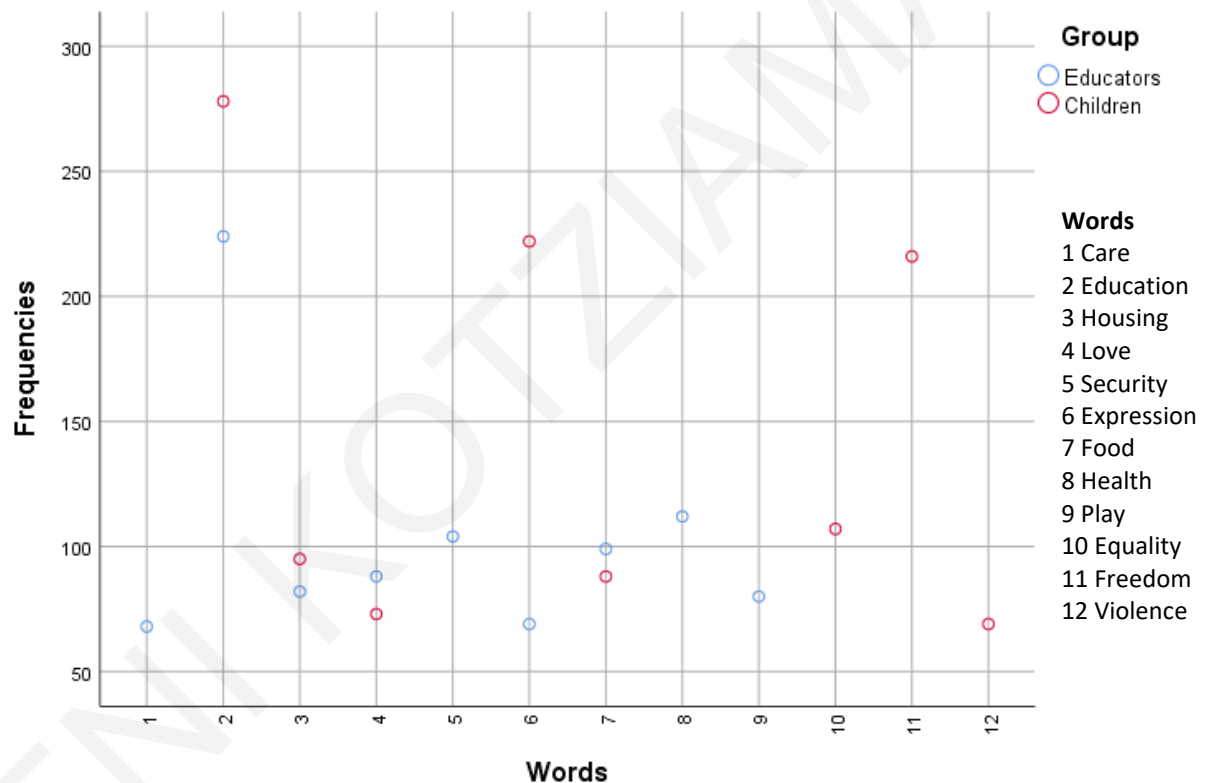
The periphery of the educators' representations consists of two elements which relate to provision rights, food and health, and two elements which relate to participation rights, the right to play, and the right to express their opinion. Exploring further the elements though, the right to play, is determined by adults, which must provide the time and space to children to exercise it. In fact, in this case, the right to play does not echo a participation right, but rather a provision that must be fulfilled by adults. Having that in mind, it becomes apparent that the periphery of educators' representations also pinpoints to provisional rights, supporting its core.

The periphery of the students' representations consists by provisional rights and one element related to protection rights. The composition of the periphery of children's representations indicate the importance provided to provisional rights by children, even though, the core consists of participation rights.

Figure 2 presents the scatterplot of the frequencies of the words that appeared in the core for the two groups, educators and children, to further explore possible differences among the two groups. As the scatterplot indicates, the right to education was reported by many of both educators and children and the word with the highest number of reporting for both groups.

While the right to housing, love, and food was reported by the same number of educators and children, there is a great discrepancy among the number of children that reported the right to expression and the number of educators who reported the specific right. Figure 3 presents the percentages of the words that appeared in the core of the two groups' representations, based on the total number of words that educators and students at each case reported.

Figure 2. *Frequencies of the words assigned at the core of the representations between the two groups*

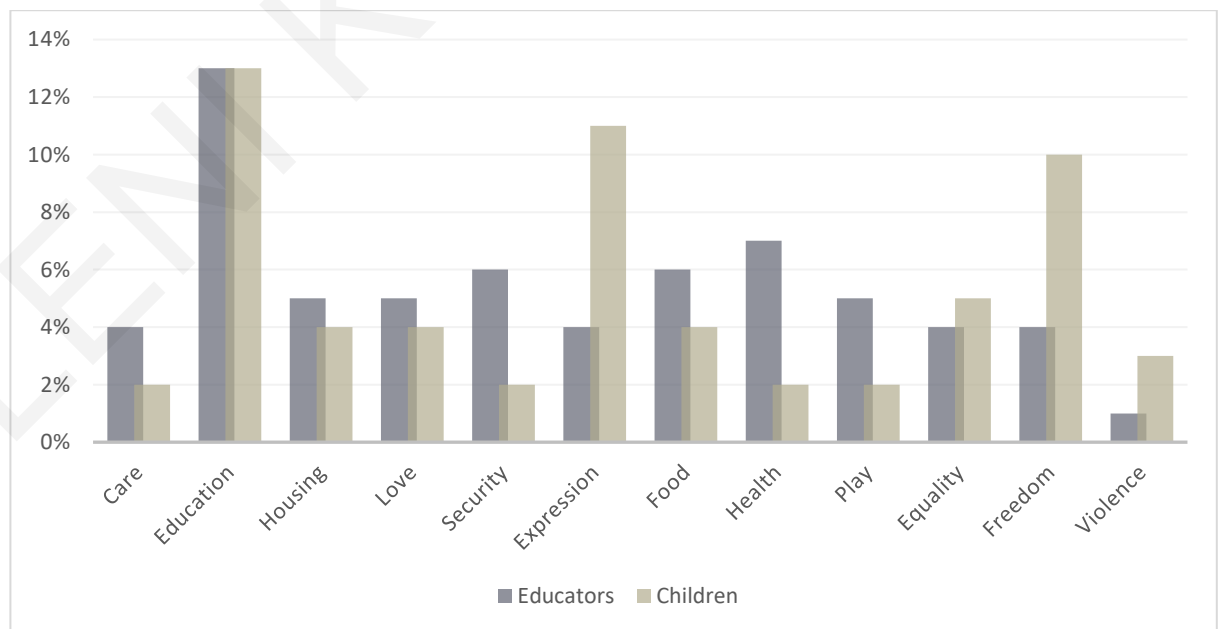


Since the aforementioned prototypical analysis measures only issues of centrality, in order to expand further the content of the data collected regarding the content of the social representations of children's rights, free associations were also analyzed by coding qualitative data in a quantitative form. During this analysis, as a first step, the phrases noted down by the participants were provided with a code. Once they shared the same meaning (i.e. education, schooling, learning), words or phrases of the participants were processed as single items. If more than five answers were provided by the participant(s), the

additional phrases or words were excluded from the analysis. If the same participant provided for the same concept twice, then it was counted only once. The results were compatible with the results from the prototypical analysis; they provided though further insights on the representations of children’s rights held by educators.

As a first step, all words were listed. As a second step, all words listed were grouped into various categories: the words/phrases that were part of a right were grouped together, while the rest were grouped accordingly to a concept they referred to. For example, the words ‘equality’, inequality’ ‘protection from discrimination’ and ‘diversity’ formed one group under Article 2 of the CRC ‘protection from discrimination’. As a third step, the words were grouped together into three different categories, participation rights, protection rights, and provision rights (Council of Europe, 2012), but if they did not fit into those three categories, were included in other general categories.

Figure 3. *Percentages of the words assigned at the core of the representations between the two groups*



The first stage of coding for the educators resulted with 164 different words or phrases used by the participants, as with the analysis applied with EVOC. Appendix 8 shows the list of 164 different responses of the participating educators. During the second step, the categorization of those 164 words/phrases resulted into 43 different categories. The third step for educators resulted in 20 different categories.

Out of the 389, the open-ended question was completed by 358 educators. Those 358 individuals provided for 1679 responses, which is almost 5 answers for each participant. Figure 4 presents the responses of the educators.

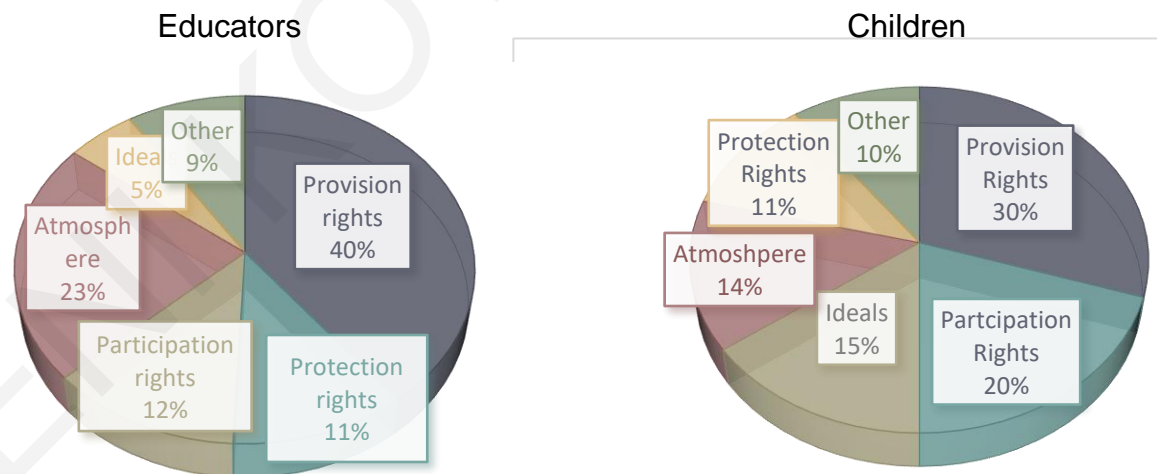
As Figure 4 indicates, most of the educators' responses relate to provision rights. Forty percent (40%) of all the answers referred to provision rights. Those are: the right to education, the right to health, the right to housing, the right to life, survival and development, the right to social welfare, the right to family, and the right to have a name. Three other phrases included in this category were the fulfillment of basic needs, having a quality life or well-being, and economic rights. The right to education was the one most reported by educators (229 times), followed by the right to health (113 times). The right to food [φαγητό, τροφή, διατροφή, σίτιση] was reported 83 times.

Twenty three percent of all the answers referred to an atmosphere, in the sense of content elements that provide for a quality life in peace, such as atmosphere of happiness, respect, understanding, affection, trust, care, love, appreciation, communication and stability. The atmosphere of security was the one mostly reported (104 times), followed by love (89 times) and care (67 times).

Twelve percent (12%) of all the answers referred to participation rights. Those are: freedom of expression, freedom of thought, the right to play, rest and leisure, the right to personal life. Two other concepts included in this category were the friendship and socialization, along with the group work. The right to play was the most commonly reported participation right (81 times), followed by freedom of expression/speech (69 times).

Eleven percent (11%) of all the answers focused on protection rights, such as protection from discrimination, sexual abuse and harassment, exploitation, economic exploitation, abuse, violence, neglect and maltreatment. At this category were also included references to specific groups of children considered to be highly vulnerable, such as children with disabilities, refugee children and children from minorities. Specifically, within educators' data there were two references to children with disabilities, two references to refugee children, one reference to children from minorities, one reference to children with non-Cypriot parents, and at last, one reference to children, whom are drowning in the sea, which the educator later named as migrants. The right to protection from abuse, neglect and maltreatment was the most commonly reported protection right (97 times), followed by the right to protection from discrimination (69 times). The right to protection from sexual abuse and exploitation was only reported 5 times.

Figure 4. Responses of the participants to the phrase 'Children's Rights'



The next group of concepts reported in a great deal by educators related to various ideals, such as peace, justice, democracy, freedom [ελευθερία, βούληση], solidarity and dignity. Five percent (5%) of all the answers referred to such ideals. Peace was the most common reported ideal (58 times), followed by the ideal of justice (11 times).

Other concepts that were reported by the participants were:

- I. the concept of responsibilities (21 times),
- II. the concept of violations or various social phenomena that relate to violations such as bullying, racism, deprivation, and/or abortions (17 times),
- III. various institutions responsible to safeguard the rights of the child, either related to the State or not, such as the United Nations, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Commissioner for Children's Rights in Cyprus, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and the social welfare services (17 times),
- IV. to a state of being, such as calmness, positivism, carelessness and liveliness [ζωντανία] (10 times),
- V. the concept of overemphasis in children's rights, providing to the rights of the children more value than we should as a society, including words such as over-rights [υπερδικαιώματα], I want, you are obliged, over-exaggeration (10 times),
- VI. the concept of rights being oppositional to limits, exhibited by words such as limits, controllability [χαλιναγώγηση], to know what they are asking for and how to ask for it, freedom with limits, and control (9 times)
- VII. country-oriented phrases, such as homeland [πατρίδα], and freedom of movement (9 times), and
- VIII. phrases related to concepts children should be provided for such as support, guidance, help, encouragement (8 times) and skills to be learned, such as creativity, independence, criticism and perspective taking (7 times).

The exact same procedure was repeated for children's data. The first stage of coding for the children resulted with 279 different words or phrases (for a full list of the various children responses, see Appendix 9). During the second step, where the phrases were categorized according to the articles of the CRC, along with other main categories, those 279 phrases resulted into 41 different

categories. The third step, aiming at grouping further the phrases along the three main categories of provision, protection and participation, the grouping resulted in 19 different categories.

As Figure 4 indicates, most of the children's responses also relate to provision rights (30%), as those were described for educators' data, even though the percentage is lower than the educators'. The right to education was the one most reported by children (273 times), followed by the right to housing (95 times), the right to food (88 times), the right to health and medical care (39 times) and the right to have access to water (32 times). Before moving on, it is important to note the difference among the results that derived via this process and the procedure followed with the use of the EVOC software. The results of this process can be compared to the periphery that resulted from applying the EVOC methodology, since the core measures the words with high frequency in conjunction with the position those words appear (the sequence that the word was reported by the participants). On the other hand, the first periphery is related to associations with a high frequency and a high ranking (there is no interest on the sequence the word appears). As such, the specific results, which measure the percentage the words appears in relation to the total number of words that appear can be only compared to the periphery around the core. To sum up, the results obtained by this method are compatible with the EVOC results, once the results compared are those of the first periphery.

Participation rights were the next most common category reported by children, a percentage (20%) that was quite higher than the one of educators. The most commonly reported right was the freedom of expression (202 times), the right to play (52 times), and freedom of thought (30 times).

The next group of concepts reported related to various ideals, such as peace, justice, democracy, freedom [ελευθερία, βούληση], solidarity and dignity. Fifteen percent (15%), 10 units above the educators' percentage, of all the answers referred to such ideals. Freedom was the most common reported ideal (237 times), followed by the ideal of justice (31 times) and the ideal of peace (25 times).

Fourteen percent of all the children's answers referred to an atmosphere. Love was the one mostly reported (73 times), followed by the atmosphere of security (42 times) and care (35 times).

At last, 11% of the responses of the children who participated in the current study related to protection rights. The right to protection from discrimination was the most commonly reported protection right (95 times), followed by the prohibition of any kind of violence against children (33 times). There was a minimal reference by children to the right to protection from abuse, neglect and maltreatment discrimination (5 times) and the right to protection from sexual abuse and exploitation (reported only once).

Other concepts that were reported by the children were:

- I. phrases related to concepts children should be provided for such as support, guidance, help, encouragement (34 times),
- II. the concept of violations or various social phenomena that relate to violations such as bullying, racism, hunger and/or poverty (28 times),
- III. various forms of violations, such as domestic, offence of the physical integrity, violence expressed by individuals with higher social status, such as the teachers and so forth (28 times),
- IV. the right to choose and having their choices respected (22 times),
- V. skills that children should develop in the process such as critical thinking, patience, faith at themselves and so forth (16 times),
- VI. various institutions responsible to safeguard the rights of the child, either related to the State or not, such as the United Nations, and the Commissioner for Children's Rights in Cyprus (7 times),
- VII. perceptions regarding what rights are, which declare their misconception and non-comprehension via the expression of phrases, such as 'to do what the child wants', 'obedience to the children's wishes' and 'not going to school' (6 times),
- VIII. country-oriented phrases, related to the nation and its ideals, via words or phrases such as 'Greece', and 'Cyprus-Greece-Union' (4 times).

Research Question 2: Is the content of children's rights violations related to representations of the prolonged conflict (the Cyprus problem) experienced by the Greek Cypriots?

A second open-ended question asked educators and children to fill out which right of the child they believe that is violated the most in Cyprus nowadays and by whom. The aim was to identify whether representations related to violations of children's rights, shared by both educators and children, highly correlate with the overall feelings of injustice experienced by Greek Cypriots regarding the violations of their rights resulted by the Turkish occupation.

Only 68% of the educators responded to the question. The responses varied and when grouped in quantitative terms, they provided for 35 different rights and/or concepts. Table 53 identifies the most common answers provided by educators.

As indicated at Table 53, three were the most popular responses of violations experienced by children in Cyprus, as the educators supported, identified as such by 9% of the educators in each case: (a) the right to express themselves, (b) the right to family care, and (c) the right to protection from violence, harm, exploitation, abuse, sexual abuse, bullying, maltreatment, and neglect. The next most common right identified as violated was freedom of movement (6%), followed by the right to play, rest, and leisure (5%).

Table 53. *The Right of the Child Violated the Most in Cyprus, as Identified by Educators*

Right Violated the Most	Frequency	Percentage %
Freedom of Expression	34	8.7
Right to Protection	33	8.5
Right to Care/Family Care	33	8.5
Freedom of Movement	25	6.4
Right to play, free time, leisure and entertainment	20	5.1
None	16	4.1
Right to Choose	14	3.6
Security	12	3.1
Respect	9	2.3
Equality/Non-discrimination	7	1.8
Participation in Decision Making	6	1.5
Equal Opportunities	6	1.5
Right to Health (medical care)	5	1.3
Right to Development	5	1.3
The Right to be Children	4	1.0
They Have too Many Rights	4	1.0
Other responses	30	7.9
Missing Values	126	32.4

Based on educators' explanations, the right of children to express themselves freely is violated based on the assumption of children as immature entities that cannot contribute constructively. The specific belief seemed to be

shared among participants who reported the right to participation in decision making and the right to choose (reported by another 4% of the participants) as rights that are being violated the most in the Cypriot society. Participants noted that even the choice of the friends and the future of the children, related to studies and professional development, the right to develop their own interests and personality, and even their sexual orientation are decided by others, restricting children from expressing their own needs and wants in the process. As one participant reported *“to decide themselves for their own lives and not to fulfill the dreams of their parents”*. The majority of the participants who stated that the children’s right most violated in Cyprus is the right to express themselves supported that this right is violated by the parents. Fewer individuals indicated that this right is violated by adults, the society and the school.

As indicated by the participants, the right of children to appropriate care by family members is a serious violation experienced by children in Cyprus nowadays. As explained by the educators, this violation is the result of the limited amount of time devoted by the parents to their children based on the work load and the various personal activities they have, alongside the overprotection provided or the misconception of care by the parents as synonymous to the avoidance of delineate the range of behaviors by children. Educators reported the immature parents and the parents who are not interested as characteristics of parents who violate the right of a child to live and develop in a healthy family environment. All participants but one, indicated that this right is violated by the parents themselves, while one participant indicated the social services as the violator.

Violence, abuse and exploitation of children was a violation reported by the educators. The majority of participants reported that the abuse and harm are caused mainly by the parents or immediate family members, whom are responsible for the protection of children from harm. Concurrently, the participants supported that the State has not put in force the appropriate mechanisms to deal with such violations to protect children. As one educator

reported “*children who are not protected from any kind of abuse (physical, psychological or sexual abuse). I believe that they deal with a serious problem, since in Cyprus we don't have the appropriate institutions like shelters, adoption or foster care*”. Participants pinpointed to family members as the ones who commit the aforementioned violation, while adults in general, the social media, the media and other children were also reported as the cause of the violation.

At last, the violation of the right to freedom of movement was directly related to the Turkish invasion in Cyprus. This violation was homogeneously reported to be committed by Turkey or the Turkish troops. To further explore the perceptions of the individuals who stated the specific violation as the right most violated in Cyprus, the selected cases of those individuals were investigated based on their perceptions whether for a parent to forbid his/her child to cross the roadblock to visit a friend's house and whether denying to implement a common activity with a school from the other community are violations of children's rights. Table 54 presents the results. The results from the Table 54 suggest a paradox, where educators who support that the children's right most violated in Cyprus is the obstruction of free movement posed by Turkey or the Turkish army, at the same time, they are less prone to acknowledge that a parent or a formal institution obstructing free movement violates the right of the child. In other words, there is a limited perception regarding the attribution of the responsibility to whom the violator is restricted to the “nation's enemy”. An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the scores of the educators who stated the right of freedom of movement and the rest of the participants. There was no significant difference in scores for the statement where the parent prohibits the crossing of the roadblock, $t(259)=-.95$, $p>.05$, or for the statement where the school denies to organize a mutual activity, $t(256)=-.64$, $p>.05$.

Table 54. Means and standard deviations of statements that prohibit freedom of movement among educators who stated that this right is the one violated the most and those who did not

	Educators who stated freedom of movement as the right most violated		Rest of the participants	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
The parent prohibits his 15 year old child to cross the roadblock to visit the house of a Turkish Cypriot friend ((in case there is no concern for molestation or harm to the child).	3.28	1.37	3.55	1.33
The school denies organizing a mutual activity with a school from the Turkish Cypriot community during school hours.	3.76	1.17	3.92	1.17

The next most popular response related to violation of children’s rights in Cyprus was the right to play, entertainment, and leisure, reported by 5% of the participants. Educators reported that it is violated due to the afternoon activities children have to attend, eliminating the free time they have to spend it the way they choose. As educators reported the competitive system of the society, the perceptions of the society about what is good and what children need to develop, alongside the fact that specific afternoon activities provide social status to the family, results in parents ‘bombarding’ children with afternoon private lessons, as one participant depicted. The majority of the participants reported that parents are the ones who violate this right of the child, while adults in general, the society, and the school were also reported as responsible agents of the violation.

Four percent (4%) of the participants reported that none of the rights of the child is violated, while another 1% reported that children are the ones who violate the rights of adults by exploiting their status and being aware of their rights, without acknowledging their responsibilities. *“None of their rights is violated. We spoil them too much and we have given them the right (which*

should not have) to have only rights and not responsibilities”, as one participant reported.

The right to feel secure was the one reported by 3% of the individuals. Security was defined as a grid of concepts, ranging within a multi-dimensional spectrum, from the political instability caused by the Cyprus Problem to the unsafe space (virtual and physical) created by electronic devices. The Ministry of Education and Culture, the electronic devices, the media, the society, along with Turkey were reported as the violators of the specific right.

Other rights reported by individuals as being violated in Cyprus were the equal opportunities and equality in general (violated by the State, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the educators, and the advertisements), the respect of the child (violated by the parents and in general the family environment), the right to grow and develop (violated by the parents and the school), and the right to enjoy their childhood (violated by the parents and the school). For example, one participant stated that *“the Ministry of Education and Culture does not provide the appropriate opportunities to children to develop their talents”*, while another noted that *“they don’t allow children to live and enjoy their childhood the way they want or to express themselves freely”*. At the same time, through the responses of the participants, it became apparent that children are called to become adults of specific standards. Indicative responses of the participants are provided below: *“the right to grow up **properly**, developing their personalities within **socially accepted frames**, to have the right care and protection from socially harmful activities”, “their right to grow up with **right values**, to learn to respect the environment and the people around them, to accept diversity”*.

Out of the 565 children who participated in the current study, the 365 (65%) provided a response to the question asking to declare which right is violated the most in Cyprus and by whom. The responses varied and when grouped in quantitative terms, they also provided for 35 different rights and/or concepts, different though from the ones of the educators (Appendix 10 presents both the rights/concepts provided by both educators and children for

the specific question). Table 55 identifies the most common answers provided by children.

Table 55. *The Right of the Child Violated the Most in Cyprus as Identified by Children*

Right Violated the Most	Frequency	Percentage %
Freedom of Expression	121	21.4
Freedom	38	6.7
Right to play, free time, leisure, and entertainment	34	6.0
Right to Education	33	5.8
Right to Protection	30	5.3
Right to Choose	21	3.7
Equality	16	2.8
None	11	1.9
Other responses	61	11.0
Missing values	200	35.4

As indicated by Table 55, the most popular response provided by children regarding the right violated at a big degree in Cyprus, was the right to express their opinion. The violation of the specific right was reported by one fifth of the participants. A high number of individuals who provided the specific response, identified as the violator the adults in general. Children related this reluctance of adults to listen and take into consideration the opinion of the young people with concepts of childhood shared by adults, highly relating that period of life with immaturity and illogical thinking. The following quotations are characteristic of the responses of the young people:

“Freedom of expression of opinion is violated, since none of the adults takes us into consideration. They take decisions for teenagers while they don't even inform us”.

“They underestimate us. The adults even though they let us express an opinion for some issues they don't take us into consideration”.

“Today in Cyprus and in other countries children cannot express their opinion, because according to the adults' opinion they are not mature to take decisions and think logically”.

“Our opinions are not respected by adults. They underestimate us and they don't consider us mature enough to take decisions. Even the Minister of Education does not respect us”.

“They don't listen to our opinion, because they say we are 'little' [μικροί/mikroi in Greek means young in age]”.

“Freedom of speech, because they believe due to our age we are not sincere”.

“The opinions of many children are considered by the adults as wrong because of their age and not of the content of their opinion”.

Another group of children expressed that the violator of the freedom of expression of their opinion is the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC). During the period of conducting the current report, a major educational reform was put in place by the Ministry, aiming at altering the way students are evaluated within the current educational system. The new way of evaluation was resisted by the vast majority of the student population, while the official student body, ΠΣΕΜ-PSEM, which represents the student population was set against the specific reform and asked from the Ministry to discuss specific concepts around it, before its implementation. The MoEC did not consult the students during the reform process, neither provided information to the students on how the new system will be implemented. It was not until the new reform was set in place, that the MoEC initiated awareness campaigns about it. As such, it was not a surprise that such a high number of students felt that the right

to express their opinion is the right violated the most in Cyprus, identifying the MoEC as the violator. Below are some characteristic responses of the children:

“The right of opinion as it concerns our education. [It is violated] By the MOEC which takes decisions that are not in accordance to the opinions of the students”.

“The opinion of the child by adults with authority”.

“The expression of opinion and speech - the school- the Ministry of Education decide for educational matters without taking into consideration the opinion of children”.

“I believe that despite that there are organizations that represent the opinion of the young people in the political matters, the opinion of the children is never taken seriously into consideration into decision making”.

“The State does not listen and does not take into consideration the complains of children for the educational system and they do whatever they want behaving like we are Guiney pigs”.

The specific circumstances of the time that the research was implemented should be taken into consideration, but not considered as determinant in the results obtained. Children expressed a general disappointment with the failure of the schools and educators to take into consideration the opinions of the children. Children rather felt that the aim of education was not to develop them as individuals, but rather as a place where obedience to the system was demanded, and any diversity in opinions or attitudes was marginalized in an effort to sustain the status-quo. The responses of the children indicate how experience the specific violation the children themselves:

“The right to freedom of expression is violated by the schools, and especially the Ministry, since there are specific answers that do not allow the student to express, but neither to express his/her opinion in the classroom”.

“The right to express freely at schools and share our opinion. Usually the educators do not respect it or they ignore us if they don't like our opinion and sometimes they underestimate us in front of others”.

“The right to expression of speech and freedom of thought. The educational system in Cyprus is designed in a way that you cannot express yourself freely”.

“In Cyprus they don't allow children to think and express themselves in their own way. Schools adjust the way children think and express themselves...”

“I believe that the rights are violated for the children who express different beliefs”.

“Our opinions and our rights by the educators. Once, I was punished by a teacher because I expressed my opinion”.

Furthermore, children indicated other agents as violators of their right to freedom of expression. Those were the parents, the government, the society in general, and even their peers. In general though, the fact that children cannot express their opinion seems to have created an atmosphere of ‘contagious’ fear that in cases they do so, they will have to be ready to accept negative consequences as well, creating a vicious cycle of ‘silence’ on behalf of children. This is how children seem to experience their inability to express their opinion:

“In contemporary society, I believe that the right of free will and expression is violated. We get to understand this at schools, because most children are afraid to express their opinion, because of bullying and racist behaviors”.

“The right of children to express themselves freely because they fear for possible violent reactions”.

Results shed light on how children themselves experience the applicability of their right to express their opinion, but it remains unclear whether the right to express their opinion is violated when the opinion expressed refers to a specific content or if it's a general ‘prohibition’ children experience. Future research should strive to identify whether the non-realization is related to specific content or it is a practice applied by the general population.

The second most popular response among children as a response to the question of which right is violated the most in Cyprus was freedom, reported by 7% of the children. In this case, freedom was not reported as a restriction of

their liberty, but rather as an interference to their needs and wants. The main violator reported were the family members. At this point, children pinpoint to the theme of overprotection of children by the family, in an effort to keep the child in a 'safe' zone. Children are well aware of how the restriction placed by the parents in the name of 'protection' affects the development of children. The specific dyadic opposition, protection vs. autonomy, which is experienced by children via the behavior of the parents and their need to become independent entities, becomes a thema that consolidates the core of the social representations of children about their rights and in turn, implicitly affects and regulates their understanding and reactions (Marková, 2015). Below are some examples of the responses of children:

"To get out of the house".

"...Our freedom is suppressed by the school which kills our free time and creativity".

"Freedom because many parents are very strict".

"The independence and freedom of children is violated at a major degree by the parents".

"There are parents who don't let their children do some things they want, for example to go out with their friends".

Other than addressing their needs and wants, the freedom of children was also related to their capacity to make choices and take decisions for matters that affect them. In this regard, children's thoughts were orchestrated by adults and guided analogously to fulfill the adults' needs, rather than children's. Children reported being restricted to make simple decisions, such as whom to develop friendships with, up to more complex ones, such as future employment. Children experience this inability to take decisions as a limitation of their freedom, whether it happens due to their conception as incapable decision makers or as having an obligation to fulfill parents' aspirations.

“Free will and education. Children are suppressed enough because of schooling and their decisions most of the time are affected by their families”.

The pressure to take decision for future employment or education. [Violated] By the Ministry of Education”

“Pressure for decisions for future employment from 14 years old, without leaving any choice. [Violated] By the Ministry”.

“Free will. Both directly and indirectly. Mainly by the means of modern society, but also from factors that act as the absolute facts against children and they frame the free thought”.

“Children do not live self-propelled and they depend on adults, they don't have the right of their own choices and the adults (for example the educators) underestimate them and they submit them the right thing to do”.

“The right to free will and decision making. Parents become too pushy towards the child and demand to fulfill their own choices, for example, their studies”.

“The right of children to take their own decisions either for whom they choose to have as a friend, or their professional orientation. This mainly happens from parents but also by the society as a whole...”

The third most popular response among children regarding their right being violated the most was the right to play, leisure, free time and entertainment. The school and adults, mainly parents, were reported as the main contributors towards the violation of the specific right of the children. Almost all responses of the children determined their overloaded schedules, full of private afternoon classes as the main reason for not having enough free time. In this case, children did not actually determine why they need to attend a large number of private classes during the afternoon, other than some inferences about the adequacy of the educational system. This was only referred though by a limited number of individuals; the rest did not come to explain why this ‘habit’ governs their lives. Some indicative responses of the individuals are provided below:

“There is not enough free time for entertainment and relax due to the overloaded schedule full of private lessons and homework”.

“Free time due to the pressured schedule we have because of school. Additionally, our sleep is limited because we have to wake up very early”.

“At a bigger degree is violated the free time by the parents, because they make us do many private lessons”.

“Free time! We are forced to be full of private classes for school since there is an important lack at our educational system”.

At the same time, one child explained how his/her overloaded timetable has an impact on the way s/he exercises her/his right to play. As she stated: *“Play. We may play electronic games, but not games outside in the nature, because of overloaded schedules or overprotection by parents”*.

While educators did not identify the right to education as one that is violated in Cyprus, children expressed their concerns on how that right is applied, referring to various ways that this right is violated. Specifically, they indicated the structure and aims of the educational system as the reasons that lead to violations of children’s rights. In other words, children understand that the State fulfills its obligation to provide education for all children, but the form that education is provided results in a series of violations. Indicative exemplars of the responses of the children are provided below:

“The children in Cyprus do not have education [παιδεία/paideia], and that is due to the parents and the school (Ministry of Education) which aim to guide the child towards his professional career instead of providing essential education”.

“Education: we haven’t secured a ‘right’ education of children, [including] sexuality education, diseases, environmental education. [Violated] by the responsible Ministry and the government, while emphasis is provided only at the technocracy”.

“The freedom of the child by the educational system because they suppress us with irrelevant subjects (i.e. possibilities in math and many others) which do not contribute to our fulfillment as citizens for the society of Cyprus”.

“The right to holistic and all-round [ολόπλευρη] education. Everything is guided by the political party that each time governs”.

“Of education, by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry with the overloaded examination curriculum that imposes, does not promote real education, since students absorb so many information, that at the end they forget them. Also, there isn't any free time because of the too many obligations the school enforces”.

“Education because of the technocratic character of the school because of today's society”.

All the aforementioned quotes of children indicate that instead of aiming at the holistic development of children at the major degree, as that is defined by the CRC, the educational system in Cyprus, as it is applied today, loses its sight and does not fulfil its aim. The children numbered, as well, various deficiencies of the content of the educational system, such as the focus on memorizing of events, rather than the development of critical thinking and the acquisition of knowledge, rather than the critical discussion of matters that bother young people and affect their lives.

Children also discussed the methods applied within the school system, which result in violating the right of children in education. As two children stated:

“We have no rights at school. We must behave like small soldiers and accept whatever the teacher says even if it's wrong”.

“At schools they don't give you the opportunity to express with colors/clothing/piercing and in general with your appearance”.

Interpreted lightly, the above quotes might be seen as a reluctance of the children to conform to the rules set within the educational setting. The reaction of the children though, cannot be interpreted lightly, especially, once interpreted in the context of a violated right. Via the above quotes, children vividly describe

how the norms stated by the schools, starting from the appearance of the children and extending to the content of their expressions, aim to form and shape the children according to a pre-set standard expected by the society. As such, not only the aim and structure of education, but also the methods used, become means by which the right to education is violated.

Moreover, children identified the homogeneous provision of education, with the motto 'one size fits all', as being another way that the right to education is not fulfilled for children in Cyprus. In fact, children become very critical to the way equality is promoted via the educational system. The same standards, criteria, means of evaluation, and textbooks, are but an indication that the educational system is built upon certain types of individuals, discriminating against those who do not fill into those types. Children acknowledge that equality is not equivalent to same treatment. As designated by children, by doing so, the educational system fails to fulfil its obligation to provide for the right of education for all individual. Below are some indicative extracts:

"The fact that equal rights in education do not exist for all children since they do not provide the appropriate criteria to children with learning difficulties, verbal abilities etc".

"The right to education because many children who are immigrants do not go to school..."

"The right to education since there are lots of children that cannot complete school because of the lack of appropriate curriculum".

"Education because the educational system acts to all children as being the same with each other, while is completely the opposite and each child is unique and has other abilities".

At last, various financial variables were identified by children as a barrier to the fulfilment of the right to education. They stated that education it's not provided for free, probably referring to the additional costs needed in order to fully participate in it (i.e. school excursions) or to the additional costs needed for private afternoon classes in order to succeed. They also stated the inequalities which develop among the rich and the children from lower economic classes.

Furthermore, they mentioned the financial difficulties faced by a number of families, which enforce children to drop out of school to get a job.

The protection of children from violence, abuse and exploitation was a violation reported by the educators, but also from children. As educators, the majority of children reported that the abuse and harm are caused mainly by the parents, whom are actually responsible for the protection of children. Children used tensed words, such as rape and beating [ξυλοκοποούνται] to describe the harm caused to children. At the same time, children shared how the power imbalance among children and adults create a further vulnerability of children, disabling them from taking further actions to stop the harm. Finally, they also shared various consequences on the child's well-being, such as psychological and physical, but also on the development and future life of children.

Children reported the right to non-discrimination as a right that is violated in Cyprus. They reported a number of characteristics based on which specific groups of children are discriminated against by various agents, along with the general group of children as being discriminated. The extracts below show how the right of non-discrimination is violated in Cyprus:

“The right for all the children to live a decent life because independent of ethnicity, gender and other, we need to respect them, something that in Cyprus does not happen”.

“Of equality. Some individuals do not consider everyone as equal and they judge based on religion, race etc and this happens by many individuals and the social classes”.

“Equality at school. Sometimes the educators show their preference to specific children”.

“I believe that in Cyprus it is violated the right of equal treatment of children. We see children to be faced with contempt, pity, etc based on their color, their origin etc”.

“Equality among children who suffer by a disease or have a disability. Most schools do not fulfill the conditions for children with disabilities, such as elevators and special classrooms”.

“Equivalence, because adults think of children as ‘lower’ beings and they don't take them into consideration at all”.

Other rights reported by children as being violated in Cyprus were the right to identity, the right to family life, and the right to vote. As for the right to identity, children stated that the personal character of children is shaped by society according to specific norms, within which children even of other ethnicity or religion must adopt to. Here is what children stated:

"I believe the formation of personal character is violated at a major degree, in general by the society and the family, through the "must" which determine up to a degree an automatization".
"In many children they put molds, for example the refugees that forget their religion and nationality".

The right of children to a family life was violated because of parents who are not appropriate and do not know how to build a healthy relationship with their children, along with the non-provision of support by the State to the families, leading to further consequences in the development of the child and an inability to adequately raise their children. At last, children reported that the fact that they do not vote, prevents them from participating in the public affairs.

Contrary to the expectation, that both adolescents and educators would relate directly the violation of children's rights with the Turkish occupation in Cyprus, both groups identified the right to expression as the one most violated in Cyprus. The violations of children's rights as a result of the Turkish occupation was indeed referred by the educators, but only by a small percentage of them. This result is particularly surprising, since 1/3 of the Greek Cypriots was internally displaced during the events of 1974, and as such, a quite high percentage of the participating educators were either themselves internally displaced, grew up in a family that was internally displaced and have property that still do not have access to. When it comes to children's rights though, educators referred to violations of rights children experienced in their everyday lives, and not as "national subjects". What can be concluded is that the Turkish occupation is not considered by adults or children as a factor that prohibits the realization of children's rights.

Research Question 3: What are the differences of individual positioning in the representational field of “children’s rights” in both the adult and children population?

Individual variations in positioning and an understanding on how those fit in a systematic organization plan, shed light on the conceptions of universality and alienability of children’s rights. Individual variations provide indicators of how people respond to other societal beliefs or institutions that shape those representations. As such, various mechanisms allow for discriminatory practices for specific groups of children or allow for partial implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

As such, a third research question of the current study was to explore whether there were any differences in individual positioning among the educators’ and children’s population related to representations of children’s rights. Children’s rights are considered an issue that bothers various groups among the society. Despite being a common issue shared by all, various groups differ on the representations they hold, based on various other representations that exist within specific societies or within specific groups. For example, Molinari et al. (2002) have shown that the representations of children’s rights among adults and adolescents differ. Concurrently, various researchers argue that when individuals within societies have first-hand experience of war and violence, it alters the way they perceive specific concepts, especially in cases that the conflict is an intractable one, where distress and anxiety are part of an individual’s life for a prolonged period of time, and as a result not only they draw different methods of action than those who do not have specific experience, but also post-traumatic stress disorder is common, but in many cases it goes unnoticed (Hafner-Burton, 2013; Sarrica et al., 2010; Palmieri et al., 2008; Canetti et al., 2010; Hofboll et al., 2011; Hofboll et al., 2012). Whether the societal fabric constructed around the conflict in Cyprus has altered the representations of children’s rights held by educators and adolescents was an additional factor set to be explored by the current study.

As expected, the variations in positioning were organized in a systematic way. Differences for educators were noted among social positioning and parenthood, having or not read the CRC, being familiar with children's rights, and perceptions of childhood. At the same time, educators who perceived the statements as violations of children's rights were also more prone to acknowledge various school and societal rituals as violating the rights of the child and were more willing to extend the rights to the children of their least-liked ethnic group. As for children, differences were noted among social positioning and gender, having read the CRC and their familiarity with children's rights, the grade and the studies children attended, having or not family members who experienced a war related event in the past, feeling or not a victim of the Cyprus problem, and being or not a member of a vulnerable group. At the same time, children who perceived the statements as violations of children's rights, as with the educators' results, were also more prone to acknowledge various school and societal rituals as violating the rights of the child, were more willing to extend the rights to the children of their least-liked ethnic group, and were holding less 'traditional' conceptions about childhood. In addition to the educators' results, those children held less nationalistic beliefs, held beliefs of Cypriocentrism rather than Hellenocentrism, had more experiences of being at the same physical space with members of the other community (opportunity for contact), and experienced less levels of realistic and symbolic threat.

To further explore the gender differences for educators' data in relation to the variable of parenthood, independent samples t-tests were run. Table 56 presents the results of the analysis. As indicated at the Table, there was a statistical difference among female educators who were parents and those who were not, a pattern that was not exhibited with male educators who were parents or not.

Table 56. Significant differences among women educators who were parents and those who were not in various constructs after conducting independent-samples t-test

	Parent	Non-Parent					
	M (SD)	M (SD)	t	Df	p	Mean difference	95% CI
School Rituals	2.90 (1.02)	3.33 (1.28)	-2.68	295	.008	-.42	-.73, -.11
Societal Rituals	4.14 (.70)	4.39 (.80)	-2.42	295	.02	-.26	-.47, -.05
Patriotism	3.93 (.64)	3.65 (.84)	2.82	292	.005	.28	.09, .48
Nationalism	3.08 (.68)	2.76 (.77)	3.12	292	.002	.32	.12, .53
Realistic Threat	3.07 (.68)	2.73 (.74)	3.14	267	.002	.34	.13, .55
Symbolic Threat	3.16 (.67)	2.76 (.80)	3.61	2.65	.000	.40	.18, .61

Differences were also identified among children of cluster 1 and 2 based on the area they resided, urban or rural. There was a significant association between the area children resided and the cluster they belonged $\chi^2(1)=4.56$, $p<.05$. Based on the odds ratio, the odds of children residing in village and being in cluster 2 was 1.83 times higher than if they resided in urban settings. No statistical difference was identified among educators of clusters 1 and 2 and the area they resided.

Research Question 4: Are there any specific representations of children's rights shared by adults and children?

As Table 57 reflects, perceptions of violations of children's rights were prioritized by educators and children, in other words, specific statements were more clearly perceived as violations of children's rights rather than others. For example, parental child beating and enforcing a child to drop school were considered by both groups clearly as violations, while other statements were perceived more ambiguous by the participants. Such statements were the

action of smoking next to the playground and prohibiting a child from forming relationships with specific children.

Table 57. Mean responses for the 19 violations of children's rights

Statement	Mean Educators (SD)	Mean Children (SD)
The pilot prohibits a mother to breastfeed her new-born during a flight.	4.56 (.88)	3.57 (1.30)
The parent prohibits to his/her child to form friendships with specific schoolmates of the child.	3.85 (1.20)	3.73 (1.24)
The parent teaches bad words to his/her child.	4.58 (.88)	3.77 (1.49)
The parent takes decisions related to the family, without taking into consideration the children's views.	4.23 (1.02)	4.22 (1.21)
The parent prohibits his/her 15year old child to visit a friend's house (in case there is no concern for molestation or harm to the child).	4.08 (1.07)	4.08 (1.28)
A sports federation demands money from the parents to allow the child to compete with another federation.	4.08 (1.08)	3.66 (1.23)
When a 14year old child works after school to assist his/her family.	4.13 (1.10)	3.40 (1.31)
A child, Cypriot national, lives with his/her mother who is from a country out of the European Union, since his father abandoned him. The government imprisons the mother to expel her, since she resides illegally in Cyprus.	4.40 (.89)	3.89 (1.28)
The parent forces the child to stop schooling after she finishes compulsory education (at the age of 15).	4.69 (.82)	4.43 (1.22)
The school undertakes decisions regarding educational affairs without taking into consideration the views of the children.	3.78 (1.25)	4.31 (1.15)
The school administration expels a child that was accused by his classmates of sexual harassment, without providing the opportunity to the accused child to express his views.	4.59 (.74)	4.31 (1.01)
The Ministry of Education and Culture undertakes decisions related to education without taking into consideration the views of the children.	3.85 (1.19)	4.38 (1.06)
Two adults smoke at the open space of a café, located next to a playground.	3.84 (1.34)	3.60 (1.35)
Parental child beating for disobedience.	4.72 (.73)	4.30 (1.29)
The government provides allowances and financial assistance only to children who are Cypriot nationals.	4.15 (1.14)	3.98 (1.29)
A child, 10 years old, works after school to assist financially his family.	4.63 (.91)	4.06 (1.30)
The parent of a child is imprisoned for a crime. When he gets in a fight in the prison, the guards deprive him of his children's visit.	4.32 (1.01)	3.92 (1.17)
A child, 17 years old, is recruited in the army with the consent of the parents, without the child's consent.	4.05 (1.08)	4.01 (1.20)
The parent teaches his child to beat other children as a means to resolve conflicts.	4.54 (.94)	4.12 (1.34)

According to the expectations, children shared similar representations with educators, once the violations of children's rights were related to practices that are highly accepted as such in the Cypriot society, such as those related to education. It's not a coincidence, that the statement with the strongest agreement of being a violation of children's rights among both educators and children was the enforcement of a child by his/her family to drop out of school at the age of 15, when compulsory education in Cyprus is over. Graduating from high school in Cyprus is considered a necessary requirement for children, thus, any contingent pressure exercised by family members to intervene in the process is easily recognized as a violation of the right to education, even though, the statement referred to the end of compulsory education, as it is set in Cyprus.

A pattern can be recognized at Table 57 above. Whenever the statement combined a violation of parenting role with freedom of expression, the means among educators and children were quite similar. But whenever, the statement referred only to a violation of freedom of expression children scored significantly higher, while when the statement was related to a violation that signified parenting, educators scored significantly higher. Contrary to the expectations, children recognized less than educators, specific behaviors as violations of their rights. Children recognized at a lesser degree that practices such as parental child beating for obedience, and the teaching of bad words or to hit other children to resolve conflicts by the parents constitute violations of their rights. Once that difference is related to the core of the representations of each group, the results do not surprise us. It becomes apparent that participants are more sensitive to violations of rights that are at the core of their social representations. As such, educators scored significantly higher when the statement referred to a violation of it, since the provision dimension and the protective role of parents composed the core of the representations of educators. And children scored significantly higher when the violation referred to a right which was part of the core of their representations.

Children recognized two statements at a higher degree as violations of their rights, being the statements indicating that either the school or the Ministry

takes decisions about the educational affairs, without taking into consideration the opinion of the children. Being part of the greater system that 'feeds' the child's marginalization at the decision-making processes, one should expect that children would be unable to recognize that they do have the right to participate. Obviously, the events that preceded the current research, when an educational reform planned to be implemented by the Ministry, caused the reaction of the organized student society and set the seeds for a public debate via the traditional and social media about the silencing of the children in the process, was a driving mechanism that enabled children to acknowledge that they do have a voice and that it should be taken into consideration in matters that affect them. As a result, freedom of expression appeared both at the core of the social representations of children and recognized more statements that violated it.

The cluster analysis performed in both the educators' and children's data has pinpointed at, in both cases, two different groups of individuals on the way they perceive children's rights. In the case of educators, individuals in both groups acknowledge as violations of children's rights situations related to exercise of direct or indirect violence to children, situations related to survival and development, and situations related to child labor or school dropping. The two groups differed in situations where the best interest of the child was merged with the best interest of the family or the nation. In the case of children, the first cluster has a similar tendency with that of educators; they acknowledge all statements as violations of children's rights. The individuals of cluster 2 though, consider the family as the institution responsible for the nurturing of the child by any means the family applies; in this case, children do not condemn violence exercised or restrictions set by family members. This is a difference among educators and children identified in the study. While educators do uphold the interest of the family and the State above children's rights in particular cases which do not contain abuse or exploitation of children, on the other hand, children are unable to make this distinction, considering that anything that the family does, even if that contains violence, is for the best interest of the child.

The above results are also supported by the scores on the *Childhood* scale among educators and children, where it was revealed that children hold more traditional beliefs about childhood than educators. Statements such as 'it is not the nursing infant which is important, but rather the adult it will become' and 'the purpose of childhood is to collect as many experiences to prepare for adulthood' resulted in higher scores of agreement among young individuals, indicating that indeed children do not process childhood as a state with its own rights, but rather as a preparation state for adulthood. That perception might lead children to conclude that the agents responsible for that state, being the family, can proceed at the best of its knowledge to the upbringing of the child, even when the methods applied violate specific rights of the child.

Furthermore, children were less prone to acknowledge violations of children's rights as such. The same pattern was observed for societal rituals; children did not acknowledge them to the same degree as educators as inhibitors of children's rights. Children exhibited lower levels of both patriotism and nationalism, and lower levels of realistic and symbolic threat.

To test the degree of agreement or concordance among the means of the 19 statements which described a violation of children's rights between the group of educators and the group of children, Kendall's W was used. The test was not significant ($W=.61$, $\chi^2(18)=21.89$, $p>.05$), suggesting that a common cognitive basis among the group of the educators and the group of children as for what constitutes a violation of children's rights was not prevalent. The test was repeated for the means related to the 7 statements which described the school rituals and the means for the 7 statements which described the societal rituals. The test was not significant either for the school rituals ($W=.95$, $\chi^2(6)=11.41$, $p>.05$) or the societal rituals ($W=.80$, $\chi^2(6)=9.64$, $p>.05$), suggesting that a common cognitive basis among the group of the educators and the group of children as for when a school ritual or a societal ritual constitutes a violation of children's rights was not prevalent.

A one-way between-groups multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed to investigate differences among educators and children in their

conceptions about violations of children's rights. Nineteen dependent variables were used: the nineteen statements related to the scale *Recognition of Violations of Children's Rights*. The independent variable was the status of the participants: educators or children. Preliminary assumption testing was conducted to check for normality, linearity, univariate and multivariate outliers, homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices and multicollinearity. Box's M Test of Equality of Covariance of Matrices was significant indicating a violation of the homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices. Since the sample size was large though, the test is very strict and as such, was significant. For that reason it was ignored, even though the sample sizes of the two groups, educators and children, were not equal. For that reason, though, the Roy's Largest Root is reported, since in those cases is more robust. There was a significant difference between educators and children on the combined dependent variables, $F(19,834)=26.58$, $p=.00$, $\theta=.605$. When the results for the dependent variables were considered separately, four statements did not reach statistical significance as indicated at Table 58.

At last, further analysis was performed to test whether social positions on violations of children's rights were influenced by other belief systems. For that purpose discriminant function analysis was performed. The variables of childhood and nationalism were entered as independent variables. The two clusters identified among educators and children, when analyzed the 19 statements related to violations of children's rights, were entered as the dependent variables.

As for educators' data, discriminant analysis revealed one discriminant function, which explained 100% of the variance, canonical $R^2 = .22$. The discriminant function significantly differentiated the two groups, the educators who adhered to a more open idea of children's rights and those who perceived them in a more conservative way, Wilk's $\Lambda = 0.95$, $\chi^2(2) = 19.59$, $p=.000$. The correlations between outcomes and the discriminant function revealed that nationalism loaded at a minimal level onto the function ($r=.28$), while conservative views of childhood loaded very high ($r=.98$). The results indicated

that 68.7% of the group cases were correctly classified, while there was low sensitivity (many false negatives-Type II error) (10%) and high specificity (few false positives) (95.4%).

Table 58. *Results after conducting one-way independent ANOVA for each statement of violations of children's rights*

Statement	F	df	P
The pilot prohibits a mother to breastfeed her new-born during a flight.	167.99	1, 943	.00
The parent prohibits to his/her child to form friendships with specific schoolmates of the child.	2.01	1, 942	.15
The parent teaches bad words to his/her child.	93.13	1, 945	.00
The parent takes decisions related to the family, without taking into consideration the children's views.	.003	1, 944	.96
The parent prohibits his/her 15year old child to visit a friend's house (in case there is no concern for molestation or harm to the child).	.012	1, 942	.91
A sports federation demands money from the parents to allow the child to compete with another federation.	28.84	1, 931	.00
When a 14year old child works after school to assist his/her family.	80.12	1, 944	.00
A child, Cypriot national, lives with his/her mother who is from a country out of the European Union, since his father abandoned him. The government imprisons the mother to expel her, since she resides illegally in Cyprus.	44.34	1, 937	.00
The parent forces the child to stop schooling after she finishes compulsory education (at the age of 15).	13.21	1, 950	.00
The school undertakes decisions regarding educational affairs without taking into consideration the views of the children.	43.77	1, 947	.00
The school administration expels a child that was accused by his classmates of sexual harassment, without providing the opportunity to the accused child to express his views.	21.42	1, 951	.00
The Ministry of Education and Culture undertakes decisions related to education without taking into consideration the views of the children.	51.75	1, 952	.00
Two adults smoke at the open space of a café, located next to a playground.	7.16	1, 945	.008
Parental child beating for disobedience.	33.57	1, 946	.00
The government provides allowances and financial assistance only to children who are Cypriot nationals.	4.49	1, 937	.034
A child, 10 years old, works after school to assist financially his family.	55.73	1, 945	.00
The parent of a child is imprisoned for a crime. When he gets in a fight in the prison, the guards deprive him of his children's visit.	30.76	1, 948	.00
A child, 17 years old, is recruited in the army with the consent of the parents, without the child's consent.	.22	1, 947	.64

The parent teaches his child to beat other children as a means to resolve conflicts. 28.99 1, 951 .00

Discriminant analysis on children's data revealed one discriminant function, which explained 100% of the variance, canonical $R^2 = .27$. The discriminant function significantly differentiated the two groups, the children who adhered to a more open idea of children's rights and those who perceived them in a more restricted way, Wilk's $\Lambda = 0.93$, $\chi^2(2) = 39.37$, $p = .000$. The correlations between outcomes and the discriminant function revealed that nationalism loaded highly enough onto the function ($r = .72$), while conservative views of childhood loaded very high ($r = .91$). The results indicated that 68.8% of the group cases were correctly classified, while there was low sensitivity (many false negatives-Type II error) (2.7%) and high specificity (few false positives) (99.5%).

To sum up, what distinguished the group of educators and the group of children who deal with children's rights in a less conservative way are the perceptions they hold for childhood, which do not restrict the child into a 'human to be', but rather a citizen of today, with an equal say into the society. For the group of children, those who hold less conservative views for children's rights, also do not experience high levels of nationalism. In other words, they consider children as a specific period of life, without 'borders' that can limit that perception.

Research Question 5: To what extent national regulations, related to the promotion of the moral values of the nation, considered as infringements to children's rights?

It was expected that individuals would legitimate the violation of children's rights, once "ethnic security" or "national interest" would be at stake. This expectation was at times met, while at others was not. While there is a superficial understanding among the population of educators and children that interacting with members of the other community does not pose a threat to

the nation, a deeper threat for the survival of the nation resides among the minds of the populations studied, and as such, highlighting the need for ideological mechanisms responsible to sustain the nation's ideals. The arguments developed below explain the above contradiction.

To start with, the results indicate that the vast majority of educators and children recognize it as a violation of children's rights, when the parent prohibits his/her child to form friendships with a Turkish Cypriot child, at an extent much greater than when the parent prohibits his/her child to form friendship with other children (when the grounds of prohibition are not specified). This result indicates that forming friendships with members of the other community is not considered a threat to the nation. It becomes even more interesting, when more than half of the educators and children consider it as a violation to prohibit a child to cross the roadblock to visit a house of a Turkish Cypriot friend, even though the percentages of educators and children never having an interaction with a Turkish Cypriot before surpassed the 70%. Despite their own reluctance to interact with members of the 'other' community, the participating educators and children concede that restricting a child to build on his/her friendship by crossing the roadblocks, indeed violates his/her right. Interestingly enough, more than half of the educators and children consider it a violation of children's rights when the school denies organizing a mutual activity with a school from the Turkish Cypriot community. To sum up, any form of interaction with members of the other community, either under an organized formal scheme or an informal one, is widely welcomed by the vast majority of the educators and children who participated at the current study; on the contrary, any restrictions set to eliminate or terminate such interactions are considered as violations of children's rights, suggesting that interactions do not pose a threat for the nation or its ideals. If that's the case, then, in what cases the moral values of the nation are threatened and as such, national regulations are in need to take place to terminate the threat?

Looking at the means of educators' and children's responses related to national regulations as to whether those violate children's rights, an outcome

that is extracted is that both educators and students do not recognize it as a violation of children's rights when the school enforces the Greek Cypriot children to participate at mass events that relate with the history of the nation or the religion of the majority. While both groups are more willing to accept the right of children of other nationalities and religions not to participate at such events, they considered it a 'must' for Greek Cypriot children. In this case, it can be inferred that educators and children consider the group of Greek Cypriot as a homogeneous one, responsible to conform to the school's requirements which relate to the continuity of the nation and the perseverance of its characteristics, such as the religious one. This argument becomes more intensive, based on the examination of the means of the statements which relate to school rituals, compared to the means of the statements which relate to societal rituals. The means for school rituals, for both educators and students, are much lower than the means of the societal rituals, interpreted as individuals recognizing at a higher degree that specific societal rituals violate children's rights rather than the school. As such, it can be interpreted that school is recognized as a mechanism responsible to transfer the ideals of the nation, in order to conserve it; it is the school's duty to teach children about the history of the nation, its ideals, its ethos, its legitimacy. In conjunction with the above argument, the school, as an institution, initiates children into the nation's culture, with children not having a prospectus to divert or stand critical against that culture, unless they are not considered as 'children of the nation', and as such do not belong to it and have no obligation to either preserve it or continue its legacy.

Another interesting result, supportive of the above argument, is the one related to the visit of primary and pre-primary age children to the Imprisoned Memorial, highly affiliated with the ethos of the nation that strives for values such as liberty and independence. A high percentage of educators and children, almost half of them, minimized the negative impact such a monument might impose on the mental health of children, especially of pre-primary age, by exaggerating the importance such a monument might have for the preservation

of the nation. In this case, the nation's stake was set above the best interest of the child.

The results indicated that children were more prone to acknowledge that specific school rituals violated children's rights than educators, even though the difference was not a statistical one. As stated at a previous section, this might have been the result of the participating children of the sample, consisted of children of various nationalities, which might have had a first-hand experience with the specific school rituals and their possible marginalization when those take place. At the same time, educators were more prone to acknowledge that specific societal rituals violate children's rights (statistical difference).

Research Question 6:

- (a) What is the relationship among political tolerance [defined by Avery (1988) as the readiness of individuals to extend children's rights to the children of one's least-liked socio-political group] and age, gender, political persuasion, religiousness, quantity and quality of contact, levels of realist and symbolic threat, and war related experiences during the events.
- (b) Is there a difference in the responses when the least liked socio-political group relates to the Cyprus issue (Turkish Cypriots and Turks) rather than not?

Significant bivariate correlations for educators were identified among willingness to extend children's rights to the children of their least liked ethnic group and age and familiarity with children's rights. A significant effect of the level of education (BA, MA, PhD) and the level of teaching (pre-primary, primary, secondary, vocational, and special ed) on political tolerance was found for educators. Significant differences for educators were identified among those who had read the CRC and those who hadn't. As for children, a significant effect of the town children lived on the willingness to extend rights to the children of

their least liked ethnic group was found. At last, significant differences were identified among male and female children.

Furthermore, as the results indicated significant bivariate correlations for educators were also identified among willingness to extend children's rights to the children of the least liked ethnic group and realistic threat ($r=-.46$, $p=.000$), symbolic threat ($r=-.38$, $p=.000$), nationalism ($r=-.20$, $p=.000$), conservative views of childhood ($r=-.18$, $p=.001$), strength of religion ($r=-.24$, $p=.000$), and having a family member with war related experiences ($r=.11$, $p=.047$). Patriotism ($r=-.09$, $p=.032$) and quantity of contact ($r=.12$, $p=.013$) were also identified to correlate with political tolerance, based on non-parametric tests (Kendall's tau_b). Similar results have been obtained via children's data. Significant bivariate correlations were identified among willingness to extend children's rights to the children of the least liked ethnic group and realistic threat ($r=-.43$, $p=.000$), symbolic threat ($r=-.32$, $p=.000$), patriotism ($r=-.21$, $p=.000$), nationalism ($r=-.24$, $p=.000$), conservative views of childhood ($r=-.15$, $p=.000$), strength of religion ($r=-.11$, $p=.012$), the adoption of an ethnic or national identity ($r=.13$, $p=.004$), opportunity for contact ($r=.17$, $p=.000$), quantity of contact ($r=.13$, $p=.003$), having a family member with war related experiences ($r=.09$, $p=.049$), and being a member of a vulnerable group ($r=.14$, $p=.002$).

To explore the relationship among the political tolerance and the various predictors, hierarchical multiple regression analysis was used with political tolerance as the dependent. The analysis was run into phases: the first one, included variables related to the idea of the nation and the second one, included variables related to childhood. In both phases at step one all control variables that correlated to political tolerance were introduced, such as educational level, gender and others. At step 2, more distal predictors of political tolerance were entered. For example, in the case of the nation contact was one such variable. At step 3, possible mediators, based on literature review, were entered. For example, in the case of the nation possible mediators of contact are the realistic and symbolic threats.

The analysis was first performed on children's data, since it was identified that more variables correlated with political tolerance. A three-step hierarchical regression model was applied, appearing that all three models significantly improved the ability to predict the outcome variable compared to not fitting the model. Gender, the area children lived (urban or rural), whether children had read or not the CRC, having a family member that experienced a war related event of the past, and being a member of a vulnerable group were entered at Step 1, explaining 12% of the variance in Political Tolerance. At step 2, Opportunities for Contact and Quantity of Contact were entered, and as such, the total variance explained by the model as a whole was 15%. At step 3, the variables entered were: realistic threat, symbolic threat, patriotism, nationalism, religion strength, and hellenocentrism-cypriocentrism. At step 3, the percentage of variance explained reached 43%. Based on the significance levels though and the confidence intervals that crossed zero, only a limited number of those variables were kept at the final model, as shown at Table 59. Step 1 of the final model explained 8% of the variance, at step 2 the total variance explained by the model as a whole was 11%, while at step 3 reached 38%, $F(6, 445)=44.47$, $p<.001$.

The same procedure was followed for educators' data. Gender and having read the CRC were entered at step 1, explaining 5% of the variance, quantity of contact was part of step 2, explaining 6% of the model, while at step 3, realistic threat, symbolic threat, and nationalism were introduced, explaining 27% of the total variance of the model, $F(6, 285)=17.79$, $p<.001$. Results are presented at Table 60.

Table 59. *Linear model of prediction of political tolerance for children's data, with 95% bias corrected and accelerated confidence intervals reported in parentheses. Confidence intervals and standard errors based on 1000 bootstrap samples*

	B	SE B	B	p
Step 1				
(Constant)	3.62 (3.09, 4.14)	.27		.000
Gender (Male=1, Female=2)	.49 (.33, .66)	.08	.27	.000
Read of CRC (Yes=1, No=2)	-.27 (-.51, -.03)	.12	-.10	.025
Step 2				
(Constant)	3.17 (2.59, 3.74)	.29		.000
Gender (Male=1, Female=2)	.46 (.30, .62)	.08	.25	.000
Read of CRC (Yes=1, No=2)	-.22 (-.46, .01)	.12	-.08	.066
Quantity of Contact (Never=0, Had=1)	.31 (.14, .47)	.09	.16	.000
Step 3				
(Constant)	5.84 (5.20, 6.49)	.33		.000
Gender (Male=1, Female=2)	.32 (.18, .46)	.07	.17	.000
Read of CRC (Yes=1, No=2)	-.13 (-.33, .06)	.10	-.05	.183
Quantity of Contact (Never=0, Had=1)	.06 (-.09, .20)	.07	.03	.456
Nationalism	-.13 (-.23, -.04)	.05	-.11	.006
Realistic Threat	-.53 (-.65, -.40)	.06	-.45	.000
Symbolic Threat	-.11 (-.24, .02)	.07	-.09	.08

Note: $R^2=.08$, $\Delta R^2=.03$ for Step 2 ($ps<.05$), and $\Delta R^2=.27$ for Step 3 ($ps<.001$).

Table 60. *Linear model of prediction of political tolerance for educators' data, with 95% bias corrected and accelerated confidence intervals reported in parentheses. Confidence intervals and standard errors based on 1000 bootstrap samples*

	B	SE B	B	p
Step 1				
(Constant)	4.27 (3.69, 4.85)	.29		.000
Gender (Male=1, Female=2)	.19 (-.06, .44)	.13	.09	.137
Read of CRC (Yes=1, No=2)	-.37 (-.58, -.15)	.11	-.19	.001
Step 2				
(Constant)	3.94 (3.28, 4.61)	.34		.000
Gender (Male=1, Female=2)	.20 (-.04, .45)	.13	.09	.107
Read of CRC (Yes=1, No=2)	-.36 (-.58, -.15)	.11	-.19	.001
Quantity of Contact (Never=0, Had=1)	.22 (-.01, .45)	.12	.11	.058
Step 3				
(Constant)	6.33 (5.51, 7.15)	.42		.000
Gender (Male=1, Female=2)	.22 (.01, .44)	.11	.10	.045
Read of CRC (Yes=1, No=2)	-.23 (-.42, -.03)	.10	-.12	.022
Quantity of Contact (Never=0, Had=1)	-.12 (-.33, .09)	.11	-.06	.272
Nationalism	-.05 (-.18, .08)	.07	-.04	.453
Realistic Threat	-.48 (-.68, -.29)	.10	-.37	.000
Symbolic Threat	-.19 (-.38, .01)	.10	-.14	.064

Note: $R^2=.05$, $\Delta R^2=.01$ for Step 2 ($ps>.05$), and $\Delta R^2=.21$ for Step 3 ($ps<.001$).

To examine whether there was a difference in the responses when the least-liked ethnic group related to the Turks, and concurrently, to the Cyprus Problem, the individuals who reported the Turks in their least liked group were firstly selected (Table 61 presents the differences on the means among those who chose Turks to be in their least-liked groups and political tolerance). As Table 61 suggests, individuals, educators and children, who reported Turks as

their least liked ethnic group were less willing to extend children's rights to that group.

Table 61. Means of political tolerance among the participating population and the individuals who reported the Turks as their least-liked ethnic group

	General Population of the Study		Individuals who reported Turks as their least liked ethnic group	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Educators	4.01	.92	3.53	1.09
Children	3.88	.88	3.44	.87

At last, a Mann-Whitney test was run to identify the differences among the two clusters and all the constructs. As for educators' data, levels of understanding that school rituals infringe children's rights differed significantly for educators of cluster 1 (Mdn=3.21, n=266) compared to educators of cluster 2 (Mdn=2.29, n=123), $U=8875$, $z=-7.26$, $p=.000$, $r=-.37$. Levels of understanding that societal rituals infringe children's rights also differed significantly for educators of cluster 1 (Mdn=4.57, n=266) compared to educators of cluster 2 (Mdn=3.57, n=123), $U=5980$, $z=-10.11$, $p=.000$, $r=-.51$. Differences were also shown for concepts of childhood among educators of cluster 1 (Mdn=2.85, n=264) compared to educators of cluster 2 (Mdn=3.14, n=121), $U=11744$, $z=-4.18$, $p=.000$, $r=-.21$, and among levels of political tolerance of educators of cluster 1 (Mdn=4.30, n=217) compared to educators of cluster 2 (Mdn=3.90, n=106), $U=8075$, $z=-4.36$, $p=.000$, $r=-.22$. At last, differences were shown for levels of realistic threat among educators of cluster 1 (Mdn=2.91, n=244) compared to educators of cluster 2 (Mdn=3.11, n=115), $U=11056$, $z=-3.24$, $p=.001$, $r=-.17$, and levels of symbolic threat among educators of cluster 1 (Mdn=3.00, n=241) compared to educators of cluster 2 (Mdn=3.10, n=117), $U=11751$, $z=-2.56$, $p=.010$, $r=-.14$.

As for children's data, levels of understanding that societal rituals infringe children's rights differed significantly for children of cluster 1 (Mdn=4.29, n=435)

compared to children of cluster 2 (Mdn=2.71, n=73), $U=4410$, $z=-9.91$, $p=.000$, $r=-.44$. Levels of nationalism differed significantly for children of cluster 1 (Mdn=3.00, n=435) compared to children of cluster 2 (Mdn=3.33, n=73), $U=10524$, $z=-4.64$, $p=.000$, $r=-.21$. Differences were also shown for concepts of childhood among children of cluster 1 (Mdn=3.00, n=433) compared to children of cluster 2 (Mdn=3.29, n=73), $U=9813$, $z=-5.20$, $p=.000$, $r=-.23$, and among levels of political tolerance of children of cluster 1 (Mdn=4.10, n=420) compared to children of cluster 2 (Mdn=3.60, n=72), $U=10930$, $z=-3.76$, $p=.000$, $r=-.17$. At last, differences were shown for levels of realistic threat among children of cluster 1 (Mdn=2.86, n=399) compared to children of cluster 2 (Mdn=3.09, n=65), $U=10571$, $z=-2.39$, $p=.017$, $r=-.11$.

4.2. Results – Children’s Rights in the Greek Cypriot Press

As shown at Figure 5, at a first sight, the number of articles referring to children was not identical throughout the three consecutive years, neither among the four newspapers. In general, Haravgi had the fewest articles related to children based on the 3-year period, while Politis had the most. As such, children seemed to be within the agenda of the newspaper Politis and independent of the timeliness, the newspaper had a constant number of articles, indicating perhaps a higher interest on matters related to children than the other three newspapers. While comparing though, the amount of articles with the size of each newspaper (Tables 62 and 63), it becomes apparent that a generalization that Politis manifested a greater interest on children’s issues would be a false one, since Politis and Simerini had the largest number of pages during weekdays, while Politis had double the number of pages of Haravgi on Sunday. As such, one can infer that the size of the newspapers affected the number of articles devoted to children. Examining closely though, the number of articles for children at Politis on Sundays, did not double the number of articles at Haravgi. As such, the greater emphasis of Politis cannot be attributed to size. As explored further below, the number of articles for children in newspapers was mostly event driven rather than an interest to invest on them.

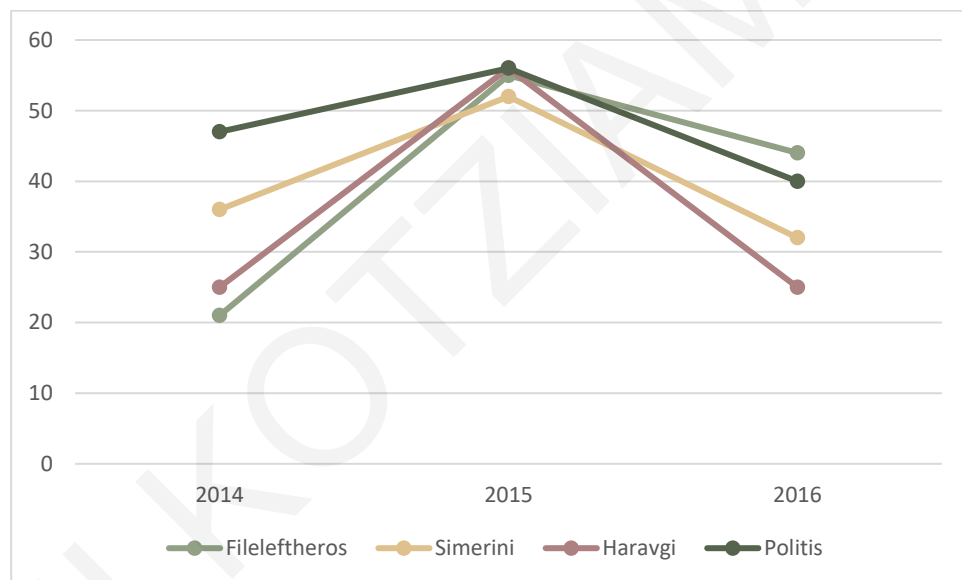
The number of articles in the four newspapers for the year 2015 was comparatively much higher than 2014 or 2016. This increase relates to an incident during the students’ demonstrations against the proclamation of TRNC. Specifically, during their marching, Greek Cypriot students of high school attacked a passing car which bared plates of the TRNC state. The Turkish Cypriots passengers of the car were beaten by the students^{45, 46}. The incident

⁴⁵ The incident provided the ground for the birth of the Bi-Communal Technical Committee on Education, established in November 2015, with the aim to implement confidence building measures via the educational systems of the two communities.

⁴⁶ The perpetrators of the incident were not eventually charged when the case ended into courts, by the use of noille prosequi. Further information could not be retrieved for the case, since no records are kept when noille prosequi is applied.

was highly covered by the media, even 3-4 days after it happened. Journalists discussed not only the incident, but also its impact on the ongoing negotiation process, but also the social aspect of the attack, by scrutinizing the responsibility of the educational system for not preparing the young people to coexist with members of the Turkish Cypriot community. The political responsibility was also discussed, differently by each newspaper, based on its political affiliation. All four newspapers had an increased and similar number of articles referring to children for the year 2015.

Figure 5. *Articles per year and newspaper*



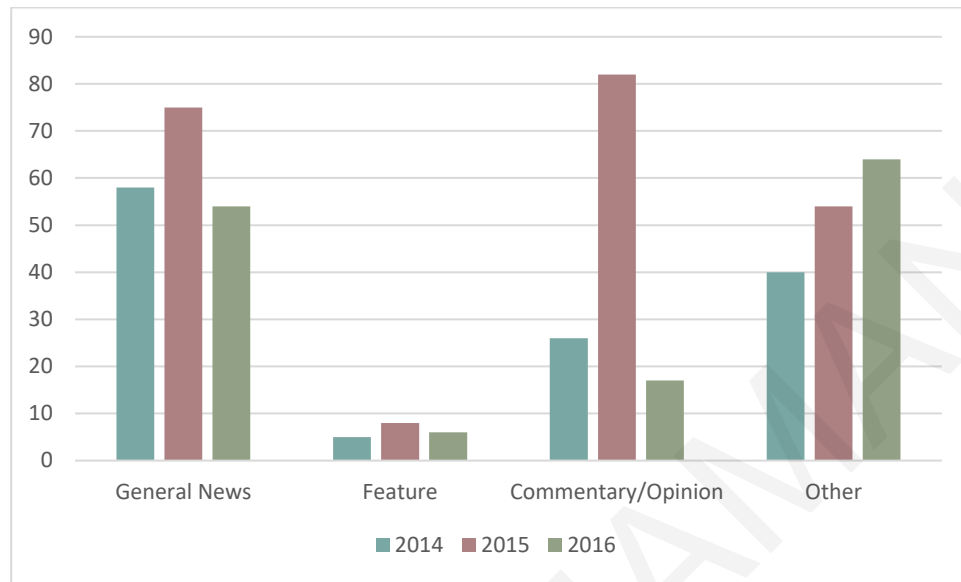
Most articles reported throughout the three-year period were general news. Table 62 presents the number of articles by type of article, newspaper and year.

What is of particular importance is that while general news outweighs and is double in number than the commentary/opinion articles for the years 2014 and 2016, in 2015 the commentary/opinion articles surpass the number of general news. As explained above, the incident where Greek Cypriot students had beaten up Turkish Cypriots was the trigger for journalists, as well as citizens, to publish many commentary/opinion articles about the event. Figure 3 presents the cumulative results of each genre by year.

Table 62. *Articles presented in newspapers by type, newspaper and year*

Type of Article		2014	2015	2016	Total
General News	Fileleftheros	14	20	18	52
	Simerini	13	21	7	41
	Haravgi	9	14	13	36
	Politis	22	20	16	58
	TOTAL	58	75	54	187
Feature	Fileleftheros	0	2	6	8
	Simerini	2	2	0	4
	Haravgi	0	1	0	1
	Politis	3	3	0	6
	TOTAL	5	8	6	19
Commentary/ Opinion	Fileleftheros	3	24	6	33
	Simerini	4	13	3	20
	Haravgi	7	25	4	36
	Politis	14	20	4	38
	TOTAL	28	82	17	125
Other	Fileleftheros	2	9	14	27
	Simerini	17	16	22	55
	Haravgi	9	16	8	33
	Politis	8	13	20	41
	TOTAL	38	54	64	158

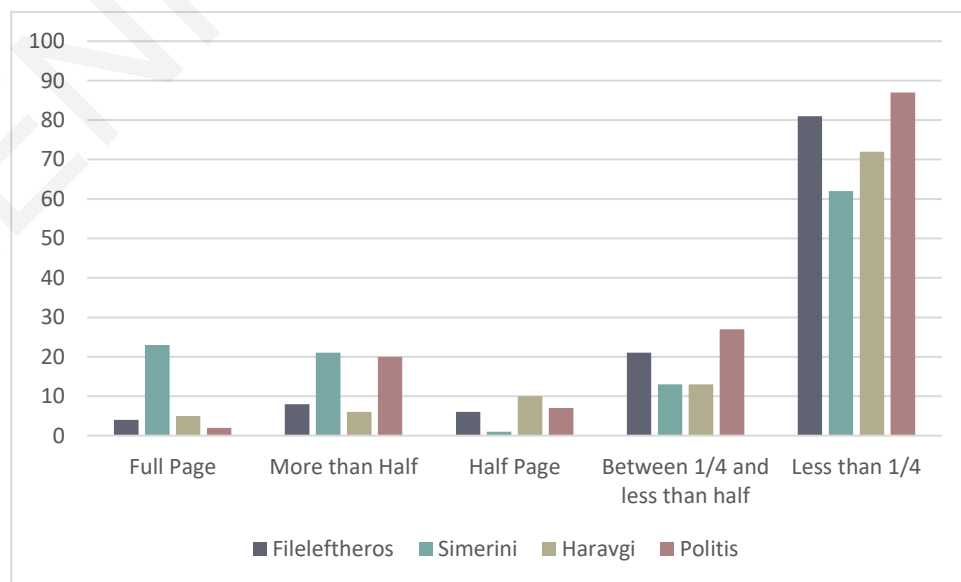
Figure 6. Total number of articles published in the four newspapers by year



Another dimension examined was whether the articles were presented at the front page of the newspaper. Out of the 489 articles published during the time period examined, 78 were in the frontpage, a percentage approaching 16%. Fifteen (15) out of the 78 of those headlines at the front page were related to the Cyprus Problem, while another 12 with a homicide that was carried out by a juvenile offender. Nine (9) of the headlines were related to birth, while another 8 with sexual abuse of children. Six (6) referred to education, 5 to violence directed at children, and 4 to the Children’s Rights Day. Moreover, all newspapers, without an exception, welcomed and applaud the actions of the students related to their actions regarding the Cyprus issue, by devoting space at the front pages to cover the demonstrations and the resolutions submitted by the students to the United Nations over the issue. They did so by using headlines that provided ‘prestige’ for children, such as *“events of honor...”*, *“the young people condemn”*, *“young people do not compromise with the occupation”*, and *“young people demand independence, freedom, democracy”*. Summarizing all the above, the press presents articles related to children at the front page, when they refer to the Cyprus Problem, to violence, health care and education, and the Children’s Rights day.

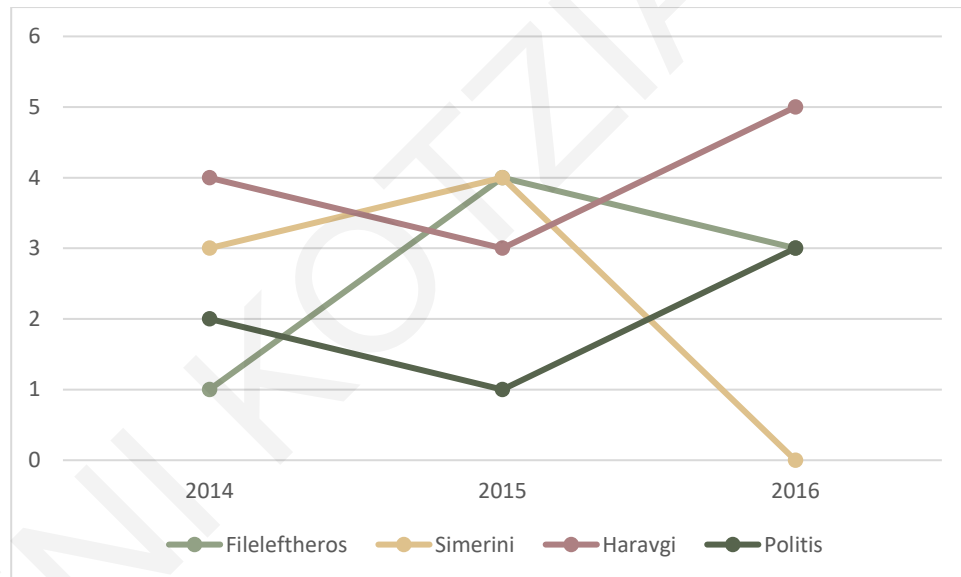
The size of the article was another dimension explored during the quantitative analysis. Articles were divided according to their size into five different categories: full page, more than half, half, between one quarter to almost half, and less than one quarter. The size of the article is an indication of the importance of the topic. As seen at Figure 7 the majority of the articles published that referred to children were less than one quarter of the paper in length. It should be noted though that Simerini had a similar number of articles related to children with Fileleftheros and had less articles than Politis, but it devoted a full page for the articles referring to children five times more than the aforementioned newspapers. One may infer that Simerini covered more in depth the events or news related to children rather than the other newspapers. It is not clear whether Simerini, affiliated with the political party that governed at the time that research took place, had children and their rights in their political agenda, and as such devoted full-page articles to themes related to children. In order to be able to draw conclusions, quantitative analysis should explore the correlation among the content of the articles and their size. Such an analysis was not performed, and as such conclusions about the size of articles and the amount of interest a specific newspaper declares for a specific issue cannot be reached.

Figure 7. *Size of the article by newspaper*



Newspapers studied tended not to attribute content to other sources. Referring either to research results or referencing a book or article appeared only in 33 articles out of the 489 (6.7%). This might be an indication of the tendency of the printed press to provide a fair description of events, without dwelling further into explaining, comparing, justifying either the causes or the outcomes based on knowledge provided by the academia. It might be an indication of the role that Greek Cypriot journalists adopt, restricted in the presentation of events rather without acknowledging the impact the press has in the microgenesis of representations within the society. Figure 8 presents the number of articles citing other sources by year and newspaper.

Figure 8. *Articles citing other sources by year and newspaper*



Quantitative analysis was also performed regarding the gender of the journalist, even though the specific dimension was not set as a research sub-question. In a patriarchal newsroom, it was expected that the majority of the articles related to children would be signed by women. By a first sight, the results indicated no main differences among the gender of the reporter. One hundred and nineteen (119) articles were written by men journalists, while 122 by women. Two hundred and forty-six (246) articles were not signed, and as such the gender of the journalist was not identified. The analysis went a step

further, in an effort to identify whether men journalists wrote on children only in relation to the Cyprus issue, while women only dealt with soft, social news. To identify that, the gender of the journalist was examined for the 92 articles with the thematic area 'Cyprus Problem'. The results revealed that 34 articles were written by male journalist, while another 16 by female. For the rest of the articles the gender of the journalist was not specified. As the results indicate, indeed male journalist reported twice as many times than female journalists regarding children and the Cyprus problem. The results though, should be treated with caution, since for more than half of the articles the gender of the reporter is not clarified. Additionally, there is no information regarding the gender composition of journalists in each newspaper. Without this information, one cannot conclude whether articles related to children were signed more by women than men journalists or whether male journalists preferred to report more about the Cyprus issue. Distinguishing among thematic areas that men preferred to write for in comparison to women was not an aim of the current research and as such, no further analysis was performed regarding gender. Examining whether the representations regarding the Cyprus issue is a men-written territory in the Greek Cypriot newspapers is a worth examining domain for future research.

Furthermore, Simerini hosted in 2015 an article written by a child, while Phileleftheros hosted the same year two articles written by children. In total, only three articles were written by children within a 3-year period for four daily newspapers.

Although, newspapers' size was larger during the weekend, attention on children did not increase either on the Saturday or Sunday editions (Table 63 presents the number of pages for each daily newspaper). Newspaper attention on children was event driven.

Table 63. *Number of pages of daily newspapers*

	Fileleftheros	Simerini	Haravgi	Politis
<i>2014</i>				
Weekdays	28	40	32	40
Saturday	36	40	40	48
Sunday	32	56	48	88
<i>2015</i>				
Weekdays	28	40	32	40
Saturday	36	40	40	48
Sunday	32	64	48	88
<i>2016</i>				
Weekdays	28	40	32	40
Saturday	44	40	40	48
Sunday	32	64	48	88

The last variable examined during the quantitative analysis was the thematic areas of the 489 articles identified. In order to draw conclusions, the thematic areas were grouped into larger topics: thematic areas related to the nation, violence, health, educational or social issues, vulnerable groups, and the agency of children. Table 64 presents the areas.

Table 64. *Thematic areas by newspaper*

	Fileleftheros	Haravgi	Simerini	Politis	TOTAL
NATION RELATED					
Cyprus Problem	29	26	13	24	92
Politechnio	2	2	3	4	11
TOTAL					103
VIOLENCE RELATED					
Sexual abuse	15	6	10	8	39
Homicide	7	2	4	9	22
Violence (including domestic)	1	5	3	1	10
Safety and Security	0	6	2	1	9
Delinquency	6	1	0	1	8
Bullying	1	2	0	0	3

	Fileleftheros	Haravgi	Simerini	Politis	TOTAL
Violation of children's rights	0	1	0	1	2
Kidnapping	1	0	1	0	2
Trafficking	0	1	0	0	1
Death of a child	0	0	1	0	1
TOTAL					97
HEALTH RELATED					
Birth (including premature)	8	0	8	11	27
Health/mental health	0	5	6	12	23
Development	0	0	3	0	3
Obesity	1	1	0	0	2
TOTAL					55
EDUCATIONAL/SOCIAL RELATED					
Education	13	10	10	23	56
Family	0	4	11	8	23
Convention/Children's Day	9	8	2	4	23
Poverty	7	4	5	5	21
Play/Safety in play	1	2	5	4	12
Social Events	3	1	2	0	6
Social policy	2	3	1	3	9
Charity	0	2	1	2	5
Use of internet	0	1	2	1	4
Culture	0	0	2	0	2
Emotional Intelligence	0	0	1	0	1
Communication	0	0	1	0	1
TOTAL					163
GROUPS RELATED					
Refugee children	1	0	5	3	9
Unaccompanied minors	0	3	1	1	5
Disability	0	1	2	1	4
Rights of immigrant parents	0	0	3	0	3
Gifted children	0	1	0	0	1
TOTAL					22
AGENCY RELATED					
Participation	13	4	11	12	40
Politics	0	1	0	1	2
TOTAL					42

As shown at Table 64, the most prevailing thematic area reported during the period examined was the one related to the Cyprus Problem. Specifically, articles related to the Cyprus Issue are almost double than any other thematic area. One should not conclude that reporters have an augmenting interest in

reporting the role of children in the Cyprus Problem. Such an argument should be treated as a conjecture. The increased number of articles related to children and the Cyprus Problem was an outcome of the attack of students to civilians during a protest on November 2015. Taking into consideration that the total amount of articles presented within the specific thematic area for years 2014 and 2016 combined was 12, it can be concluded that reporters had minimal coverage of the protests of young people the other two years, while in no other case children were reported in other articles referring to the Cyprus Problem. If it wasn't for the event of 2015, the number of articles wouldn't be that high.

Fileleftheros had the most extensive coverage of the specific event with many articles providing the opinion of the authors on how the Cypriot society lays the foundations for violent behavior against the Turkish Cypriots. Only one of those articles was an editorial. This is an interesting finding, considering that other studies claim that Fileleftheros is negative towards a solution – at least in its editorials (Christophorou et al., 2010; Avraamidou, 2017; Avraamidou & Psaltis, 2019). It should be noted though that during this period and until the end of 2015, the leaders of the two communities had formed strong ties and agreed upon a number of issues discussed. As such, Fileleftheros was not so negative, as it became to be some months later and especially during the negotiations that took place in Crans-Montana. Haravgi was the newspaper with the second biggest number of articles on the event. Provided that Haravgi expresses the standpoints of the leftist party in Cyprus, its interest on the topic cannot be seen apart from the political agenda of the left party. The event provided the ground to exercise criticism both on the way the incident would be handled, and the policy and practices applied that allow for such phenomena to take place. Simerini, an ethnonationalist newspaper, published the smallest number of articles, which aimed at describing the event and reinforcing the stance of the government of zero tolerance for such incidents. Providing all the above, it can be concluded that regardless of their stance on the Cyprus issue, all four newspapers reject physical violence against civilians who belong to the

'other' community. All four newspapers do not criticize the ideologies of students, but rather the exercise of physical violence by the students.

As shown at Table 64 education, participation, sexual abuse and birth were among the topics highly covered by the Cypriot press.

What should be noted though, is that the press was not interested in participation of children in the Cypriot society, neither debated the participation as a right. Rather two events had increased the engagement of the press with the specific thematic area: the injury of the Turkish Cypriots during a students' protest, and the new elected council of students, the PanCyprian Student Coordination Committee (PSEM-ΠΣΕΜ-PSCC). The first event raised discussions among the Ministry of Education and Culture and groups of organized parents on the conditions under which children should participate in such protests. The second event, commented on the reporting of the elected council about adult involvement during the election process, which resulted at the differentiation of the final result of the elections, with the elected council reporting it as improper voting and not accepting the final result. The reporters presented the opinions of the members of PSEM, along with the demarches they proceeded to in order to restore the result. In this case, the number of articles commenting, criticizing or debating on the participation of children was minimal.

On the other hand, sexual abuse of children is a thematic area the Cypriot society highly concerned with, since the last years various developments in law and practice regarding disclosure and punishment of the offenders have been enacted.

Finally, birth received extended coverage by the press. Various actions that took place during the specific time period, such as the creation of a unit for premature babies, was acknowledged by the media. Press kept reporting the high number of premature children born in Cyprus as justification for the necessity of the unit. At last, the press hosted articles that debated the law amendments, for example those referring to surrogate mothers.

Homicide by children was also reported. In 2014, a 17-year old child was accused for murdering an adult. The murder was extensively covered by the newspapers which commented the absence of preventive programs and social policy that could have resulted in the prevention of the crime, since the child was known to the social services for its delinquent acts. Overall, 22 articles in all 4 newspapers referred to the event.

To sum up, children receive media attention related to the national issue, violent events, medical issues, social issues and their participation. It seems that they are rather an invisible category which is linked to national matters, delinquency, general social issues and they do lack agency. They are another voiceless group within the Cypriot society that receives attention when adults fail to protect them or when their behaviors relate to national matters or criminality.

4.2.1. Results of Qualitative Analysis of the Printed Press

The aim of the qualitative analysis was to identify the content of representations of children in the Greek Cypriot newspapers. In so doing, two themes were identified: the child as a future citizen and the child as tabula rasa. The themes are described below with relevant newspaper extracts.

The Child as a Future Citizen

This theme represented children not as current, active citizens, but as individuals that will gain their space/role within the society with their entry into adulthood. Therefore, childhood is sketched as a period of preparation for adulthood. The following extracts are examples of the representation of the child as a future citizen. Via the extracts, the reader obtains the message that the more we provide for our children today, the more prepared/good citizens we will have tomorrow. Providing for children does not aim at the enjoyment of a fulfilled life during childhood, but rather the creation of a better future society.

“What the Municipal Authority provides for young citizens (children and adolescents) is an invaluable investment in the future of the city. Today’s children will be future citizens. The more beautiful they grow, the more they will look after their city in the future as active citizens, with all the social and economic consequences”⁴⁷.

Monica Michaelidou, Larnaca... a friendly city for children and families

Simerini, 16/11/2016, p. 27

As indicated by the above extract, the value of children depends upon their contribution to the in-group, in this case, the Greek-Cypriot society. The citizen is expected to be an individual that contributes to both the economy and the social aspects of the society. As such, the child is expected to become an adult, able to be a contributor to the society. The well-being of the child, as an autonomous personality, both as a child and as an adult, vanishes at the service of the betterment of society. The extract promotes the idea that investing on children is a sign of social development and promotes the progress of the nation as a whole. It is also interesting how it connects the investment on children with the financial benefits, especially taking into consideration that the extract was written three years after the financial crisis in Cyprus. The writer by focusing on the economic consequences, turns the readers’ attention into the benefits of building a strong future economy and children as helpers in putting an end to the financial turmoil of Cyprus. The argument of benefiting the economy of Cyprus, has been a common media approach in regard to migrants (Avraamidou et al., 2017).

The responsibility of providing for the future citizen is assigned to the State, through its institutions or authorities. Interestingly enough, the newspapers do not link the preparation of the good citizen with the institution of

⁴⁷ [Ο,τι προνοεί η εκάστοτε Δημοτική Αρχή για τους νεαρούς δημότες (παιδιά και έφηβους) είναι μια ανεκτίμητη επένδυση στο μέλλον της πόλης. Τα σημερινά παιδιά θα είναι οι μελλοντικοί δημότες. Όσο πιο όμορφα μεγαλώσουν τόσο πιο πολύ θα φροντίσουν την πόλη τους στο μέλλον ως ενεργοί πολίτες, με όλες τις κοινωνικές και οικονομικές προεκτάσεις].

the family. They actually assign this role directly to the State, especially via schooling. The extracts that follow are indicative of the idea that state institutions are responsible to prepare future citizens that will not only provide for the betterment of the nation, but will also assist in the perseverance of the means that make it unique, such as its core characteristic (i.e. language) and guiding principles (i.e. democracy).

“At last, the education system also has the power to maintain firmly our national language. It will enrich students with knowledge, whom will be the future of the country”⁴⁸.

**Charalambos Papacostas, *Our language in danger...*
Simerini, 16/11/2015, p. 26**

“The presence of children-tomorrow's citizens in a Commission [of the Parliament] that discusses human rights and equal opportunities has its own significance”⁴⁹.

**Rights not just in paper, but in action
Haravgi, 15/11/2016, p. 4**

Despite, a consensus within the newspapers that children are the future of the nation, the media report on State's unwillingness to invest on children. In fact, they criticize the State for not addressing the needs of children and young people and as such, failing to invest on services and provisions. Within this representation, the State appears to fail preparing children to assume their important roles as future useful citizens. Commenting on a homicide event committed by a child, the newspapers note the State's failure to promote practices and policies that would guide children, in order to become the fulfilled citizens of the future. While they describe this inaction of the State, they do not call upon it to assume its responsibilities. One could state, that they rather

⁴⁸ [Κλείνοντας το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα έχει κι αυτό με τη σειρά του τη δύναμη για να διατηρήσει ακλόνητη την εθνική μας γλώσσα. Θα πλουτίσει τους μαθητές με γνώσεις, οι οποίοι θα αποτελέσουν το μέλλον της χώρας].

⁴⁹ [Η παρουσία των παιδιών-αυριανών πολιτών σε μια Επιτροπή, η οποία συζητά για τα ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα και τις ίσες ευκαιρίες έχει τη δική της σημασία].

describe the failure of the State, rather than exercising any kind of criticism. The extracts below are indicative.

“The hideous crime has once again highlighted the absence of the state in serious social issues. One indication is that the law on the treatment of minor offenders was introduced before independence and never modernized”⁵⁰.

***Nea, The Missing State
Politis, 20/11/2014, p.12***

“The state, once again, has demonstrated its gaps and deficits in managing the problems of teenagers and young people. Without proper infrastructure, no staff to provide specialized support. [...] Following the tragic ending, the officials are talking about a prescribed course”⁵¹.

***A.L., Tragedy
Fileleftheros, 19/11/2014, p. 7***

The arguments expressed, outline the absence of any legislative or administrative policies and practices directed to children. An interesting binary is noted in the last extract: while the newspapers refer to various shortcomings of the State relating to the services and provisions providing for children, such as law amendments and expert personnel to address children’s issues, at the same time it balances between State’s incapacity and individual responsibility. This is noted at the second extract, when the author presents the statement of the officials without dwelling to what such a statement may imply. The extract ends by expressing the idea, which is expressed by officials, that the failure of a specific group or an individual is assigned to his/her own competencies, rather than on the State’s incapacity to apply preventive measures and programs that would address social issues. Through this contradictory ending, by attributing

⁵⁰ [Το ειδικό έγκλημα ανέδειξε για ακόμα μια φορά την απουσία της πολιτείας σε σοβαρά κοινωνικά ζητήματα. Ενδεικτικό είναι ότι ο νόμος για τη μεταχείριση ανήλικων αδικοπράγουντων θεσπίστηκε πριν την ανεξαρτησία και ουδέποτε εκσυγχρονίστηκε].

⁵¹ [Το κράτος, για άλλη μια φορά, απέδειξε τα κενά και τα ελλείμματά του, όσον αφορά στη διαχείριση προβλημάτων που παρουσιάζουν έφηβοι και νέοι. Χωρίς κατάλληλη υποδομή, χωρίς στελέχη για παροχή εξειδικευμένης υποστήριξης. [...] Μετά την τραγική κατάληξη, οι αρμόδιοι μιλούν για προδιαγεγραμμένη πορεία].

responsibility on the individual child, the newspapers provide justification for the State. By doing so, the State compensates for its lack of investment on children.

As described above, the representation of the State being responsible for the development of its future citizens, while it is supported by the media, it fades once the debate concerns youth delinquency. In those cases, individual responsibility and personal characteristics overcome State's inaction to promote practices that would form the 'proper' citizen. As indicated by the extract below, individual responsibility is not attributed when the journalist discusses about provisions, such as health care. In this case, the author uses sarcasm, intonation and rhetorical questions to blame the State of its course of inaction. In this case, the author does not acknowledge at any point, the individual responsibility as a justification for the services provided. On the contrary, it criticizes harshly the State for not acknowledging children as a diverse group of individuals with different needs that need to be fulfilled. At the end, it also calls for the State to provide for its citizens, rather than depositing its responsibility to initiatives of donors.

"... to note that similar needs exist for the pediatric neurological unit of Makarios Hospital, which is housed in two prefabricated houses that were joined in the middle with a metal shelter, extending a little the covered area (no matter that when it rains is dripping). This is across the street from the hospital at Makarios Hospital's parking lot. Is this the quality of health services our children deserve? And do we need donors to offer the necessary"⁵²?

MIR, Makarios Unit and in ... prefabricated houses!
Politis, 15/11/2016, p. 13

⁵² [...να σημειώσουμε ότι παρόμοιες ανάγκες υπάρχουν και για το Παιδονευρολογικό του Μακάρειου Νοσοκομείου το οποίο στεγάζεται σε δύο λυόμενα σπιτάκια τα οποία ενώθηκαν στη μέση με μεταλλικό στέγαστρο και δημιουργήθηκε ακόμα λίγος καλυμμένος χώρος (άσχετα αν όταν βρέχει στάζει). Αυτό βρίσκεται απέναντι από το νοσοκομείο στο χώρο στάθμευσης του Μακάρειου Νοσοκομείου. Αλήθεια αυτή την ποιότητα υπηρεσιών υγείας αξίζουν τα παιδιά μας; Και χρειαζόμαστε δωρητές για να προσφέρουμε τα απαραίτητα];

The non-investment on children by the State is also attributed to the austerity measures following the 2013 economic crisis. Both general news and commentaries justified the non-investment of children by the State, by proclaiming the financial difficulties in promoting policies, practices and programs that would address children's needs. The extract below describes the State's officials reasoning of the non-ratification of a Convention based on financial hardships of the State. Despite the Convention promoted practices that protected children from domestic violence, the newspapers did not comment or criticized the official's justification; the financial crisis became the State's safety net for not to be blamed for the continuation of violation of rights of children. A year after the financial crisis in Cyprus, it becomes an excuse for even the application of law amendments.

[The Minister of Justice] However, has suggested that this will not be possible as soon as he wants, because of both the cost and the need to undertake some other procedures [for the ratification of the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence]⁵³.

Domestic, Increase of Violence
Politis, 25/11/2014, p. 27

A second extract, published three years after the austerity measures, criticizes a State's official's response to progress and prosperity. In this case, the article stands critical over indications of progress, as those are expressed by a State official, by pinpointing to the direction that without investing on children and their development, one cannot claim improvement of the situation. The article provides statistics for children that indicate that investment to profit corporations and the state funds are not proofs for a developed nation. The

⁵³ [Ο Υπουργός Δικαιοσύνης] Άφησε ωστόσο να νοηθεί ότι αυτό δεν θα μπορέσει να γίνει όσο σύντομα θα ήθελε λόγω και του κόστους που προϋποθέτει, αλλά και λόγω κάποιων άλλων διαδικασιών που πρέπει να ακολουθηθούν [για τη Σύμβαση της Κωνσταντινούπολης για την πρόληψη και καταπολέμηση της βίας κατά των γυναικών και της ενδοοικογενειακής βίας]

article was published in the newspaper Haravgi, supporting the ideologies of the oppositional party of the government, and as such, the extract cannot be seen outside this context. Whether the argument of non-investing on children due to the austerity measures was used as a springboard to exercise criticism to the government rather than based on a rights-based approach, cannot be examined.

[For the number of children suffering from poverty and social exclusion in Cyprus] “However, Minister, not all the numbers are improving. Improved are the numbers that have to do with state funds, profits of large corporations and capital. Not of the simple people, as the evidence points other than what you claim as a government⁵⁴”.

**Kelefstis, Reboot increases child poverty
Charavgi, 17/11/2016, p. 4**

To sum up, via the specific thematic area the child is represented as useful to the society only as a future citizen, a concept strongly associated with the concept of children as individuals without rights, as well as notions of the child as ‘invisible’ within the Greek Cypriot society, concepts that will be discussed thoroughly later. At the same time, the press represents the State as the responsible agent to provide for the future citizen through its institutions, while criticizing it when it fails to fulfill this role. The criticism though becomes milder and the State is justified for its inaction once it relates to specific areas, such as youth delinquency. When the criticism relates to provisions for children, such as health care, then it becomes more intense and rights based. At last,

⁵⁴ [Για τον αριθμό παιδιών που υποφέρουν από φτώχεια και κοινωνικό αποκλεισμό στην Κύπρο] [Να όμως που δεν βελτιώνονται όλοι οι αριθμοί Υπουργέ. Βελτιώνονται εκείνοι οι αριθμοί που έχουν να κάνουν με τα ταμεία του κράτους, τα κέρδη των μεγάλων επιχειρήσεων και του κεφαλαίου. Όχι του απλού λαού, αφού τα στοιχεία δείχνουν άλλα από αυτά που ως κυβέρνηση ισχυρίζεστε].

the economic crisis that Cyprus went through, was at points used by the press for justifying the non-investment to children by the State.

The Child as 'Tabula Rasa'

This theme dwells on the representation of children as passive recipients that lack the experiences, critical thinking and maturity to act properly on their own behalf. The concept of 'Tabula Rasa' is relevant. 'Tabula rasa' had been attributed several interpretations, ranging, but not limited to, the perception of the child as pure or innocent, the impact of the societal conditions on a child's cognition, up to the long-standing debate among nature or nurture, with the inherent predispositions of a child being overruled by the environmental conditions (Duschinsky, 2012). For the purposes of this paper, the term is used to describe the representation adopted in the Greek Cypriot press based on the use of the term by sociologists or psychologists focusing on the child as a passive recipient, to explain how children learn and progress through the transfer of experiences to the children.

The specific representation recognizes the importance of experience on child's cognition. In fact, it does not just recognize the importance of experience, but acknowledges it as unique and determinant in the formation of the mind of the child. The economic, political, and cultural context a child lives, along with the importance attributed to specific events by formal institutions of the state, such as the school, come to enact specific cognitive patterns within the mind of the child. This is a characteristic extract:

"Imagine being 16 years old and living in Cyprus. Watch every Sunday the politicians' parade on the burial of the bones of the hitherto missing persons of the invasion and read their heroic speeches. Then they go to Kyriakos Matsis⁵⁵ memorial and praise the grandeur of his sacrifice. To lodge a wreath at the

⁵⁵ A Greek Cypriot hero who fought during the struggle of the Cypriots against the British for independence (1954-1959).

memorial service of Isaac⁵⁶ and Solomos⁵⁷, welcoming his reactions against the Turkish occupation, which resulted in sacrifice. At every national feast, from kindergarten to high school, to make you enact Karaiskakis⁵⁸ and Bouboulina⁵⁹, to wake up flags in the parades and to recite "I will go uphill⁶⁰". Asking you to write essays on the Turkish invasion, the refugees and the missing persons, and grading you not only for the spelling and the structure of speech, but above all for how much more patriotic you are going to rise above the speeches of the various others you have parroted...⁶¹"

***Chrystalla Hatzidemetriou, In the mind of a 16-year-old
Fileleftheros, 20/11/2015, p. 2***

The extract above aims, via a sarcastic tone, to describe how children come to behave in ways compatible with their experiences. The author describes the political and educational experiences of young people in Cyprus, presented as an indication of a success in molding the minds of children in Cyprus to ones that the nation needs to preserve itself. Children absorb the information and

⁵⁶ A Greek Cypriot killed during a demonstration by a group named "Grey Wolves" (operates in Turkey and brought to Cyprus as a counteract to the demonstration) at an era where no physical violence was exhibited among the members of the two main communities in Cyprus (1996). His death became symbolic of the atrocities, the Turks can commit even in peace periods.

⁵⁷ As above.

⁵⁸ A hero of the Greek Revolution -1821.

⁵⁹ As above.

⁶⁰ A poem written by a hero of the struggle of the Cypriots against the British for independence (1954-1959).

⁶¹ «Φαντάσου να είσαι 16 χρονών και να ζεις στην Κύπρο. Να παρακολουθείς κάθε Κυριακή τους πολιτικούς να παρελαύνουν στις κηδείες οστών των μέχρι σήμερα αγνοούμενων της εισβολής και να λένε τα διάφορα ηρωικά τους. Έπειτα να πηγαίνουν στο μνημόσυνο του Κυριάκου Μάτση και να εγκωμιάζουν το μεγαλείο της θυσίας του. Να καταθέτουν στεφάνι στο μνημόσυνο των Ισαάκ και Σολωμού επικροτώντας τις αντιδράσεις του απέναντι στην κατοχή, που κατέληξαν σε θυσία. Κάθε εθνική εορτή να σε βάζουν από τον καιρό που θα πατήσεις στο νηπιαγωγείο μέχρι να πας στο λύκειο να παριστάνεις τον Καραϊσκάκη και την Μπουμπουλίνα, να ανεμίζεις σημαιούλες στις παρελάσεις και να απαγγέλεις «θα πάρω μίαν ανηφοριά». Να σε βάζουν να γράφεις εκθέσεις για την τουρκική εισβολή, τους πρόσφυγες και τους αγνοούμενους και να σε βαθμολογούν όχι μόνο για την ορθογραφία και τη δομή του λόγου, αλλά κυρίως για το πόσο πιο μεγαλόσχημες πατριωτικές ατάκες θα έχεις ξεσηκώσει από τις ομιλίες των διαφόρων και θα τις έχεις παπαγαλίσει...»

experiences and come to create a collection of the existing societal and national ideas, beyond any radical doubt. Children's cognitions are shaped by the political and educational acts, to the extent that children cannot think or act by own will. In this extract, the author criticizes the handling of children as passive recipients, demonstrating the persistence of important actors within the society, such as the educational system and politicians, in perceiving children as passive recipients that can be shaped and 'manipulated'. It should be noted though, that the specific extract refers to the specific idea only in relation to the nation and its ideals. The author does not set the perception as a societal condition that exists in general in the Greek Cypriot society. In other words, the article does not proclaim that children are in general treated as tabula rasa in the Greek Cypriot society; they are treated as such only in relation to the ethnic identity and perseverance of the nation.

Concurrently, it should be discussed that even critical voices of ethnocentric education, such as the one presented above, fail to move beyond the transmission metaphor. In other words, the debate is not whether knowledge should be transmitted or constructed by children themselves, but a disagreement in the content of the transmission. The author does not criticize the method of learning, but rather its content. In this case, the ethnocentric frame for conceptualizing children's process of learning is used, and as such the broader opposition to the manipulation of children applies. This frame can be considered as a semantic barrier that prevents to challenge the core representation hold by the Greek Cypriot press on how children learn, that of children as tabula rasa.

The extract that follows is also supportive of the perception of children as passive recipients. The author directs the reader to specific roles that children are assigned to and must fulfill; roles that have been attributed by the society. Once more, the child is envisioned through the eyes of the adults' world and comes to serve an already assigned role. Those roles that the society specifies for children are not noted within the article. They seem to be roles well-known and shared within the Greek Cypriot society, at a degree that the article does

not have to report them. According to the author, education fails to provide the necessary means that will allow children to fulfill those pre-assigned roles.

"At none of the levels of education, the Cypriot children acquire the necessary skills to exercise the crucial for their personal and social well-being roles"⁶².

**Christos Pourgourides, *Education: A major patient*
Politis, 15/11/2014, p. 6**

Within the specific theme, extreme importance is given to the significance of important others in the transmission of knowledge to children. Those others are mainly the educational system and the educators as individuals, the politicians, and the family members. The extracts that follow indicate ways that educators and the educational system frame, in a definite structured manner, the 'appropriate' experiences and ideals to the children or emphasize the importance of those actors in transmitting those. By doing so, the ideas of the nation and its ideals are reproduced generation after generation.

"[Educators] will then transmit their experiences to their students"⁶³.

**Kleanthis Erotokritou, *Why our students are ignorant of history*
Fileleftheros, 18/11/2014, p. 11**

The extracts that follow not only manifests the importance of the educational system transmitting the knowledge to the students, but highly correlates with the thematic area of the representation of the child as a future citizen. In this case, the educational system is assigned with the responsibility to transmit the knowledge and experiences that will form the ideal citizen, whom

⁶² «Σε καμία από τις βαθμίδες της εκπαίδευσης τα Κυπριόπουλα δεν αποκτούν τα αναγκαία εφόδια για να ασκήσουν τους κρίσιμους για την προσωπική, αλλά και την κοινωνική ευημερία ρόλους τους».

⁶³ «[οι εκπαιδευτικοί] ακολούθως θα μεταφέρουν τις εμπειρίες τους αυτές στους μαθητές τους».

in this case shares the characteristics of being nationally 'correct', by for example knowing and using correctly the nation's language. There is an interrelation of the representations of the child as a future citizen, the child as a tabula rasa, and the ethnic identity. The education becomes the means through which the nation will preserve its identity and sustain its character and ideals in the future, by forming the citizens of the future.

"To sum up, the educational system has also the power to maintain firmly our national language. It will enrich students with knowledge, which will be the future of the country⁶⁴"

**Charalambos Papacosta, Student, Our language is in danger
Simerini, 16/11/2015, p. 26**

The responsibility of the educators in the transmission of ideals is further stressed in another extract, where the inability of children to act is the result of being impotent to do so, since they are submitted to and guided by individuals with higher status and power. The article conceives the child as a spectator within the educational process, who mimics the behavior of the authoritarian figure and submits to his/her ideals. The article also places an emphasis on the unequal roles within the school community, especially among students and the head teacher. The head teacher keeps students under his control, using the banking way of teaching, where students are passive, empty vessels to be filled. By doing so, the students do not develop critical thinking and do not become capable of judging the status-quo.

"In general, if a head teacher is a racist and praises fascism, we should not expect the students who attend his/her school to be inspired by democratic ideals. Such a high school cannot form intellectual or spiritual people dealing with social, political, cultural and moral problems, or searching the truth. Such a

⁶⁴ «Κλείνοντας το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα έχει κι αυτό με τη σειρά του τη δύναμη για να διατηρήσει ακλόνητη την εθνική μας γλώσσα. Θα πλουτίσει τους μαθητές με γνώσεις, οι οποίοι θα αποτελέσουν το μέλλον της χώρας».

high school cannot produce citizens with democratic perceptions that respect diversity. [...]»⁶⁵

George Koumoulis, *Partymaking and neo-fascism in lyceums*

Politis, 24/11/2015, p. 11

It is quite interesting to note how misbehaviors or delinquency are explained within this mode of representing children as passive recipients of knowledge. One would expect that any exception from the norm, would be attributed to the institutions responsible to transmit the 'appropriate' knowledge to children. As indicated by the extract below, that is expressed by a State official and presented in the newspapers, youth delinquency and/or misbehavior is not attributed to a failure of any institution, but rather is explained as a 'slip' out of regularity, implying an individual responsibility for it. The family and the school are presented as transmitting the 'right' values to the children and are not attributed any responsibility for any course of action that are not approved by the society. In other words, children are molded into proper individuals by the State's institutions and the family. This is a highly contradicting element with the representations of children as tabula rasa and the representations of state's institutions as responsible to form the ideal citizens, since any deviation from 'normal' behaviour should in this case problematize about the institutions that transmit the knowledge. On the contrary, the institutions and the knowledge transmitted are not questioned. This notion is compatible with the ultimate attribution error (Pettigrew, 1979), where the wrongdoings and faults of an outgroup (in this case, the children) are attributed to the personality, while the success or positive attributes are viewed as the positive outcomes of the efforts of the ingroup (in this case, the family and the State).

⁶⁵ «Γενικολογώντας, αν ένας διευθυντής είναι ρατσιστής και εξυμνεί το φασισμό, δεν πρέπει να περιμένουμε τους μαθητές του σχολείου που διευθύνει να διαπνέονται από δημοκρατικά ιδεώδη. Τέτοιο λύκειο δεν μπορεί να διαπλάθει πνευματικούς ή διανοούμενους ανθρώπους που να ασχολούνται με τα κοινωνικά, πολιτικά, πολιτισμικά και ηθικά προβλήματα, με την έρευνα της αλήθειας. Τέτοιο λύκειο δεν μπορεί να παράγει πολίτες με δημοκρατικές αντιλήψεις που να σέβονται τη διαφορετικότητα. [...]»

"Behaviors against our Turkish Cypriot compatriots are condemned by the overwhelming majority of our student youth and I want to believe that they do not reflect your own values, the ones you were nurtured with from your family or the ones you were taught at your school"⁶⁶.

Message of the Ministry of Education and Culture to the students, The Ministry will be relentless
Fileleftheros, 24/11/2015, p. 20

At the same time, the extract above is indicative of the representation of children as tabula rasa, by having a State official expressing an opinion on behalf of the children. The Minister's message begins with the phrase "behaviors... are condemned by the overwhelming majority of our student youth". By doing so, an authoritative figure, demonstrates to children how they should think and behave. He does not indicate to them appropriate actions; he submits them into specific behaviours; he deprives them of the opportunity to discuss and stand critical against the event; he transforms them into an echo of the nation's perception. This course of action is a vivid example of the representations of children as tabula rasa.

To sum up, the particular thematic area represents children as being passive recipients, tabula rasa, that need to be shaped accordingly via transmission of knowledge and experiences to become the ideal adults. Especially, when it comes to the perseverance of the nation, the institutions of the state and the family are acknowledged by the printed press as the means through which the 'proper' future citizen is prepared. In fact, the educators are assigned with the responsibility to build the ideal future citizen that will have the necessary characteristics to sustain the nation's identity. At the same time, children are assigned with the responsibility to mimic the behavior of their

⁶⁶«Οι συμπεριφορές ενάντια σε Τ/Κ συμπατριώτες μας καταδικάζονται από τη συντριπτική πλειονότητα της μαθητιώσας νεολαίας μας και θέλω να πιστεύω ότι δεν αντανakλούν τις δικές σας αξίες, ούτε αυτές με τις οποίες γαλουχηθήκατε από την οικογένειά σας, ούτε και αυτές που διδαχθήκατε στο σχολείο σας».

educators. Within this context, any misbehavior is considered as an exemption from the norm and is attributed to the individual's characteristics or personality, while the state's institutions responsible to transmit the experiences to children remain intact by any kind of attribution of failure.

4.3. Results of the Data Collected via the Circulars of the Church

The thematic analysis of the Church circulars pinpointed to two contradictory discourses of the conception of the child: on the one hand, the child was presented as a passive subject, in need of nurturance, and guidance, while on the other hand, it was presented as an agent, as active, expected to fully participate in the society as an actor of change. The first form of perception of the child was associated with characteristics of childhood, while the second one, related to the Cyprus Problem. In other words, the agency of the child is maximized when it is expected to fulfill a national aim. On the other hand, his/her agency is minimized, and the child is treated as a prospective citizen, once seen as in the status of a child. The study identified the themes related to each perception of the child, and the arguments the Church used to support the specific perception each time. The discussion following the presentation of the results tries to interpret the effect of this dual presentation of the child on the application of the child's rights.

The Child as a Passive Subject

Two themes were identified in the presentation of children as passive individuals (Figure 10). The first theme *Childhood: A Transitional Period of Life* includes representations which describe childhood as a period where children prepare for adult life. Two sub-themes support the first theme, named *Character Development* and *Learning Period*. The *Character Development* sub-theme stresses that during this period of life, the personality of the children develops. A similar mode is followed at the *Learning Period* sub-theme, where the main line of argumentation is that during childhood children explore their environment and construct knowledge. The main actor responsible to provide for the process is schooling. The second theme *Guidance* includes discourse that stresses the need to nurture and guide children. All in all, via the two themes, childhood is described as an incomplete state of being, with children being unable to form decisions and fully participate in all domains of life. It is mostly presented as an

evolutionary state that will lead to the formation of future actors; up to that point, the child is a passive individual, which is guided to construct knowledge that will lead to its success as a future citizen.

ELENI KOTZIAMANI

Figure 9. *Final Coding Scheme of the Analysis of the Circulars of the Church*

Codes	Description
1 Childhood	<p>Representations of the General Characteristics, What Children Do, Guidance, Children as Actors, Children's Responsibilities</p> <p>Refers to the way childhood is conceptualized by the Church and contain some forms of representations of this period of life, i.e. period where children prepare for adulthood. It also involves perceptions about children's responsibilities during that period of life.</p>
2 Education	<p>Purpose of schooling, Human Right, Characteristics of Education, Students' Roles</p> <p>Entails various conceptions of the purpose of schooling i.e. the acquisition of knowledge, certain characteristics that should be apparent in education such as taking into consideration the technological advancements, and specific roles that students are assigned within the system, such as to succeed, to take the opportunities etc.</p>
3 Society	<p>Traditional vs. Modern Society, Challenges of Modern Society, Financial Difficulties, Youth Responsibility, The "Ideal" Individual</p> <p>References to Cypriot society, containing forms of representations of it i.e. the difficulties that modern era has imposed on individuals and especially young people. It includes references to ideologies related to the behaviors of the individuals; in other words, a frame of behaviors that should characterize the "ideal" individual within the Cypriot society.</p>
4 Role of the Church	<p>Practices, Education, Support Children, Act as a Family Member, Support Society</p> <p>Refers to the role of the Church, in relation to the children, the school, and society in general. It includes references to the church acting as a family member.</p>
5 Cyprus Issue	<p>Cyprus Issue, Responsibilities of Children, Group Cohesion, Threats, Violence, Church's Role</p> <p>References to the Cyprus Issue in relation to the nation, to specific events of the past or to specific groups within the society that adhere to the principles of the nation, to actions or policies that threaten the nation's survival or identity, along with the role of the Church in leading the nation out of the stalemate.</p>

Figure 10. *Core themes and Sub-themes of the discourse of children as passive subjects*

Children as Passive Subjects		
Theme	Sub-Theme	Description
I.	Childhood: a Transitional Period of Life	Emphasizes preparation of children for adulthood.
	A. Character Development	Concerns the development of children's character during childhood
	B. Learning Period	References to childhood as a period to learn and explore, to acquire knowledge
II.	Guidance	The family, the school, the church must provide guidance for children to become the 'right' individuals for the nation

Theme I: Childhood: A Transitional Period of Life

A code that emerged through the thematic analysis of the circulars sent by the Archbishop to the school communities was the conceptualizations of the Church related to childhood. The way childhood was discussed is strikingly similar in the circulars throughout the years 2007 to 2017. A dominant view portrayed throughout those years was that childhood is a period of life that prepares children for adulthood; in other words, it is not a period of life by itself, but rather a transitional period that prepares children for future life. A major component of adult life is the inclusion of the individual within the labor force. The representation of childhood as a transitional period for adult life was built around arguments that children were investing into their future as adults by acquiring knowledge. This would, for example, ensure them a prosperous life and success in the job market. The school, a state's mechanism, is also attributed with the responsibility to prepare children for adulthood, even in the form of acquiring work skills. In other words, the Church promotes the idea of

education as a means to serve market interests. A few indicative examples provided below assert the representation Church transmits for childhood as a transitional step for adult life:

“...retrieve knowledge for future investment”⁶⁷ (2008)

“...to become right humans, we must take small but steady steps starting from today”⁶⁸ (2012)

“...choose professions suitable for employment prospects”⁶⁹ (2013)

“...changes that have occurred in our wider world require that young people acquire more cognitive skills and possess a variety of skills, to be able to respond positively to new data characterizing the world labor market”⁷⁰ (2007).

Sub-theme A: Character Development

A first sub-theme of the representations related to childhood as a transitional period of life, is that during childhood, the character and personality of children develops as well, a process that must be assisted by the educational system. The representations were built around arguments stating that via guidance, children will gradually develop their personalities during childhood. The extracts support that this process is a continuous one, but obstructed in various ways, with the school assisting the process of safeguarding the right development. The extracts below are indicative:

⁶⁷ [αντλήστε γνώση για μελλοντική επένδυση]

⁶⁸ [για να γίνουμε σωστοί άνθρωποι πρέπει να κάνουμε μικρά και σταθερά βήματα από τώρα]

⁶⁹ [επιλέξτε επαγγέλματα πρόσφορα σε προοπτικές απασχόλησης]

⁷⁰ [αλλαγές που έχουν επέλθει στον ευρύτερο κόσμο μας, επιβάλλουν όπως οι νέοι αποκτούν περισσότερα γνωστικά εφόδια και κατέχουν ποικίλες δεξιότητες, ώστε να μπορούν να ανταποκρίνονται θετικά στα νέα δεδομένα που έχουν ήδη διαμορφωθεί στην παγκόσμια αγορά εργασίας]

“...that might not help to complete your personality and character”⁷¹ (2009)

“...step by step you will create your character and personality”⁷² (2012)

“...the ultimate goal of schooling... should be, beyond the transmission of knowledge, and the formation of the youngster’s morality and personality”⁷³ (2007)

“The struggle for knowledge is important. But it’s not the only one or the last one. In order to build appropriately your character and personality you need to gain ethos”⁷⁴ (2010)

“...take any other opportunity offered during classes and that contributes positively to the treatment of your personality”⁷⁵ (2017)

Sub-theme B: Learning Period

A second sub-theme is that childhood is a period of learning and exploration for the children. The main argument here focuses on the need of children to absorb as much as they can, acquire skills and knowledge, that will equip them to cope appropriately with the challenges of the adult life. The Church identifies school as the main actor responsible to assist young individuals in the learning process. It is important to note that half of the circulars pinpoint to the purpose of schooling as the transfer of knowledge to students, linked directly to the conception of childhood as a transitional period of life,

⁷¹ [...που ίσως δεν υποβοηθούν στην ολοκλήρωση της προσωπικότητας και του χαρακτήρα σας]

⁷² [...σιγά-σιγά θα κτίσετε το χαρακτήρα και την προσωπικότητά σας]

⁷³ [απώτερος σκοπός του σχολείου... θα πρέπει να είναι, πέρα από τη μετάδοση γνώσεων και η διαμόρφωση του ήθους και της προσωπικότητας του νέου]

⁷⁴ [Η μάχη για τη γνώση είναι σημαντική. Δεν είναι όμως η μόνη, ή η τελευταία. Προκειμένου να κτίσει κανείς σωστά την προσωπικότητα και το χαρακτήρα του, είναι ανάγκη να αποκτήσει ήθος]

⁷⁵ [αξιοποιήστε και κάθε άλλο στοιχείο που προσφέρεται μέσα από τα μαθήματα και συμβάλλει θετικά στην αγωγή της προσωπικότητάς σας]

where the child must acquire knowledge, that will help him/her later in life. Exemplars of such quotes are:

“...young people develop more knowledge tools and acquire various skills” (2007)⁷⁶

“...the difficult and laborious duty to acquire the goods of knowledge”⁷⁷ (2007)

“...[the school] is called to equip you appropriately to perform in the best possible way”⁷⁸ (2008)

“... a fixed indicator is the achievement of knowledge”⁷⁹ (2009)

“Knowledge is an important resource to advance and build your future”⁸⁰ (2014)

“...in this search path...”⁸¹ (2011 and 2016)

“...as long as a person is young to be educated”⁸² (2017)

The extracts above mention ‘knowledge’ as the aim of education. The concept of knowledge takes us back to the Socratic distinction among knowledge and belief, with the first one being used once an individual claims certainty about it (Vlastos, 1985). At the same time, Plato when he discusses about the two concepts states that knowledge cannot be altered by persuasion, but beliefs can (Vlastos, 1985). How the Church makes use of the concept of ‘knowledge’ seems to differ from the one demarcated by Socrates. The Church does not perceive education as a space where internal reflection and free

⁷⁶ [οι νέοι αποκτούν περισσότερα γνωστικά εφόδια και κατέχουν ποικίλες δεξιότητες]

⁷⁷ [...το βαρύ και επίμοχθο έργο της απόκτησης των αγαθών της γνώσης]

⁷⁸ [...καλείται να σας προσφέρει όλα τα απαραίτητα εφόδια για τις καλύτερες επιδόσεις]

⁷⁹ [...σταθερός δείκτης είναι η επίτευξη της γνώσης]

⁸⁰ [Η γνώση είναι σημαντικό εφόδιο για να προχωρήσετε και να κτίσετε το μέλλον σας]

⁸¹ [στον δρόμο αυτό της αναζήτησης]

⁸² [ενόσω είναι κανείς νέος να μορφώνεται]

discussion can take place, and where the child is considered by the others and by itself as a thinking subject, but rather as a space where a transmission of beliefs takes place from individuals who possess the wisdom (educators) to the children. Explored further later at the study, this process is facilitated by relations of constraint that exist within the system, which do allow for the transmission of beliefs but not the acquisition of new knowledge (Psaltis, 2005).

The transmission of knowledge, or as Socrates defined them 'the beliefs', has been a concept also identified within the printed press analysis (for the purposes of consistency the term 'knowledge' will be used onwards, since this is how it is stated in the circulars). The transmission of knowledge is the main philosophy behind the traditional role of education in comparison to child-centric methods. Freire (1990) commented on the specific perception of education, which he named "banking education", where children can be viewed as spectators in performances, which try to transfer the experiences and knowledge "authoritarian" figures possess. Via this methodology, children are not allowed to grow according to their potential, but rather to become copies of the "ideal" individual of the system they live in. As explained in the analysis of the printed press as well, when the term 'tabula rasa' was introduced, children are considered as passive, empty vessels to be filled. Banking education serves the interests of the group in power, since it blocks criticism, and promotes the sustainability of the status-quo. According to Freire (1990) children, become unable to act, and as such, identify with the 'transmitters' of knowledge. By doing so, they perceive themselves as actors, when in reality, they just become part of the general system. It does not come as a surprise, that Church upholds traditional beliefs regarding education, since those assist the process of maintaining the status-quo and resist change, conceived by the Church as a threat to its existence and the nation's one.

Focusing on the aim of education as the one of transmitting knowledge and experiences to children is also related with other belief systems within a society. One example is the widespread belief that wisdom is a characteristic of the older people. If that is the case, then childhood is perceived as a period

of inexperience and immaturity. As it becomes apparent, there is an interrelation among perceptions of education and perceptions of childhood.

At last, it might be the case that the conception of the aim of schooling by the Church as the transmission of knowledge and wisdom is the result of a more general perception of the Orthodox Church related to God and the 'transfer' of his wisdom to the chosen ones. This can be seen via the example of Jesus and his students, where Jesus acts as an educator that patiently via his knowledge and example transfers the wisdom to his students to continue after his death.

It is not clear whether the perceptions of the Church regarding education are the result of representations of childhood within the society or the overall philosophy of the example of Jesus and it was beyond the scope of the current thesis to explore that issue. What is important is that the Church beholds those perceptions about education and how those might affect perceptions of childhood and at the same time, restrain the application of children's rights, if that is the case.

Theme II: Guidance

The second theme that endured throughout the years 2007 to 2017 and transfers the view of children as not full members of society is that children need guidance. The main line of argumentation of this theme, is that several groups, namely the educators, the family, and the Church must provide guidance throughout childhood for children to grow and develop into the "right individuals" that the nation needs. The main group attributed with the responsibility to provide such guidance, is the educators' group. Exemplars indicate the duty Church leans on the educators' shoulders:

“...your educators who deposit the excess of their soul, for your education”⁸³(2009).

“...the journey to the amazing world of knowledge has started, and your teachers escort you”⁸⁴ (2012)

“In this search path you will be guided by your respected educators”⁸⁵ (2016)

In 2012, 2016 and 2017 the Archbishop also devoted a paragraph that directly addressed the group of educators. Within the lines, the Archbishop stresses the idea that the educators’ responsibility is to guide children and young people, since children are the citizens of tomorrow. The work of educators has an impact on the well-being of the country, as educators place the foundations that will enable children to become ‘proper’ individuals and citizens in the upcoming years. The extracts below are indicative:

“On your shoulders leans the heavy and honorable duty to shape and direct the hearts of our children and young people. The foundations of the future of our state, our society and our country are based on you”⁸⁶ (2016).

“We express the cordial greeting of our love and our deepest appreciation to the high work of education that you are doing and which we consider to be a reference for a better tomorrow in all areas of life. We wish you the patience and the perseverance of initiating your students on the journey that begins today”⁸⁷ (2017).

⁸³ [τους εκπαιδευτικούς σας που καταθέτουν το περίσσευμα της ψυχής τους για τη δική σας μόρφωση]

⁸⁴ [το ταξίδι της περιπλάνησης στον εκπληκτικό κόσμο της γνώσης έχει αρχίσει, με συνοδοιπόρους τους δασκάλους και καθηγητές]

⁸⁵ [Στον δρόμο αυτόν της αναζήτησής σας θα έχετε οδηγούς σας τους σεβαστούς Δασκάλους και Καθηγητές σας]

⁸⁶ [Στους ώμους σας πέφτει το βαρύ και συνάμα τιμητικό καθήκον να διαμορφώνετε και να κατευθύνετε τις καρδιές των παιδιών και των νέων μας. Πάνω σας στηρίζονται τα θεμέλια οι βάσεις του μέλλοντος της πολιτείας, της κοινωνίας και της πατρίδας μας].

⁸⁷ [Εκφράζουμε τον εγκάρδιο χαιρετισμό της αγάπης μας και της βαθύτατης εκτίμησής μας στο υψηλό έργο της παιδείας που επιτελείτε και το οποίο θεωρούμε ως σημείο

The extracts above direct to another perception regarding the aim of education, which is to improve individuals in order to improve the society. This is a traditional perception for the aims of education that has been recorded in the literature as well (Hutchins, 1953). Based on that perception, schools try to improve the individuals by giving them basic knowledge, along with opportunities to develop through the provision of adequate support. Once individuals develop, then society develops as a consequence. Within the school setting, students come to internalize the hierarchy among themselves and the 'knowledgeable' others that they need to improve. As such, once they get into adulthood and they are part of the wider society, they do get the same role of improving others and helping them develop. The Church puts a great responsibility on educators' shoulders: that of the betterment of the future of the nation.

Another point that needs to be addressed is that while addressing children there is a clear reference to the educators as respected individuals and the Church encourages children to listen and respect them, when addressing the educators, one cannot see the same urge towards the educators. There was no indication, via the lines directed towards the educators, that children are a respected group. As such, it becomes apparent that this respect is perceived as unilateral by the Church. This perception can be related to the asymmetry of relations, expressed by Piaget (1997), and specifically to the relations of constraint, which according to Piaget do not lead to cognitive development. On the other hand, though, the relations of constraint go hand-in-hand with the perception that supports that the aim of education is to transmit knowledge to students, as that was explored above. The perceptions of the relations among the educators and the students as those are expressed by the Church are close to the Vygotsky ideas than the Piagetian social psychology, that the traditional

αναφοράς για ένα καλύτερο αύριο σε όλους τους τομείς της ζωής. Σας ευχόμαστε να έχετε την υπομονή και την επιμονή να μιλήσετε τους μαθητές σας στο ταξίδι, αυτό, που ξεκινά σήμερα.]

bank model and relations which are asymmetric in terms of knowledge possession enable individuals to grow.

The importance of family in the nurturance process, is rarely explicitly mentioned, specifically only two times in the 10-year period, with the short phrases *“remain close to the basic pylon which is your family”*⁸⁸ (2009) and *“I welcome the parents who stand patiently and with love beside them”*⁸⁹ (2012). At the same time though, Church is self-presented as a form of family that supports the children and young people. The Church constantly places itself in the position of a family member concerned with the development and well-being of children. In other words, the Church downplays the real family to undertake and overplay that role itself. As a caring parent, the Church claims to pray, bless, advise, support, wish, participate at the joys and worries of the children, listen to, provide love and guide them. The texts repeatedly state the support and guidance that the Church can provide to children, such as the one presented in 2007 stating that *“In your journey, I ensure you, that I will be your protector and collaborator”*⁹⁰ (2007). It is important to note that, in the above wording, Church adopts the role of a patron, with collaboration not being identical to cooperation. But this support becomes even stronger in the context of the role Church undertakes as a family member. In most of the cases, the Church assimilates the role of the father for the children. As Georgiou (2005) supports the Greek traditional family, had specific roles for each gender, from which certain rules came about. As the same author underlines, there were specific cultural expectations for motherhood, which within the Cypriot context, affect the functioning of the family and separate the caregivers into primary and secondary ones. In the case of the circulars, indeed, the father-image

⁸⁸ [...να παραμείνετε κοντά στο βασικό πυλώνα που είναι η οικογένειά σας]

⁸⁹ [...χαιρετίζω τους γονείς που στέκονται υπομονετικά και με αγάπη δίπλα τους]

⁹⁰ [Στην πορεία σας αυτή να είστε βέβαιοι, πως θα με έχετε προστάτη και συνεργό ολοπρόθυμο]

constructed relates to the gender role of fatherhood, designating the father as the appointed person to protect, feed, and discipline the family members, holding a superior position in family structures. On the other hand, the mother was designated to love and care for her children, an image that is also constructed in the single extract where Church adopts the role of a mother. It is interesting to note, that even for a single time, the Church, an institution which formed and reproduced patriarchy, in 2011 it represented itself via a female role. Other than reproducing the traditional role of motherhood, providing love, care and support to the children, one cannot note the reasons behind the adoption of a female role on behalf of the Church. The extracts below indicate the representations of the parenting role the Church considers having in the lives of children:

“As your spiritual father, I pray...”⁹¹ (2007)

“As your spiritual father I consult you, at this phase of your life to be careful”⁹² (2008)

“At the beginning of the school year, when the bell of the school rings, we participate at your joy, as well as to your worries, and as your spiritual father, we pray to always be...”⁹³ (2009)

“We would really like to ask you, with real father’s love, to keep away from any kind of addiction...”⁹⁴ (2009)

⁹¹ [προσεύχομαι, ως πνευματικός σας πατέρας...]

⁹² [Ως πνευματικός σας πατέρας σας συμβουλευώ σ’ αυτή τη φάση της ηλικίας σας να είστε προσεκτικοί]

⁹³ [Στην αρχή κιόλας της φετινής χρονιάς, με το πρώτο κτύπημα του κουδουνιού, συμμετέχουμε στη χαρά σας καθώς επίσης και στις όποιες ανησυχίες σας και, ως πνευματικός σας πατέρας, προσευχόμαστε να είστε πάντοτε...]

⁹⁴ [Προπαντός όμως θα θέλαμε με πραγματική πατρική αγάπη να σας καλέσουμε να κρατηθείτε μακριά από τις οποιοδήποτε είδους εξαρτήσεις...]

“As your spiritual father, we pray that God supports this fight of yours”⁹⁵ (2010)

“That the Church is a kind Mother, in whose arms one can find courage, and response”⁹⁶ (2010)

“We would like to remind you, that in this journey that starts today, you are not alone. The Church will always support you and will have its arms open, as a loving mother...”⁹⁷ (2011)

“In your journey, dear youth, keep in touch with your parishes, trust the spiritual fathers, experience the sacramental consecutions of the Church’s mystical life”⁹⁸ (2015)

A closer examination of the language used, and the use of prompts directed to children and youth in the extracts above (i.e. “I consult...”, “we would really like to ask you...”, “we would like to remind you...”), one can note that the choice of words result in an imperative tone, that creates a social distance among the children and the Church, positioning children in a different, inferior status, which was prevalent in the traditional Cypriot family, where the father had a leading role within the family. The concept of the child is framed in a way that it does not allow for the full participation of children in the family or the society in general, but rather to the degree that their abilities allow for it, and under the prerequisite of the guidance of the adults.

⁹⁵[Ως πνευματικός σας πατέρας, προσευχόμαστε όπως ο Θεός σας ενισχύει στον αγώνα σας αυτό]

⁹⁶[Ότι δηλαδή η Εκκλησία είναι η φιλόστοργος Μητέρα, στην αγκαλιά της οποίας μπορεί κανείς να βρει θάρρος, κουράγιο και απαντοχή]

⁹⁷[Θα θέλαμε να σας υπενθυμίσουμε ότι σ’ αυτό το ταξίδι, το οποίο ξεκινάτε σήμερα, δεν είστε μόνοι σας. Η Εκκλησία, θα βρίσκεται πάντοτε συμπαραστάτης σας και θα έχει διαρκώς την αγκαλιά της ανοιχτή, ως φιλόστοργος Μητέρα...]

⁹⁸[Στην πορεία σας αυτή, αγαπητοί νέοι, κρατείστε επαφή με τις ενορίες σας, εμπιστευθείτε τους πνευματικούς πατέρες, βιώστε μέσα από την τέλεση των ιερών ακολουθιών τη μυστηριακή ζωή της Εκκλησίας]

To sum up, within the first representation of children as passive subjects, children were perceived as in the process of preparation for adult life, by acquiring knowledge and skills that will enable them to join the labour force and by building up their personalities. Childhood was also represented as a period where children need guidance, provided by family members, the educators, and the Church, to build for a prosperous future. Within the representation of children as passive individuals, the Cyprus Problem was not prevalent at all. All references were constructed around concepts of childhood.

Children as Agents

A primary consideration of this study were the messages of the Church to children and young people related to the Cyprus Problem, and whether the Church perceives children in a specific way related to the Cyprus Problem. In all circulars the Archbishop thoroughly refers to the Cyprus problem, and in most cases the reference is provided at the very end of the circulars, as the last theme attended. It might be the case that the Cyprus Problem is mentioned as the last concept in the circulars of all years examined, in an effort of the Church to be remembered by children the most. Of course, this remains a speculation which cannot be verified. Of more importance, the discourse associated to the Cyprus Problem presents children as active agents, able to change their environment. The discourse evolves around 2 themes and several sub-themes (Figure 11 presents those).

Figure 11. *Core themes and sub-themes of the representations presenting children as agents*

Children as Agents			
	Themes	Sub-Themes	Description
III.	Modern Society		References to characteristics of modern society, the responsibility of children to change it, and the extensive need to sustain the Greek Christian ideals.
		C. Deteriorating Modern Society	Underlines the characteristics of modern era that have an impact on the well-being of the society and impact the values of the traditional Cypriot society.
		D. Responsibility of Children to Change it	Includes urges to children to change the characteristics of modern society and behaviors that children should avoid dwelling into.
		E. Sustain the Greek Christian ideals	References to the three pylons that sustain the Greek Christian virtues and ideals, name the family, the nation, and religion.
IV.	Preserve the Nation		Emphasis on the responsibility of children, as active agents, to preserve the nation, by bolstering nation cohesion and using symbolic threats.
		F. Bolstering Nation Cohesion	References to attempts to safeguard the cohesion of the nation by using language, historical events of the past, remembrance of the past violations, and the size of the country.
		G. Symbolic threats	References to elements that endanger the nation's ideologies or values, along with the need to resist those.

As such, a different aspect of representations is articulated in contradiction with the representations of children as passive individuals, when specific conceptions of childhood were articulated; a paradox is noted when representations of children are related to the nation or the Cyprus Problem. In those cases, children are considered as active members of society, responsible to act, react, and bring changes for the future of the nation. Children are called upon to resist the temptations of modern society and preserve the Greek Christian virtues and ideals of the Cypriot society, while at the same time

preserve the nation, by bolstering cohesion and addressing the threats. While the representations of the child dictate behaviors of 'incapacity', limited capabilities, and excessive use of assistance to achieve goals as social norms among children, when the representations relate to the nation, children become the bearers of responsibility of attaining national goals, through representations which militate them to do so.

Theme III: Modern Society

Modern society was captured via characteristics that describe it and label it as deteriorating one, detrimental to the healthy development of the children and the society. The homogeneity that used to describe the traditional Cypriot society, with its shared beliefs and common visions, is at stake within the modern Cypriot society; Church experiences a threat to the commonality and cohesion of the Cypriot society. In general, Greenfield (2016) has studied how cultural evolution and social change are instrumental in shaping representations that threaten the traditional aspects of the societies. New socialization practices and learning environments (Greenfield, 2016) sketch a threatening picture that can be only regarded as a cultural loss. This standpoint becomes apparent via the circulars, and as such, children are encouraged to focus within the society to look for alternative avenues for society expansion and modernization; absorb the positive aspects, such as the technological advancement and retain the Greek Christian ideals and virtues. This selective approach, based on the propagation mode of communication (Moscovici, 2000), where the sharing is compiled by a central authority, the aim is to control the alternative representations as well, as long as they do not consist a threat to the core representations. In this case, children become task-oriented within the society; they exist to put an end to the catastrophe that is just before the gates. Children are called to counteract against the unlimited temptations of modern society and sustain the virtues of the traditional one. The above elements are presented in

the three sub-themes presented below: *Deteriorating Modern Society*, *Responsibility of Children to Change it*, and *Sustain the Greek Christian Ideals*.

Sub-theme C: Deteriorating Modern Society

Modern era, in the circulars, is predominantly characterized by changes that reveal a deteriorating society compared to the values that existed in the traditional Cypriot society. The modern society seems to be imbued in a wobble of negative values, behaviors and attitudes overexerted in all aspects of life. All circulars, from 2007 to 2017, refer to the challenges of modern Cypriot society, referring to drugs, consumerism, extreme ideologies, excessive use of internet, crisis of moral values, absence of visions and collective goals, securing of the personal interest over the collective one, lack of consciousness, restoration to violence, intolerance, and imitation of wrong idols. It also necessitates an increased number of knowledge and skills on behalf of the individual to cope in the labor force. Through the extracts, it also becomes apparent that the Church disapproves the development of society and its functioning in the modern era, since it is characterized as depriving of children the ability to develop their personalities in the best possible ways. Despite that, the Church still presumes children to be able to succeed within modern era.

“As you know, the changes that have been made to our wider world require that young people acquire more knowledge and possess a variety of skills in order to be able to respond positively to the new data already created on the world labor market”⁹⁹ (2007)

“There are many challenges. Do not forget that you, the young people, are the big market from which every sort of merchants are

⁹⁹ [Όπως και σεις γνωρίζετε οι αλλαγές που έχουν επέλθει στον ευρύτερο κόσμο μας, επιβάλλουν όπως οι νέοι αποκτούν περισσότερα γνωστικά εφόδια και κατέχουν ποικίλες δεξιότητες, ώστε να μπορούν να ανταποκρίνονται θετικά στα νέα δεδομένα που έχουν ήδη διαμορφωθεί στην παγκόσμια αγορά εργασίας].

*trying to shop: the drug traders, the extreme ideologies, the extreme consumer welfare*¹⁰⁰ (2008)

*“As new people, who start your lives, you will be confronted with the problems of the modern way of life: the crisis of moral values, the absence of visions and collective goals, the securing of the personal interest over the collective and the lack of consciousness. All these problems, unfortunately, contribute to the development of the concept of an inwardly empty man, who aims not in his inner-spiritual cultivation but in in-depth vocational training and in the acquisition of more and more material goods”*¹⁰¹ (2011).

*“Unfortunately the temptations and challenges of everyday life hamper the work of your complete and uninterrupted course in this direction. The spirit of our time is largely materialistic. He disregards God and the values that life implies with Him. At the same time, the standards that are being promoted are not always positive, so they are disorienting you instead of helping you to build on your personality”*¹⁰² (2014).

“...the hope for a world much better than the world of ephemeral, the sovereignty of material goods, the violence, the interest and

¹⁰⁰ [Οι προκλήσεις πολλές. Μη λησμονείτε ότι εσείς οι νέοι αποτελείτε τη μεγάλη αγορά από την οποία οι κάθε λογής έμποροι προσπαθούν να φωνίσουν. Οι έμποροι των ναρκωτικών, των ακραίων ιδεολογιών, της άκρατης καταναλωτικής ευμάρειας].

¹⁰¹ [Ως νέα άτομα, που ξανοίγεστε στη ζωή, θα έρθετε αντιμέτωποι με τα προβλήματα του σύγχρονου τρόπου ζωής: την κρίση ηθικών αξιών, την απουσία οραμάτων και συλλογικών στόχων, την εξασφάλιση του προσωπικού συμφέροντος έναντι του συλλογικού και την απουσία συνειδήσεως. Όλα αυτά τα προβλήματα συμβάλλουν, δυστυχώς, στην ανάπτυξη της ιδέας για έναν εσωτερικά κενό άνθρωπο, ο οποίος στοχεύει όχι στην εσωτερική-πνευματική καλλιέργειά του, αλλά στη χωρίς βάθος επαγγελματική κατάρτιση και στην απόκτηση όλο και περισσότερο υλικών αγαθών].

¹⁰² [Δυστυχώς οι πειρασμοί και οι προκλήσεις της καθημερινότητας παρεμποδίζουν το έργο της ολοκληρωμένης και απρόσκοπτης πορείας σας προς την κατεύθυνση αυτή. Το πνεύμα της εποχής μας είναι εν πολλοίς υλιστικό. Παραγνωρίζει το Θεό και τις αξίες που συνεπάγεται η ζωή μαζί Του. Παράλληλα, τα πρότυπα που προβάλλονται δεν είναι πάντοτε θετικά και έτσι σας αποπροσανατολίζουν αντί να σας υποβοηθούν για να οικοδομήσετε πάνω σ' αυτή τη βάση την προσωπικότητά σας].

the intolerance, which are strongly presented in today's era"¹⁰³ (2016).

*"This will ensure stability in your life in a time of confusion and uncertainty like the one we are experiencing"*¹⁰⁴ (2017).

As indicated by a number of extracts above, the Church to maintain the cohesion of the Cypriot society employs another strategy; it rejects means employed in an urbanized progress era and upholds means that support the cultural continuation of the nation. Such means are provided by Greenfield (2017) and include among others, the use of: "(a) collectivistic words (i.e. duty), (b) first-person nouns (i.e. we and us), (c) words signifying hierarchical social relations (i.e. obedience), and (d) words related to the practice of religion in everyday life" (p.765). This preference of the collectivistic over the individualistic terms of society does not come in a vacuum; the exacerbated sense of community aims via the words used to claim the nation's identity as a single one, and establish clear limits when it is threatened.

Sub-theme D: Responsibility of Children to Change it

Albeit the characteristics of the contemporary Cypriot society have been deeply rooted, the endeavor of the Church focus on stipulating the responsibility of children and youth to alter society and lessen the adverse effects on individuals and the nation. One can claim that the discourse the Church employs is based on fear. Fear that is based on the loss of a nation, the loss of the traditional values. The Church makes use of the fear and threat discourse to mobilize them to resist to the change and fight against the 'evil'. The Church,

¹⁰³ [...την ελπίδα για έναν κόσμο πολύ καλύτερο από τον κόσμο του εφήμερου, της κυριαρχίας των υλικών αγαθών, της βίας, του συμφέροντος και της μισαλλοδοξίας, που έντονα παρουσιάζεται στη σημερινή εποχή].

¹⁰⁴ [Έτσι θα εξασφαλίσετε σταθερότητα στη ζωή σας σε μια εποχή σύγχυσης και αβεβαιότητας σαν αυτή που διανύουμε].

as illustrated at the extracts below, elaborates on how to avoid ‘bad’ habits or behaviors in an effort to moderate the impact of modern society’s characteristics on the individuals and the nation.

“...I urge you to approach the new bishops, as well as the old in ordination. Make them aware of your concerns related to your own path, as well as the social one. Communicate your suggestions and views on how to improve a specific situation that possibly affects you at the area you reside”¹⁰⁵ (2007).

“Our society needs great changes. Those can be accomplished by you, the young people. As long as your heart says so and you are right”¹⁰⁶ (2012).

“Above all, however, with real paternal love we call upon you to keep yourself away from any kind of dependencies that eventually can derail your uninterrupted course. Beware of narcotics proposed for fleeing reality and experiencing artificial paradises, excessive waste of time on the internet, bad words”¹⁰⁷ (2009).

“Additionally, make your free time a quality one and do not waste it on habits that do not help you develop: dependencies which tie you up, practices which do not allow you to grow up”¹⁰⁸ (2015).

Additionally, the transformation of the society, according to the Church will be achieved via the initiation of changes from within self. Respecting the

¹⁰⁵ [σας προτρέπω να πλησιάσετε τους νέους επισκόπους, καθώς και τους παλαιότερους σε χειροτονία. Να τους μεταφέρετε τις έγνοιες και τους προβληματισμούς σας για την πορεία τη δική σας και την κοινωνική. Να τους κοινοποιήσετε εισηγήσεις και προτάσεις σας για να βελτιωθεί μια κατάσταση που τυχόν εκκρεμεί στην περιοχή, όπου διαμένετε.

¹⁰⁶ [Η κοινωνία μας χρειάζεται μεγάλες τομές. Αυτές μόνο εσείς οι νέοι μπορείτε να τις κάνετε. Αρκεί να το λέει η καρδιά σας και να είστε σωστοί]

¹⁰⁷ [Προπαντός όμως θα θέλαμε με πραγματική πατρική αγάπη να σας καλέσουμε να κρατηθείτε μακριά από τις οποιοδήποτε είδους εξαρτήσεις που ενδεχόμενα μπορεί να εκτροχιάσουν την απρόσκοπτη πορεία σας. Προσέχετε από ναρκωτικές ουσίες, που προτείνονται για φυγή από την πραγματικότητα και βίωση τεχνητών παραδείσων, από υπερβολική σπατάλη χρόνου στο διαδίκτυο, από κακές έξεις]

¹⁰⁸ [Δώστε, ακόμη, ποιότητα στον ελεύθερο σας χρόνο και μην τον σπαταλάτε με συνήθειες που δεν σας οικοδομούν: εξαρτήσεις που σας δένουν πρακτικές που δεν σας βοηθούν να ωριμάσετε].

opinions of the others, valuing all humans, and feeling and expressing love and respect for self and the other are but a few qualities of the individual that can transform society. At this point, the Church presents children as possessing those qualities, provided by God to all humans, and calls upon them to discover them, and live upon them; as long as they change their behaviors in a suitable manner, those qualities will excel and thrive within them, and become the means through which society will be transformed. At the same time, solidarity, tolerance, and collectivity can depart society and its members from the focal point of destruction and chaos. Via the extracts that follow, what is articulated is an epistemological position of considering children having a preformed, biological charisma provided by God, waiting to just bloom on the way to development. The child is endowed with pre-defined good qualities, provided by God, a position that does not contradict the epistemology of knowledge transmission, shared by the Church, as it was explained above. Once juxtaposing the two epistemologies, one can identify various arguments that both explain the core representation of childhood that the Church beholds and shares: the child is born with pre-defined qualities. The institutions that the nation establishes to transmit knowledge are in charge to adhere to those qualities, since they do represent the nation's characteristics and ideals as well. Any failure for those attributes to flourish, is, however, attributed, not to the system, but rather to the particular child that did not make use of the opportunities and did not develop in the best possible way. This is the general stance of the Church as to development of children. Pertinent examples of the representation regarding the pre-defined qualities provided to all children by God are provided below.

“So, my beloved children, throw yourself in the struggle for the dream of a good and honest type of person and make it a reality.

Transform yourself and the society around you. Become the change you want to see in your world”¹⁰⁹ (2007).

“...cultivate the dialogue, a spirit of cooperation, and democracy to achieve your goals and requirements. This will create a framework of life where all the issues of everyday life will be resolved on the basis of respecting the positions and opinions of the other”¹¹⁰ (2008).

“In pursuit of these goals to insist. In the prayer that purifies the mind, in the love that connects people to each other and to the pure life, which makes the Christian ‘a new person’”¹¹¹ (2015).

“Open your souls in love for human and truth. Light them with the Light of Faith and listen to the secrets they have to tell you. Search for and discover the knowledge that establishes the hope and prospect for a better world than the one you inherited. You will find this knowledge somewhere hidden in your books. Discover your best, test your strengths and abilities, make use of your talents and abilities, chase your dreams to make it happen. I am sure that in your search you will find the greatness that God has given to your soul and heart”¹¹² (2016).

¹⁰⁹ [Ριχθείτε, λοιπόν, αγαπητά μου παιδιά, στον αγώνα για το όνειρο ενός «καλού καγαθού» τύπου ανθρώπου και κάντε το πραγματικότητα. Μεταμορφώστε τον εαυτό σας και την κοινωνία γύρω σας. Γίνετε εσείς η αλλαγή που θέλετε να δείτε στον κόσμο σας].

¹¹⁰ [...καλλιεργήστε το διάλογο, το πνεύμα της συνεργασίας, τη δημοκρατικότητα για να επιτύχετε τους στόχους και τις όποιες απαιτήσεις σας. Έτσι θα διαμορφώσετε ένα πλαίσιο ζωής όπου όλα τα ζητήματα της καθημερινότητας θα επιλύονται πάνω στη βάση του σεβασμού των θέσεων και των απόψεων του άλλου].

¹¹¹ [Στην επιδίωξη αυτών των στόχων να επιμένετε. Στην προσευχή που καθαρίζει το μυαλό, στην αγάπη που συνδέει τους ανθρώπους μεταξύ τους και στον καθαρό βίο, που κάνει τον χριστιανό «καινόν άνθρωπον»].

¹¹² [Ανοιξτε τις ψυχές σας στην αγάπη για τον Άνθρωπο και την αλήθεια. Φωτίστε τις με το Φως της Πίστης και αφουγκραστείτε τα μυστικά, που αυτές έχουν να σας πουν. Αναζητήστε και ανακαλύψτε τη γνώση, που θεμελιώνει την ελπίδα και την προοπτική για έναν καλύτερο κόσμο απ’ αυτόν που κληρονομήσατε. Τη γνώση αυτή θα τη βρείτε κάπου κρυμμένη στα βιβλία σας. Ανακαλύψτε, ακόμη, τον καλύτερο εαυτό σας, δοκιμάστε τις δυνάμεις και τις δυνατότητές σας, αξιοποιήστε τα χαρίσματα και τις ικανότητές σας, κυνηγήστε τα όνειρά σας, για να τα κάνετε πραγματικότητα. Είμαι, βέβαιος, ότι στην αναζήτησή σας αυτή θα βρείτε και το μεγαλείο, που ο Θεός έχει δωρίσει στην ψυχή και στην καρδιά σας].

“Discover new friends, show your genuine interest in them, invest in constructive partnerships with your peers”¹¹³ (2017).

Furthermore, the above extracts promote agency without that being affiliated with a prescribed form, as in other cases. While within the broader context of the circulars, the agency is predefined by the Greek Christian ideals, in this case, and especially via the extracts of 2007 and 2008, the Church makes use of progressive words to encourage students to act upon their future. Especially the extract of 2008 makes use of progressive words that contain the actual philosophy of Christianity. There is a possibility that this kind of expression by the Church to be connected with the new administration run by the left-wing party in Cyprus (AKEL) that took place in 2008, after the elections.

The motto “be the change you want to see in your world” expressed by Mahatma Gandhi, is used by the Church in 2007, in an effort to indicate that the actions of the individuals mirror the actions of the nation, and that a personal change has the tendency to lead to a world change. The use of the words of Gandhi might not be accidentally chosen: Gandhi and the specific motto are familiar even to children of young ages, while Gandhi is a symbol for inspiring movements for freedom and independence worldwide and a form of a father figure. The Church pursues both and by using the well-known motto aims to inspire children through the words of an international respected figure. Of course, Gandhi’s name is interrelated with non-violent action, which is also related to the exemplar Jesus set but which contradicts the encouragement of young people by the Church to join the army forces, a concept identified and discussed later on the chapter.

¹¹³ [Ανακαλύψτε νέους φίλους, προβάλετε το γνήσιο ενδιαφέρον σας για αυτούς, επενδύστε στις εποικοδομητικές συναναστροφές με τους συνομηλίκους σας].

Sub-theme E: Sustain Greek Christian Ideals

By eschewing to surrender to contemporary society's misconceptions, society will gain back its traditional character, implied to be moral, pure, and replete of authentic human interactions and relationships, as the Greek and Christian ideals prescribe. Whether such a restricted vision of agency is indeed a form of agency will be discussed later. At this point, what should be kept is that the Church represents children as agents once they ascribe and act according to the Greek Christian ideals. As such, in all circulars, the focus on Greek and Christian ideals is implicitly stated by emphasizing the three pillars of such a construction: (a) the family, (b) the nation, and (c) the religion. A description of the discourse that accompanies each of the three pillars follows.

Related to the family, children are constantly reminded to respect and fill the voids created by the increasing loosening of the ties of the family. During the description of the findings related to childhood, it was stated that family was one of the actors responsible to guide the child throughout childhood, nurture it and care for it up to the point that will join adulthood. When related to the Greek and Christian virtues and ideals, the child is not anymore presented as the incomplete human needing guidance, but rather as empowered, abided with the responsibility to sustain the family bonds, as those were part of the traditional Cypriot family.

“...retrieve forces from the indolent pillar of the family”¹¹⁴ (2008).

“We urge you to stay close to the basic pillar, which is your family...”¹¹⁵ (2009).

¹¹⁴ [αντλήστε δυνάμεις από τον ακατάλυτο πυρήνα της οικογένειας]

¹¹⁵ [Γι' αυτό σας συνιστούμε να παραμείνετε κοντά στο βασικό πυλώνα που είναι η οικογένειά σας...].

The safeguarding of the nation is promoted via calling for obedience to the regulations of the institution of education, which is primarily responsible to promote the nation's ideals. An imperative need for children and young people is to obey the school rules, a quality repeatedly stated by the Archbishop. The words 'obey' and 'discipline' are not accidentally used by the Church. It is a tactic employed to block change, by projecting the asymmetry in relation among children and authoritative figures. A contradictory instruction of children to be agents to preserve education, by following faithfully the education's norms and purposes. It becomes apparent that children are allowed to act, only as long as they act under the Greek-Christian doctrines.

"Exhibit discipline to the school regulations"¹¹⁶ (2008).

"Start from today to obey the school's regulations"¹¹⁷ (2012).

"Deal your school with respect as it is the spiritual focus through which the virtues and ideals of the Greek Christian world emerge. It is the space through which the values of our religion and our homeland are exalted and transformed into your souls, which exalt human life and give it deep and meaningful meaning"¹¹⁸ (2016).

Concurrently, children are constantly reminded to benefit from schooling and acquire knowledge in the maximum degree possible, in line with Theme I. The difference among acquiring knowledge in Theme I and Theme III focuses on the attribution of children's agency through the process. In Theme I, children were portrayed as empty vases to be filled, with education ascribed with the

¹¹⁶ [Επιδείξτε πειθαρχία στους σχολικούς κανονισμούς]

¹¹⁷ [Ξεκινήστε λοιπόν από τώρα να υπακούτε στους κανονισμούς λειτουργίας του σχολείου σας]

¹¹⁸ [Αντικρίστε με σεβασμό το σχολείο σας καθώς αποτελεί την πνευματική εστία μέσα από την οποία εκπορεύονται οι αρετές και τα ιδανικά το οποία συμπύκνωσε ο Ελληνοχριστιανικός κόσμος. Είναι ο χώρος μέσα από τον οποίο ζωντανεύουν, γίνονται βιώματα και μεταλαμπαδεύονται στις ψυχές σας τα διαχρονικά ιδανικά και οι αξίες της Θρησκείας μας και της Πατρίδας μας, τα οποία εξυψώνουν την ανθρώπινη ζωή και της δίνουν βαθύ και ουσιαστικό νόημα]

responsibility to do so. When the references to the acquisition of knowledge are related to the nation, the Church ascribes responsibility to individuals to take advantage of the opportunities provided. In other words, children are portrayed as no longer passive individuals, but are burdened with the responsibility of attending to the opportunities; it is up to them to succeed or fail. While in Theme I, the discourse orients around knowledge acquisition for empowerment of children in the future, at this Theme the focus is on empowering children at this moment, in order to act upon their education. An indicative extract illustrates children as acting upon their education by attributing responsibility to them for taking advantage of it or not. Of course, this difference among the two themes seems to be more apparent than real, a conclusion that will be discussed later.

“At the difficult times we are going through, our only hope for a better future is our education and civilization. ‘Take up education’”¹¹⁹ (2013).

In this content, the discourse constructs the individual, as responsible for his/her success in life. For children not to lag behind and succeed in life, goal setting must be prevalent from early stages of children’s lives and not an elusive or impossible task. At the same time, youngsters need to focus all possible means, skills, and knowledge on achieving them. The opportunities are provided by the nation through education; failing or succeeding in taking advantage of them depends solely on the individual. This conception has adverse effects on the application of rights, as it will be discussed at the following session. Simultaneously, the examples set by the ancestors are the ones that light the pathway for young people in order to follow and create a future that will be illuminating for others and a worldwide example. The use of the word ‘civilization’ is not accidentally

¹¹⁹ [Στους χαλεπούς καιρούς που διερχόμαστε η ελπίδα μας για ένα καλύτερο μέλλον είναι η παιδεία και ο πολιτισμός μας. «Δράξασθε, λοιπόν, παιδείας»].

used: it is meant to subscribe superiority of own culture, to that of others, and as such, underlying the necessity for its continuation.

Finally, the Church urges children to adhere to religion, a discourse aiming at preserving the third pillar of the Greek and Christian ideals. It calls upon children to get inspired, participate at the events and mysteries of the Church, follow the example of the Church, connect with the Church representatives and trust them with their fears and problems, so that joined solutions to be applied, and approach God. As it is indicated in the extracts below, all the aforementioned actions will result in a new pathway for individuals, illuminated by virtues that each and every individual should possess, the Greek Christian virtues.

“Be inspired by the power that God's goodness delivers to those who ask it with humble wisdom and will”¹²⁰ (2008).

“Faced with this situation, the Church constantly and continuously remains committed to the principles and values of our Greek-Christian culture and consistently emphasizes the need to cultivate a model whose center will be Jesus”¹²¹ (2011).

“In your journey, dear young people, keep in touch with your parishes, trust the spiritual fathers, experience the sacramental life of the Church through the consecration of the sacred rituals”¹²² (2015).

“Your constant goal should be to approach Jesus to achieve what your soul desires deeply: joy, peace, dignity of existence. The

¹²⁰ [Εμπνευσθείτε από τη δύναμη που η αγαθότητα του Θεού διοχετεύει σε όσους τη ζητούν με ταπεινό φρόνημα και αδούλωτη θέληση]

¹²¹ [Μπροστά στην κατάσταση αυτήν, η Εκκλησία σταθερά και διαχρονικά παραμένει προσηλωμένη στις αρχές και αξίες του Ελληνοχριστιανικού μας Πολιτισμού και με συνέπεια τονίζει την ανάγκη για την καλλιέργεια ενός προτύπου, του οποίου κέντρο θα είναι ο Χριστός].

¹²² [Στην πορεία σας αυτή, αγαπητοί νέοι, κρατείστε επαφή με τις ενορίες σας, εμπιστευθείτε τους πνευματικούς πατέρες, βιώστε μέσα από την τέλεση των ιερών ακολουθιών τη μυστηριακή ζωή της Εκκλησίας]

path to the success of this goal is accomplished by lighting the grace of God”¹²³ (2017).

A cogent argument that Church endorses and serves the specific discourse is that the Church is part of society and as such, (a) it is aware of the problems people face, (b) it cares and supports the society in cases of emergency, and (c) it is easily accessible to individuals. *“As Church we are interested, firstly, in the spiritual development and progress of our society”¹²⁴ (2016).* The spiritual development of the society is also specified as a major concern of the Church in 2011, while in 2013 there is a reference to the power and blessing provided by God for the betterment of society. In other times it calls youth to approach the priests and make them aware of any suggestions or worries they have for a specific situation in the area they reside (2007). All in all, via the above extracts there is an attempt of the Church to proselytize children, by emphasizing the benefits for individuals who choose to follow this pathway, along with enumerating the possible ways that individuals can become part of the specific community. Moreover, the impact of the economic crisis on all levels of society attracts the attention of the Church, which declares to be part of the people, ready to “fight” to resolve the difficulties (2015), but also providing monetary support to relief families in crisis (2012) or by praying to God for the recovery of the economy.

¹²³ [Σταθερός στόχος σας θα πρέπει να είναι να πλησιάσετε το Χριστό για να πετύχετε ό,τι βαθύτατα επιθυμεί η ψυχή σας: τη χαρά, τη γαλήνη, την αξιοπρέπεια της ύπαρξης. Η πορεία για επιτυχία αυτού του στόχου, συντελείται με το φωτισμό της χάριτος του Θεού]

¹²⁴ [Ως Εκκλησία μας ενδιαφέρει, πρώτιστα, η πνευματική ανέλιξη και προκοπή της κοινωνίας μας].

Theme IV: Preserving the Nation

Data examined ascertain that the Church, through the circulars, delivers the pertinent attention to the responsibility of children, as active agents, to preserve the nation. It does so, by focusing on various crises: either by projecting the Cyprus Problem, the economic crisis or the modern era crisis. The discourse around the preservation of the nation unfolds in a twofold pathway: discourse aiming to bolster nation cohesion (Sub-theme F) and discourse relating to the threats the nation faces (Sub-theme G).

Sub-theme F: Bolstering Nation Cohesion

Between the lines of the circular, one can easily spot extracts which construct and bolster nation cohesion. A means through which cohesion is achieved is via language, endowed with:

- (a) a sophisticated use of language, with words and phrases not commonly used, such as ‘unenslaved will’¹²⁵, ‘forge’¹²⁶.
- (b) the use of plural words such as “we”, “our”, and “us”,
- (c) the use of the word “our people”¹²⁷, and “homeland”¹²⁸, which carry different connotation in Greek over words such as “country”¹²⁹ or “nation”¹³⁰, and

¹²⁵ [αδούλωτη θέληση]

¹²⁶ [σφυρηλατήσετε]

¹²⁷ [ο λαός μας]

¹²⁸ [πατρίδα]

¹²⁹ [χώρα]

¹³⁰ [κράτος]

(d) the use of words that have a symbolic importance for the nation, such as the flag [“... it needs flagbearers, the young people”¹³¹ (2007)].

Also, the nation’s cohesion is bolstered by designating its unique ideals, values, and pure “soul”, which underpin its supremacy. The history of the nation is endorsed in the discourse to provide evidence that the nation does not lean by difficulties. History is provided as a vivid example of the vigor and power of the nation to overcome any obstacles and be immune to adversities. The lesson transmitted is straightforward: we did it in the past, we can do it again.

“Remember, my dear children, that as people we have experienced difficulties in the past as well. But we had faith and commitment to values. We had a strong soul that could survive, so we did it”¹³² (2013)

“the message that must be passed around is that our people stand under any pressure”¹³³ (2012).

Dwelling further at the second extract presented above, it can be supported that there is a link with the theme of ‘resistance’ as has been proposed by Duveen (2001). According to his work,

“resistance, which occurs first in the microgenetic evocation of social representations, can lead both to ontogenetic transformations (where identities themselves are restructured) and to sociogenetic change (where resistance becomes first a resistance to a change in identity, and then linked to an effort to influence the wider social world to recognize that identity)” (p. 269).

Based on the above argument, becomes evident that the purpose of the Church is to form a sociogenetic change, where, firstly, children must understand the

¹³¹ [... που θέλει σημαιοφόρους εσάς τους νέους]

¹³² [Μην ξεχνάτε ακόμη, αγαπητά μου παιδιά, ότι και άλλοτε ως λαός περάσαμε δυσκολίες. Είχαμε όμως πίστη και προσήλωση σε αξίες. Είχαμε ψυχή στητή και ολόρθη, γι’ αυτό τα καταφέραμε]

¹³³ [το μήνυμα που πρέπει να δοθεί είναι ότι ως λαός αντέχουμε κάτω από όποια πίεση]

value of the nation's identity, highly related to both the Hellenic and Christian identities, by providing as a central dimension of that identity its power. In other words, the Church strives to construct the nation's identity among children. It does so by accumulating examples that stretch the representation of the nation as ideal and unbeatable. By doing so, it extends by all means the force that can lead to children adopting the specific representation. At the same time, with the phrase "the message that must be passed around...", the Church underlines the need to establish this identity into the wider public, both among in-group members, but also among out-group ones, and as such, leading to a sociogenetic change that acknowledges the nation's identity in a worldwide context and leverages its significance for the world.

What the data also suggest is that historical events from the past are combined with present historical events. It has been stated elsewhere that in conflict or post-conflict societies, master narratives, shared by the formal educational system, are constructed in a uniform way that ostracizes any alternative interpretation and serves the nation's interests (Barreiro et al., 2017; Psaltis et al., 2017; Psaltis et al., 2016; Makriyianni & Psaltis, 2007). In this case, the Church makes use of the master narratives by collapsing past and present events, to reinforce, not only the nation's ability to overcome difficulties, and the nation's identity, which depicts as 'Greekness', but also to establish cyclical views of history as repeating itself, with the nation being in the victimization position struggling via its 'qualities' to surpass itself and get unwounded through the process. It cannot be considered a coincidence that a major historical event of Greek history is used at the extract below. The event of Thermopylae is taught in schools within the Greek Cypriot community as a historical example of how the self-denial and sacrifice, the intelligence of the Greek commanders, and the obedience to the homeland had resulted to a festive victory of 300 soldiers over a countless and invincible army. The Church simulates the actions of the past to the actions of the enclaved students that reside in the occupied area.

“At the beginning of the new school year, our thought is also directed towards the enclaved students of the Rizokarpaso¹³⁴ High School, who guard Thermopylae^{135, 136”} (2017).

In several cases, such as the one above, the specific group of students of Rizokarpaso is referred in the circulars. The reference to the specific group is another tool which instills the need for the cohesion of the nation, since the specific group of students have chosen, according to the circulars, to suffer under the administration of the conqueror, for the sake of the nation. This presentation of the enclaved is based on the official narrative¹³⁷, which also presents those individuals as being constantly harassed by the authorities and the people at the northern part of Cyprus. As such, in the circular of 2012 the Archbishop states that *“I mindfully embrace with the appropriate admiration the enclaved students of Rizokarpaso”*¹³⁸ (2012). The use of words “embrace” and “admire” designate the example set by the specific group that other young

¹³⁴ Rizokarpaso is an area at the northern part of Cyprus, where Greek Cypriots still reside as enclaved.

¹³⁵ Thermopylae is a place in Greece that a historical battle among Greek and Persians took place in 480B.C. The phrase “guard Thermopylae” is used in Greek language to mean to protect the borders of the nation.

¹³⁶ [Στις αρχές κίολας της καινούριας χρονιάς η σκέψη μας στρέφεται και προς τους εγκλωβισμένους μαθητές του Γυμνασίου Ριζοκαρπάσου που φυλάγουν Θερμοπύλες]

¹³⁷ The official narrative describes the enclaved individuals as ones that refused to abandon their houses and glorifies that action as an example of patriotic reaction. It also stresses the harassment constantly experienced by those individuals and their persistence to remain, despite all the hostility, in the places they were born and raised. The official narrative does not include any reference to those individuals as people who have resisted partition by choosing to live with Turkish Cypriots and by cohabitating with Turks from Turkey. Additionally, the official narrative does not entail any reference to friendships those individuals developed throughout the years, with members of the other community and Turks. Those ideological apparatuses are not discussed, since the official narrative proclaims those individuals to be there in order to ‘resist’ occupation and not developing friendships. Further discussion though, on the way the enclaved are portrayed via the official narrative and what it omits, is out of the scope of the current analysis.

¹³⁸ [“Νοερά αγκαλιάζω με το δέοντα θαυμασμό τους εγκλωβισμένους μαθητές και μαθήτριες του Ριζοκαρπάσου”]

people should follow. At the same time, the Church explicitly refers to its support and encouragement towards the specific group of students to keep resisting to the 'enemy'. The Church provides emotional support to those students, but at the same time raises feelings of national pride to the rest of the students.

“We hold their hands with the certainty that they will keep their daily struggle, which is symbolic for all of us and especially you, the young people”¹³⁹ (2017).

To build nation cohesion there is also a focus on remembrance to internalize the atrocities and human rights violations that the nation suffered under the specific rampant conqueror. The Church establishes a timeline, via references to the amount of years that the violations are on-going, a timer that indicates the urgent need to put an end to the prolonged period of violations that the nation experiences. The number of years is purposefully expressed as a reminder that the nation had enough; they aim to arouse feelings of 'sicken of'. Additionally, collective remembrance of the past violations and atrocities the people of the nation experienced because of the occupation, are recovered via words directly relating to images that have been widely used in the media to 'keep alive' the effects of the invasion on the nation and its people. Such a word is the word 'boot'. In another context, the word 'boot' might have not evoked any feelings. In the Cypriot context though, images frequently used in the past to proclaim the harms of the invasion, the pain it inflicted on the island, and the barbarian method of Turks, had as their epicenter the boot (Appendix 11). Those images were frequently broadcasted by media, while used in the educational praxis as well. Generations of children were brought up being familiar with those images. It is not clear though, whether today's children are familiar with the images, since they are not currently used officially by the educational system. The word 'boot'

¹³⁹ [“Τους σφίγγουμε το χέρι με τη βεβαιότητα ότι θα συνεχίσουν τον καθημερινό τους αγώνα που είναι συμβολικός για όλους μας και ιδιαίτερα για σας τους νέους”]

used though in the extracts, derives from those images and instantly touches upon remembrance of the events by the older students and the educators, through the image rejuvenation.

“Remember that, half of our homeland is occupied for the last thirty seven years”¹⁴⁰ (2011)

“For 40 years suffers under the conqueror's boot. Stay vigilant guards of our inalienable rights for liberation and return, under conditions of security, justice and peace”¹⁴¹ (2014)

What is of particular importance within the above quote for the scope of the current study is the use of a direct reference to human rights by the Church. The human rights reference is combined into a core narration about the injustices suffered by the nation. The narrative limits itself into a selective perspective of human rights as ideals, that must be fought for. In other words, human rights are expressed as universal and inalienable, but they are mainly expressed as ideals, rather than needs to be safeguarded for all. In any case, they are perceived as consistent with the history and ideals of the Church and consequently with the nation. The reference to human rights violations provides a solid basis to legitimize the ‘struggle’ needed to challenge and fight against the status-quo caused by the perpetrator.

Homogeneity, other than reinforced via collective remembrance, it is explored via references to the small size of the country. *“I wish our small homeland...”¹⁴² (2015)*. By doing so, the Church evokes feelings of injustice and affliction, and competitive victimhood (Noor et al., 2015; Psaltis et al., 2017; Andrighetto et al., 2012) based on the comparative size of ‘us’ and ‘others’. The

¹⁴⁰ [Να θυμάστε, ακόμη, ότι η μισή μας πατρίδα για τριάνταεπτά τώρα χρόνια είναι κατεχόμενη]

¹⁴¹ [Για 40 τόσα χρόνια στενάζει κάτω από την μπότα του κατακτητή. Σταθείτε άγρυπνοι φρουροί των αναφαίρετων δικαιωμάτων μας για απελευθέρωση και επιστροφή κάτω από συνθήκες ασφάλειας, δικαιοσύνης και ειρήνης]

¹⁴² [Εύχομαι η μικρή μας πατρίδα]

number games discourse has been also noted as a threatening representation related to the migrants at a study exploring the migration in the Greek Cypriot press (Avraamidou et al., 2017). As the authors of the aforementioned study indicate, the ethnocultural threats against a specific group of migrants are based on terms of quantity. The small size of the island, despite not further exploited at the circulars, is reminded as an additional reason to protect the nation against the threat of 'others', whom are superior in both human and power resources.

Sub-Theme G: Symbolic Threats

Symbolic threat, the fear of contamination of the in-group's values and ideologies by the different values and ideologies another group has (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) is employed by the Church within the documents. The Church establishes the frame for the nation's survival. It clearly distinguishes the boundaries between 'us' and 'them', draws the lines of tolerance to eliminate the threat of nation's extinction, and establishes military service as essential. Especially, in the 2009 circular threats to the identity of the nation and its survival are explicitly pictured, as indicated by the following extract:

“Dear young people, our homeland is going through a phase of historic turning point. The military service, along with the actions undertaken politically by the elected local leadership, is a prerequisite for our national survival. Keep our traditions, our language, our beliefs, and without ruling out the acceptance of any other element that enhances or extends our identity and self-image as people”¹⁴³.

The above extract is an example of how symbolic threat is employed to extend the need for preserving the nation. The survival of the nation is

¹⁴³ [Αγαπητοί νέοι και νέες, η πατρίδα μας διανύει μια φάση ιστορικής καμπής. Η στρατιωτική θητεία, παράλληλα με τις ενέργειες που αναλαμβάνονται υπεύθυνα σε πολιτικό πεδίο από την εκλεγμένη ηγεσία του τόπου, αποτελεί προϋπόθεση για την εθνική μας επιβίωση. Κρατείστε τις παραδόσεις, τη γλώσσα μας, την πίστη μας, χωρίς να αποκλείετε αποδοχή κάθε άλλου στοιχείου που να ενισχύει ή να προεκτείνει την ταυτότητα και ιδιοπροσωπία μας ως λαού]

determined via the safeguarding of the language, traditions and beliefs of the traditional Cypriot society. The extract reminds the reader that any threat and/or alteration of the language, traditions and beliefs is a threat to the nation. It urges the reader to keep those intact. It represents the nation as a homogeneous group of people, with similar traditions, language and beliefs. The language, traditions and beliefs form the glue that sticks the people of the nation together. As such, external interferences can dissolve the magma of the Cypriot society, endangering its survival. Even though, not explicitly stated here, the word 'beliefs' seems to connote to the Greek Christian virtues and ideals, explicitly described above.

The homogeneity of the group is also prevalent on the way the Church addresses children as all being Cypriots and Christians. It does not take into consideration the variety of cultures and religions that exist within the Cypriot schools. The discourse has been formulated as that diversity does not exist.

At the same time, the above extract claims that other elements must be accepted, as long as they enhance or extend the identity of the nation. In other words, the acceptance of others is scrutinized through the lens of the degree they differ; that is how the Church draws the lines of what to tolerate and what not. If expected to cause harm to the identity of the nation, the corresponding reaction would be zero tolerance. The data corpus though does not entail any other information or hints on which those elements are.

Furthermore, the threats to the nation justify the support of the military service by the Church. At the extract above, the Church determines the military service as a prerequisite for the nation's survival. By doing so, the Church condemns anyone who in any way does not serve in army and encourages young people to do so. As such, an institution that enhances the use of violence to achieve its goals, namely the army, is legitimized for the sake of the nation. There is also a possibility that the Church tries to address the army evasion, which becomes an increasing phenomenon in Cyprus. Young men in Cyprus have to attend compulsory army training, once they finish secondary education or at the age of 18. The Church, being aware of the phenomenon of army

evasion, might attempt to reduce it by promoting it as a necessity. The population that the circulars address is comprised by young men, and the Church might have taken the opportunity to address the issue as well. Simultaneously, in 2007 the law regarding the National Guard in Cyprus [20/1964] was amended to introduce provisions regarding the conscientious objectors. The above extract of the Church that encourages young men to join the army, has been published to be read to schools in 2009, two years after the introduced amendments. As such, it might have also been an outcome of either a reaction of the Church to the specific amendment or a reaction to an increased number of young people who applied and were regarded as conscientious objectors. It is not possible to verify why the leader of the Church included a militias encouragement into his circular directed to the students, but all in all, the support of the military service by the Church, contradicts its preaching, which is based on the values of peace, tolerance, love and forgiveness.

The fear of extinction of the nation justifies the use of polemical words, largely presented in the texts. Such words are “fight”, “winners” or “sleepless guards”¹⁴⁴. The following extract from 2013 indicates how those words are enhanced within the document: *“Have always in your perspective that our semi-occupied homeland needs capable youth, who are fighters”*¹⁴⁵. The use of such wording though, is not only used with reference to the Cyprus problem, but in other parts of the texts. An indicative example is the following one: *“Because, whoever fights the future, which means the young people, will be beaten by the past”*¹⁴⁶ (2007). The use of polemical wording throughout the circulars create a feeling of those aiming at the moral and vigilant stimulation of the population addressing, promoting militarism.

¹⁴⁴ [άγρυπνοι φρουροί]

¹⁴⁵ [Να είναι πάντοτε στην προοπτική σας ότι η ημικατεχόμενη πατρίδα μας χρειάζεται νέους ικανούς και αγωνιστές]

¹⁴⁶ [Γιατί, όποιος πολεμάει το μέλλον, δηλαδή τους νέους, θα τον φάει το παρελθόν]

A fixed incitement prevalent in the circulars is that the restoration of rights depends on the children. As mentioned above, when related to the Cyprus Problem, children are presented as empowered, as agents of change, active members of the society who can contribute to the termination of the injustice experienced. What is expected by young people is explicitly stated in the circulars year after year, providing the responsibility to overcome the Cyprus Problem on the children's shoulders, as indicated by the extracts below:

“not to forget that our semi-occupied homeland depends on you and puts golden hopes on your own path”¹⁴⁷ (2007).

“...continually cultivate the craving for liberation and vindication and for returning to our now occupied places...”¹⁴⁸ (2011).

“...our deepest wish is and remains the emergence of the need to liberate the only European country that is still shared by occupying armies and barbed wire. And this wish must become a permanent experience and a goal in the lives of all of us. Only then, can we, as a people, look forward in the future with optimism”¹⁴⁹ (2012).

“Have always in your perspective that our semi-occupied homeland needs capable and fighters young people for a just and peaceful solution that will bring all its legitimate inhabitants together in a regime of mutual respect and cooperation”¹⁵⁰ (2013).

¹⁴⁷ [Μην λησμονείτε ότι η ημικατεχόμενη πατρίδα μας στηρίζεται σε σας και εναποθέτει χρυσές ελπίδες στη δική σας πορεία]

¹⁴⁸ [πρέπει ακατάπαυστα να καλλιεργείτε τον πόθο για την απελευθέρωση και τη δικαίωση και για την επιστροφή στα σκλαβωμένα σήμερα μέρη μας]

¹⁴⁹ [...βαθύτατη ευχή μας είναι και παραμένει η ανάδειξη της ανάγκης να ελευθερωθεί η μοναδική ευρωπαϊκή χώρα που είναι ακόμη μοιρασμένη από στρατούς κατοχής και συρματοπλέγματα. Και αυτή η ευχή ας γίνει μόνιμο βίωμα και στόχος στη ζωή όλων μας. Τότε μόνο μπορούμε ως λαός να προσβλέπουμε στο μέλλον με αισιοδοξία].

¹⁵⁰ [Να είναι πάντοτε στην προοπτική σας ότι η ημικατεχόμενη πατρίδα μας χρειάζεται νέους ικανούς και αγωνιστές για μια δίκαιη και ειρηνική λύση που θα συνενώνει όλους τους νόμιμους κατοίκους της σε ένα καθεστώς αμοιβαίου σεβασμού και συνεργασίας].

“Stay vigilant guards of our inalienable rights for liberation and return under conditions of security, justice and peace”¹⁵¹ (2014).

At the same time, in 2015 the Church makes use of education and religion to explain the impact the restoration of human rights will have on Greek Cypriots. As it is defined *“then we will be able to operate our churches, which are currently in silence and our occupied schools will be filled again with childish and teenage smiles”¹⁵²*. This is the only time that human rights are mentioned within the circulars, connected with the Cyprus Problem. The entanglement among human rights and Turkish occupation is highly reinforced and apparently, presented, within the circulars, as the only expression of human rights’ violations that takes place on the island of Cyprus.

The Role of the Church in the Educational Affairs

Before conducting the discussion, it was considered important to bring forward the role of the Church in the educational affairs, by the way the Church itself conceptualizes it through the data analysis. Such an understanding can offer insights into the conditions and processes that uphold and sustain specific representations related to children’s rights. The way Church conceives, interprets and expresses its role within the educational system is important, since it provides an insight on the overall analysis, by shading light into further elements that enhance the interpretation of the data and the importance of such an interpretation, associating the greater impact the aforementioned results might have on the application of children’s rights within the Cypriot society. Moreover, it is essential to examine how two major institutions within the Greek Cypriot society, the Church and the educational system, having their powers

¹⁵¹ [Σταθείτε άγρυπνοι φρουροί των αναφαίρετων δικαιωμάτων μας για απελευθέρωση και επιστροφή κάτω από συνθήκες ασφάλειας, δικαιοσύνης και ειρήνης].

¹⁵² [Τότε θα μπορέσουμε να λειτουργήσουμε τις βουβές εκκλησιές μας και τα κατεχόμενα σχολεία μας θα γεμίσουν ξανά με παιδικά και εφηβικά χαμόγελα].

rooted within the society, in conjunction, shape and stabilize representations within society.

Article 18 of the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus, states for the right to freedom of religion and freedom of profession of religion in worship, teaching, practice or observance, proclaims for equality of religions before the law, and prohibits discrimination against any religion or their institutions (Republic of Cyprus, 1960). Additionally, information provided by the government of the Republic of Cyprus, religious pluralism was prevalent in Cyprus since the medieval period and was never a source of conflict among the inhabitants; on the contrary, the respect among the variety of religions present on the island “render the island a place of religious coexistence and peace” (Ministry of Interior, Press and Information Office, 2018). Secular states function in multifarious ways, but at the same time demarcate the role of specific institutions within the society, impeding the Church from being an active agent within the political system. The data analysis of the current research reveals that, the Church, either demands an active role in determining the scope of the educational system, it considers itself a rightful educator, it has a vision for the educational system and expects the State to fulfill it. Through the analysis below, it seems that the State grants that role to the Church.

To start with, the letters that accompanied the circulars, signed by Ministry officials were also analyzed. Six of the circulars (2007, 2008, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013) were introduced to the school units with a letter by the Ministry of Education and Culture, signed by all four Directors of the Departments of Education: Primary Education, Secondary General Education, Secondary Technical and Vocational Education, and Higher Education. Those letters, consisted of three to four lines, were directed to the head teachers of the school communities. All of them stated that the message of the Archbishop was enclosed with the opportunity of the opening of the schools, and when to be read, with the wording used making it obligatory to be read. Four of them were to be read during the sanctification, an event that takes place at the beginning of the school year within the schools; the other two documents were to be read

at the start of the new school year, as stated at the letters. Since the message of 2010 was not retrieved from the Ministry of Education and Culture archive, it was not possible to identify whether it was accompanied by a circular or not.

The circulars dated 2007, 2008 and 2009 were accompanied by a letter stating that “the message of the Archbishop of Cyprus is attached to be read [το οποίο θα αναγνωσθεί] at a joint concentration, during the event of sanctification”. In the school year 2011-2012, the wording changed to “the message of the Archbishop of Cyprus is attached for the occasion of the beginning of the new school year 2011-2012”. In 2012-2013 the wording is similar to the previous years with a minor change of the wording: “...to be read [για ανάγνωση] during the event of sanctification”. The upcoming four school years the message of the Archbishop is not accompanied by a letter. During the school year 2017-2018, the letter of the Ministry is introduced once more, requesting from the headteachers to read the message at the day of initiation of classes. The exact wording was “please read the present message to the students at the day of initiation of the classes”.

The role Church has within the educational system, is conceptualized by the Church as a determinant and formative one, and the letters which accompany the circulars, signed by officers of the Ministry of Education and Culture, seem to grant this role to the Church. In other words, the Church demands to be involved in the educational affairs by sending a message to the children year after year, while the State grants this role to the Church by transmitting that message to the school communities as a circular with a supporting letter, that obliges or pleases head teachers to read it to the children. The use of the imperative voice “to be read” in the letters which accompany the circulars from 2007 to 2012 is indicative of the access and support the Ministry provides to the Church within the educational affairs. While during the years 2013 to 2016, schools were not obliged via a letter from the responsible authority of education to read the circular, in 2017 the specific practice is restored. It would be interesting to investigate how the State would react at a

similar demand by a representative of another religion, based on the freedom of religion defined at Article 18 of the Constitution.

Additionally, a dispositional act of the Ministry is to promote religious practices within the schools, since the circulars are anchored to a religious practice promoted within the schools, that of sanctification/holy water ritual. The state does not hamper the involvement of the Church into the educational affairs, rather it deems it essential to promote the Greek Christian ideals and promotes it via the imperative read of the circulars and the performance of sacred rituals during school time. A noted representation shared by two main agents within the Greek Cypriot society, education and Church, as noted by the letters that accompany the circulars and the circulars themselves, is that a goal of education is the promotion of the Greek Christian ideals.

Through the circulars it becomes apparent that the Church conceives itself as committed to the welfare of the educational system. The circulars point to the fact that the Church demands an active role within the educational system and is oriented towards supporting the role of education. One can also argue that the Church wants to instrumentalize education for its own purposes. Within the circulars the use of abundant phrases, such as the ones below, directs the reader toward that perception.

*“the Church wishes that the educational system prepares...”¹⁵³
(2007)*

“asking for the education of youth...”¹⁵⁴ (2007)

“...I look forward to a school where solidarity and collectivity will be prevalent among students”¹⁵⁵ (2013)

¹⁵³ [η εκκλησία επιθυμεί όπως το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα προετοιμάζει...]

¹⁵⁴ [επιζητά την πολύπλευρη μόρφωση του νέου...]

¹⁵⁵ [...προσβλέπω σ' ένα σχολείο στο οποίο να πρυτανεύει η αλληλεγγύη μεταξύ μαθητών και η συλλογικότητα]

“we emphasize that as Church we want an organized Education...”¹⁵⁶ (2016).

“I, once again, affirm the appreciation by which the Church surrounds the work of education”¹⁵⁷ (2012)

“As the Head of the Church of our island we wish that organized education shape young people with open horizons, capable of listening to the problems of the modern world”¹⁵⁸ (2010).

From all the above, it becomes apparent that the Church does not conceptualize its role as a mounted observer of education constrained in fulfilling its religious role; on the contrary, it demands to construct, form and reform formal education. It conceives its role as a dynamic player that determines the educational affairs.

Reflecting at the Church’s assertions, it becomes apparent that the Church enacts as holding more power within the society than the children. The Church employs such a relation with the use of actions that show a form of supremacy over the children, such as guiding, consulting, praying, advising and so forth. It can be supported that the existing relation among Church and children, is based on social relations of constraint. Makriyianni and Psaltis (2007) have supported that in those cases “the relationship is asymmetrical, and, importantly, the knowledge which can be acquired by the dominated participant takes on a fixed and inflexible form. Piaget refers to this process as one of social transmission; such as for example the way in which elders initiate younger members into the patterns of beliefs and practices of the group” (p.3).

Such relations have strong implications for the application of human rights. Such interactions based on social relations of constraint do have an

¹⁵⁶ [τονίζουμε, λοιπόν, ότι ως Εκκλησία θέλουμε μια οργανωμένη Εκπαίδευση...]

¹⁵⁷ [Για μια ακόμη φορά επιβεβαιώνω την εκτίμηση με την οποία η Εκκλησία περιβάλλει το έργο της παιδείας του τόπου]

¹⁵⁸ [Ως Προκαθήμενος της Εκκλησίας της νήσου μας επιθυμούμε όπως η οργανωμένη Εκπαίδευση διαπλάθει νέους με ανοικτούς ορίζοντες, ικανούς να αφουγκράζονται τα προβλήματα, που απασχολούν το σύγχρονο κόσμο]

impact, but a negative one, by hindering both cognitive and moral development, since the knowledge is solely transmitted from the agent with the power to the recipients, in this case the children, and there is no room for discussion, criticism or multi-perspectivity within the transmission. As such, knowledge does not lead either into social change. The development of individuals to the maximum degree possible is ignored and shaped by forms that serve the interests of the nation or the status-quo.

Moreover, the Church spaces itself in the middle of the community, as indicated by the circulars, to make its role and importance salient within the community. As Breakwell (2015) reports, “the salience of the social representation increases if the community that generates it is important to the individual (p. 261). By framing its role in the center of society, the Church attributes the immediacy of its involvement in the societal affairs and significance to its role at a collective and individual level. As such, as an agent, gains importance in the minds of the children, and by doing so, the social representations shared gain salience.

According to Zembylas (2010), critical multicultural education supports that representations and discourses shared by major agents within the society, which behold power, “formulate a particular ideological mission that is grounded in transmitting the values of the majority’s culture” (p. 449), can retain the divisive practices, and can even withhold individuals during their encounters with ‘others’. As a powerful agent within the Greek Cypriot community, the Church acknowledges the purpose of schooling and educator’s role in preserving a “pure” nation filled of the Greek Christian virtues and ideals, and shapes representations that will ideologically construct the students of any age. Church is aware of the political and social power that possesses within the Greek Cypriot community, and especially, within the educational affairs, and through the circulars becomes evident that Church makes use of its power to maintain the unequal political structure and the unbalanced equilibrium in the name of the nation.

5. CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

5.1. Discussion of the Results Obtained via the Questionnaires

Children's rights, a quite recent ground and as such, a less 'exploited' terrain within the academia, have been studied by a number of researchers who explored either their content, or their impact and applicability in every-day life. As a concept, human rights have been mainly studied in legal terms; only lately there is an increased interest in its exploration through the lens of social psychology (Doise, 2002; Doise, 2003, Doise et al., 1999). From the perspective of social psychology, the study of children's rights enables understanding of various elements that interplay to form a social representation and brings into the forefront discourses which sustain its core, along with its content. The results of the quantitative part of the study provide a plurality of knowledge that can lead to informed actions to ensure the safeguarding of children's rights.

The particular analysis was particularly apposite to bring out a major contradiction among individuals' beliefs and actual possession of knowledge. To start with, it's alarming that more than half of the educators and 86% of the children reported that they had not read the CRC. The lack of integration of children's rights into the curriculum of the academic studies of educators and the lack of further in-service training on the subject-matter leaves professionals exposed, without the necessary knowledge, attitudes, and skills not only to teach children's rights, but also to apply them in their daily school practice. Although a great emphasis is placed on the preparation of educators, the rights of the child have not found their place within the academic development of educators, among well recognized fields, such as that of pedagogy and psychology. It is expected that educators can apply the best interest of the child and provide opportunities for him/her to participate, grow and develop, while most of them have never read the CRC. In the same motive, the high

percentage of children who attend high schools and have never read the CRC, indicates the absence of human rights education within the school curriculum, where the emphasis is on the acquisition of knowledge, rather than the development of the individual, as specified by the aims of education defined by Article 29 of the CRC.

At the same time, the absence of a formal channel for becoming aware of the rights of the child, creates conditions of ignorance and half-learning that individuals try to overcome by restoring to other sources dominant within the society. It thus forms a central core of social representations, based on dominant societal discourses, without being influenced by the scientific community or in this case, the human rights community, a central core which can be far from the concept of rights as defined in the CRC. It is not a coincidence that despite half of the educators did not read the CRC, only 9% of those reported that they did not know well which are the rights of the child, while the percentage of children who reported that they don't know them well or at all was 29%. In this case, the robustness of educators' understanding is at stake, making them vulnerable in policies and practices that may violate children's rights without even acknowledging them as such. Even in cases that unconsciously educators and children do not allow for children's rights violations, the results of the study indicate that the familiarity with children's rights they claim to possess, might be restricted to specific rights salient within the community, such as the right to education, health and housing, or ideals and other concepts shared among societal members but not defined as children's rights, such as peace and respect. This is supported by the analysis of the content of children's rights in the current study where the words or concepts that children referred to had both of the above characteristics.

A major implication of the current study is the urgent and immediate need to add children's rights in both teachers' training and formal education. Human rights are a thematic area with an array of concepts which affect procedures, policies, and daily practices that cannot be left to the goodwill or the conscious, but uninformed efforts of individuals to be effectively applied, in the same way

that we cannot expect educators to apply contemporary pedagogical tools without having first been appropriately trained in them.

Adding though the human rights education in the professional studies and the curriculum will not result in social changes, unless the addition endorses multiple elements and conditions that reframe the way it is applied. Those conditions must acknowledge power relations, salient discourses, and contradictory representations which do have an impact on how human rights are applied or restricted, formulated by societal conditions that impact them. An innovative element of the current study is that it establishes the connection among a rights-based approach through human rights education as a means to counteract discourses which frame children's rights. In other words, it indicates the need not to just introduce the human rights education, but also on how it is applied within a society bothered with conflict to resist discourses that derive from it.

The Content of Children's Rights

One of the aims of the specific study was to provide sufficient and valid data about the content of the social representations of children's rights. As such, the questionnaire administered to educators and children asked participants to demonstrate their knowledge about children's rights, by writing the first 5 phrases that come to their minds. As indicated by the results of the analysis, the core of the representations of both groups, educators and children, indicate concrete differences on the way the two groups conceptualize children's rights, a difference reported as well in Molinari et al (2002), where the core of adults' representations of children's rights referred mainly to protection and care, while youngsters' of their need to be autonomous individuals. In the current study, children's core is tuned towards participation rights, while educators' toward provisional rights. The specific difference did not come as a surprise. Drifted by their professional path, where the child's development is at the epicenter of all actions undertaken, educators acquire an array of children's

rights as provisions that lead to development. The representations they behold for children's rights could not be distinct from their cognitive understanding of development and representations of childhood, traced by their professional path.

The periphery of both educators and children was composed mainly by rights which relate to provisions, which in the case of educators supported the central core. The periphery of educators' responses included four words: expression, food, health, and play. Two of those words indicate provisions (food and health) and the other two participation rights (expression and play). The division of children's rights into the three categories (participation, provision, protection) is a theoretical compound that enables a common understanding among those working with human rights and does not necessarily exemplify the meaning provided by individuals in everyday practice. It is possible that expression and play are conceptualized as provisions by educators, in terms of providing or eliminating the conditions that allow for their practice. Based on that possible explanation, and on the fact that "the peripheral elements serve the purpose of forging a tie between individuals' everyday practices and the core of the social representation, allowing it to adapt to the specific conditions of each context" (Barreiro et al., 2014, p. 330), it can be argued that the everyday experiences of educators with children intensify their perception of children being at a developmental phase, where provisions by the adult world are essential in the process.

On the other hand, the central nucleus of children's representations is characterized by the prominence of participation rights. Within the foundations of youth, there is an endless tendency for life, joy and action, which may lead to conceptualization of rights mainly as participatory ones. The results of the current study regarding the content of children's rights are identical to the ones provided by Molinari et al. (2002), who report that

"adolescents construct their representation around themes which denote a strong emphasis on autonomy and the search for ideals, which are typical of their age. The representation of the adults who live in close contact with the children is instead characterized

by contents linked to the educational role; parents and teachers actually have to protect the children's development and to guarantee their health and safety" (p. 146)

The composition of the core of the social representations children behold for their rights as participation rights can be also conceptualized via the main theories of adolescence development. Adolescence is characterized by identity formation in Erikson's emotional development (Batra, 2013), abstract thinking in Piaget's cognitive development (Piaget, 1976a), and individual judgment on Kohlberg's moral development (Killen and Rutland, 2011). The aforementioned specified dimension of the three developmental theories is a simplified one. It has been performed for the purposes of establishing a connection with the way children experience and understand their rights during adolescence. The main words which appear at the core of their representations directly relate to the stages of the three theories: the word "expression" to identity formation, the word "equality" to abstract thinking and the word "freedom" to individual judgment. Being out of the scope of the current study, identifying the role cognitive abilities, moral development and emotional development have on the conception of children's rights by children themselves was not explored. Future longitudinal studies conducted in various cultural settings should strive to identify the pathway through which universal concepts, such as those of human rights, are being processed via the developmental cognitive, moral and emotional stages in a similar manner that prejudice and subgroup identification have been explored (Kyriakidis, 2020).

It is also important to detect possible intersections between the nucleus of representations of children's rights and the most frequent response regarding the right most violated in Cyprus today. Children's most popular response for the right violated today in Cyprus was the right to express their opinion, reported by one fifth of the participants, who pinpointed to adults, in general, as the violators. Being treated as citizens of tomorrow, as immature beings or as not possessing the qualities or skills to express their opinion, children have

accumulated experiences of being left out of participation. The deprivation of participation rights has declared them vital for children and thereby, defines the content of children's rights solely as participation rights. It is possible to argue that the structure of the central core of the representations of children's rights has been formed by the violations of the right to participate children experience in their everyday lives. Parallel, the right of children to appropriate care by family members was the second most popular response provided by educators. As in the case of children, the central core of children's rights representations converges with the right most violated as expressed by educators. In essence, there is no clear distinction whether the central core of the representations of the two groups had an impact on the perceptions of the right most violated or whether the everyday experience of the violations had an impact on the central core. A cyclical/reciprocal relationship among the two does exist, as in any practice supported by beliefs, each playing a pivotal role in determining the other, which is the cornerstone of the theory of social representations.

Consistent with the central core of educators' representations are the results obtained for the conservative view of childhood. Both educators and children, exhibited high levels of agreement with statements that portrayed childhood as a period in need of guidance and protection, and a period of preparation for adulthood. The perception of childhood as a transitional period of life is overtly obvious, determining its pre-eminence over other representations. It does not come as a surprise that educators define children's rights as rights related to provisions, once the reference for childhood focus on the needs of children to prepare for adulthood. Moreover, children exhibited higher levels of agreement than educators in childhood items that frame childhood as a period of nurturance. This result is not a coincidence; it rather situates the convergence of opinions of adults regarding childhood, resulting at a formed, strong, and non-negotiable nucleus of representation for childhood, which is, in turn, adopted by the younger members of the society, even if that means that it sets restrictions to the application of their rights. It is possible that a different core of children's rights might have resulted for children as well, if the

study was conducted in another time frame, since during the time the research was conducted the Ministry of Education and Culture put in action a major educational reform, that was opposed by students, who strongly argued that the Ministry failed to listen children's opinion.

To sum up, the results indicated different context of social representations of children's rights among educators and children. Social representations of children's rights are not hegemonic in the context of Cyprus, since there is not homogeneity among the two different social groups within the society, the one group being the one that CRC refers to, and the second one, a group that has direct daily contact with children. While educators focus mainly on provisions, children's central core was comprised of participation rights. Taken into consideration that the periphery of the children's representations was related to provisions, along with the conservative beliefs that children behold for childhood, it is possible to assume that the core of children's representations is different than that of the adults, based on their experiences and that the specific social circumstances of the era that the research was taken, with a major educational reform preceding, led children to the anchoring on the core of social representations. Based on findings of other research (Angelides et al., 2018), where the references to the children rights focused on provision and protection by both adults and children, further research is needed and longitudinal ones, to shed light on the impact of various social events and other representations, such as that of childhood, defined as ephemeral changes, on the anchoring on the core of the social representations of children's rights by adults and children.

The Right Most Violated in Cyprus

Despite the differences in the central core of representations among educators and children, both groups reported the right to expression as the children's right most violated in Cyprus. There is a difference though in regard to whom the violator is. Educators indicated parents as the main violators of this right and provided as a reasoning, among others, the assumption of children

as immature entities that cannot contribute constructively. They stretched this violation though to impact immediate aspects of children's identity, such as the sexual orientation and their future career path. In other words, educators extend the violation of children's right to express their opinion as signifying further violations of children's rights. It is not peculiar for educators to acknowledge the violation of the right to expression, but not being able to correlate their own contribution into that violation, despite 80% of them were also parents. It becomes clear that educators appoint the responsibility to 'others', and specifically the primary care givers, without reflecting to their own role as educators and/or parents. Educators refer to parents as the main violators in their other two main responses regarding the right most violated. The fact that this responsibility is attributed to parents it is probably related to their everyday experience and the parent-educator relationship, where they come across cases of children whom their rights are violated in general by the primary care providers or children who experience neglect or restriction of choices based on parents' preferences. It is also possible that educators' high attachment to family values to influence that attribution of blame. Concurrently, educators feel helpless within the educational system and believe that no support mechanisms exist within the schools for children who face difficulties within the family environment (Commissioner for Children's Rights, 2020). The daily contact with children who face serious difficulties in their family environment in conjunction with the commitment of the educational system to the epistemological field, which leaves no room for any other support of the child within the school (Commissioner for Children's Rights, 2020), creates the belief in teachers that they cannot achieve changes when the family situation does not help children to develop, thus, putting the family at the center of the child's development. Another possible explanation is provided by Molinari et al. (2002), whom the outcomes of their study also highlighted this attribution of responsibility by the teachers to third parties without acknowledging their own role. In fact, Molinari et al. (2002) explain it as a sequential response of

educators on the social burden they experience for their role, based on the responsibility attributed to them by the society in general.

On the other hand, children pinpointed to adults as the violators and elaborated on the reasons behind the violators' motives to suppress their right to express their opinion. According to children, adults restrict their right to express their opinion, based on the following three conditions: (a) specific perceptions adults behold for childhood, as a period of immaturity and illogical thinking (b) as a way to preserve the status-quo; children and young people are painted as resisting the existing framework and references and as such, they represent a threat to the status-quo, and (c) children fear of the consequences applied, once they express their opinion in a non-welcome environment.

What becomes apparent from the above findings is that both educators and children assign responsibility to individuals rather than institutions. There is an absence of the blame responsibility to a systemic level. To better understand why this happens, one way to achieve it is via understanding the underlying causes of this breach. Those, as expressed by the participants, can be summarized as: children considered as immature or lacking the experiences to participate in decision making, adults considered as experts, to preserve the status-quo, and children fearing of the consequences. All the above causes gear toward the individual, his/her competencies and/or his/her level of authority. As such, the blame couldn't be directed toward an institutional level. What's more, the regulations on the operation of public secondary schools do specify in articles 3 (1) (e) and 4 (1) (a) that children have the right to freely express their opinion (Cyprus Government Gazette, 2017). Since the study was conducted within an institutional setting which does not preclude the right to expression in its regulations, then, it is expected that individuals who work and study within that setting, being aware of the regulations, cannot attribute blame to any other, but the individuals who do not support such policies.

The three main responses of children regarding the right most violated in Cyprus was freedom of expression, freedom and the right to play. All in all, these rights are participation rights, since freedom was defined as freedom of

choices, such as friendships and career paths or sexual identity. As the nucleus core of their representations defined by participation rights, they recognize those as being violated. Moreover, a further possible explanation might be the fixation of parents and the Cypriot society in educating children and shaping them into specific frameworks, which results in determining all aspects of children's life, along with their daily schedules, leaving limited free time that children can enjoy and play among others. This conclusion was also reported by Christou (2018) who describes the "Greek Cypriot society's accelerated obsession, post-1974, with educating the next generation, which was seen as reflecting a family's upward mobility, among other things" (p. 85). The fact that adolescents, who wish to be differentiated by the child's group as an indication of their "adulthood" and "maturation", demonstrate the right to play as one of the rights violated in Cyprus, it is an indicator of the extent that children experience this violation. Lacking the space and time to exercise this right, adolescents come to appreciate its importance.

Differences of Individual Positioning

The results indicated differences of individual positioning in the representational field of children's rights in the adult and children population of the study. To better understand those differences, it is of paramount importance for the reader to be aware of the content of the transition from adolescence to educator within the specific context that the study was conducted. As soon as males complete secondary education have to serve the army for a period of 14 months, while this period was extended to 26 months for the group of educators (the period of 26 months was reduced to 14 in 2016, and as a consequence all male educators reported in the current study served the army for 26 months). After their military service, educators studied at the university. Without being absolute, parenthood comes after graduation from university, even though in some cases it happened simultaneously. As for females, university attendance

starts, in the majority of the cases, immediately after graduation from secondary education. Both male and female educators studied in Cyprus or in Greece.

Parenthood and Trauma Dimension

An unexpected outcome of the specific study is the impact of parenthood on the social representations educators behold. A convergent analysis with age provided a distinct role of parenthood on various elements, not related to the increase of age. The results revealed that parents, compared to non-parent educators, were less prone to acknowledge specific statements, neither specific school nor societal rituals as violating children's rights. They also indicated higher levels of patriotism and nationalism than non-parents, experienced higher levels of realistic threat and had less opportunities for quantity contact with members of the other community. This is an important finding since parents do relay messages to children and by doing so they define the attitudinal trajectories retained within their socio-cognitive schemata. Research has already demonstrated the impact parents have: (a) on children's attitudes and behaviours regarding various styles, such as authoritarian mode of behaviour (Cherney et al., 2008) or intergroup attitudes (Degner & Dalege, 2013); and (b) on social phenomena, such as prejudice (Miklikowska, 2017; Levy & Hughes, 2019) and generalized prejudice (Meeusen & Dhont, 2015), ethnic-racial socialization and/or discrimination (Farago et al., 2019; Banerjee & Eccles, 2019), and gender and sexual prejudice (Sankar et al., 2019), among others. The results of the current study stress the idea of parents being more prone to not acknowledge violations of children's rights as such.

It cannot be stated with certainty why parenthood seems to be an obstacle to the realization of the rights of the child, a dimension of the identity of an individual, that one would expect to provoke opposite reactions. It is possible that such a finding is related to the parenting practices exercised on the island of Cyprus. Until recently, Cyprus was a quite homogeneous society and as a result rather conservative and a patriarchal one. The family was only

perceived via the traditional lens, where the child was seen as belonging to the parents, who had the responsibility to upbringing a responsible and useful member of the labour force. The relations within the traditional family can be characterized as authoritarian and far away from what Piaget called 'relations of cooperation'. It is possible that this form of parenting has not completely vanished from contemporary families in Cyprus, with the social system surrounding the parents being quite instrumental in 'enforcing' parents to adopt authoritarian rearing practices, which are counterintuitive to children's rights. Research in countries with more 'liberal styles' of parenthood or quality methods are needed to investigate the reasoning behind the different conceptions of children's rights among parents and non-parents. It is also possible that parenthood 'modifies' parents into more risk avert individuals, as a defence mechanism that protects children from harm. Such representations may be well solid and profound within societies that become polemical to any other representations related to children.

Future research should be employed to explore the impact of those representations of parents on children's well-being and development and at the same time on the degree of adoption or formation of representations with the same nucleus. Furthermore, parents, as the primary caregivers of children, with everyday relational encounters with them, are in position to affect the application of children's rights in their everyday life, by either applying relations of constraint or relations of cooperation. In other words, they can easily misapply, restrict or impose sanctions for children's rights. If such an important part of the chain beholds representations which do not abide with the CRC, it denotes possible practices which impede the realization of children's rights.

The impact of parenthood on the realization of children's rights must be also seen in conjunction to the impact of personal war related experiences of the past and/or the impact of war related experiences of family members. The results of the study indicate that educators with war related experiences were less likely to acknowledge specific school and societal rituals as violations of children's rights. Lewis (2019) describes the intergenerational transmission of

historical trauma, stating that parents with first-hand experiences of trauma tend to protect their children by restoring to practices which consider essential for preventing children from experiencing the trauma they experienced, and as such, they provide the best means for their children to grow and develop away from the conditions that created their own trauma. As she vividly describes, “emotionally-charged memories of historical trauma then fuel culturally endorsed parenting practices designed to protect and keep children safe” (p.48). One should expect that educators who had war related experiences would pay heed to particular elements that may constrain children’s rights and lead to traumatic experiences for children as well, and as such, would have higher levels of agreement to statements expressing violations of children’s rights. On the contrary, the results indicate that those educators cannot conceptualize specific school or societal rituals as infringements of children’s rights. This may relate to the fact that educators with first hand war related experiences are older in age, and as such, ‘melted’ for a prolonged period of time within the system, becoming too difficult for them to differentiate practices which can inflict harm to children. It is also highly possible that other constructs, such as the levels of patriotism and nationalism, discussed below, may interplay to the equation. On the other hand, children, considered a third generation, if taken into account that the war related event for the Greek Cypriot community is the event of 1974. To understand the impact of first hand war related experiences on the application of rights for another population, and especially the children, along with the processes that interplay, future research should also focus on trauma impact and its transmission from generation to generation on the realization of children’s rights.

The trauma on individuals with first-hand experience or a transmitted generational experience of historical trauma in Cyprus signified other individual differences as well. The results of the current study outlined that educators with war related experiences exhibited higher levels of patriotism, nationalism, and realistic threat but at the same time had more opportunities for contact with members of the other community, and actually interacted with members of the

other community. Educators with war related experience are older in age and are the ones who also lived alongside members of the other community in the past, before the division of the two main communities of Cyprus. As such, it is possible that their war related experiences resulted in higher levels of patriotism and nationalism, and strengthened their fear by realistic threats, but because of the interaction they had in the past with members of the other community, they did not have any mental barriers for interaction and communication with the other community. On the other hand, educators with a family member who experienced a war related event of the past exhibited higher levels of patriotism and had more opportunities for contact with members of the other community. Children who had a family member with war related experiences from the events of the past exhibited higher levels of patriotism, and lower levels of nationalism. To sum up, war related experiences, either first-hand or generationally transmitted, have an impact on the levels of patriotism, nationalism, realistic and symbolic threat experienced, and the quantity of contact. The results of the current study have shown that they also have an impact on the representations of children's rights.

All the above said, it should be noted that the endorsement of the narrative of the ingroup creates feelings of collective victimization, which, based on studies' results, has a tremendous impact on prejudice, contact, cohabitation and outgroup trust (Makriyianni & Psaltis, 2007; McCully, 2012; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2015, Smeekes et al., 2017; Psaltis et al, 2017; Psaltis et al, 2019), more than personal experiences of trauma have on individuals. Collective victimization was not directly measured in the current study, but individual educators and children did report whether they felt as victims of the political situation in Cyprus or not. Significant differences were identified among educators who felt victims and those who did not and the degree they acknowledged school rituals as violations of children's rights, with educators who felt as victims being in a position to acknowledge at a lesser degree that specific school rituals violated children's rights, and showing higher levels of patriotism. It is rather difficult to find a causal link between personal experiences

and collective victimization with the realization of rights, since individuals who experienced war related events of the past also live within a social construction that promotes and sustains a narrative that diffuses collective victimization. For the purposes of the current study, the argument is not to exhibit higher levels of impact by one or the other, but as the results indicate, that both personal traumatic experiences and collective victimization do have an impact on the perception of rights, and as such on their applicability and realization. As such, it becomes of paramount importance to further investigate the role and degree that personal war related, and consequently, traumatic experiences and collective victimization play in the fulfillment of rights.

Gender Dimension

While no significant associations were identified among male and female educators, children's gender had profound impact on a number of constructs, with male children being in general more 'conservative'. Male children were less prone to acknowledge specific statements, school and societal rituals as violations of children's rights. Tyrie & Beauchamp (2018) found evidence that female children felt less able than males to access their rights, attributing that difference on gender stereotypes and forms of protection applied differently on the two genders. Casas et al. (2006) also pointed out that gender, which implies the socialization of children, has a greater impact on how children perceive their rights, rather than the age differences. Indeed, gender stereotypes, such as that women should behave properly or that women are more vulnerable, may perpetuate the feelings of social justice, translated into sensitivity for promotion of human rights, which in that case led to the increased acknowledgment of the violations by female children within the current study. It is not a coincidence that the 73% of the participating children who consider themselves as members of a vulnerable group were female and only 27% were male, despite the fact that only one child reported gender as the cause of her vulnerability. Female children incur social and/or cultural disadvantages, most of them remaining at

the unconscious level, but being a catalyst for the child's development, affecting all three domains of development, knowledge, skills and attitudes, which later feed each other, trapping individuals within a specific gender framework. It is highly possible that the lack of a feminist culture within the Greek Cypriot community and the still quite dominant patriarchal values, do not 'allow' children to become reflective of the gender vulnerability. Simultaneously, the male children involved in the study were close to enlisting in the military, which may have affected the way human rights were perceived by the participating male children. During this period, the psychological preparation of children and their 'national orientation' are considered necessary for their proper integration into the military. This may be a second reason why boys seem less receptive to extending children's rights to less likeable ethnic groups. What so ever, human rights education programs must bring into the conscious level all those social and cultural frameworks affecting human behavior and pay particular attention at mitigating the different application of human rights among the two genders, at the same time that they emphasize the universality of human rights.

The same explanation can be provided for the gender differences identified at the levels of political tolerance. Female children were more willing to extend children's rights to the children of the group they liked the least. This result was in accordance to Avery's study (1988), who also found out that female participants had higher levels of political tolerance than their male counterparts. In adulthood, the difference among the two genders disappears, since the difference identified among male and female educators was not significant.

At the same time, male children exhibited higher levels of patriotism, a result consistent with the results of other studies (Nincic & Ramos, 2012), experienced higher levels of realistic and symbolic threat, had less opportunities for contact with members of the other community and held more conservative views of childhood. Gender differences among children of the current study echo the results of a recent study, where male children exhibited higher levels of symbolic and realistic threat and ethnic attachment, while females had higher levels of quality of contact (Tsolia, 2018). If the gender differences are seen in

conjunction with other constructs, then there is an interrelated relationship among male participants feeling higher levels of patriotism, and realistic and symbolic threat and the less acknowledgment of school and societal rituals as violating the children's rights, the reduced acknowledgment of violations as such, along with the reduced willingness to extend the rights to children of least liked ethnic groups.

It is important to note that while female children experienced less levels of realistic and symbolic threat, experienced lesser levels of patriotism, and had more opportunities for contact with members of the other community than male children, female educators experienced higher levels of realistic and symbolic threat, higher levels of patriotism, had less quantity of contact than male educators. The differences in the above variables in female and male educators were not statistically significant, but they are aligned with the results of a number of studies conducted on the island of Cyprus (Psaltis et al, 2019; Kyriakidis, 2020), which indicated that in school years females are more positive on intergroup relations and contact with members of the other community (Turkish Cypriots), whilst women (above 18) are more negative. In conjunction with the discussion on parenthood, the findings of the current study, even though non-significant statistically, may provide some evidence that this difference is linked to parenthood, and specifically for women the motherhood, rather than the gender. The above argument was proved that stands true, once the gender and parenthood were tested in relation to all variables. Results indicated that there was a statistical difference among mothers and those who were not mothers in all variables but political tolerance. The same difference was not identified for fathers who participated at the current study.

Area of Living Dimension

Individual differences were also identified among the various towns children and educators lived and the levels of nationalism, tracking a significant implication for programs design and implementation into specific areas of

Cyprus to tackle behaviors which manifest as broad glosses of the Cyprus Problem and resist any solution that dwells on the peaceful coexistence of the two communities on the island. For the same reasoning, programs should also take into consideration the higher levels of patriotism and nationalism among educators of older age. It is important to connect the beliefs of patriotism and nationalism, since those educators did not acknowledge school and societal rituals as violating children's rights neither.

A statistical difference was also identified among children of cluster 1 and 2 based on the area they reside (urban or rural). The results are compatible with Greenfield's results (2018; 2016), who has extensively elaborated on the way the environmental setting, with a focus on urban and rural settings, influences development and learning. Based on her findings, there are differences among individuals who live in urban and rural areas, with the latest holding more collectivistic values rather than the former who hold more individualistic ones (Greenfield, 2017). Children of cluster 2 do not acknowledge restrictions of children's rights set by family members as violations; in other words, they do consider the family as the core of the development of children. Their collectivistic system of values places priority to the family unit and its needs, rather than the child and her/his rights. It should be noted though, that the results of the current study indicate that children who live in rural areas are more open to the conception of children's rights, than children who reside in urban areas.

Representations of children's rights shared by adults and children

Both educators and children who participated at the current study acknowledged specific situational conditions as violating the rights of the child. As the results indicate, there is a significant difference among educators and children related to the level of agreement on whether specific situations violate children's rights. The situational conditions recognized by both groups as violations were the salient ones within the Greek Cypriot society, such as the

school drop-out. Specific statements though, such as parental child beating or teaching children to resolve conflicts with violence, expected to be acknowledged as violations of children's rights by all participants, were recognized at a lesser degree by children as such. This deferential attitude among adults and children relates to the different core of the social representations of the two groups. What is at the core of the representation of children's rights for each group is the one that they are more sensitive to and recognize statements that violate the core as violations. The different core might be the result of the different representations educators and adults hold for various areas, such as childhood, nurturing, and so forth. It is also possible that the environment that children reside, might behold such practices, and as such, constituting them as 'appropriate' behaviors among children. On the other hand, the professional development of educators might have led to the consideration of such practices as unacceptable.

Concurrently, possible lack of human rights education makes children unable to identify problematic behaviours and possible violations of their rights, maintaining environments which contain elements of both physical and structural violence. The above argument is further supported by the lowest means of children of cluster 2 regarding the statements that had to do with the perception of children not as individual entities, but rather as part of the family system. In those cases, children failed to realize that children have rights independent of the family institutions and considered the 'punishment' of the child for the actions of a parent, as a physical consequence. Those statements were the deprivation of a visit by the child to his/her imprisoned parent, as a consequence of 'bad' behaviour of the parent, and the deportation of the child and the parent, based on the status of the parent. In both cases, children acknowledge themselves as part of a greater unit, that of the family, and posited obstacles to the full realization of their rights. Greek Cypriot children who participated in the study seem to consider the period of childhood as a preparation phase for adulthood, and as such, they seem to experience their childhood as a right-free period, and expect adulthood to provide them with their

rights. This is also supported by the higher levels of agreement to conservative views of childhood, indicating that such perceptions are prevalent among them. This shared belief of children, even though alarming, does not come as a surprise, but rather derives from the ideology that legitimizes suppression in the eyes of the dominated, an ideology explained by the system justification theory (Jost et al., 2017; Jost et al., 2017a; Hannes et al., 2012; Jost et al., 2018) and/or the 'false consciousness' concept of the Marxist theory, a mechanism that explains how the elite and/or dominate class manage to sustain the status-quo by subverting attention away from the power distribution and the existing inequalities (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Thompson, 2015).

An in-depth analysis revealed two groups among educators and children, based on the representations they behold for children's rights. One of the groups, in both educators and children group, configure representations of children's rights in a broader, more inclusive manner, recognizing degrading or restrictive connotations as violations of children's rights. The cognitive basis of the second group of educators though differs from the one of children. Those groups perceive children's rights as amenable to the State's or family's interests. Children recast the family as a fundamental social core for the child's development, endowing it with elements that make it the dominant decision making and action implementation body related to decisions concerning the child, even in cases that those actions inflict harm on the child; in simpler words, the child does not possess an identity per se and is not an independent entity, but rather conceptualized as a property of the parents. The group of educators despite the fact that it prioritizes the family needs and constructs a central role for the family in child's development, it does not conceptualize child as a property of the parents and does not accept the cause of harm by any means on the child. If put into a continuum, the two groups interpret the best interest of the child as defined by the family, with children supporting it with any means, while educators with setting the precondition that no harm is exercised on the child. We can argue that, the nucleus of the representation for the child's best interest the two groups form is the same, but educators, based on their

professional studies and their personal daily experiences where they experience the impact of inflicting harm on children by the families, they resist any form of violence caused to children, while children do not.

The above result was not foreseen and definitely, cannot leave inactive the academic community. Despite in older studies children were found to “approve of common restrictions placed on their behavior by adult authority figures” (Margolin, 1982, p. 99), it is alarming and shocking that a group of children perceives violence against it as a physical course of action of the family and a natural consequence for its proper development. A number of studies highlighted the suppression of children within modern societies. Spyrou (2018) explained how adultism, as a system of oppression, impairs children’s lives. Pehtelides (2015) discussed that children, as a minority group, did not manage to affect the social affairs compared to other minority groups (i.e. women or African Americans), and did not manage to challenge the status-quo and bring a social change about their role and participation within the society. Bosisio (2012) stated that the best interest of the child is determined by the parents and the experts and not by the child itself. Via the current study though, children not being independent entities, despite a theme reiterating in multiple sections of the analysis, is not what alarms us; it is rather, the extend of the suppression that this group experiences to get to a point that legitimizes the use of violence against it as proper for its best interest, an ideology found in the system justification theory. It is an important cognitive liaison of children that urgently needs effective and meaningful course of action to institute new social representations for children. There is an imperative need to alter the toxic environments which justify violence in any form, either direct or structural, of within children grow and develop. Guided by Jost’s (2017) arguments, the results of the studies of social psychology do not aim to attribute further labels to individuals, which extensively lead to stereotyping and specific-oriented behaviours, but rather to identify various factors that interplay to exhibit such behaviour and take actions for the betterment of society.

Moreover, the findings of the current study confirm that there is no common cognitive basis among the group of educators and the group of children, an outcome compatible with results of the studies conducted by Doise (2002). Based on a number of studies conducted internationally, Doise confirmed that indeed, there is a common cognitive basis of the social representations of human rights even in different countries which are based on the more 'traditional rights' of the Universal Declaration, but there are differentiations according to a number of socialization effects, political stakes and/or anchoring procedures. Positioning differences do exist and are important as consolidation of the representations of human rights would be problematic in a sense that it would picture a power structure which causes sedimentation of any social dynamics which challenge the status-quo and a structure which prevails the dominant system as the one and only structure available. A common reference in the application procedure of human rights would possibly create a common reference of assessment of the application procedure, but such a reference induces a shortcoming of possible violations based on the framework of that common reference. Anyhow, one of the main features and dynamics of human rights is the non-conciliation of their implementation in time and space. Longitudinal studies though can provide understanding on whether social representations of human rights in general, and children's rights specifically, do have homeostatic properties that retain, or not, intact its central nucleus, independent of the social, political, economic or other alterations of the surrounding environment.

Differences among educators and children were also identified for patriotism, nationalism, political tolerance, hellenocentrism-cypriocentrism, opportunity for contact and realistic and symbolic threats. For the purposes of the current study, children were adolescents of age 14-18 and as such, it was expected that they wouldn't differentiate at a great degree from the adults. The quite large number of constructs though, at which differences were identified is particularly important for future studies, along with projects developed for children and adults. It must not be taken as a fact, that the results after

thoroughly exploring the representations of adults can be generalized to the population, since children, even older in age, hold different representations. Same applies for programs designed, since they cannot be implemented with children, once designed for adults. In the absence of studies and programs specifically designed for children, the needs of children are addressed via studies addressed to the general population. Therefore, the developmental needs, along with other constructs that affect children's representations are not taken into consideration. There may be reluctance and/or lack of knowledge among researchers on how to work with children or even studying children, including on how to respond and interpret children's silence, a concept that Spyrou (2016) analyzed at a major degree. Without children's participation though, the image for their representations remains not scarce, but rather blurred and misleading.

Programs specifically designed for children should aim towards the "emancipation" of children, especially those that in the current study fall under cluster 2, and which are characterized by Marx's description of "false consciousness" related to their rights and their participation in all aspects of life.

Are national practices considered to infringe children's rights?

A threat experienced related to the survival of the nation resides among the minds of the populations studied, and as such, highlighting the legitimization for ideological mechanisms responsible to sustain the nation's ideals. As the results suggested, forming relationships and interaction with members of the other community either via formal channels (such as schooling) or at an individual level, do not pose a threat to the nation or its ideals. At the same time though, the school is signified with the role of preserving the nation and its ideals; they cannot foresee a structural change of the educational system in a way to accommodate the needs and develop the talents of the aggregate. It is impossible for educators and children to even imagine religious and national practices applied within schools as forms of excluding practices, let alone on

standing critical and demanding their differentiation or termination. Even practices which harm younger students based on the violence they project on the students' psychological well-being, such as murder images, when framed within national interests are drained from the harm they inflict on children. To put in a nutshell, participants behold two ideologies, which seem contradicting to each other: on one level, practices which restrain contact with members of the other community are understood as violating children's rights, while on another level school or societal rituals imposed by the school to the whole population are not understood as such. The final arbitrator between these two competing ideologies is the perceived threat for the nation.

The above contradiction confirms the results of another study conducted by Smeekes et al. (2017), suggesting that the ingroup historical narrative enables individuals to counteract the threat they experience for a discontinuation of their identity. In the current study, intergroup norms about the positive need for intergroup contact are quite high among the members of the Greek Cypriot community, even though opportunities for contact are very narrow within the school setting. Children endorse the historical narrative of their ingroup, and as such, do not recognize as a violation of children's rights any actions that sustain or support the historical narrative. Qualitative data could shed further light whether this endorsement relates to the continuation of their ingroup identity.

Moreover, the aforementioned contradiction confirms the results of other studies which support that contact and its positive outcomes among members of segregated settings (McKeown & Psaltis, 2017; Psaltis, 2012a, Hadjipavlou, 2007), despite it is not a medium easily achievable when institutions within the society freeze the individuals within the conflict or stimulate children's rights violations for the sake of the nation. The irreducible supply of cognitive schemata which affect and influence individual and collective identity by state institutions, such as the school, affects both flexibility for contact initiation, and/or contact interaction, and can lead to its application in a non-meaningful way, such as the one-time events, creating a vicious cycle that reinforces the

core of the representations of the other community as threatening. Zembylas (2010c) also reported that contact, even though an important requirement in societies with conflict, post-conflict or conflict-frozen societies, to achieve an ideological move of individuals, there are various discourses, “education, family and societal discourses [which] formulate a particular ideological mission that is grounded in transmitting the values of the majority’s culture” (p. 449). Hammack & Toolis (2015) also reported about those discourses, which come to be instrumental for the individual to “maintain social order” (p. 354). Those discourses form hegemonic representations of the nation, fundamental for the individual’s identity, asymmetrical to any representations of the ‘other’ shaped by contact. The practical implication is that any projects designed to spread a culture of peace and make use of the past to form a better present and future, should strive to cause a ‘wound’ to the representations of the nation and possible threats to it.

Political Tolerance and Children’s Rights

A number of items within the questionnaire asked from participants to divide groups of people into three categories: those they do not like at all, those they neither liked or disliked and those who liked a lot. Then, they had to respond to a number of statements on how willing they were to extend children’s rights into the children of the group they liked they least. One third of educators chose not to divide the various ethnic or socio-political groups into the three categories. As most of them commented on the questionnaire the specific question was a racist one and they did not want to participate at a racist action. This form of behavior is vividly described by Kadianaki & Gillespie (2015), who as they state

“Several researchers have noted that people no longer talk about ideas of racial purity and superiority as they did a hundred years ago (Billig, 1987). Since these ideas have become taboo, people now express discriminatory views on the basis of culture, morality or even equality (Augoustinos & Every, 2007) and they often use disclaimers such as “I am not a racist, but...” before expressing racist views. These

disclaimers indicate that a self-reflection process has been triggered (i.e. thinking about oneself as a racist or not) out of the awareness of the co-existence of a social representation and its alternative” (p. 89).

A race discourse was developed based on equality; educators were reluctant to divide groups into three categories based on the discourse of equality among the people. They developed an argument that the division of people in categories is a racist act, which indeed indicates a self-reflection process that Kadianaki & Gillespie described above, but at the same time they did not proceed with placing all groups under one category, which was an option they had. What can be concluded is that, at an unconscious level, educators mentally did divide the ethnic or socio-political groups, since merging them all as equals and placing them at a single category, did not cross their minds. The hegemonic paradigm of division as a racist act prevailed their action for non-completing the specific question of the questionnaire.

Interestingly enough, the same reaction was not observed among the children. Two possible explanations can be provided for the difference among educators and children. The first one is that children growing up in more diverse environments and coming across classmates of different ethnic backgrounds, might hold less prejudicial evaluations or judgments, which in turn resulted in not having taboos in putting all groups under one category, in cases that they did not want to name which ones they liked and which ones they did not. Educators on the other hand, who grew up in a time that Cypriot society was characterized by homogeneity, have greater difficulty in accepting the altering representation of the others as equals. They do however, as professionals, recognize racist acts and are aware of the consequences of racism on humans. As a result, a dual approach manifests in their action to characterize the question as racist one, without realizing that they can approach it without displaying racist behavior. The above explanation can be also supported by modern forms of racism, and specifically, the systemic one, according to which collective interests of a group lead to a subordination of other racial groups (Carson Byrd, 2011). Educators, as members of a specific group with collective

interests, and a specific social status within the Cypriot society, despite via their training learned to recognize that separating individuals into groups leads to discrimination, they seem reluctant to acknowledge that all groups can be positioned into one group. A second possible explanation for the difference among educators and children is the racial apathy, defined as the non-interest for racial inequality (Brown et al., 2019; Yamashita, 2020; Forman, 2004; Forman & Amanda, 2006; Forman & Amanda, 2015), which is a new form of expression of racial prejudice. Children may indeed exhibit non racial behavior by treating all groups as equal, but at the same time lacking the skills to acknowledge race as a variable that impacts equality. The results exhibited higher levels of nationalism among the educators who did not complete the task, but that difference was not statistically significant. Being beyond the scope of the current study, the above argument was not supported by the data and could not be explored further. Future research should explore this difference among adults in general and children and its source.

The most liked sociopolitical group, for both educators and children, were the children and third-age individuals. The Cypriot family is characterized by the nuclear family, still holding strong ties among its members, and being in close proximity with extended family members, especially the grandparents, who are responsible for the breeding of the grandchildren and with whom the families depend both for financial and emotional support. Under those circumstances, children and grandparents were meant to be reported as the groups most liked by the participants. As for the least liked sociopolitical group, the results should be treated with caution. Even relatively small among the educators, but quite high among children, the percentage that does not like the Muslims should be taken into consideration, due to the increasing number of Muslim students that attend public schools in Cyprus. Anti-Muslim attitudes or Islamophobia seem to exist especially among children, but also among a considerable percentage of educators and projects that mapping it and addressing it might be essential within the educational system of the Greek Cypriot community.

The discourse of the historical enemy of the island for Greek Cypriots is the Turks, while the Greeks are considered the ancestors who not only habituated the island first, but also struggled throughout the centuries to keep its Hellenic identity (Papadakis, 2008a). Indeed, the results of the current study also indicated the dynamic this discourse has on individuals, since half of them reported the Turks as the ethnic group least liked, and the vast majority of them the Greeks as the group most liked. The results confirm the results derived from other studies, at which, the group of Turks was reported as the least liked group (Kyriakidis, 2020; Philippou & Symeou, 2010; Philippou & Theodorou, 2013). It is not surprising that the group of Turkish Cypriots is differentiated from the group of Turks, reported elsewhere as well (Spyrou, 2002), since the historical narrative within formal schooling has altered the latest years. The case of Cyprus though, is unique in terms that the 'ingroup' was historically defined by the ethnic identity rather than the national; as such, Greeks were more liked than the Greek Cypriots, influenced by the ethnic affiliation which was highly salient within the Greek Cypriot community. Even though, the results of the current study provide support that only a minimal percentage of children affiliates with the ethnic identity, the percentage of likeness of the ethnic group still reaches high levels within the members of the ingroup.

Whereas the ethnic ingroup preference encloses an impact chain on both the ingroup and the outgroup members, what is more worrying and problematic is the targeting of the ethnic group of Turks, both by educators and children, which is of course, a result of the Cyprus Problem. The concern emerges for the group of educators as professionals, since how they feel about this group possibly affects their daily practice: how they teach history, what attitudes they have and cultivate, what behaviors they have and promote against the group. Simultaneously though, it impacts the daily practice of educators when they have to teach Turkish-speaking children. Zembylas (2010b) reported that educators hold negative views about this specific group of children and legitimized racist behaviors, rationalizing it by ensnaring any action to the political situation. Adding to the equation, the result of the current study that

individuals who reported Turks as their least liked ethnic group were less willing to extend children's rights to that group, illustrates the importance of educating professionals on a rights-based approach that will help them overcome mental barriers. Moreover, "history teaches that the innate human need for justice does not disappear with time" (Babbitt et al., 2009, p. 14). Educators in Cyprus, either of first or second generation after the events of 1974, have still wounds of past injustices highly connected with human rights abuses, which results in a distrust to the group attributed with the responsibility of committing those, but also to the concept of the rights as such. This distrust can be the source of the legitimization of children's rights violations in general, and for the specific group particularly. Effort must be invested in bringing elements that restrain the full realization of children's rights into the conscious level, to assist at the construction of a society with a critical thinking that will prevent the further violation of children's rights without any discriminatory practices. To what extend those efforts can be a catalyst that will also bridge the political situation remains an open question.

Another element that this study brought to the foreseen is the correlation among the threats, realistic and symbolic, the members of the ingroup experience and the levels of political tolerance. The results of the analysis revealed that the more realistic and/or symbolic threat an individual experiences, either an educator or a child, the less willing is to extend the human rights to the groups of children they don't like. It becomes apparent that at the heart of the problem of undermining universalism of children's rights are the threats. The deployment of links among this dyad must ring the alarm for actions to be taken to confront the extension of this link. Despite as a researcher, I should feel pleased for the verifications of the hypothesis I initially set, the fact that the results of the study confirmed the hypothesis that the representations constructed by the Cyprus Problem do have an impact on the applicability of children's rights adds to the shadows of what we already knew about the impact of violence and conflict on children.

At the design phase of the current research, I was in a dilemma whether I should include the political tolerance as a construct to investigate, since it is a construct used over 30 years ago and I had doubts whether revising such a scale would provide for any useful indications. The results though, are interesting and future research should explore models that might be applied, as it is important to think and act for human rights based on a rights approach and not based on willingness of individuals, affected by national or other representations. Culminating on the adoption of a rights-based approach will enable the elimination of constructs that the current and future studies will show to have an impact on children's rights application.

Patriotism, Nationalism and Children's Rights

The State bearing the responsibility to develop mechanisms so that human rights are respected and promoted for all individuals within its jurisdiction, it's at the same time the one and only source that can pose limitations to their application. This 'right' of the State is also enshrined in the CRC, via the General Comments drafted by the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, which define that the State can pose restrictions on the application of rights for the public interest or the public health, as long as those are not asymmetrical to those applied and are imposed for the minimal time period required.

Regardless of the authority of States to restrict human rights in certain cases, constructs such as patriotism and nationalism, prevalent in any State, restrict rights in another format: turned into political agendas, become the lens through which the State adopts legislations or promotes practices, which at a first glance are not related to any human rights violations, but via a hidden exclusionary method impose restrictions to the marginalized ones within the society. For that reason, it becomes important, in any State, to examine the extent that the discourse developed based on patriotism and nationalism is translated into political programs, which do violate children's rights.

There are manifold ambivalent dependencies among patriotism and nationalism and human rights violations. A number of researchers have discussed the multivocality of the concepts in relation to the State and its institutions, and under what conditions those become interdependent to human rights violations (Yazici, 2019; Vincent, 2009; Nodia, 1992; Cardus, 2000; Canovan, 2000). Zembylas (2014a) also established a connection between patriotism and human rights, a connection that its form depends on how patriotism is taught or promoted within the educational system. An established link between patriotism/nationalism and children's rights has the potential to prohibit infringements of violations of the rights of the child based on practices that such ideologies, in the way they are apprehended, promote within the society.

To start with, Yazici (2019) reports that the ideology of nationalism reflects homogeneity along with an emphasis on national interests over individual ones as a prerequisite for a strong nation. If that's hold true, it is expected that individuals with higher levels of nationalism do 'sacrifice' individual human rights for the sake of the nation, and support practices and policies which behold on the homogeneity of the nation. Indeed, the results of the current study provide such evidence. A pattern of relationship among levels of nationalism and school and societal rituals was provided by the analysis. Individuals, either educators or children, with higher levels of nationalism were less able to recognize specific school rituals and specific societal rituals as violating the rights of the child. The school rituals referred to religious or ethnic practices within schools and whether the enforced participation of either native students or students of other nationalities and religions violates the rights of the child or not. Those practices were selected based on the perception of the students' community as a homogeneous one and exhibiting the nation's ideals. Those individuals who exhibited higher levels of nationalism are affiliated with those rituals, considering them essential for the continuity of the nation. It is not a coincidence that participants, educators and children, recognized at higher levels that enforcing children of other nationalities and religions to participate in

school rituals is a violation of children's rights than enforcing native students. It implies an obligation on behalf of the native students to participate in the school rituals which relate to the nation's identity, probably in an effort to preserve it and formulate it as a strong one. At the same time, it implies a perception that all native students are a homogeneous group, which shares the same beliefs and as such, there is no reason for not wanting to participate at those rituals. As for the societal rituals, two of them were related to nationality examples, two of them with the army and the rest with the Cyprus problem. All in all, they were all strongly associated with the nation and its continuation. To synopsise, the results indicate an adverse link among nationalism and respect for children's rights in cases that those rights are expressed or realized as incompatible to the nation's interests.

Participating educators and children with higher levels of patriotism and nationalism were also identified with higher levels of realistic and symbolic threat. In the current study, the realistic and symbolic threat experienced were about the members of the 'other' community, in this case the Turkish Cypriots. While educators experienced higher levels of realistic threat, children experienced higher levels of symbolic threat, an expected outcome since realistic threat was mainly related to job positions, allowances, taxes, health care benefits, social services and offences, areas that children do not have direct experience of and are not of high interest to them at the present. Patriotism and nationalism were not at high levels among the participants. The fact though that those are interrelated with violations of children's rights and higher levels of realistic and symbolic threat, should not be underestimated. Such a relationship must be attributed the appropriate importance, since in divided societies can lead to social phenomena and behaviors manifested in their extreme position. Zembylas (2010a) has also stated that racist and nationalist behaviors in Cyprus are justified, hidden or provided a different meaning, all based on the political problem. Adding to the equation, the fact that participants with higher levels of nationalism were less willing to extend children's rights to the members of the least liked group, the results of the

current study decipher the relation among nationalism and political tolerance and provide evidence that in conjunction they result in an infringement of the rights of the children of certain groups and, in the case of Cyprus, for the national group whose participants have expressed less sympathy for, the Turks.

On one hand, nationalism has been affiliated with major human rights violations (Yazici, 2019), once it is transformed into a political agenda. On the other hand, there are researchers (Cardus, 2000) who support that nationalism is not contradictory to human rights, since the nation provides the framework within which human rights are applied and promoted. An added value of the study is the fact that the results indicate that nationalism can also lead to human rights violations by individuals, since it is correlated with political tolerance. If and when is combined with realistic and symbolic threat, it can be also experienced as a collective threat and transformed into a political agenda that can legitimize human rights violations for a group of people.

The results also indicate a relationship among patriotism and nationalism with conservative views of childhood for both educators and children. The higher the levels of patriotism and nationalism, the more conservative views of childhood the individuals had. Two other studies conducted within the Cypriot context, also connected patriotism and nationalism with childhood. Spyrou (2011a) stated that “nationalism provides an overall framework for the construction of childhood and for the kind of children the nation wishes to have” (p. 533). In the case of Cyprus, the nation is highly focused on transmitting the Greek-Christian ideals, in an effort to preserve the nation under the on-going threat imposed by the unresolved conflict. At the same time, exploring the context and conditions under which a number of children in Cyprus ‘deviate’ from the ‘ideal’ child and demanded a voice within the political space, Christou (2018) reported that this group of children chose to stay children, as a statement of rejection to “the hegemonic options of adulthood within Cypriot society and beyond, which involved being turned into (Greek) nationalists as well as into docile consumers-workers” (p. 245). The results of the two studies in conjunction with the results of the current study indicate that normative

conceptions of childhood, which are in this case characterized as conservative ones, turn it into an exploitation tool for maintaining and reproducing specific ideologies embraced by the “right” adult, and which are the cornerstone of the preservation of the nation. Conservative views of childhood act as mediators of the effect of patriotism, nationalism and threats to political tolerance.

The results of the study indicate that both groups exhibited higher levels of patriotism rather than nationalism. Patriotism is a concept mostly related to the State and as such, according to Vincent (2009) projected as a “political concept”. The fact that both children and educators exhibited lower levels of nationalism is encouraging for the application of human rights on the island. Of course, based on Nodia’s (1992) explanation about the different profile nationalism has in developing and developed democracies, it is natural to infer that both concepts manifest differently in areas with conflict than those which do not experience direct hostilities or division. Not being aware of how educators and children define the two concepts, it is only possible to infer the cause of the different levels of the experiences among the two constructs. It is possible that Cyprus is consolidated as a State in the minds of Greek Cypriots. While in the past the love for Greece prevailed strongly and the union with the motherland was considered a feasible goal, these strong feelings begin to fade, and as a result greater favor is given to the State. It is also possible that sixty years after the founding of the Republic of Cyprus, the functioning of the institutions and their effectiveness, even if the latter is questioned from time to time, have provided the State with an entity that is now accepted and respected. As a result, patriotic sentiments related to state institutions are increasing. Being a part of a larger family, the European Union, along with globalization and the direct or tech contact with people from other countries may have resulted in the declining nationalist sentiments. At the same time, the fact that during the conduct of this investigation there was not a single event that “excited” the national mind, is a second possible explanation for this finding. Of course, the high correlation among levels of patriotism and nationalism, an expected correlation in a setting affected by conflict, should not be underestimated.

Simultaneously, children exhibited lesser levels of patriotism and nationalism than educators, with the differences being significant. Personal experiences of war related events of the past can be a cause for this difference, since educators who indicated that they do have war related experiences had higher levels of patriotism and nationalism. Furthermore, the educators who work today in schools, grew up within a 'closed', rather conservative society, where the love and pride for own's country was prevalent within the society and communicated via official channels. Chronologically, they were also closer to the events of the past, with the subsequent years colored with strong feelings of injustice and an intense nationalism. Psaltis et al (2019) also found evidence that younger generations, born after 1974 were more reluctant to accept cohabitation than older people, attributing the difference on the historical narrative taught within formal education which is one-sided and promotes feelings of collective victimization. As for the children who were subjects of this study, they grew up in a much 'safer' environment, with an external direct physical threat being minimized. Moreover, those children experienced a recent economic crisis and they do come across examples of unworthiness and corruption, whilst the expanded use of technology created a new ground and transformed the traditional 'my homeland' [o topos mou] to a wider, even in most of the times cyber, space. Other than that, the sample of the educators was composed only by Greek Cypriots, while participating children had different nationalities. All the above can explain the higher levels of patriotism and nationalism in educators.

Childhood

Childhood has been a thema related to social representations of children's rights constructed around themata such as protection/participation, capable/incapable, maturity/immaturity and thematized based on a major antinomy: children perceived either as preparing for adulthood or as equal citizens of today. As Marková (2015) defines, the establishment of those

themata for a prolonged period of time within the society, in a worldwide field, legitimizes a specific societal course of action, along with political actions for that group. For example, the themata described above for childhood, justify the suppression of the voice of children within the society, whilst the government of Cyprus has ratified the CRC, which in Article 12, defines the expression of children's opinion and that it should be taken into consideration in decision making.

The construction of the child as a future citizen was a prevalent theme within the circulars of the Church and the printed press, which as the results that derived from the questionnaires indicate, it is internalized and shaped the children's representations. Despite, the concept of the child as at an incomplete statehood was confronted as problematic more than 70 years ago (Shner, 2018), the analysis of the results indicates that children, to a greater extent than teachers, embrace and agree with statements that embrace childhood as a transitional stage, during which a process of preparation for the next phase, adulthood, takes place. Half of the children (50%) supported the argument that the nursing infant is not important, but the adult that will become is, while more than 75% of the children agreed with the statement that childhood is a period of life that prepares for adulthood. Cassidy et al (2017) reported that by understanding childhood as a specific period or state, there is a high risk on the interest of the children being assaulted by the interest of the adults, with the former not being dealt as full members of the society. Indeed, especially children seem to have internalized this representation, and appeared to agree with statements that regard childhood as a transitional phase, obviously ignoring the direct and indirect impact of the representation on the realization of their rights. Once more, system justification theory can be a resource of explanation of the mechanism employed so that children come to embed this belief within their cognitive schemata, forming a representation of childhood that allows for certain prohibitions of their rights. Apart from the fact that children have internalized this rhetoric, it is very likely that they may use it as a means of

charity in order to be granted their rights by adults as a means to contribute to the preservation of the society during adulthood.

“The nursing infant is an instinctive being, in need of guidance and protection, up to the point that will become a rational adult”. A rather absolute statement, which contains several notions about childhood, at least 3, but with which the largest portion of teachers and children agreed. The first notion is that the child needs guidance during childhood. This mindset is based on developmental theories that the child acquires different stages as s/he progresses into adulthood. Despite the contribution of developmental stages, developed within the psychology field, in understanding child’s actions and behavior, Wall (2008) argues that theories based on developmental stages contributed to the child's view as an unequal member within the society, since s/he has not mastered cognitive and/or psychosocial and/or moral stages until s/he becomes an adult. A second notion is the need to provide protection for the child, which identifies her/him as weak, vulnerable and therefore unable to contribute to social events and which attributes responsibilities to adult society and the State to protect it. The protection of the child, although it is a safety net, so that the child does not become a scapegoat in the hands of individuals or practices determined by adults, however, in an overdone measure also defines the context of the child's movements. A third notion is that the child is irrational, a trait that in its positive terms is only attributed to adults. It is also characteristic that the final result of the guidance and protection process is the thinking adult. The difference between a thinking adult and a child is also created by the fact that the child acts instinctively, so s/he is in an animal state, which needs to be nurtured to control. In conclusion, since the child is developing, s/he cannot protect herself/himself and s/he is not a reasonable person but acts instinctively, he cannot be treated as equal to the adult. The above mentalities while extreme and conservative, were adopted by most children and educators. The end result is childhood not only experienced as a transitional phase, but also as Mayall (2000) supports, as inferior to adulthood. As she describes,

“Childhood as social status is defined within the generational order as inferior to adulthood. How children live their childhoods looks heavily structured by what adults want of childhood. A case in point is schooling, where children’s days are largely controlled by adult agendas” (p. 248).

The perception of the family as a mechanism for the reproduction of specific ideologies and expediencies has been analyzed in detail by Burman (1994), who showed that traditional theories of childhood were developed within specific social and economic systems, which aimed at maintaining the functioning of the traditional family and expulsion of any individuals or behaviors that deviated from it, characterizing them as pathologies of the individual or of the groups to which individuals belonged. Burman (2012) elaborated on how such actions contained attribution blame for mothers and their nurturing practices.

Even for the most progressive individuals, thinking of children outside the context of the family seems an impossible task. The family is considered the architect of the child, its ideals the construction materials. No other institution has been blamed for the ‘flaws of the building’ as much the institution of the family. Within a conservative view of childhood though, the relationship of the child with the family members is seen as a reciprocal one, in a way that the parents raise the child, and the child reciprocates by supporting the parents when growing up. This representation is far from a rights based approach, but it was apparent in both populations of the study.

Another outcome that was expected was that childhood is intertwined with the nation. Participants seemed to agree moderately with absolute statements such as, the whole nation needs to raise a child or the child is the ideal portrait of the nation. At first glance, it seems that the nation is not hegemonic on an individual and community level, while the national element does not exceed the rest, as globalization has taken place, which has softened strong emotions. However, the fact that 20-30% of teachers agree with these statements, which can be described as extreme and absolute, suggests that there is an ethnocentric view of childhood at least for a part of the population. The nation is trying to impose a framework within which a child can develop and

within this framework the child's rights can be exercised if they fall within this framework and do not threaten it.

A noteworthy outcome of the study is the fact that teachers of secondary and vocational education held more conservative views of childhood than the pre-primary and primary educators. Whereas the source of this difference cannot be identified, but it is speculated that it's due to the studies they attend, this difference can explain the source of conflict between educators of secondary education and their students. This juxtaposition of the traditional form of childhood is very compelling when teaching adolescents, whom not only they are at a stage of questioning values and frameworks considered given and indisputable for the general population, but also at a stage where they are experiencing strong emotions and claim equal treatment with the adult world. Conflict is inevitable.

Hellenocentrism-Cypriocentrism

The study also explored the degree that participants affiliated with the ethnic or national identity. It is important to note, that the term Greek Cypriot that entails both identities, according to Pachoulides (2007), was introduced in 1960, based on the composition of the population of the new state, and as an effort to designate 'differentiation' from the motherlands. Within a milieu where ethnic identities defined the cultural identities, but also the political and even economic course of action, the dual identity was introduced as an effort to acknowledge the newly formed state. As Moreno (2006) supports, a state cannot gain political legitimacy and international recognition, without the civilians acknowledging its institutions and identifying themselves, even partially, as part of the state.

It does not come as a surprise, that almost 60 years after the constitution of the new state, that the majority of the educators and half of the children of the current study adopted the Cypriot identity, without having to abandon their ethnic one by stating that they felt at the same degree Greek and Cypriot. This

dual identity can be also considered beneficial for the individuals, since it allows for participation into the local context, while at the same time, feeling part of a wider context, of being supported by an ally, the ethnic 'protector', defined as the motherland.

The results indicate that children ascribe more value to the national identity (Cypricentrism). Children being more tuned towards their Cypriot identity is in accordance with the results of others studies with children carried out in Cyprus (Tsolia, 2018; Kyriakidis, 2020), where more than half of the participating children identified with their Cypriot identity. What the results might suggest is that, educators, having experienced the events of the past, demonstrate higher adoption of the dual identity, since it includes the ethnic one as well. Or it may be the case, that the national identity for children presupposes elements of the ethnic identity; in other words, they consider "Cypriot" as being synonymous to Greek Cypriot, as pinpointed by the results of another study (Psaltis & Cakal, 2016). Furthermore, the percentage of children who never had experience with members of the other community was quite high within the study. As a result, children may lack knowledge that the national identity includes a number of other communities and groups than just the Greek Cypriots (Psaltis & Cakal, 2016; Spyrou, 2001a; Loizides, 2007).

Another area of interest is the fact that the identification of children with their national identity decreases as the age increases, while the ethnic and dual identity gain ground. The results are compatible with the results of the study of Kyriakidis (2020), who included children of ages 7 to 17 with a similar pattern of subgroup identification. Kyriakidis' explanation for the pattern identified was based on the young age of individuals who created difficulties in the conceptualization of an ethnic or a dual identity, along with the fact that identity formation takes a prominent place during adolescence, while at the same time there is a strong ideological political debate. The first reason is not valid for the present study, however, the second seems to be the cause behind the various discrepancies of identity affiliation, even within the same age range (15-18), year after year. Especially in a divided society, where the strengthening of the

state and national identity of the individual is related to the national status, it seems that the formation of identity is greatly influenced by the political problem, causing its differentiation as the child ages.

Results have also demonstrated that the dual identity and Cypriotness seem to be affected by other dimensions, such as the gender, at least in the case of children, with male participants adopting the ethnic than the national identity. A speculation of why this might happen is the preparation of the young male children to join the army forces at the age of 18. Taking into consideration that the army in Cyprus is highly correlated with the 'ethnos', and that all participating children were a year or two before joining the army, this might explain why male children felt more attached to the ethnic identity. This assumption is further supported by the results which indicate that older children adopted at a higher degree the ethnic identity than the national one, even though the results were not statistically significant. Another important element that may interplay in shaping gender differences is the increased interest of male adolescents on soccer and their affiliation to soccer clubs, some of which are founded based on ethnic or national ideologies and share them among their members. Future research should focus on how stable this adoption of the 'territorial' identities is or whether is negotiated based on political agendas or determined by other societal factors, such as the age, religion, political affiliation and/or the experience of conflict.

At last, children who ascribed more to the ethnic identity experienced higher levels of realistic and symbolic threat, a result that echoes the results of the study of Ioannou & Kassianos (2018), who demonstrated that children high on Hellenocentrism had less positive feelings toward the members of the other community and trusted them less. The same result was not obtained for educators.

To conclude, the quantitative results of the current study provided a number of insights that future research should further explore. So far, research has not addressed the social representations of human rights as a factor hindering their realization. The outcomes of the present study will assist in the

development of practices for developing bottom-up approaches needed for deconstructing societal beliefs shaped or originated by hegemonic institutions within the society and which affect the social representations of children's rights.

5.2. Discussion of the Results obtained via the Analysis of the Printed Press

Several researchers have reported the potential of social change regarding children's lives once media report on children's issues and engage children in the news sphere of both production and consumption (Asare-Donkoh, 2017; English et al., 2019; Lonne & Gillespie, 2014). Research on children and media keeps increasing but examining the representations of children by the media from a rights perspective is a rare topic in the international literature, and the first to be conducted in Cyprus.

The analysis of the Greek Cypriot press via the four main newspapers for a three-year period aimed at identifying: (a) whether issues on children are reported in the media and to what extent, and (b) social representations of children and their rights that the press beholds and at the same time diffuses within the society.

Quantitative analysis revealed that children did not appear much in the agenda of the Greek Cypriot press. To start with, newspapers published the same number of articles regardless of the paper size. As such, one can infer that raising children's issues is not high in the agenda of any of the four newspapers. Taking into consideration that the four newspapers were chosen based on their political or ideological affiliation, becomes apparent that children's issues are not a priority of the political parties or the Greek Cypriot society in general. What also became apparent via the quantitative analysis is that articles related to children did not increase either on the Saturday or Sunday editions, that newspapers increased their number of pages. So, even during the weekends that the reporters had the space and time to provide importance

and prominence to issues related to children, they did not do so. The stability of the number of articles based on the size of newspaper can be an indication of the immutability of the 'concepts' regarding children within the media zone; in other words, the concept of child within the Greek Cypriot society is very specific, not challengeable, and at the bottom of the agendas of the newspapers.

One could also conjecture that reporters in Cyprus follow the daily events, rather than creating the space for social dialogue for several phenomena that trigger the Cypriot society. By doing so, the existing ideologies and practices related to social phenomena are not challenged neither compared with possible alternatives, but rather maintained and discussed only when specific events take place. The printed press fits in with the social representations the public holds, recycling those, making them more solid. Through the articles examined, it became apparent that the Greek Cypriot press does not aim to become an avant garde in shaping alternative representations regarding children and their rights within the Greek Cypriot community or providing a space for an in-depth debate on them. Within such a context, the predominant social representations are conserved.

One cannot characterize the number of articles related to children as abundant. On the contrary, the minimal number of articles related to children within the Greek Cypriot press, with the mean number ranging from 2 to 5 articles per day, lead to the conclusion that the press does not invest on children. This may be an outcome of the indifference of the topic to the readers. It is true, that newspapers publish what is of interest to society, in an effort to increase their market and distribution percentages, in other words, news coverage is based on demand and supply. Concurrently, as people's interest in news determines the thematic areas published, the focus of the newspapers on the specific thematic areas conserves the society's interest on the topic, creating a vicious cycle. The quantitative results of the current study have indicated that the interest of the press about children and their rights was exhibited mainly in cases of delinquency and especially when that had an impact

on the national ideals or the perseverance of the nation. It can be argued that this is part of a general trend of the media to project stories of drama, violence and conflict (Howard, 2003). As such, it was not a coincidence that the printed press was not detracted from the presentation of a violent incidence that took place during a students' protest, resulting at an increased number of articles during the period examined in 2015. Of course, the specific incident received increased media coverage because it combined both violence/conflict and the Cyprus issue, which, in general, is increasingly covered by the national media. The excessive coverage of the event by the press also had a negative impact on the positive climate created between the leaders of the two communities, an outcome that is out of the scope of the current study to be discussed.

At the same time, researchers support that it's a common phenomenon for the Western media to form a moral and national panic around childhood and young people by exhibiting solely the antisocial behaviour of children (Pehtelides, 2015; Aldridge & Cross, 2008). Pehtelides (2015) describes the representations accompanying the specific media reaction: those behaviours are conceived as a threat to the representations of childhood as an innocent period of life and exemplify a necessity for governmental action that will maintain the status-quo, by exercising control on children's lives. It does not come as a surprise, that Greek Cypriot newspapers published the largest number of articles on both violence and the nation (which included the specific violent event).

At the same time, that interest on violence and Cyprus issue was not indefinite but carried political legitimacy according to the stand of the newspaper and its readers, as indicated by the type of the articles. This is revealed by the number of commentary/opinion articles published in 2015 (82), compared to those published in 2014 (28) and 2016 (17). As the numbers indicate, commentary articles were three and four times more in 2015, rather than in the two other years. The number of commentary articles in 2015 exceeded the number of general news the same year (75), which was not a usual phenomenon if we compare the numbers of articles of general news in 2014

(58) and 2016 (54). The increased number of commentary articles indicates the 'need' of the newspapers to stand against the events according to their political identity, a phenomenon that influenced coverage. If nothing more, the 'problematic' behavior of children provided a forum to the press to exercise political criticism against various actors within the society, which was neither constructive, nor beneficial for children in terms of mobilizing for social action or challenging the existing representations because it kept the issues within the realm of the existing political and institutional elites. It can be only described as a 'blame gaming, responsible for producing or maintaining other social phenomena, such as that of political polarization, by the exercising criticism on the events based on specific political ideologies.

Commenting further on the type of genres the newspapers preferred, once they published articles related to children, quantitative analysis revealed, as described above, that the newspapers devoted articles to children, once there were events that justified the featuring of children. The launch of the number of commentary articles in 2015, due to the incident that took place among students during the protests, can lead to the conclusion that there is a dominant debate within the Cypriot society that the press both rebukes and drives, that of the Cyprus Problem. On the other hand, the small amount of commentary/opinion articles for the years 2014 and 2016 is an indication that the media and by extension the social debate related to children and/or their rights is not advanced within the Cypriot press, and once more pinpointing to the lack of interest about children or their rights on behalf of the press or society more general.

The focus on physical violence by the press also provides an opportunity to the press to demand by the State to take actions either to cease it or to punish the perpetrators and provide justice for the victims. The State, perceived as the principal duty holder for safeguarding the rights of all its citizens and following the rule of law, despite not accused by the press for the violence exercised, was expected to take punitive actions to restore justice, maintain order and avoid repetition of similar events in the future. The newspapers directly recognized

events of physical violence and acknowledged those as such, while structural or indirect violence, such as poverty, social isolation of vulnerable groups, gender inequality, racism, hate speech and discrimination, could not be identified by the press as forms of violence and had less coverage. What should be stated though is that the focus by the press on the physical violence, and specifically the attack incidence on members of the other community, should be interpreted with caution and by dwelling further on the interpretation of ingroup transgressions via various mechanisms (Bandura et al., 1996; Bandura, 1999). What follows is a brief description of some of those mechanisms that the printed press seems to employ in the process, since such an analysis sheds light on the way human rights are perceived by the printed press.

The printed press even though it condemns the acts of physical violence as such, it proceeds to the following acts or neglects to proceed to some acts, as those are described by Bandura et al. (1996) and Bandura (1999), and as such does not condemn violence against the specific group. Those are: (a) it does not recognize its own responsibility in forming a 'hostile' environment against the 'other'. None of the articles examined attributes responsibility to the media and the press in general for the arousal of feelings of hostility for members of the other community, (b) the press does not blame the victims, but it does arouse pity towards them, by blaming the educational system and the unfortunate situation of being at the specific location the specific date. By doing so, the responsibility is displaced from the individuals to the authorities to apply social sanctions, and concurrently, the effect of the harm caused is minimized, (c) by hosting messages shared by government officials, the press condemns less accusable the state for cultivating hatred and dehumanization, and as such 'authorizing' harmful acts against the members of the other community, and (d) they do not host any pictures or information of the victims or the harm caused to them, even though in other cases the press does so, in an effort to block disturbing images that would cause reaction and social change against the harm inflicted. By employing those strategies, the printed press may not legitimate

the use of violence by children but does not safeguard a social system that is based on respect for human rights for all.

As for the gender of the authors, results should be interpreted with caution. The results showed an increased number of men reporting for children and the Cyprus issue rather than women. The increased number of articles that did not indicate the journalist's gender do not allow for further interpretation of the results.

Furthermore, out of the 489 articles identified within the specific time period only 3 were written by children themselves, even though the specific period chosen provided for opportunities that could have given children the space to articulate their own opinions within the Greek Cypriot press. Children are not participatory agents within the field of the printed press. Adults share the events related to children, with children only rarely having a voice via the printed press. So, not only children do not have space within the Greek Cypriot printed press, but also, they do not have a voice through it. This is in accordance with results from international literature (Asare-Donkoh, 2017; Oyero, 2010; Malila, 2014).

It is also worth discussing the views expressed in the three articles written by children. All three articles were hosted in 2015. One article, written by a student of the first grade of high school, comments on the dangers that the Greek language faces and protective factors that must be enacted to protect it. The child author ends the article, by stating that

“is important to stress, once more, that our language is omnipotent, since it remains unbroken for forty centuries... Our mother tongue may be threatened by many factors, but it is our duty to keep it intact and unaltered. It is an integral part of our lives and it is up to us to keep it alive if we act right and immediately¹⁵⁹”

¹⁵⁹ “Συνοψίζοντας, είναι σημαντικό να τονιστεί, γι’ ακόμη μία φορά, ότι η γλώσσα μας είναι παντοδύναμη, αφού παραμένει αδιάσπαστη εδώ και σαράντα αιώνες. [...] Μπορεί, η μητρική μας γλώσσα να απειλείται από πολλούς παράγοντες, όμως είναι χρέος μας να τη διατηρήσουμε αναλλοίωτη και ανόθευτη. Αποτελεί αναπόσπαστο

Child, Our language is in danger
Simerini, 26/22/2015, p. 26

The arguments expressed by the specific child are in accordance with the narratives mainly used by the journalists and the official narrative of the state: that the nation is threaten if modernity challenges its main core characteristics, which among them is the language, and children bear the responsibility to act upon the threat and protect the language, and as a consequence the nation as well. This responsibility attributed to children is discussed thoroughly at the next session, where one of the representations of childhood hold by the Church is to preserve the nation. At the same time, an extract of the above article was provided at the results' session, as an example of how the child is portrayed as a future citizen via the printed press. The other two articles written by children and hosted by the newspaper Fileleftheros in 16 and 19 of November 2015, criticize the procedure of the elections of the students' organization ΠΣΕΜ, by providing facts of how the results were altered by an adult responsible to conduct the elections. Other than criticizing the procedure, along with the lack of mechanisms by the Ministry to address their concerns once they filled a complaint, the authors also express the viewpoint that children mimic the elders and copy their behaviors. By doing so, children have adopted the representation of the child as a tabula rasa, as the representation was described above. All in all, the three articles written by children contain representations of childhood which are in accordance to the general representations the printed press disseminates.

To sum up, in general, the results of quantitative analysis indicate that the Greek Cypriot printed press is not preoccupied with the stance of children within the Greek Cypriot society. This can be experienced as a form of

κομμάτι της ζωής μας και είναι στο χέρι μας να τη διατηρήσουμε ζωντανή, εάν ενεργήσουμε σωστά και άμεσα”.

(dis)engagement the printed press makes use of to sustain the status-quo in the Greek Cypriot society. Barreiro et al. (2014), at a study conducted with newspapers in Argentina, point out that societies produce both the meanings about the world, but also the absence of meanings. As the authors state, “[...] rendering something invisible is also the outcome of a constructive process that ignores what cannot be symbolized because it might be threatening to social groups” (p. 330). In the case of Cyprus, the invisibility of children and their rights in the Greek Cypriot mainstream media might be the aftermath of a prolonged period of time that the specific group, namely the children, has been ignored or being invisible within the society. When visible they are associated with delinquent behavior, national matters, represented as vulnerable or lacking agency. As with other unequal groups that their rights have been constantly violated, such as women, people with disabilities, migrants (Avraamidou et al., 2017) or LGBTI (Kadianaki et al., 2018), children are dealt by the press as a minority groups, that neither shapes the news, nor has a voice through them. The concept of the child as a minority group has been stated as a representation shared for childhood (Pehtelides, 2015).

The qualitative part of the analysis has revealed two different themes: the child as a future citizen and the child as tabula rasa. Both themes pinpoint to the direction that the child is not considered a social actor by the press, but rather a passive group within the society, a result that expands on the outcomes of quantitative analysis, as those were discussed above.

The perception of the child as a future citizen is not a new concept (Verhellen, 2000; Matthews & Limb, 1998; Pehtelides, 2015), neither a unique perception solely existing in the Cypriot context. On the contrary, the historical voyage to the concepts of childhood, has demonstrated the many phases that childhood went through, one of them being the children considered as at an incomplete statehood (Pehtelides, 2015).

During her mandate at the Council of Europe, Maud de Boer-Buquicchio set as a priority through all actions of the Council, the well-being and protection of children by using the motto “children are not mini-human beings with mini-

human rights". At the same time, even research has established the need to explore children's voices, by employing research methods that do not constrain their voices into a reproduction of the social context they live, but by providing children with the agency to stand critically and reflect on issues that affect them (Spyrou, 2011). Via the analysis of the printed press in the Greek Cypriot community, it has been found that the child in Cyprus is still being considered a citizen of tomorrow, an adversarial concept of the child on a rights-based approach. The specific perception of the child has important implications for the application of children's rights, since the child is viewed in a state of becoming, which lacks competencies to actively participate in society and as such, is not considered a rights' holder. Furthermore, Makrinioti (1997) describes vividly, through the words of Parsons the implications of considering childhood as an incomplete state of being, where the child projected via the future needs guidance and to be controlled by adults: "childhood is the problem of barbarians. It does not differ from a horde of foreign and unadjusted individuals trying to enter the adult world, but who have to be domesticated before to be accepted" (p. 52). By portraying the child as a future citizen, the press shares multiple perceptions about the child, as those have been described above.

The conception of children as in a state of being has further important implications for the allocation of resources by the State. On one hand, the State needs to invest on institutions that collectively guide children via a pathway that transmits the ideologies and skills for children to enter the adult world, such as the educational system, while on the other hand, there is a disembeddedness of the State from its responsibilities to develop services and provisions specifically designed to address children's needs. For the first argument, the press has hosted several articles that criticize the inability of the educational system to nourish and nurture children, enabling them to enter the adult world with the 'appropriate' tools. As for the second argument, the press has also hosted articles that report the responsibility of the State in not investing on children, but do not exercise harsh criticism in its deficiency to do so, especially in cases that repeated deviant behavior has been reported.

What should be noted at this point, is the difference approach of the press when the State fails to invest on children in order to prevent delinquent behavior and in order to provide services to children, such as health care. In the case of exhibition of delinquent behavior, while the State's failure to provide for services is recognized, the press acknowledges an individual responsibility, which lightens the State's responsibility. In other words, whatever the State would do, the specific deviant behaviours would be exhibited, based on personality characteristics of the individual. The specific representation is portrayed under the representation of the child as tabula rasa as well, where any kind of misbehaviour is justified as an exception from the 'norm' and is not attributed to any source of incapacity of the State's institutions. There were articles which commented on the deficiency of the government to invest on children and provide adequate services to support children's growth according to the norms set by the society. Those articles though were soft on their criticism or ended with statements which provided for individual responsibility or an exception from the norm. On the other hand, when the press reported on State's deficiency regarding health care provision, a rights-based approach was employed. In those cases, the articles underlined the responsibility of the State in providing the best medical care possible to children, and not depending on the philanthropic feelings of individuals or donors to fulfil State's obligations.

The above binary of the printed press can be explained based on representations about childhood or other representations that may exist within the Greek Cypriot society about crime or the nation. Once we take into consideration that an existing representation in Cyprus about childhood is that is a vulnerable period where children are in need of protection (as discussed at the childhood section), then the press cannot provide any excuses for the failure of the State to provide for children's medical care. At the same time, representations regarding criminal behaviour and its association with individual responsibility and not environmental deficiencies, may be a possible reason for the soft criticism of media to the State when it comes to delinquent behaviour.

“The troubles of the children of the poor have been deeply embedded in the economic and demographic structure of society, but the tendency to treat these as psychological and therefore as subject to clinical, rather than political or economic, solution became a key feature of much of the twentieth century” (Study Guide, 2007, p. 16).

Since youth, as mentioned above, consists the future generation, perceiving the system where young people grow and develop as problematic, means perceiving the future generation as degenerating. In conjunction with representations about the pureness and the nation’s supremacy, attributing individual responsibility in cases of delinquency becomes the ‘only’ way, while the specific binary of the printed press becomes understandable.

The second theme that emerged through the qualitative analysis was the representation of the child as *tabula rasa*. Through the specific theme it was revealed that the press considers experiences as of great importance in molding the children’s minds and forming the ‘proper’ citizen, who will serve societal needs. The important others, educators and parents, are valuable transmitters in the process. The second theme is highly related to the first theme that emerged. In conjunction, the two themes establish a dualism of children and adults, with the first group being connected to immaturity, lacking skills, in need of guidance and protection. The discourse that emerges in both themes establishes clear boundaries among the two types of human, adult-child, with distinct responsibilities for each.

The analysis showed that mainstream newspapers hold a specific conception of what childhood is and how children develop, ostracizing any other behaviour as deviant. This is in accordance to a general perception about ‘normal childhood’ that is prevalent within the Western type societies, which proclaims a predetermined developmental process of the child (Pehtelides, 2015). The specification of stages that the child passes through, both in a cognitive, but even in an ethical development of the child, have resulted in the determination of a ‘normal’ childhood and the deviant one. Such representations are accompanied by implications of the responsibility of the ‘adult world’ to scaffold ‘normal’ development and take actions in the case of

deviance. Even though, the press does not share directly representations about children's rights, it does so through the way it represents childhood. The above representations of childhood justify the exercise of control by adults over children, along with interventions that 'restrict' children as right holders.

The importance of specific actors in children's rearing is not a matter that bothered the Greek Cypriot press in a vacuum. Rather, it is a discussion raised also by analysts of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) as well. Daiute (2008) discusses how the (CRC) considers the family and the State as the primary agents for the wellbeing and protection of children. According to the author, "the child's relationships are, thus, hierarchical – in terms of membership in a family that protects and socializes the child and membership in the State that protects and socializes the family" (p. 711). Based on the analysis of Daiute, the child becomes socialized by the State, via his/her family.

Indeed, the CRC acknowledges the right of children to live and develop with their own families and the obligation of the State to support the families in the upbringing of their children (Articles 5, 9 and 18), and acknowledges the importance of education in enabling the child to develop at the highest of his/her potential (Articles 28 and 29). Despite the CRC is a mechanism that promotes universal standards to protect, provide for, and enable children to participate in all aspects of social, political and economic life, it does leave space for interpretation. It cannot be questioned that institutions, such as the school and the family, act regulative and powerfully on children (Pehtelides, 2015), based on the specific perceptions about childhood that exist within a society, along with a vague interpretation or a misinterpretation of the CRC. The line of argumentation here is that CRC, is also a socially constructed document, interpreted in multiple ways by the States that ratified it, but also the researchers who study it. How Daiute interprets the CRC cannot be seen outside of the social and political context that this interpretation takes place, along with the reality of daily life, a reality that takes into advantage the CRC to advance the interests of the State, over the rights of the child. Within the scope of the current research, it can be concluded that the Greek Cypriot newspapers share the

specific interpretation of CRC, which places the State and its rights above the child. To sum up, the State, in order to preserve its identity, transmit through its institutions the 'appropriate' knowledge and experiences to children, that will help them develop and become respectful citizens that will serve the interests of the nation.

The representation of children as tabula rasa by the Greek Cypriot press, has important implications for the application of human rights for children, especially taken into account the multiple ways that the CRC can and is interpreted. Daiute's interpretation provides an insight on how the State can become the primary agent for the guidance and protection of children. Bearing that responsibility, the State can become an agent that violates the rights of children, especially if taken into consideration that a presupposed quality of the nation that will not be pervasive to the freedoms of the individuals is not there, or that the nation is preoccupied with other threats considered to be deadly for its existence. As Joyce et al (2013) support,

"nations maintain their hold upon the populace because of the 'banal' or unnoticed quality of nationalism in everyday life. People perceive nations to have a transhistoric enduring quality and to be the natural, ineluctable, universal order of social organization. This ideological power of the particular nation is achieved through the symbols and habits, including coins, flags, media, and national institutions which pervade daily life and reproduce the national community in largely unnoticed ways (Billig, 1995). These symbols form the assumed backdrop to everyday life. In times of national threat or conflict, 'hot' nationalism can be mobilized to defend this inextricable part of our worldview and daily existence" (p. 450).

It is not peculiar for Cyprus, a country that still experiences realistic and symbolic threat, as a result of the Turkish invasion, to solely uptake the role of the guidance of children, in order to become the adults that will uphold the continuation of the nation. It will achieve so, through its institutions, thus, the control of those institutions is of paramount importance as well. At the same time, representations of childhood that support such an intervention by the state, such as that of tabula rasa or the childhood being a period of incomplete state,

become vital not only for the implementation of such interventions, but also for their justification.

As Kadianaki and Andreouli (2015) support, the social representations should also seek to answer, “questions about the ideological functions of advancing particular representations over others and the power struggles involved in instituting some representations as more valid than others” (p. 4). The above discussion was an attempt to examine why the specific themes that emerged via the analysis of the printed press have been advanced over others within the Greek Cypriot society and why and how human rights come to be experienced as an attack to the nation, if they endorse universal principles of humanity and as such, are experienced as a threat to the identity of the nation. In this case, human rights represent a rigid opposition and any dialogue among the two representations is inhibited, since the alternative representation, that of human rights is rejected from the beginning. As described above, the notion of universality is endorsed by the media, when applied to other fields related to children, such as the health system. An ideological tension came across the universality of children’s rights, based on whether the media discussed around concepts related to the nation or the health system.

Another interesting result that should be discussed is the message of the Minister of Education and Culture in Cyprus hosted in the newspapers, related to the aggressive event that happened during the protests. Other than reinforcing the representations of children as tabula rasa, as it was explained above, the press employed another tactic that is used often by the media, where they center their story in order to construct it around a politician (Kaziaj, 2016). As the same author describes, the specific strategy is an indication of the unequal societal power of adults and children. In the example provided in the analysis, the Minister of Education and Culture not only expressed his views on the incident, but also established the behavior of young people in Cyprus (that they do condemn the event) and made assumptions about their values and perceptions. Not only the media did not provide space to children to express their views on the incident, but they also published the views of an adult whom

determined the actions and beliefs of children. The specific tactic used by the media strongly supports the argument that children are voiceless within the media zone and adults are the ones who can determine their knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors.

Even though it did not appear as a theme at the qualitative analysis of the articles of the printed press, it should not escape our attention that the printed press presented extensively the mobilization of students in relation to the proclaiming of the northern part of Cyprus as a different State. All newspapers devote space at the cover page to cover the demonstrations, and independent of their political positions, also seem to strategically use the events to promote a more energetic reaction of the general society, by using headlines that commented on the ethos of the young people. Here, the newspapers use the discourse to suggest to the general public appropriate ways of reacting to injustice, that will benefit the nation and the Cypriot society in general. In this case, that the actions of the children seem to serve the needs of the nation, the newspapers 'escape' from the viral representations of childhood to present children as participatory agents, as agents of change within the society. When presenting the demonstrations, the printed press did not project children as vulnerable or in need of protection. Once though, racist and delinquent behaviour popped up during the demonstrations, the representations were once more re-directed to a vulnerable period of life that lacks critical thinking and can be easily manipulated and exploited by specific interests driven by adults. To sum up, children's demonstrations were approached by the printed press via a political dimension aiming at mobilizing general action to overthrow a national injustice. That was the only time that the representation of children as in need of protection and guidance was marginalized by a presentation of children as active agents within the society. At the same time though, this approach of the press vanished, once incidents within the demonstrations spoiled the aims of the press. Then, the institutionalized representations of vulnerability, guidance and protection of children reappeared more needed within the press.

The articles examined did not project young people as social actors, by presenting exemplars of actions children engage with, such as collaboration of young people from the two main communities of Cyprus interacting during youth programs operating on the island. Such actions of children did not seem to attract the interest of the media.

The analysis of the printed press in the Greek Cypriot community regarding children and their rights has provided unique understandings regarding children and their position within society. The notion of children within the Greek Cypriot press was so far unexplored. The study illustrates an adult-child divide, which is upheld by representations of childhood as a preparation period for adulthood, along with representations of children as at an incomplete state of being that adults must guide (*tabula rasa*). There are multiple implications for the application of children's rights within the Greek Cypriot society, up to the point that rights-based representations will be shared among the printed press.

5.3. Discussion of the Results Obtained via the Qualitative Analysis of the Circulars of the Church

The analysis of the circulars prepared by the Archbishop and read to all the educational institutions among the years 2007-2017 aimed at identifying specific social representations that the institution of Church constructs and disseminates related to the rights of the child, and whether those intersect, in any way, with concepts of childhood or the Cyprus Problem. The analysis revealed that children were framed either as passive individuals, once the discussion was related to childhood, or as individuals fully participating in the societal structures, once the discourse was directly related to the Cyprus Problem. The discussion that follows tries to capture the emergence of this dual conceptualization of children regarding their right to participate, endorsing relevant literature on childhood and conflict.

Before initiating the discussion though, it is important to acknowledge that both themes that emerged do not reveal two different perceptions of children by the Church based on the context that those are enacted, but rather instances of the same representation, if put on a socio-cognitive developmental perspective: the children first have to acquire the “right” values via the educational system, the church and the nation, and then to enact by becoming instruments of those powerful figures in their service as agents. In both cases, the Church asserts a form of authority that constrains children by framing the development they should have and dictating the actions they should follow, limiting the thinking space and autonomy of children. This form of interaction has been described by Psaltis & Duveen (2007), based on experiments with children who were non-conserving and conserving, stating that when those interactions took place, the social relations of constrain became solid among the partners. As with the active partner among children, the Church, during the process mobilizes mechanisms that provide authority to itself, along with mechanisms that provide authority to the educational institution and the nation to persuade children to submit to its words. Psaltis & Duveen (2007) have

referred to the concept of “instrumental recognition” as one that is attributed to the non-active child within the social interaction, meaning that the child is only perceived as part of the context, without acknowledged as one that can contribute to it. The ‘instrumental recognition’ notion can be used for the case of how the Church perceives children. To sum up, the circulars that the leader of the Church sends to the schools every year, can be considered as a form of communication among children and the leader of the Church, where various methods (such as the adoption of an authoritative family figure) are employed to pinpoint to the power asymmetry among the subject (the Church) and ‘others’ (the children). As such, the child is not considered as a thinking subject (Psaltis, 2005), but rather as a passive recipient of the transferred beliefs. By doing so, the Church puts restrictions in the thinking of the nation by the children otherwise, even at a later moment and resists the development of a ‘different’ identity than the one that would pursue the goals of the nation.

According to one of the communicative genres discussed by Moscovisci (2002; detailed discussed in session 2.3.2), propaganda blocks the discussion of any alternative representations and aims to motivate for action. Exploring further the concerns that Church does not actually provide agency to children, the presentation of children by the Church as active agents when the context relates to the Cyprus problem can be explored via the propaganda mode. In that sense, it seems that the main anxiety of the Church is the “right” stance on the Cyprus problem, which is that of an occupation, which can only be reversed with the preservation of ideals, the polarization for the injustice experienced, and the action, which, according to the Church, can be a militias one. So, the Church does not leave any space for reflection on alternative representations about the nation, the Cyprus problem, the ‘others’ or the role of children within all the aforementioned contexts. In that sense, the argument that children are represented as “agents” can be reversed, since children are not provided with the agency or free will to make their own decisions despite or even against the structure. It was considered important though to name the representation as it appeared on the outset for two reasons: (a) it provided a contradiction among

the different representations of children according to the context, and (b) it was not accidentally used by the Church, since representing children as agents, and not only as 'disciplined soldiers' of various institutions, fulfilled the goal of persuading individuals for the 'good cause'. Presenting children solely as passive individuals, submitting into authoritarian figures, and lacking any signs of autonomous thinking, would have failed to convince the population the Church was addressing. Based on the assumption that the Church intentionally presented the children as active agents when it was related to the Cyprus problem, the term was also kept by the researcher. In reality though, the term has the opposite meaning and can be related to the "agentic" state that Milgram brought his subjects into (as discussed in session 2.3.1.).

After discussing the two distinct representations of children according to the context, but on the same vein according to the ideology prescribed to them, what follows is a discussion of the themes that emerged via the analysis.

The first theme that emerged during the analysis is the conception of childhood as a transitional period of life, where children acquire knowledge, learn and explore, and prepare for adulthood. The increasing competencies during childhood associated with age and maturity, along with the offered experiences that prepare children for adult life, have guided several researchers (Cairns et al., 2018; Stoecklin & Fattore, 2018). In fact, Stoecklin and Fattore (2018) exploring the agency of children, have found that, even children acknowledge that they have limited competencies in relation to adults and that they need guidance to fully develop their competencies during childhood. The researchers have stated that "this [approaching children as 'becomings'] paternalistic premise reads both capabilities and functionings, as choices to be made for children's good development, notably as 'future workers', thus reproducing an explicitly developmental frame and hindering full inclusion and recognition of children's voices" (p. 56).

Daiute (2008) argued that the image of children as "vulnerable, emergent, dependent, and determined by the broader social structures of the family and the state" (p. 710) is also constructed through the Convention on the

Rights of the Child (CRC). Indeed, CRC recognizes the “emerging capabilities” of children and for that reason it defines the role of family and the state in protecting children and enabling their development at the maximum degree. But at the same time, CRC also defines childhood as a distinct period of life, not correlated with adulthood; as such, certain Articles within CRC define certain provisions corresponding to the characteristics of that period, such as education, family care and play. Additionally, CRC promotes the participation of the child in all matters of direct relevance to him/her, providing clearly that children are not incompetent humans in transition to competence; it determines the obligations of the States to facilitate the process for children to participate. For example, Article 12 determines that

1. States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

2. For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law.

Via the analysis of the circulars it becomes apparent that the right of the children to form his/her own views is clearly violated by the Church, since, as it has been documented, there is an effort by the Church to prescribe what views children should form or not.

The conception of childhood as a transitional period of life has a negative impact on the conception of children as agents of rights and results in representations of the child, not as an autonomous individual personality, but rather as an adult miniature in preparation for future life. The data analyzed reveal that the maturation and developmental processes the child goes through are regarded as the reasoning for the consideration of children as heteronomous personalities. Once not perceived as autonomous personalities, children cannot be considered agents of rights. The rights of the children are subject to the constraints set by the conception of childhood as an incomplete

period of life. Their right to participate in decision making, to bring social change is minimized. Furthermore, once not considered as agents of rights, then decision making for matters that concern them is not directed towards examining whether it serves the best interest of the child, but rather towards serving the interest of the family or the nation accordingly. Families and states are not held accountable for violating children's rights, since decisions are taken based on protecting and nursing children. Cassidy et al (2017) reported that by understanding childhood as a specific period or state, there is a high risk on the interest of the children being assaulted by the interest of the adults, with the former not being dealt as full members of the society. At the same time, within such representations, one can understand the interpretation Daiute (2008) provides that "the nesting of the child's rights within the institution of the family is, for example, a way that the CRC allows for the protection of traditional values, practices, and ideologies" (p. 711).

Other than how social representations of childhood are ranked from children being subjected to family's and nation's interests to children being agents of rights as they evolve their capacities, perceptions can change according to the political ideologies of the society. The discussion regarding an individual's possession of rights over the collective 'good' is not a new one and appears at the reports the Committee on the Rights of the Child prepares, as a response to the periodical reports the countries submit. In one such case, the Committee reminded the Holy See, assigned with State-like requirements, not to place parents' rights over children's, which opened a discussion on whether the rights of the children can be exercised only once the families identify their needs (Hailu, 2017). Once placed in the Cypriot context, one realizes that the specific representations of childhood presented by the Church are present within the society (see session 2.4.4.), claiming childhood as a rights-less period of life. This perception of childhood can also provide explanation for the argumentation against specific arguments of the Commissioner for Children's Rights in Cyprus, which intended to protect children from violence, but placed the interest of the children above the interest of the State (discussed at session

2.4.4.), such as the statement of the Commissioner regarding children of pre-primary and primary age not visiting the “Imprisoned Memorials”.

As childhood is constructed as a period of life with all the aforementioned elements, the Church creates social distance among the group of children and the rest of the members of the society. Children become acknowledged as a distinct group that is apart from the rest of the society, not a full member of it; as a heterogeneous group, but not a threatening one, children need specialized treatment and a focus to become “perfect candidates” for future membership. Distancing creates an artificial space that prevents outcomes caused by intimacy; it provides the lens to justify an alternate treatment of the group that differs, and it develops awareness on the intentions regarding the specific group, resulting at the best possible solutions for the development of the children in the maximum degree possible. The phenomenon of various social groups, for example, the poor, and the mentally ill (Chauhan & Foster, 2014; Foster, 2006) being distanced from the general society is not a new one. In the same way, the Church portrays children not to belong to the bigger group of the population, by presenting them as in the process of preparation to join that group, posing various constraints on the realization of children’s rights, as those were described above.

Within the space of human rights, children are considered a vulnerable group within societies, and in need of attention. The CRC though refers to the responsibility of the States to provide the necessary means to enable children develop, to protect them from any kind of abuse, and to undertake measures to create a safety net for children in any case. The analysis of the data indicates that the Church also shares a conception of children as vulnerable, but this conception seems to be based on a deficiency caused by the babyhoods that describe childhood. A subsequent responsibility to aid this group that programmatically differs to transform it into one that shares the same knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviors of the general society prescribes the representations the Church holds.

Akin to the conceptualization of the childhood is the conceptualization of the purpose of schooling. The qualitative analysis has indicated that schooling is conceptualized based on the existing representations of childhood. As childhood is conceptualized as a period to learn, schooling is associated with acquisition of knowledge by children. At the same time, as childhood is perceived as an incomplete state of life, where the child prepares for his/her later life in adulthood and develop its character, the purpose of schooling is portrayed through those lenses, aiming at preparing children for adult life and enabling them to develop their personalities. Thus, understanding the representations of childhood can provide an insight into other representations the Church holds, such as that of the purpose of schooling, since those are closely related. The relationship among the perceptions related to childhood and the purpose of schooling is dynamic and pinpoints on the influence specific representations can have on policies and practices applied. As Tint (2010) supports “social constructionism suggests that reality is a subjective, fluid, and purposeful entity where meaning cannot be separated from the beliefs and goals of those who create it” (p. 242). The representations of the purpose of schooling cannot be seen apart from the way the Church selects to define schooling based on its current beliefs and goals, along with the context that supports such beliefs. As such, the representations related to childhood do seem to have inevitable consequences in many aspects of everyday life of children, and specifically on how the aims of education are shaped via the existing representations.

Furthermore, the representations of the Church regarding the purpose of schooling seem to be identical with the aims of education¹⁶⁰, as those are proclaimed by the Ministry of Education and Culture in Cyprus (MoEC), the

¹⁶⁰ For the purposes of the current thesis, it is beyond its scope to analyze differences of the representations of the Church and the Ministry of Education and Culture related to the aims of education. It is emphasized though, that differences do exist.

responsible agent for the organization and implementation of the educational system in Cyprus. As the MoEC (2018) reports, the secondary education in Cyprus

“offers equal educational opportunities and aims to disseminate knowledge with emphasis on general education and gradual specialization to prepare students for their academic or professional orientation. It also aims to promote and develop a healthy, intellectual and moral personality, to create competent, democratic and law-abiding citizens, to consolidate national identity, cultural values, global ideals for freedom, justice, peace and cultivation of love and respect for people, and to promote mutual understanding and cooperation between people and nations”.

At this point, one can identify the conjunction of visions for the aims of educations shared by two powerful institutions within the Cypriot society, the Church and the educational system, as it was explicitly described above (see session: The Role of the Church in the Educational Affairs). Those two agents stretch the same purpose for education: to disseminate knowledge, to prepare children for adult life, and to form the personality of children based on societal values. Moreover, the emphasis stressed by the Church on the Greek and Christian values and their perseverance has been reported to be apparent in the educational discourses (Persianis, 1996; Charalambous et al., 2014; Pavlou, 2015), as those are reported by the official documents of the MoEC.

As discussed above, the Church considers children as being a social group distant from the general population. Schooling then, becomes the medium that can form that distant group to one alike the general population. Schooling fulfills a greater role, since it provides the means so that this distant group will be a simulation of the society, and as such, easily become absorbed by it with the grown up and maturation of children.

A substantial element that deserves attention is the conception of the Church that the nation, via schooling, provides opportunities to all children and children are responsible to take advantage of them. This is a concept discussed around the 90's within education, when the traditional concept of performance attributed to inherited abilities was replaced by the need to focus on the effort of

an individual and the transformation of an effort-oriented educational system (Resnick, 1995). Even though, research on education has formed a different pathway, that does not longer support neither aptitude, nor effort as the only ingredients of school success, the Church provides significance to the effort invested by children. This paradigm provides justification for the division of children into deserving ones and undeserving ones, those who take advantage of the opportunities and those who do not. It attributes personal responsibility to children for being able to tackle or not opportunities. Such a perception does not take into consideration the social dynamics that might interplay and prevent or enable children to initially understand that opportunities exist and subsequently, benefit from them. The environment a child lives and grows does not become part of the equation. The socio-political barriers opposed to prevent the full participation of an individual into the society are marginalized; such a perception is mostly apparent within individualistic societies, that have as their epicentre the individual. As Joffe (2015) points out, the conceptions of the failure of individuals or groups of people as self-imposed, due to their personal failings, is a need deriving from the perception that people get what they deserve (Just World Hypothesis). It is not of a surprise, that the Church shares those representations with children, despite, as it was discussed above, the Church, in general, promoted collectivist values. It is not a paradox though; the Church strategically promotes collectivist values to create a homogeneity among the group to motivate them for collective action for the sake of the nation, but individualistic perceptions to justify the failure of specific children. So, the system is not held accountable for not providing for the development of each and every child to the maximum degree possible. Such representations not only explain why some children fail, but also provide justification for exclusion of individuals based on their 'unworthiness'. It is a way of perpetuating the status-quo, by embodying only those who deserve it. At a macro-level, they also provide justification for the maltreatment or hate targeting other groups, which history has proven to deserve their fate. Such representations are contradictory to the Principle of Non-Discrimination of CRC, but also to the

Principle of Development, which states that the State is responsible to provide all necessary means and resources available so that the child will develop to the maximum degree possible. In other words, the specific concept shared by the Church has implications for the obligations for the State, since it does not attribute responsibility to the State for any violations of human rights that occur within its geographical space, rather, it provides justification to the State, since the responsibility burdens the individual. The State provides, and any failure is attributed to the child and not the State. As such, the State it is not accountable. The relations among Church-State remain intact, along with the 'authority' provided to the Church via the current status-quo within the State affairs.

It can also be seen as a strategic reification of the State, the Church and the school in a way that ideological contestation becomes invisible and neutralised so that change in these institutions gets minimised. As part of the structure, the individual becomes the one responsible to achieve the aims of these institutions. To the extent that the actions of children and adolescents are aligned with the aims of the institutions then their agency is promoted, but once they start reflecting on institutions and demand their change then they seem that they are called to undertake their "immature" position, as they become a threat to institutions.

Paramount to the conceptualization of children's rights have always been the respective responsibilities children have. Beyond any doubt, the discussion related to responsibilities is neither stifling nor an original one. The discussion among rights and responsibilities probably stems from unequal relations developed among the society. Doise (2002) reports that this discussion over rights and responsibilities was also conducted while drafting human rights documents, later evolved to notions of social justice. However, the establishment of international documents of rights a few decades ago, have not refuted the social representations among the general population regarding the responsibilities of individuals. By virtue of the positions they adopt, "members of majority or high power groups give higher priority to the duties that low power groups need to enact" (Abrams et al., 2015, p. 29). Hence, accepting the

position of the Church within the society, it is not a surprise that the circulars are fraud with statements for the responsibilities of the children. Responsibilities which correspond not only to the child as an individual, in terms of fulfilling specific duties of everyday life.

Via the themes and sub-themes that emerged by the analysis bursts the three-word most known slogan within the Greek history: “homeland-religion-family^{161,162}”. The specific slogan has been adopted by the Greek Cypriot community in Cyprus and is used for nation’s cohesion. The Church does make use of the slogan directly and in the case of the circulars indirectly by discussing and recommending actions for children based on the three pillars.

Within the representation of children as actors, participatory agents, another theme that emerged via the analysis, illuminated a main concern of Church that relates to the preservation of the nation. Children are burdened with the responsibility to protect the sovereignty of the nation. The discussion that follows pinpoints to the direction of the cases that the Church conceives children as active participants. In those cases, it becomes apparent that the interest of the nation prevails the interest of the child, a mundane representation of the Church that has adverse implications for the application of children’s rights within the Cypriot society.

To start with, Church asserts education as an ideological mechanism that the nation employs to further nation cohesion and achieve political ends. The Church poses an emphasis on the role school should play in mediating the knowledge and build the characters needed for the nation’s survival. Related to this conception are the responsibilities of children, who should benefit the

¹⁶¹ [Πατρίς-Θρησκεία-Οικογένεια]

¹⁶² The slogan was first used at the end of the 19th century by Christians who aimed to moralize and renew the Greek society. Later, it was used by conservatives in various fields (i.e. journalists and politicians), while much later, around 1930, the slogan becomes a unified element for the Greek society. The dictatorship in Greece in 1936 adopts the slogan as part of the national ideology (Mitselos, 2012).

most of schooling, and at the same time preserve the nation's ideals by becoming gate-keepers of the nation's ideals and virtues, as those are specified by the Greek and Christian traditions, avoiding indulging into the 'sensations' of modern society. The constant reference to the Cyprus problem and the nation's history, the remembrance of human rights violations and atrocities the people of the nation suffered, along with the legitimization of use of violent acts and the exclusion of 'others', all come to fulfill the goal of nation's ideological supremacy and the excessive need for its safeguarding.

As Spyrou (2001) states the school is a social context which frames and instills the national identity of children; a context where children are expected to absorb and project the official national identity and not challenge it. As vividly describes in an ethnographic study about a child's formation of identity, "the school contributed decisively in giving content to his identity and rooting it in the larger framework of the nation's history as well as in the particularities of the island's division" (Spyrou, 2006, p. 131). The school enables children to imagine themselves as a united community, with a long history, traditions and virtues, elements which legitimize national pride and enhance national identity. Such representations lead to further polarization, and the sustainability of a cluster of characteristics, as that of the competitive victimhood, the deligitimization of the 'other', and the attribution of negative stereotypes to the 'other'. At a specific quote, the Church explicitly states that the 'other' is accepted as long as s/he enhances or extends the in-group's identity, which means that the 'other' is not ostracized, as long as it assimilates to the cultural norms and the nation's aspirations and does not represent a threat for the identity of its members. Indeed, this representation of the 'other' based on the amount of contribution can offer to the existing "rich culture" of the Greek Cypriots has been reported as well by Zembylas et al (2010), at a study conducted for the inclusion of immigrants within the Greek Cypriot community. If the 'other' does not fulfil those requirements, then, mingling should not be enacted, and acceptance is not a value to be promoted. As has been reported by Zembylas et al. (2010), segregation in various forms, it's the preferred road

expected by the dominant group, once the 'other' is conceived as a threat to the nation.

In the case of Cyprus, where intractable conflict traps individuals within a cycle of hostility and hatred, and blocks change, the ethnic identity has gained particular significance within the society, while its 'exploitation' even legitimizes the use of force and violence. Within such context, it is not peculiar for an institution that proclaims for virtues and ideals related to peace, love, and collaboration to convey the necessity of army for the nation's survival. The Church does so, as an assertion of the collective entitlements of freedom and peace, a form of resistance to the occupiers, and the injustice they imposed. By framing it in this way, the Church normalizes the use of army and justifies its purpose and need. In a similar vein, Church conceptualizes the obedience of students and the suppression of critical thinking as necessary means for the nation's existence. While presenting the children as actors, burdened with the responsibility to 'fight' for the sake of the nation, at the same time it proclaims for an 'obedience' towards the school. Despite those two elements might seem contradictory, they serve the same purpose: the preservation of the nation.

At this point, it is worthy to comment on the obedience the Church demands from children. As thoroughly described at the literature review, within the theory of social influence, obedience of individuals, even in the cases of causing harm to another human, was a construct examined via experiments (for example Milgrams's experiments of obedience to authority described in session 2.3.1.), to explain why mass violations of human rights existed in the past. Within the circulars, the Church (a) as the 'transmitter', shares the one and only truth, (b) demands conformity by the children to the school's rule, (c) shares representations of children being dependent by adults, and (e) creates insecurity for the future of the nation and the future of the young people. All those characteristics were part of the functional model of social influence theory, pinpointing to the direction that the Church employed multiple procedures to influence the thoughts, feelings and actions of children. If interpreted lightly, the Church acknowledges itself as a figure of authority that can 'manipulate'

children towards a good end, the preservation of the nation. If taken to the extreme level of interpretation, the Church, 'sacrifices' the well-being of the children, as in the experiments, in order to achieve its means. It silences their voices for the sake of the nation.

The data analysis has shown that the Church formulates representations of individuals within the Cypriot society as a homogeneous group, sharing the same values and ideals. As Pickett & Brewer (2005) suggest, to achieve maintenance of the boundaries of the in-group a pathway is to stretch similarities of ingroup members. As the same authors report, based on the optimal distinctiveness theory, the "identification with social groups involves the depersonalization of the self, such that the self becomes defined by the group's attitudes, and the most salient features of the self-concept are those that the person has in common with the other members of the group" (p. 92). This methodology is one being promoted by the Church, through the circulars to maintain the status-quo, preserve the nation, and resist the changes enforced by modern era that threaten the traditional Cypriot society. The Church acknowledges that Cypriot society is changing and fearing of the impact of that change on the Greek and Christian ideals, intensifies the homogeneity of the group to collectively achieve the goal of preserving the nation and the society. The possible loss of the identity of the nation, might be conceptualized as extremely threatening by the Church, and as a result, turns to a repetitious report of the elements that characterize the 'pure' Greek nation. As Andreouli and Chrysochoou (2015) report, "national identity projects have historically aimed to construct the nation as a homogeneous group of people, linked together by shared history and ethnic origins. This process has allowed nation-states to function as sovereign polities" (p. 321). If the nation and its ideals are the core of the representations Church shares, it can be concluded that modernity and its representations can be seen as the alternative representation that 'threatens' the main one.

The Church does not fail to take into consideration the diversity of social beliefs or interactions of the individuals within the group, and neither

underestimates the conflict that might derive from that diversity. On the contrary, it sophistically manipulates the population that addresses and the Greek Cypriot society as a homogeneous one to achieve mobilization towards its purpose to safeguard the nation. In other words, the Church seems to be mobilizing the student for collective action to achieve its end. It does so by employing strategies stated by the literature as effective for mobilization: by intensifying the perceived injustice, efficacy of the students, and their social identity (Van Zomeren et al., 2008); by stretching the shared grievances and by politicizing and polarizing the ethnic identity (Klandermans, 2014); by enforcing the idea that all the nation is part of this struggle (Simons & Klandermans, 2001) and the idea that the social milieu approves their participation into collective action (Klandermans & Van Stekelenburg, 2014); by intensifying the efforts to proselytize children, since individuals tend to mobilize when they identify with the organizer (Klandermans, 2014); by stating its own participation providing credibility to the cause (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Language has been another means employed by the Church to foster cohesion for preserving the nation. As Billig (1995) reports, nation states promote an official national language to construct the nation, demanding discipline within their boundaries for the use of a common grammar, protecting it from 'contamination' by dialects or foreign words. Indeed, an outcome of the analysis is that the Church employed a sophisticated use of language when addressing the children. The use of incomprehensible words or phrases to address children served a twofold purpose: (a) by highlighting the richness of the Greek language, its "superiority" over other languages prevails, (b) the use of words and phrases that are not currently used in modern Greek, and especially by the children, aim to connect the language with ancient Greek to reiterate the continuity of the Greek language through the ages. In other words, the use of sophisticated language by the Church reinforces supremacy and continuity of Greekness, part of a nationalistic discourse, as reported by other studies (Charalambous et al., 2016). In the case of Cyprus, it has been reported that, even children reproduce an ideological supremacy of the Greek language,

over the Cypriot dialect (Pachoulides, 2007), let alone an institution highly appreciated within the Greek Cypriot society. It should be noted that the 'sophisticated' language used by the Church when addressing children, might be part of its overall policy to make use of languages of the past, as demonstrated by the languages used within the ecclesiastical hymns. But, it may very well stem from the observations on the use of the Greek language by the children, whom 'contaminate' it with foreign words and by using English characters to write a sentence spoken in Greek (the so-called Greeklish). There is a heated debate within the Cypriot society and a general blame towards children for 'destroying' the language and for not being able to use it 'properly'. Such an observation might have exaggerated Church's need to address the phenomenon by being an example of proper use of language and by scaffolding children's learning of the Greek language. The Church is aware that the use of a language creates boundaries among people, provides security for belongingness to a specific nation, and consequently leads to its preservation.

In relation to language use, Billig (1995) points out that nationalism makes use of the first plural to create a discourse of 'us' and 'them'. It cannot be considered a coincidence that the use of deictic words, formed by the first person in plural, such as 'we', 'our' and 'us', are employed by the Church to form a national syntax (the term national syntax has been used by Billig, 1995). By doing so, the Church aims to create distinct boundaries among the people of the nation and the 'others'. Furthermore, the use of the first plural is a common strategy of national institutions worldwide to indicate, not only the boundaries of the nation, but also to trace their footprint within the society as hegemonic institutions for the preservation of the nation. Ultimately, this creates a trust towards the specific institution grounded on simultaneously being part of the people and acting for the interest of the nation.

Another strategy employed by the Church is the use of history to reinforce Greekness and supremacy of 'us' over the 'others'. Eidelson et al. (2003) compare the ethnic superiority to the individual-level belief, where a person believes that s/he excels and deserves a privileged status within the society

because s/he is charismatic. As the same authors note, 'ethnocentric monoculturalism' has been defined as the collective-level belief of superiority of a specific culture. Research has identified various dispositions, instrumental in establishing an 'ethnic' validation of the ingroup as superior to the outgroup(s), by constructing an imbalance created by brute differences. Those dispositions are: (a) the selected recounting of history and chosen traumas (Eidelson et al., 2003), based on what the nation suffered and not of the pain the nation inflicted on others, which empowers the feelings of symbolic and realistic threat (Psaltis, 2016), (b) forming an advantageous comparison through the historical narrative, where the inhumane behavior of the 'other' was the only cause of any course of action of the ingroup that might have caused human rights violations (Malley-Morrison et al., 2015), (c) the use of history to create a group identity (Tileaga, 2009; Papastamou, 1999), (d) the use of "texts of history creating loyalty on the part of the citizens to the nation-states" (Tileaga, 2009, p. 339), (e) focusing on history that stresses the ability of the nation to overcome difficulties (Eidelson et al., 2003), (f) an effort to sustain the historical narratives as hegemonic representations (Psaltis, 2016), (g) the employment within the historical narrative of ideologies for democracy and culture possessed by the ingroup and not by the outgroup (Staerke et al., 2015), and (h) the use of national symbols attached to the historical narratives, which have been associated with lower levels of trust and contact with members of the outgroup (Psaltis, 2016). Indeed, the Church, through the circulars, made use of all the aforementioned features within the historical narrative it provided. By incorporating them into the narrative, the Church achieves to communicate change as an essential affordance, to the injustice and violations experienced by the group. As Eidelson et al. (2003) stress, this is a form of persuasion used by effective leaders.

Symbolic threats are prevalent in the circulars. The "other(s)" represent a threat for the ingroup, corroding the existing status-quo by 'injecting' foreign elements into the language, traditions and habits of the Cypriots. As the threats are understood as a destruction to the main pillars that uphold the nation,

'threatening' groups become the targets of ostracism within the Greek Cypriot context. The Church, through the circulars, employs symbolic threat to establish representations of nation's disappearance, based on a gradual loss of nation's cohesion and identity. At this point, the Church calls upon children and young people to resist the changes and preserve their language and traditions. In other words, it calls upon children to become the safeguards of the nation, by not adhering to practices that derail the Cypriot society from its traditional character.

Based on the findings, it becomes apparent that the circulars use an additional representation to strengthen the main one; the main representation entails the 'perfect' nation and its ideals, while the additional one, contains the 'victim' nation that must be protected by a 'hostile' enemy that tries to vanish the nation by attacking its 'Greek' identity. The use of threats as a form of propaganda is not a new one within the context of Cyprus; Avraamidou and Psaltis (2018) identified a series of threats in two main Greek Cypriot newspapers and how alternative representations are managed using semantic barriers. Applied to the context of the circulars as well, as the authors specifically note,

"the potential deconstruction of these threats and fears by various alternative representations of various actors identified here are blocked through a series of semantic barriers whose function is to hinder the intrusion of doubt in the current belief system (Duveen, 2002) of the reader and avoid reflection (Kadianaki & Gillespie, 2015) on their core representations that could lead to ontogenetic transformation of their positions -crucial in a post-conflict and divided society" (p. 16).

The representations shared by the Church regarding the Cyprus problem produce a national culture of victimization and suffering throughout the ages, accompanied by a capability of the nation to survive due to its adherence to virtues and ideals. They also produce a personal responsibility to children to remain loyal to the traditions of their ancestors for the survival of the nation and its liberty. Those representations have strong implications for human rights, since children are not entitled to choose; in a way, it restricts the rights of

participation and development of children in the maximum degree possible, by hierarchizing the nation's interest above the children's one.

The representations of children either as passive individuals or in an agentic state that emerged via the data analysis are directly related to the application of children's rights. The Principle of Participation in CRC enshrines the right of the child to participate in all domains of life, setting it as a legal rule. To that end, the CRC requires the provision of the appropriate support by the adults in a way for participation to be lasting and fruitful, including the provision of information before the participation and feedback after their participation. The dignity of the child must remain intact throughout its participation (Hodgkin & Newell, 2007). While the CRC provides for the participation of the child at any age and in all areas that affect his/her life, the Principle of Participation raised several discussions among the professionals who work with children, as to the age and areas that children must participate. The analysis of the circulars sent by the Church to the school communities resulted at a different approach of when children can participate and when they cannot. It became prevalent through the analysis that the stake of the nation is above the rights of the child. The representations of children participating were only associated with the interest of the nation. And that participation did not acknowledge the meaning provided by the CRC, but rather it can be described as a burden for children to fulfil certain roles that will serve the interests of the nation; even in the case that participation of children is promoted by the Church, it is orchestrated and directed by authoritative figures that leaves no room for reflection and/or alternative forms of action.

A final note on the content of the circulars relates to the direct reference of human rights, which emerges only once throughout the period of ten years and is directly related to the violations of rights experienced by the Greek Cypriots due to the Turkish invasion. While the discussion has brought forward various concepts related to the representations the Church beholds and shares for children's rights, the explicit reference to human rights' violations only once and in relation to the Cyprus Problem grasps a major concern of the Church that

relates to the perseverance of the nation and the possible solution that will emerge and shake the current status-quo. As such, the Church engages in a monolithic reference to human rights, which might be characterized as pathogenic, conspicuously refraining from any other discourse of violations of children's rights that currently is exhibited in Cyprus. Concurrently, the promotion by the Church of specific values related to the Christian and Hellenic ideas and the up taking of a specific political and historical stance against the Cyprus Problem, as has been noted above, serve a system that justifies the function of promoting the interests of the state in such a magnitude.

The analysis was driven by a motive that religious education and human rights are compatible, once they do not contribute to dogmatic beliefs or raise imbalances in power relations among various groups. As Zembylas (2014) reports, religious education and human rights education, in conjunction, can assist the peace process in conflict-ridden societies, once they bring into the forefront the unequal power relations among groups, multiple ways of interaction and interconnection with the 'other' and by challenging the dogmatic beliefs that avert interaction among groups or individuals. By presenting the representations of children's rights shared by the Church, along with potential neglect of aspects that could drive social changes for the realization of children's rights, the aim was to perceive how those representations constrain children, the functions they serve, and illustrate possible alternative forms they can take. It aimed to open up spaces where religion, nation, and family are renegotiated and challenge current practices to promote critical thinking, the peace-transformation process, and alteration of representations that restrain the realization of children's rights.

5.4. General Discussion

The fundamental question of how children's rights are applied in Cyprus brought me to the study of their social representations using a number of methodological tools and navigating through an array of institutions which possibly define their central nucleus. It was considered important to examine whether the knowledge of children's rights communicated among three main institutions within the Greek Cypriot society, the Church, the educational system, and the printed press, was identical and whether it was internalized by children and a specific group of adults, the educators. The current study also identified the social conditions considered as threatening, and which were resisted, so that the nucleus of the representations would stay intact and within the safety zone of the participants.

Cyprus was not chosen purposefully, but its various characteristics formed it as an ideal framework for exploring the social representations of children's rights: (a) the interplay and examination of every action, policy, and practice through the penetrating lens of the political problem and the impact it will have on it. Therefore, the investigation of the way social representations of the rights of the child were shaped by the political situation prevailing in Cyprus, which also has an impact on the social development and psychological well-being of citizens, was the driving force and the impetus for conducting this study, (b) the establishment of the physical space in the social consciousness as a space where the population experiences violations of human rights due to the Cyprus Problem. Reasonably, a strong interest in investigating the extent to which these violations create established beliefs about the legitimacy of violations in another portion of the population was developed, (c) the discourse on human rights and their violations are part of the daily routine, in most cases, of the inhabitants, due to the Cyprus problem. As such, human rights are not a concept rarely confronted by individuals, but rather a concept thoroughly discussed, and as a consequence a concept for which strong opinions are formed and shared among the members of the society, (d) its size, with less than a million population, an element that forms it as a conservative society. It

was therefore interesting to explore, in such a context, the supply of the central core of representations with the same material by different institutions, if that was the case, and (e) the operation of independent human rights institutions on the island, which bring into the discourse of human rights a rights-based and/or international approach and how that discourse comes to alter the core of the representations of children's rights or is resisted as foreign and inapplicable.

The next question that crosses the mind is why the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) was used as a normative document to explore the violations. Indeed, as described at the literature review, the CRC has received criticism for its western-centric character and ideology, its vagueness in terms of being subject to multiple interpretations, the provision of excessive authorization to parents and the State, and the fact that no sanctions are imposed to States. Various social antinomies bothered the experts during its formation and some of them are embedded within the CRC. Those are, but not limited to, individual/collective interest, individual/state interest, freedoms/restrictions, immaturity/maturity, right/responsibility, childhood as a distinct period of life/childhood as preparation for adulthood, and needs/wants. Those antinomies, as Kadianaki & Gillespie (2015) explained, when discussed and reflected become the object of the discourse. This is actually how the social representations of children's rights emerged. Being characterized by so many antinomies and at the same time, being the most ratified UN document in the world today, were two characteristics which outline the reasons for using this document as a normative one to explore the violations within the current study.

Concurrently, back to the Greek Cypriot community, the CRC becomes not only the medium of thought, but also the object of thought, altering social representations of children's rights in the process. The Commissioner for Children's Rights, as an institution with the competence and responsibility to supervise and monitor the implementation of the CRC on the island, becomes the source that brings a number of antinomies on the public discourse, transcending them into themata, and altering or not, social representations of children's rights. As such, the CRC, via the voice of the Commissioner, comes

to bring within the Cypriot society an external 'voice'. That voice is usually resisted as threatening, since thematic concepts, such as the ones explored within the current research, the childhood and the conflict, are grounded within strong societal beliefs with constituents impervious to change throughout time and which behold across nations. In other words, they fulfill the pre-conditions of time and space. This value though of this alternate voice is pragmatic, by providing both the space and time for a public discourse on those antinomies/themata. To elaborate further on the CRC as an object of thought, an example used within the current study is repeated here. The Commissioner reported that visiting specific memorials had adverse effects on children's development, which initiated a heated and long-lasting public discourse within the society based on the antinomy the interest of the child/the interest of the State. Notwithstanding, an institution supported the one argument and the majority of the population the other, there was a reflection on that antinomy, which informed the social representations of children's rights. Simultaneously, the analysis indicates the resistance exhibited for that discourse, since 3 years after its initiation, half of the participants of this study, educators and children, do not recognize it as a violation of children's rights, a result that came out of the data analysis of the questionnaires. Research has the potential to focus on various constructs that limit or prevent the realization of children's rights, and by doing so, strengthen the alternative voice of the CRC within specific societies.

Geared from all the above, the current study tried to explore two social situations, which can be best described as frozen within the Greek Cypriot community: the first one relates to the division of the island, and the second one to the place of the child within the society, by exploring the perceptions individuals behold for childhood. There are practical implications out of the study of the two rather frozen social situations. The first one is that the way adults and children within a society, bothered by an inter-ethnic division for a prolonged period of time, perceive children's rights, adds to the existing literature on how violence and conflict impact the lives of children. Such results are important at exercising pressure on the international community to

understand conflicts via the pragmatic value of the instruments they deploy. Furthermore, when examining social representations of historical events, the representations as such are not important, but how those are used to legitimize actions at the present or in the future (Gibson, 2012; Bar-Tal, 2014). The results of the study came to identify how concepts of childhood and those related to the conflict legitimize actions to 'forbid' or 'forgo' the implementation of specific rights of children within the society. Specifically, a dominant, within the Greek Cypriot community, representation of childhood as a period of preparation for adult life, as indicated by the results of the review of the printed press, the circulars of the Church and the questionnaire administered to educators and children, shapes the participation of children into the societal affairs and retains it into a decorative one. Simultaneously, ideologies and beliefs perceived to threaten the nation's survival, construct an impermeable wall that marks the boundaries of acceptable behaviors and legitimize the violation of children's rights in the name of the nation's protection.

The qualitative analysis aimed at answering a broad research question regarding the representations of children's rights within the Greek Cypriot society, by exploring the content by which the printed press and the institution of Church construct representations of children's rights in their messages delivered to the general public and the school communities respectively. Based on thematic analysis, the interplay between the reality of the Cyprus Problem and discourses on childhood on the application of children's rights were explored. At this point, what is of particular importance to explore is the degree that those representations shared by the press and the Church are internalized by educators and students or if they are resisted and to what extent.

A major representation shared both by the printed press and the Church is the child not as a right-holder but his/her representation as a future citizen. This representation shared by the Greek Cypriot newspapers, stems from the same ideologies and practices with the perception of childhood as a transitional period of life, where child gets the most out of the world and through guidance, develop his/her character, a theme that emerged during the analysis of the

Archbishop's messages to the students. It becomes apparent that two major agents within the Greek Cypriot society, the Church and the printed press, continuously construct this representation across successive generations of children. Has this series of 'installations' within the Cypriot society by the press and the Church guide children's behavior and actions?

To answer the above question, it is important to refer to the dichotomy self/other. Marková (2015) has supported that this basic oppositional dichotomy usually serves as an epistemological thema. Indeed, both the press and the Church embody this dichotomy within their written messages. The 'self' refers to the adult, the current citizen who shapes the political, social and economic scene, and the 'other' to the child, who observes the 'self' to gain her/his social niche when s/he will enter adulthood. Kadianaki & Gillespie (2015) pointed out that individuals while reflecting on the thema they internalize it and the representations change (alterity in other). Via the questionnaire results, it became apparent that children do differentiate themselves from adults, and build on constructs that accompany that difference, such as powerlessness, vulnerability, voiceless, and that can be the explanation why they accept harmful practices as normative ones and they objectify themselves as belonging to the parents. To condense the results from all three analyses, the continuous reference of the printed press and the Church to the child as a future citizen, scaffold the thematization of the antinomies self/other and today/future, but via an inflexible projection of the half part of the antinomies, without a public discourse actually arising about the other half. This projection of the aforementioned themata by two powerful institutions within the Greek Cypriot society are internalized by children and shape their representations about their rights, especially for children who were identified to belong to Cluster 2. Those children were less prone to acknowledge specific societal rituals as violations of children's rights, while they exhibited higher levels of conservatism in their conceptualization of childhood. Rather than being active supporters of their rights, children came to legitimize violations of their own rights in certain cases.

The two basic thematic concepts of particular interest of this study, childhood and the conflict, are also promoted within the society based on this self/other distinction. Within an adult-dominated society, the self/other distinction translates into adult (self) / child (other), while in a divided society like Cyprus, the self/other distinction translates into the ingroup (self), in this case the Greek Cypriots, and the outgroup (other) in this case the Turkish Cypriots or the Turks. In all three mediums of analysis, this distinction is prevalent, forming it into the ultimate arena, where any action is counted as a possible threat to the self. It is not a coincidence that symbolic threats are prevalent both within the circulars and the printed press are also part of the children's and educators' representations.

As for the printed press, the UN Children's Rights Day, celebrated on November 20, could be an excellent opportunity to transcend the usual types of news' formation, challenge the homogeneity of representations related to children within the society, and spur advancement by impinging the traditional perceptions of the child and its rights. As such, the specific day could be a resource for journalists to comment and elaborate on the status of children within the society, engage children in the process of expressing their own opinions related to matters that affect them. On the contrary, the specific day did not bring to the forefront such processes; it was only brought to the surface via the message of the Commissioner or the description of events organized as a remembrance of the day, described in a mode that brought to the fore a modality of the day. Within such a context, the printed press did not manage to put forward alternative representations or at least introduce aspects of representations that were not shared by the society. Not only the printed press did not embrace a rights-based approach, but also established a communicative game, most probably in an unconscious level, where the determination of the child was accomplished via his/her absence, either through articles for and by children or through a child's perspective. The readers of the printed press, named the adults, which in the case of this study were of a specific profession, educators, seem to have resulted in introspective activities regarding this

absence, which in turn, informed the social representations they have for children's rights. As a result, the content of educators' social representations was mainly characterized by an absence of the right of the child to participate.

Another area of interest within the social representations field brought into the foreseen by the present study is the impact of social conditions on representations. When antinomies come to be themata, those are negotiated via the language, thinking and common sense, and as such, specific conditions shape and change them (Marková, 2007; Marková, 2015). To that extend, it is highly possible that the content of children's social representations about children's rights to have been influenced by the disturbance that prevailed in the society for the educational changes proposed by the competent authority, changes to which the student body fiercely opposed. The content of the representations of children's rights was in absolute harmonization with the right, children accused the competent Authority as violating, the right to express their opinion and to be taken into consideration. In this case, alterity in action (Kadianaki & Gillespie, 2015), defined as the self-reflection between what the child thinks and what s/he experiences, might have brought change within the representations shared by children. On the other hand, the content of educators' representations differed from that of children, but data for educators were collected before the application of the specific reform. For this reason, further research is needed to clarify both the content of children's representations and whether there are differences among children's and adults' populations, along with the impact of social events on them.

The social conditions might have also caused a cognitive polyphasia, prevalent in all three mediums of data analysis: within the data collected via the questionnaire, the circulars of the Church, and the printed press. In the case of the Cyprus problem, it can be argued that cognitive polyphasia was prevalent via the tension created by threats over the 'self', who is intimidated by the 'other', and simultaneously, a general need to respect and promote human rights for all, especially for all the children. The social representations of children's rights combined this contradiction, which can be seen as cognitive polyphasia, and

that is why both educators and children scored high on the political tolerance scale, which measured the willingness to extend children's rights to the least liked sociopolitical or ethnic group, indicating their will to apply human rights for all the children, but at the same time they expressed in certain cases limited understanding of how school and societal rituals affect children's rights. A similar contradiction was prevalent within the circulars of the Church: while the Church developed a discourse for love and respect for all, enshrined within the principles of the Church as well, it also referred to resistance to any actions or habits that threaten or contaminate the identity of the nation. At the same time, the Archbishop addressed only the native students, via a message that excluded the 'other', since it elaborated on elements which preserve the nation, elements that do not characterize the 'other'. Within the printed press, cognitive polyphasia took a slightly different form, with the need to promote human rights for all, but via a discourse that did not acknowledge all as equals. The existence of the above incompatible representations is a sign of the difficulty at an institutional and individual level to forego the hegemonic representations related to the nation and at the same time ignore basic principles which originate from an outside resource, the CRC, but which were the basis of the nation's ideals as well. Indeed, the cognitive polyphasia that emerged via the analysis displays the complexity of the human rights, but also it might be an indicator of a move of the Cypriot society from a more conservative, 'closed' society to a multicultural one, which belongs to a wider family structure, the European one, and wants to be an equal partner in the international arena.

The findings of the analysis of the circulars of the Church revealed a diversion of representations of children's rights, based on the discourses the discussions were affiliated to. Once related to the Cyprus Problem, the children are represented as active; once related to conceptions of childhood, children are represented as passive. Two contradicting representations, which might seem to be part of cognitive polyphasia, but are actually the two different images of the same coin. Even in cases that the right of children to participate is promoted by the Church, that is apprehended as the right of the nation, opposed

to the right of the child. In other words, the Church promotes an image of children as actors within the Greek Cypriot community in an effort to promote militancy among the children for the sake of the nation. Children are represented as participating within the Greek Cypriot community, not as an exercise of their right to participate, but rather for the sake of the nation, because the nation demands it. The representations of children's rights shared by the Church, are not based on the principles of CRC, and as a result, they construct children not as right holders. The child not as right-holder was also extracted via the conservative views of childhood shared by both educators and children, and through the printed press via the presentation of the child as a future citizen, a concept that was thoroughly discussed above.

The current study could not be compiled without the voices of children. The right of the children to express their views and those to be taken into consideration is emphasized in Article 12 of the Convention on the Rights of Children (Document A/RES/44/25, 12 December 1989). Children were dealt as equal partners in the process and as agents of change by accentuating the priorities that must be set to remove the barriers that restrain the application of their rights. The exclusion of young people from the research process would have led to one-dimensional analysis of the results.

In cases of intractable conflicts, as in the case of Cyprus, critical thinking is neither the aim of education, nor has the potential to flourish. As reported in the analysis above, main agents within the Greek Cypriot community, that traditionally have a strong impact on the Cypriot society, create stable, homogeneous beliefs that take the form of a dogma within the society, serving the interest of maintaining the status-quo (in terms of political power) and obstructing the process of the group escaping the conflict. As Doise (2003) reported "social representations often function as self-fulfilling prophecies insofar as they create the social practices that then sustain them" (p. 743). The information is shared by central authorities, the Church or the printed press, while opposite information or aspects of the society regarded as not fitting the traditional model, are considered threatening and not valid, a form of

communication Moscovisci (2000) named as propaganda. Children become part of the specific representations in a constant manner year after year. The individual child internalizes those discourses and forms representations of his/her own rights which are in fact incompatible with the definitions provided in CRC. The conditions of fear, anxiety and threat the status-quo creates due to the long-lasting period of conflict, create an ethos of the conflict where the 'other' is superficially attributed with the responsibility of the continuation of the conflict and a peaceful settlement figures as more threatening than the current state of affairs, resulting in adoption of further conflict supporting beliefs (Jost et al., 2015).

Understanding the social representations of children's rights via the means enacted through the current study can provide an understanding of the frame within children in Cyprus develop and an insight into specific behaviors of children as those are exhibited in daily life in general, but also during events within the school year related to the nation's history. It also provides the grounds for the exhibited social reality, via the behavior of children observed, once important agents within the society diffuse specific discourses. The current research provided an understanding of processes which hinder the realization of children's rights, but at the same the degree to which those are extended to include the 'other' or are suppressed and deducted from the 'other' resulting into aggressive behaviors towards members of the other community. It provides new perspectives by which to view and ameliorate children's rights violations, especially when those are related to the nation's interest. The enhanced knowledge has an impact on the way people live and interact in Cyprus, but also in other areas worldwide blighted by conflict, division, and human rights violations.

The study has revealed that major agents within a society shape the representations for children's rights in a binary form, that either reflects perceptions of childhood or demands the nation cohesion and preservation. Future research on the role of those agents and others in altering

representations related to children's rights in Cyprus and other regions can shed light on how CRC is conceptualized and applied in practice.

As with other marginalized groups that their rights have been constantly violated, such as women, people with disabilities, migrants or LGBTI, the recognition of the discrimination and social isolation of those groups within a society, requires social action and mobilization that addresses the structural violence experienced and provide the means to uphold and promote their rights. Of course, such action and mobilization demand recognition of the suppression experienced, along with the power structures that the dominant groups developed to construct relations and mechanisms that would keep the groups underpowered and would defeat any sign of change. In the case of children, challenging the existing representations regarding their rights requires dissipation of the representations that captivate children as belonging to the family or the nation; in such a way, such a challenge poses a major threat for the society, especially within a society that threats for its existence are part of its everyday communication pattern, exaggerating the need to behold to the ties of the family and the nation to survive.

The present study can advance policy development and education initiatives that can deploy a new understanding of children's rights, filtering the violation of rights that relate to other societal beliefs and the eco-system, and based on the principles and the rights defined at the Convention of the Rights of the Child. They demonstrate the necessity of creating the space where a dialogue for children's rights can be initiated. It highlights specific areas correlated with the social representations of children's rights. Thus, empowering the young people by expressing their own opinions regarding the social representations of children's rights can be measured as an advancement of society and a way to transform the social forums where those representations emerge and how those are being challenged.

Coloring the future of children and their rights in Cyprus one may not use vivid and vibrant colors, since, as the results indicate, those seem to be entangled within a historical and social past, resulting in the rights' perspective

unable to be fully conceived and implemented. It should be noted here that the Cyprus problem is a complex one, and same can be claimed about the concepts of childhood. By referring to the social representations of children's rights as those are related to the specific institutions and beliefs investigated in the present study, one should not infer that addressing those will automatically mean the full realization of children's rights. The present study could not examine all the beliefs and systems that interplay and scaffold the process of emergence of the social representations within a specific time and physical and social environment. The study only revealed the specific elements under investigation and not the concept in its entirety and complexity.

5.5. Limitations and Future Directions

The current research aims at enriching the existing scarcity of research and literature regarding the social representations of human rights and adding an additional perspective to it by examining those of a specific group and in a context, that manifests human rights violations. This innovative element aims to contribute not only scientific knowledge of this non-studied perspective of social representations, but also, to create the pathway from where future research can depart. It aims at creating the momentum for future researchers to get involved in similar research, exploring further the social conditions and the salient perceptions which come to either create social phenomena, justify others or upstain conditions that result in violations of the rights for specific populations.

The theory of social representations has been the recipient of criticism in the past, mainly for its vagueness and non-applicability. The specific research study aimed at confuting that criticism, by examining how the content of the social representations has an impact on the everyday lives of individuals and the future of the younger generations within a society. It did not merely explore the content of social representations of children's rights but investigated it in relation to societal beliefs and institutions.

A limitation of this study is the fact that only the social representations of the Greek Cypriot community were explored. Due to practical difficulties, the inclusion of a Turkish Cypriot sample was not part of the research design. It would be interesting to compare whether the social representations of children's rights are shared by another ethnic group, that might have different or same conceptions of childhood, and have experiences of the same conflict under investigation, but from another perspective. As such, the non-implementation of the research into the Turkish Cypriot community is a major limitation of the present study.

Another limitation is related to the sample, since parents' consent was retrieved before the participation of children in the research. As such, for various reasons some parents might have not allowed the participation of their children into the study, a factor that could not be predicted in advance. The sample might result to be considered biased in terms of the participation only of the young people whose parents gave their consent. Concurrently, all participants were identified via a specific institution, the school setting. It would be interesting to explore social representations of children's rights of adults who do not work within that setting, and of children when they are not physically present to the specific space. Both arguments might limit the generalization of the findings beyond the boundaries of the sample. Equally important is exploring the representations of children of various developmental stages, what Duveen and Lloyd (1991) called the ontogenesis of social representations, and whether there are different positions among the different age groups, and to what extent those are influenced by social events. Results from such research might provide an insight of further developmental variations.

Future research should also explore whether the specific representations are diffused by and to political leaders and how those enact on them in historical time as they change through public discourse (sociogenesis in Duveen and Lloyd's terms).

Furthermore, the opinions of the children are important and should not be taken into consideration only regarding their rights, but research compiled

should also focus on the opinions of children regarding the representations about their rights that have been identified via the printed press and the circulars of the Church. Focus groups, that would advance a discussion on the results that derived from the qualitative part of the study, would have brought into the surface how the children themselves experience those representations shared by the society and whether they adopt them or stand critical against them, trying to create 'room' to establish alternative ones. It would have also explained whether various social phenomena, such as delinquency, might originate as a reaction to specific representations about the children and their rights held by the general population. Future research should lessen the gap regarding the understanding of children of the practices applied through the social institutions.

When measuring the social representations of a specified population, one should take into consideration the contextual factors that might feed the representations. Despite the fact that the discourse that derives from five main agents, named the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the media, the educational system, the state, and the religious leaders was explored, it was researched for a specific time period and from specific sources. For that reason, future research should expand the sources investigated to identify all the mechanisms that might create a momentum that affect both the social positioning and social representations of children's rights.

Further investigation across time or with a different sample will provide a more certain picture if indeed the results of the present study are applicable to the general population and in a different context where intractable conflicts are part of peoples' everyday lives. For example, it would be interesting to examine whether the structure of the central core and the peripheral elements of children's rights are stable across various countries, even in countries which do not experience conflict. Moreover, it should be also noted that similar research should focus on other factors that might restrict the application of children's rights, both in countries where conflict is prevalent, such as Israel-Palestine and Ireland, and countries that are not divided, and among societies characterized by "western" or "European" thought and other societies. Such research will

provide a more general picture of the social representations of children's rights and how those have an impact on the inalienability and universality of children's rights. Such research can assist the process of policy development related to children's rights.

ELENI KOTZIAMANI

CONCLUSION

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) defines - without discrimination - the fundamental human rights of children around the world. Every right enshrined in the Convention is intertwined with the human dignity and harmonious development of every child. These rights include the right to survival, the full development of one's potential, the protection against harmful substances, abuse and exploitation, and the right to full participation in family, cultural and social life.

It is everyone's responsibility to know, understand and respect the rights of the child. Respect for rights concerns all children, since through their knowledge children better understand the context of the rules in which they operate, and respect the rights of others. Every child, knowing his/her rights, has the opportunity to grow and mature as s/he wishes, and to become an active citizen. Thus, data should never be taken for granted and each generation should contribute to the struggle for the commitment to human rights and the rights of the child in the future.

In Cyprus, the church, education and the press have always played an important role in all aspects of local life. The history of the island, which is characterized by the struggles for liberation from the conquerors, essentially determined the role of these three bodies. All three were leaders in the struggle for freedom and justice, slowly gaining a foothold in the consciousness of the people. In their course, however, the child's voice is absent in the historical route of the Greek Cypriot community. The struggle for national and natural survival has excluded a significant part of the population from participating in the commons and expressing their beliefs and perceptions.

The exclusion of children's voices has been demonstrated in practice, over the years, both by the rhetoric used by local authorities and by the percentage of children's participation in decision-making at various levels. The Cypriot state and, consequently, the Cypriot society, in the context of the family, school and other important institutions, has deprived and deprives children of

the right to express and participate in decision-making, thus overlooking the decisive role they can play. Proof of their exclusion is the misconception that children are the citizens of tomorrow. Children are not tomorrow's citizens as they are considered equal citizens with rights like everyone else from the moment of their birth.

The absence of their voice is a deficit of democracy for a state that wants to be characterized as democratic, liberal and fair to its citizens. Older versions of threats to democracy have been replaced by contemporary ones (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018), which contain practices and policies, which aim to preserve the status-quo and retain the marginalized in the outskirts of the social and political context. As extreme as it may appeal, the argument that children is a group manipulated to serve political goals, their role should be strictly defined, especially in cases of intractable conflicts. Children with the creativity, maturity, wisdom and sense of justice that distinguishes them can make a decisive contribution to the formation of a fairer and more prosperous state. Failure to resolve, moreover, the political problem of Cyprus makes the participation of children in decision-making more necessary. Today's children, as citizens of this state, will be called, with a view to a better tomorrow, to implement a possible solution to the problem, leaving behind the events of the past. Therefore, their own position on the political problem that has plagued the country for decades, must be heard and taken into consideration. Their exclusion from the resolution process can only be detrimental, as it can lead to their indifference to the problem but also to the formation of perceptions whose main characteristics will be fanaticism and intolerance.

Concluding, therefore, respect for children's rights is a one-way street for every state. They are a legal commitment whose implementation presupposes the responsibility of the State as well as the social and personal awareness of all of us. Their in-depth knowledge and understanding by all will contribute substantially to building a world based on principles of rights. The question that arises, however, is: Can we all promote and respect rights, can we all be educators?

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APPENDICES

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Appendix 1 – Questionnaire for Educators in Greek

ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΟ ΓΙΑ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΙΚΟΥΣ

Η παρούσα έρευνα μελετά τις απόψεις παιδιών και ενηλίκων σχετικών με τα δικαιώματα του παιδιού στην Κύπρο. Συγκεκριμένα, θα διερευνηθεί τι αυτά περιλαμβάνουν και με ποιο τρόπο αυτά εφαρμόζονται, ώστε να διαπιστωθούν μέτρα που θα οδηγήσουν στη μείωση των παραβιάσεων των δικαιωμάτων του παιδιού. Ευχαριστώ εκ των προτέρων για τη συμμετοχή σας.

Υπενθυμίζεται ότι:

- η ανωνυμία σας διασφαλίζεται,
- η συμμετοχή σας είναι εθελοντική,
- είστε ελεύθερη/ος να εκφράσετε τη δική σας άποψη,
- είστε ελεύθερη/ος να αποσυρθείτε από την έρευνα οποιαδήποτε στιγμή, χωρίς οποιεσδήποτε συνέπειες,
- τα δεδομένα που θα συλλεγούν θα χρησιμοποιηθούν μόνο για τους σκοπούς της συγκεκριμένης έρευνας.

(I) Συμπλήρωσε ή κύκλωσε την απάντηση που σε αντιπροσωπεύει.

1. Φύλο:

2. Ηλικία:

3. Επίπεδο Εκπαίδευσης:

(Α) Απόφοιτος Πανεπιστημίου

(Β) Κάτοχος Μεταπτυχιακού Τίτλου

(Γ) Κάτοχος Διδακτορικού Τίτλου

4. Υπηκοότητα:

5. Εκπαιδευτικός:

Προδημοτικής

Δημοτικής

Μέσης

Τεχνικής

Ειδικής

Ειδικότητα:

6. Χρόνια Υπηρεσίας: 1-5 6-10 11-15 16-20 21-25 26-30 31+

7. Το σχολείο σου βρίσκεται σε: Αστική περιοχή Αγροτική περιοχή

8. Ζεις σε: Πόλη Χωριό

9. Είσαι γονέας/κηδεμόνας; ΝΑΙ ΟΧΙ

Αν ναι, ανέφερε την ηλικία των παιδιών σου:

10. Έχεις διαβάσει τη Σύμβαση των Ηνωμένων Εθνών για τα Δικαιώματα του Παιδιού; ΝΑΙ ΟΧΙ

11. Γνωρίζεις ποια είναι τα δικαιώματα του παιδιού;

Καθόλου	Λίγο	Αρκετά	Σε μεγάλο βαθμό	Πάρα πολύ
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(II) Γράψε τις πρώτες πέντε λέξεις ή φράσεις που σου έρχονται στο μυαλό όταν ακούς τη φράση «**Δικαιώματα του Παιδιού**».

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

(III) Ποιο δικαίωμα των παιδιών θεωρείς ότι παραβιάζεται στο μεγαλύτερο βαθμό σήμερα στην Κύπρο και από ποιον;

.....

.....

.....

(IV) Κύκλωσε την απάντηση που δείχνει την άποψή σου για το αν οι παρακάτω δηλώσεις αποτελούν παραβίαση των δικαιωμάτων του παιδιού.

Είναι παραβίαση των δικαιωμάτων του παιδιού όταν:						
1.	Ο πιλότος απαγορεύει σε μητέρα να θηλάσει το νεογέννητο παιδί της κατά τη διάρκεια της πτήσης.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
2.	Ο γονέας απαγορεύει στο παιδί του να κάνει παρέα με συγκεκριμένα παιδιά στο σχολείο του.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
3.	Ο γονέας διδάσκει βρισιές/άσχημες λέξεις στο παιδί του.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
4.	Ο γονέας αποφασίζει για την οικογένεια, χωρίς να λαμβάνει υπόψη την άποψη των παιδιών του.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
5.	Ο γονέας απαγορεύει στο 15χρονο παιδί του να επισκέπτεται το σπίτι φίλου ή φίλης (όταν δεν υπάρχει ανησυχία για κακοποίηση ή πρόκληση βλάβης στο παιδί).	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι

6.	Αθλητικό σωματείο απαιτεί χρήματα από τους γονείς για να αφήσει το παιδί να μεταγραφεί σε άλλο σωματείο.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
7.	Παιδί 14 ετών εργάζεται μετά το σχολείο για να βοηθήσει την οικογένειά του.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
8.	Παιδί με κυπριακή υπηκοότητα ζει με τη μητέρα του, αφού ο Κύπριος πατέρας του, το εγκατέλειψε. Η κυβέρνηση φυλακίζει τη μητέρα για να την απελάσει, αφού αυτή είναι από χώρα εκτός της Ε.Ε. και βρίσκεται στην Κύπρο παράνομα.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
9.	Ο γονέας αναγκάζει το παιδί να σταματήσει το σχολείο μόλις τελειώσει η υποχρεωτική εκπαίδευση (σε ηλικία 15 ετών).	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
10.	Το σχολείο αποφασίζει για εκπαιδευτικά θέματα, χωρίς να λαμβάνει υπόψη την άποψη των παιδιών.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
11.	Η διεύθυνση του σχολείου αποβάλλει παιδί που κατηγορήθηκε από συμμαθητές του για σεξουαλική παρενόχληση, χωρίς να ακούσει την άποψη και του παιδιού που κατηγορείται.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
12.	Το Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού αποφασίζει για εκπαιδευτικά θέματα, χωρίς να λαμβάνει υπόψη την άποψη των παιδιών.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
13.	Δύο ενήλικες καπνίζουν σε εξωτερικό χώρο καφετέριας, ο οποίος βρίσκεται δίπλα από παιδότοπο.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
14.	Ο γονέας για να πειθαρχήσει το παιδί του το χτυπά.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
15.	Η κυβέρνηση παραχωρεί επιδόματα και οικονομική βοήθεια μόνο σε παιδιά με κυπριακή υπηκοότητα.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
16.	Παιδί 10 ετών εργάζεται μετά το σχολείο για να βοηθήσει οικονομικά την οικογένειά του.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι

17.	Ο γονέας βρίσκεται στη φυλακή για έγκλημα που διέπραξε. Όταν εμπλέκεται σε καυγά, οι φύλακες του στερούν την επίσκεψη από το παιδί του.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
18.	Παιδί 17 ετών στρατολογείται με τη συγκατάθεση των γονέων του, χωρίς το ίδιο να δώσει τη συγκατάθεσή του.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
19.	Ο γονέας διδάσκει στο παιδί του να χτυπά τα άλλα παιδιά για να επιλύσει τις διαφορές του.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι

(V) Κύκλωσε την απάντηση που δείχνει την άποψή σου για το αν οι παρακάτω δηλώσεις αποτελούν παραβίαση των δικαιωμάτων του παιδιού.

Είναι παραβίαση των δικαιωμάτων του παιδιού όταν:						
1.	Το σχολείο διδάσκει τον Ορθόδοξο Χριστιανισμό σε όλα τα παιδιά.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
2.	Το σχολείο διοργανώνει σε σχολική ώρα εκδηλώσεις /δραστηριότητες που έχουν σχέση με την ιστορία του έθνους, στις οποίες τα παιδιά Ελληνοκύπριοι πρέπει να συμμετέχουν (π.χ. συμμετοχή στην εκδήλωση της 28 ^{ης} Οκτωβρίου).	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
3.	Το σχολείο διοργανώνει σε σχολική ώρα εκδηλώσεις /δραστηριότητες που έχουν σχέση με την ιστορία του έθνους, στις οποίες τα παιδιά άλλης εθνικότητας πρέπει να συμμετέχουν (π.χ. συμμετοχή στην εκδήλωση της 28 ^{ης} Οκτωβρίου).	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
4.	Το σχολείο διοργανώνει σε σχολική ώρα εκδηλώσεις /δραστηριότητες που έχουν σχέση με το χριστιανισμό, στις οποίες τα παιδιά Ελληνοκύπριοι πρέπει να συμμετέχουν (π.χ. αγιασμός).	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
5.	Το σχολείο διοργανώνει σε σχολική ώρα εκδηλώσεις /δραστηριότητες που έχουν σχέση με το χριστιανισμό, στις οποίες τα παιδιά άλλης εθνικότητας ή θρησκείας πρέπει να συμμετέχουν (π.χ. αγιασμός).	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
6.	Παιδιά δημοτικής και προδημοτικής ηλικίας επισκέπτονται τα	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι

	φυλακισμένα μηνύματα και βλέπουν την αγχόνη.					
7.	Η Κυβέρνηση αρνείται να παραχωρήσει υπηκοότητα σε παιδί 17 ετών που γεννήθηκε και μεγάλωσε στην Κύπρο.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
8.	Παιδί που ζει στην Κύπρο δεν μπορεί να εγχειριστεί στα δημόσια νοσοκομεία, αφού δεν έχει την κυπριακή υπηκοότητα.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
9.	Ο στρατός διδάσκει σε 17χρονο παιδί που έχει στρατολογηθεί συνθήματα θανάτου.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
10.	Ο γονέας διδάσκει βρισιές/άσχημες λέξεις στο παιδί του για τους Τουρκοκύπριους.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
11.	Ο γονέας απαγορεύει στο 15χρονο παιδί του να κάνει παρέα με παιδί Τουρκοκύπριο που φοιτά στο ίδιο σχολείο.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
12.	Ο γονέας απαγορεύει στο 15χρονο παιδί του να περάσει το οδόφραγμα για να επισκεφθεί το σπίτι φίλου/φίλης του που είναι Τουρκοκύπριος (σε περιπτώσεις όπου δεν υπάρχει ανησυχία για κακοποίηση ή πρόκληση βλάβης στο παιδί).	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
13.	Ο στρατός διδάσκει σε 17χρονο παιδί που έχει στρατολογηθεί συνθήματα θανάτου για τους Τούρκους.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
14.	Το σχολείο αρνείται να πραγματοποιήσει κοινή αθλητική δραστηριότητα με σχολείο της τουρκοκυπριακής κοινότητας σε σχολικό χρόνο.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι

(VI) Κύκλωσε την απάντηση που αντιπροσωπεύει καλύτερα την άποψή σου.

1.	Νιώθω πολύ δεμένος με την Κύπρο.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
2.	Άλλα κράτη μπορούν να μάθουν από εμάς.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
3.	Το να ανήκω στη χώρα αυτή είναι σημαντικό στοιχείο της ταυτότητάς μου.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
4.	Σε προβληματικές καταστάσεις, ο μόνος τρόπος για να γνωρίζει κανείς τι πρέπει να κάνει είναι να εμπιστευθεί τους ηγέτες του τόπου.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
5.	Είναι σημαντικό για μένα να συμβάλλω στη χώρα μου.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
6.	Συγκριτικά με άλλες χώρες, η χώρα μου είναι ιδιαίτερα καλή.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
7.	Είναι σημαντικό για μένα ότι ανήκω σε αυτή τη χώρα.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
8.	Θα πρέπει όλοι να σέβονται τα έθιμα, τις αρχές και τους ηγέτες της χώρας.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
9.	Νιώθω ισχυρή δέσμευση προς την πατρίδα μου.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
10.	Σε σχέση με άλλα κράτη είμαστε ένα κράτος με ηθική.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
11.	Είναι σημαντικό για μένα οι άλλοι να με βλέπουν ως Ελληνοκύπριο.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
12.	Όσοι Ελληνοκύπριοι ασκούν κριτική στη χώρα μου δεν είναι πιστοί σε αυτή.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα

13.	Είναι σημαντικό για μένα να υπηρετώ την πατρίδα μου.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
14.	Η πατρίδα μου είναι καλύτερη από άλλα κράτη από όλες τις απόψεις.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
15.	Όταν μιλώ για τα άτομα της χώρας μου, συνήθως λέω «εμείς» αντί «αυτοί».	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
16.	Υπάρχει ένας καλός λόγος για κάθε νομοθεσία που οι ηγέτες της χώρας μου προτείνουν.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα

(VII) Στη συνέχεια, ακολουθεί σειρά ερωτήσεων που αφορούν στην παιδική ηλικία. Κύκλωσε την απάντηση που αντιπροσωπεύει καλύτερα την άποψή σου.

1	Δεν είναι το νήπιο που έχει σημασία, αλλά ο ενήλικας στον οποίο θα εξελιχθεί.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
2	Το παιδί δρα με ένστικτο και έχει ανάγκη από την ίδια προστασία και καθοδήγηση, μέχρι να γίνει ένας σκεπτόμενος ενήλικας.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
3	Για να αναπτυχθεί το παιδί, η οικογένεια μπορεί να το χειρίζεται με όποιο τρόπο επιθυμεί, φτάνει να το κάνει με αγάπη.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
4	Το παιδί στερείται ωριμότητας και εμπειριών. Γι' αυτό, δεν υπάρχει ανάγκη να συμμετέχει σε αποφάσεις που επηρεάζουν τη ζωή του.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
5	Το παιδί σήμερα έχει πολλά δικαιώματα και ως εκ τούτου κατάντησε κακομαθημένο.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
6	Το παιδί πρέπει να επιτύχει στο σχολείο για να ζήσει μια επιτυχημένη ζωή ως ενήλικας.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
7	Το παιδί έχει ηθικό χρέος να συνεχίσει την κληρονομιά των προγόνων του.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα

8	Η οικογένεια είναι ο πρωταρχικός φορέας που αποφασίζει για όλα τα θέματα που αφορούν το παιδί.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
9	Η οικογένεια έχει υποχρέωση να στηρίζει το παιδί για να αναπτυχθεί. Ως εκ τούτου, το παιδί έχει υποχρέωση να στηρίζει τους γονείς του όταν αυτοί γερνούν.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
10	Το συμφέρον της οικογένειας είναι πάντοτε σύμφωνο με το συμφέρον του παιδιού.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
11	Χρειάζεται ολόκληρο το έθνος για να μεγαλώσει ένα παιδί.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
12	Το παιδί είναι μικρογραφία του ενήλικα.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
13	Το παιδί είναι το πορτραίτο ενός ιδανικού έθνους.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
14	Ο σκοπός της παιδικής ηλικίας είναι να «συλλέξει» το παιδί όσες περισσότερες εμπειρίες και γνώση για να προετοιμαστεί στο μεγαλύτερο δυνατό βαθμό για την ενήλικη ζωή.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
15	Το νήπιο χαρακτηρίζεται από απόλυτη καλοσύνη στη νηπιακή ηλικία.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα
16	Το παιδί είναι χρήσιμο μέλος της κοινωνίας.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα

(VIII) Χώρισε τις παρακάτω εθνοτικές ομάδες σε τρεις κατηγορίες: αυτές που δεν συμπαθείς καθόλου, αυτές που συμπαθείς πάρα πολύ και αυτές που ούτε συμπαθείς, ούτε αντιπαθείς. Μπορείς να προσθέσεις και άλλες ομάδες αν το θεωρείς αναγκαίο.

Έλληνες	Τούρκοι	Άγγλοι	Βούλγαροι
Ρώσοι	Αμερικάνοι	Τουρκοκύπριοι	Σαουδάραβες
Γερμανοί	Φιλιππινέζοι	Κούρδοι	Σρι Λανκέζοι
Σύριοι	Ρουμάνοι	Γεωργία(Πόντιοι)	
Ελληνοκύπριοι			

Εθνοτικές Ομάδες που δεν συμπαθώ καθόλου	Εθνοτικές Ομάδες που συμπαθώ πάρα πολύ	Εθνοτικές Ομάδες που ούτε συμπαθώ, ούτε αντιπαθώ

(ΙΧ) Σκέψου τα παιδιά των ομάδων που δεν συμπαθείς καθόλου ή συμπαθείς λιγότερο. Κύκλωσε την απάντηση που δείχνει την προθυμία σου να παραχωρήσεις τα παρακάτω δικαιώματα στα παιδιά των ομάδων που δεν συμπαθείς καθόλου.

Θα παραχωρούσες τα παρακάτω δικαιώματα στα παιδιά των ομάδων που δεν συμπαθείς καθόλου;						
1.	Να εκπαιδεύονται στα ήδη υπάρχοντα δημόσια σχολεία της Κύπρου.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
2.	Να αποκτούν κυπριακή υπηκοότητα όταν γεννιούνται στις περιοχές που ελέγχονται από την κυβέρνηση της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
3.	Να χρησιμοποιούν ελεύθερα τη γλώσσα τους στα ελληνοκυπριακά σχολεία.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
4.	Να εξασκούν τη θρησκεία τους στο σχολείο, όταν παιδιά Ελληνοκύπριοι εξασκούν τη δική τους θρησκεία (π.χ. κατά τη διάρκεια της πρωινής προσευχής).	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
5.	Να συμμετέχουν σε διοργανώσεις για να μαθαίνουν τα έθιμα, τις παραδόσεις και την ιστορία της ομάδας τους.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
6.	Να δικαιούνται οικονομική βοήθεια και άλλες χορηγίες (π.χ. αγορά Η.Υ.), όπως τα παιδιά Ελληνοκύπριοι.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
7.	Να έχουν δωρεάν ιατρική περίθαλψη, ανεξάρτητα από το καθεστώς των γονιών τους.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
8.	Να κρατούν την κυπριακή ή ελληνική σημαία σε πολιτισμικές/ιστορικές εκδηλώσεις του σχολείου (π.χ. στην παρέλαση).	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
9.	Να έχουν ίσες ευκαιρίες για εκλογή τους στα μαθητικά συμβούλια.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
10.	Να εκπροσωπούν το σχολείο σε ευρωπαϊκές ή παγκόσμιες εκδηλώσεις.	Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι

(X) Χώρισε τις παρακάτω κοινωνικο-πολιτικές ομάδες σε τρεις κατηγορίες: αυτές που δεν συμπαθείς καθόλου, αυτές που συμπαθείς πάρα πολύ και αυτές που ούτε συμπαθείς, ούτε αντιπαθείς. Μπορείς να προσθέσεις και άλλες ομάδες αν το θεωρείς αναγκαίο.

Ομοφυλόφιλους άντρες	Ομοφυλόφιλες γυναίκες	Ετεροφυλόφιλους	
Άντρες	Γυναίκες	Μετανάστες	Πρόσφυγες
Αιτητές πολιτικού ασύλου	Παιδιά	Μουσουλμάνους	Βουδιστές
Υπέρβαρους	Ηλικιωμένους	Άτομα με ψυχικά προβλήματα	
Άτομα με αναπηρία			

Ομάδες που δεν συμπαθώ καθόλου	Ομάδες που συμπαθώ πάρα πολύ	Ομάδες που ούτε συμπαθώ, ούτε αντιπαθώ

Σκέψου τα παιδιά των ομάδων που δεν συμπαθείς καθόλου. Γενικά, θα υποστήριζες ότι τα δικαιώματα αυτών των παιδιών θα πρέπει να εφαρμόζονται με τον ίδιο τρόπο που εφαρμόζονται και για τα υπόλοιπα παιδιά;

Σίγουρα όχι	Μάλλον όχι	Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η	Μάλλον ναι	Σίγουρα ναι
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(XI) Κύκλωσε την απάντηση που αντιπροσωπεύει την άποψή σου.

1	Βίωσες προσωπικά κάποιο τραυματικό γεγονός κατά τα γεγονότα του παρελθόντος της Κύπρου (1960-1974);	OXI	NAI
	Αν ναι, περιγράψε με λίγα λόγια το γεγονός:		
2	Κάποιο από τα μέλη της οικογένειάς σου ή συγγενικό σου πρόσωπο βίωσε κάποιο τραυματικό γεγονός κατά τα γεγονότα του παρελθόντος (1960-1974);	OXI	NAI
	Αν ναι, περιγράψε με λίγα λόγια το γεγονός:		
3	Θεωρείς τον εαυτό σου θύμα του Κυπριακού προβλήματος;	OXI	NAI
	Αν ναι, περιγράψε με λίγα λόγια γιατί:		
4	Είσαι μέλος ομάδας της οποίας τα δικαιώματά της παραβιάζονται στην Κύπρο;	OXI	NAI
	Αν ναι, περιγράψε με λίγα λόγια με ποιο τρόπο τα δικαιώματά σου παραβιάζονται:		

(XII) Κύκλωσε την απάντηση που περιγράφει καλύτερα πώς νιώθεις.

Μόνο Έλληνας και καθόλου Κύπριος	Περισσότερο Έλληνας και λίγο Κύπριος	Στον ίδιο βαθμό Έλληνας και Κύπριος	Περισσότερο Κύπριος και λίγο Έλληνας	Μόνο Κύπριος και καθόλου Έλληνας
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(XIII) Πόσο συχνά τυγχάνει να βρίσκεσαι στον ίδιο χώρο με Τουρκοκύπριους (χωρίς να τους μιλάς);

Ποτέ	Μία με δύο φορές το χρόνο	Πέντε με έξι φορές το χρόνο	Μια φορά το μήνα	Δύο με τρεις φορές το μήνα	Μια φορά τη βδομάδα	Περισσότερο από μία φορά τη βδομάδα	Κάθε μέρα
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Πόσο συχνά έχεις επαφή με Τουρκοκύπριους (συνομιλία, οργάνωση κοινών εκδηλώσεων, διασκέδαση κλπ);

Ποτέ	Μία με δύο φορές το χρόνο	Πέντε με έξι φορές το χρόνο	Μια φορά το μήνα	Δύο με τρεις φορές το μήνα	Μια φορά τη βδομάδα	Περισσότερο από μία φορά τη βδομάδα	Κάθε μέρα
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(XIV) Απάντησε τις ερωτήσεις 1 και 2 μόνο αν έχεις επαφή με Τουρκοκύπριους.

1. Πόσο συχνά είχες άσχημη/αρνητική επαφή με Τουρκοκύπριους;



2. Πόσο συχνά είχες θετική/καλή επαφή με Τουρκοκύπριους;



(XV) Κύκλωσε την απάντηση που αντιπροσωπεύει την άποψή σου.

1	Όση περισσότερη δύναμη έχουν οι Τουρκοκύπριοι σε αυτή τη χώρα, τόσο πιο δύσκολο είναι για τους Ελληνοκύπριους.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
2	Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι διαπράττουν πολλά εγκλήματα που επηρεάζουν τους Ελληνοκύπριους.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
3	Μπορώ να εργάζομαι για ένα προϊστάμενό μου Τουρκοκύπριο.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
4	Η εκ περιτροπής προεδρία θα έχει ως αποτέλεσμα στην κυριαρχία της μειονότητας έναντι της πλειοψηφίας.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
5	Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι είναι υπεύθυνοι για την αύξηση στη διακίνηση παράνομων ουσιών.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
6	Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι παίρνουν τις δουλειές των Ελληνοκυπρίων.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
7	Τα παιδιά των Τουρκοκυπρίων θα πρέπει να έχουν το δικαίωμα να φοιτούν σε δημόσια σχολεία στις ελεύθερες περιοχές, όπως Ελληνοκύπριοι.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
8	Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι λαμβάνουν περισσότερα από την κυβέρνηση της Δημοκρατίας από αυτά που συνεισφέρουν.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
9	Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι αύξησαν τη φορολογική επιβάρυνση για τους Ελληνοκύπριους.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
10	Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι πρέπει να έχουν τα ίδια οφέλη ιατρικής περίθαλψης όπως οι Ελληνοκύπριοι.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη

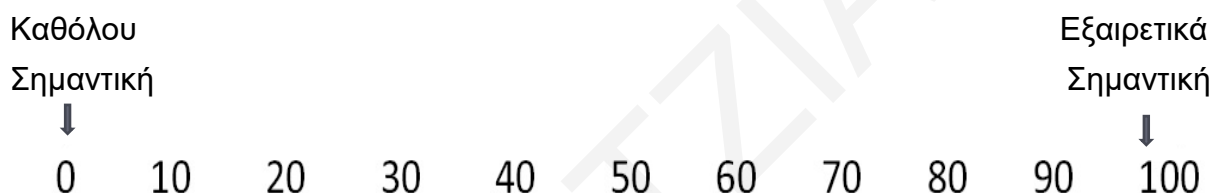
12	Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι πρέπει να δικαιούνται επιδοτούμενες κατοικίες ή άλλες χορηγίες (π.χ. νερό, ρεύμα, αποχέτευση), όπως δικαιούνται και οι άποροι Ελληνοκύπριοι.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
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(XVI) Κύκλωσε την απάντηση που αντιπροσωπεύει την άποψή σου.

1	Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι πρέπει να συμμορφώνονται με τους κανόνες των Ελληνοκυπρίων αν θέλουν να ζήσουν στις ελεύθερες περιοχές.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
2	Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι υποσκάπτουν την κουλτούρα των Ελληνοκυπρίων.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
3	Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι έχουν διαφορετική εργασιακή ηθική από τους Ελληνοκύπριους.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
4	Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι πρέπει να αποδέχονται τους τρόπους συμπεριφοράς των Ελληνοκυπρίων.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
5	Οι αξίες και τα πιστεύω των Τουρκοκυπρίων σχετικά με θρησκευτικά θέματα συνάδουν με αυτές των Ελληνοκυπρίων.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
6	Οι αξίες και τα πιστεύω των Τουρκοκυπρίων σχετικά με θέματα ηθικής συνάδουν με αυτές των Ελληνοκυπρίων.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
7	Οι αξίες και τα πιστεύω των Τουρκοκυπρίων σχετικά με κοινωνικές σχέσεις συνάδουν με αυτές των Ελληνοκυπρίων.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη

8	Οι αξίες και τα πιστεύω των Τουρκοκυπρίων σχετικά με θέματα οικογένειας και θέματα ανατροφής παιδιών συνάδουν με αυτές των Ελληνοκυπρίων.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
9	Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι μεγαλώνουν τα παιδιά τους με λιγότερες αξίες.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη
10	Οι γάμοι μεταξύ Τουρκοκυπρίων και Ελληνοκυπρίων είναι απειλή για την κουλτούρα των Ελληνοκυπρίων.	Διαφωνώ Απόλυτα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε Συμφωνώ Ούτε Διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα	Δεν έχω άποψη

(XVII) Πόσο σημαντική θεωρείς τη θρησκεία στη ζωή σου;



Σε ποιο βαθμό θεωρείς τον εαυτό σου θρησκευόμενο άτομο;

Καθόλου θρησκευόμενο	Ελαφρώς θρησκευόμενο	Μέτρια θρησκευόμενο	Πολύ θρησκευόμενο	Εξαιρετικά θρησκευόμενο
----------------------	----------------------	---------------------	-------------------	-------------------------

Πόσο συχνά πας σε χώρο θρησκευτικής λατρείας για προσκύνημα, προσευχή ή παρακολούθηση θρησκευτικής λειτουργίας;

Ποτέ	Μόνο σε εκδηλώσεις (π.χ. γάμους, βαφτίσεις κλπ)	Μία με δύο φορές το χρόνο	Πέντε με έξι φορές το χρόνο	Μια φορά το μήνα	Δύο με τρεις φορές το μήνα	Μια φορά τη βδομάδα	Περισσότερο από μία φορά τη βδομάδα	Κάθε μέρα
------	---	---------------------------	-----------------------------	------------------	----------------------------	---------------------	-------------------------------------	-----------

Κύκλωσε τη θρησκεία σου:

Ορθόδοξος Χριστιανός

Μουσουλμάνος

Καθολικός Χριστιανός

Βουδιστής

Άθεος

Αγνωστικιστής

Άλλο:

Η συγκεκριμένη θρησκεία:

(Α) Ήταν επιλογή μου

(Β) Καθορίστηκε από το γεωγραφικό μέρος στο οποίο γεννήθηκα και μεγάλωσα

(Γ) Άλλο:

Appendix 2 – Questionnaire for Educators in English

EDUCATORS' QUESTIONNAIRE

The present study explores the opinions of children and adults related to the rights of the child in Cyprus. Specifically, it explores what those entail and how they are applied, to identify measures that will result in the prevention of the violation of children's rights. Thanking you in advance for your participation.

You are kindly reminded that:

- Your anonymity is ensured,
- Your participation is voluntary,
- You are free to express your opinion,
- You can withdraw from the research any time, without facing any consequences,
- The data collected will be only used for the purposes of the current study.

(I) Please complete or circle the answer that best represents you.

1. Gender:

2. Age:

3. Level of Education: BA MA PhD

4. Nationality:

5. Level of Teaching: Pre-Primary Primary Secondary Vocational

Specialty:

6. Years of Teaching: 1-5 6-10 11-15 16-20 21-25 26-30 31+

7. Your school is located at: Urban Area Rural Area

8. I live at: Town Village

9. Are you a parent/guardian? YES NO

If yes, please state the ages of your children:

.....

10. Have you read the Convention on the Rights of the Children? YES NO

11. Are you familiar with the rights of the child?

Not at all

A little bit

A moderate
amount

A lot

A great deal

(II) Write the five first words or phrases that cross your mind once you hear the phrase “Children’s Rights”.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

(III) Which right of the child do you believe is violated the most in Cyprus today and by whom?

.....

.....

.....

(IV) Please circle the answer that best represents your opinion on whether the statements are a violation of the rights of the child.

Is it a violation of children’s rights when:						
1.	The pilot prohibits a mother to breastfeed her new-born during a flight.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
2.	The parent prohibits to his/her child to form friendships with specific schoolmates of the child.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
3.	The parent teaches bad words to his/her child.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
4.	The parent takes decisions related to the family, without taking into consideration the children’s views.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
5.	The parent prohibits his/her 15year old child to visit a friend’s house (in case there is no concern for molestation or harm to the child).	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes

6.	A sports federation demands money from the parents to allow the child to compete with another federation.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
7.	When a 14year old child works after school to assist his/her family.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
8.	A child, Cypriot national, lives with his/her mother who is from a country out of the European Union, since his father abandoned him. The government imprisons the mother to expel her, since she resides illegally in Cyprus.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
9.	The parent forces the child to stop schooling after she finishes compulsory education (at the age of 15).	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
10.	The school undertakes decisions regarding educational affairs without taking into consideration the views of the children.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
11.	The school administration expels a child that was accused by his classmates of sexual harassment, without providing the opportunity to the accused child to express his views.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
12.	The Ministry of Education and Culture undertakes decisions related to education without taking into consideration the views of the children.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
13.	Two adults smoke at the open space of a café, located next to a playground.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
14.	Parental child beating for disobedience.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
15.	The government provides allowances and financial assistance only to children who are Cypriot nationals.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes

16.	A child, 10 years old, works after school to assist financially his family.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
17.	The parent of a child is imprisoned for a crime. When he gets in a fight in the prison, the guards deprive him of his children's visit.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
18.	A child, 17 years old, is recruited in the army with the consent of the parents, without the child's consent.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
19.	The parent teaches his child to beat other children as a means to resolve conflicts.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes

(V) Please circle the answer that best represents your opinion on whether the statements are a violation of the rights of the child.

Is it a violation of the rights of the child when:						
1.	The school teaches orthodox Christianity to all children.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
2.	The school forces Greek Cypriot children to participate at mass events that relate with the history of the nation and are organized during school hours (i.e. the celebration of October 28).	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
3.	The school forces children of other nationality to participate at mass events that relate with the history of the nation and are organized during school hours (i.e. the celebration of October 28).	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
4.	The school forces Greek Cypriot children to participate at mass events that relate with the religion of the majority and are organized during school hours (i.e. the holy water at the beginning of the year).	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
5.	The school forces children of other nationality or religion to participate at mass events that relate with the religion of the majority and are organized during school hours (i.e. the holy water at the beginning of the year).	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
6.	Children of pre-primary and primary age visit the Imprisoned Memorial.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
7.	The government denies providing nationality to a 17-year-old child born and raised in Cyprus.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes

8.	A child who lives in Cyprus cannot be operated in public hospitals, since the child does not have the Cypriot nationality.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
9.	The army teaches to a recruited 17year old child death slogans.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
10.	The parent teaches bad words to his child about the Turkish Cypriots.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
11.	The parent prohibits his 15year old child to form friendships with a Turkish Cypriot schoolmate.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
12.	The parent prohibits his 15 year old child to cross the roadblock to visit the house of a Turkish Cypriot friend ((in case there is no concern for molestation or harm to the child).	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
13.	The army teaches to a recruited 17year old child death slogans targeting the Turks.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes
14.	The school denies organizing a joint activity with a school from the Turkish Cypriot community during school hours.	Definitely not	Probably not	Not sure	Probably yes	Definitely yes

(VI) Please circle the answer that best represents your opinion.

1.	I feel strongly affiliated with Cyprus.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
2.	Other states can learn a lot from us.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
3.	Belonging to this country is an important part of my identity.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
4.	In times of trouble, the only way to know what to do is to rely on the group leaders.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
5.	I am glad to contribute to my country.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
6.	Compared to other countries, my country is particularly good.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
7.	It is important to me that I view myself as a member of my country.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
8.	All group members should respect the customs, the institutions, and the leaders of the country.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
9.	I am strongly committed to my homeland.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
10.	Relative to other states, we are a very moral country.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
11.	It is important to me that others see me as a Greek Cypriot.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
12.	It is disloyal for Greek Cypriots to criticize my country.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
13.	It is important to me to serve my homeland.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
14.	My homeland is better than other groups in all respects.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
15.	When I talk about the group members of my country, I usually say "we" rather than "they."	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
16.	There is a good reason for every rule and regulation that the group leaders of my country propose.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

(VII) The questions below relate to childhood. Please circle the answer that best represents your opinion.

1	It is not the nursing infant which is important, but the adult that it will become.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
2	The nursing infant is an instinctive being, in need of guidance and protection, up to the point that will become a rational adult.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
3	In educating the child, a family may deal with the child as it likes, as long as it does it with love.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
4	The child lacks maturity and experiences. As such, there is no need to participate in decisions that affect his/her life.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
5	The child of today's era has been provided with many rights, and as such being spoiled and with less moral values.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
6	A child must succeed in school to lead a successful life as an adult.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
7	The child has a moral debt to continue his/her ancestors' heritage.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
8	Family is the primary institution that decides on all issues that affect the child. The decisions are articulated with reference to the needs of the family.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
9	Family has an obligation to support the child to grow and develop. As such, the child has an obligation to support the parents when they grow old.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
10	The best interest of the family is always in accordance to the best interest of the child.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
11	It takes a nation to raise a child.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
12	The child is a miniature of adults.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
13	The child is the portrait of the nation's ideal.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
14	The purpose of life in childhood is to 'collect' as many experiences and knowledge to best prepare for life in adulthood.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

15	The nursing infant has an absolute kindness.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
16	The child is a useful member of the society.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

(VIII) Divide the following ethnic groups into three categories: those that you least-like, those that you like a lot, and those that you neither like or dislike.

- | | | | |
|----------------|----------------|------------------|------------|
| Greeks | Turks | British | Bulgarians |
| Russians | Americans | Turkish Cypriots | Georgians |
| Saudi Arabians | Greek Cypriots | Sri Lankans | Romanians |
| Germans | Philippines | Kurdish | Syrians |

Ethic Groups least liked	Ethnic Groups I like a lot	Ethnic Groups I neither dislike or like

(IX) Please circle the answer that best represents your readiness on whether you would extend the rights below to the children of your least-liked group.

Would you extend the rights below to the children of your least-liked group?						
1.	To attend public schools in Cyprus.	Certainly not	Not really	Not sure	Maybe yes	Certainly yes
2.	To acquire nationality once born in the areas controlled by the government of Cyprus.	Certainly not	Not really	Not sure	Maybe yes	Certainly yes
3.	To use freely their language within the Greek Cypriot schools.	Certainly not	Not really	Not sure	Maybe yes	Certainly yes
4.	To practice their religion at school during the times that Greek Cypriot children practice their religion (i.e. during morning pray.	Certainly not	Not really	Not sure	Maybe yes	Certainly yes
5.	To gather in associations to learn about their traditions, customs, and history.	Certainly not	Not really	Not sure	Maybe yes	Certainly yes
6.	To be provided with the same economic assistance or other allowances (i.e. computer purchase) as the Greek Cypriot children.	Certainly not	Not really	Not sure	Maybe yes	Certainly yes
7.	To have free medical care, independent of the status of their parents.	Certainly not	Not really	Not sure	Maybe yes	Certainly yes
8.	To be able to hold the Greek or Cypriot flag during cultural/historical celebrations (i.e. parade).	Certainly not	Not really	Not sure	Maybe yes	Certainly yes
9.	To have equal opportunities to be elected in the student councils.	Certainly not	Not really	Not sure	Maybe yes	Certainly yes
10.	To represent the school at European or world events.	Certainly not	Not really	Not sure	Maybe yes	Certainly yes

(X) Divide the following socio-political groups into three categories: those that you least-like, those that you like a lot, and those that you neither like or dislike.

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Homosexual | Heterosexual | Transvestite |
| Bisexual | Men | Women |
| Immigrants | Refugees | Buddhists |
| Asylum seekers | Children | Muslims |
| Individuals with mental problems | Obesity | |
| Individuals with disabilities | Third age individuals | |

Groups least liked	Groups I like a lot	Groups I neither dislike or like

Please circle the answer that best represents your readiness on whether you would extend the rights below to the children of your least-liked group.

Certainly not	Not really	Not sure	Maybe yes	Certainly yes
---------------	------------	----------	-----------	---------------

(XI) Please circle the answer that best represents your opinion.

1 Did you experience a traumatic event during the events of the past (1960 - 1974)? NO YES

if yes, please describe with a few words the event:

.....

2 Did any of your family members or relatives experience a traumatic event during the events of the past (1960-1974)? NO YES

if yes, please describe with a few words the event:

.....

3 Do you consider yourself to be a victim of the Cyprus problem? NO YES

If yes, describe with a few words why:

.....

4 Are you a member of a group whose rights are violated? NO YES

If yes, please describe in what ways your rights are violated:

.....

(XII) Please circle the answer that best describes how you feel.

Only Greek
and not Cypriot

Greek and a bit
Cypriot

To the same
extent Greek
and Cypriot

Cypriot and a bit
Greek

Only Cypriot
and not Greek

(XIII) How often do you happen to be at the same physical space with Turkish Cypriots (without interacting with them?)

Never

Once or
twice a year

Five or six
times a year

Once a
month

Twice or
three times
per month

Once a
week

More than once
a week

Every
day

How often do you interact with Turkish Cypriots (communication, organization of events, entertainment etc)?

Never

Once or
twice a year

Five or six
times a year

Once a
month

Twice or
three times
per month

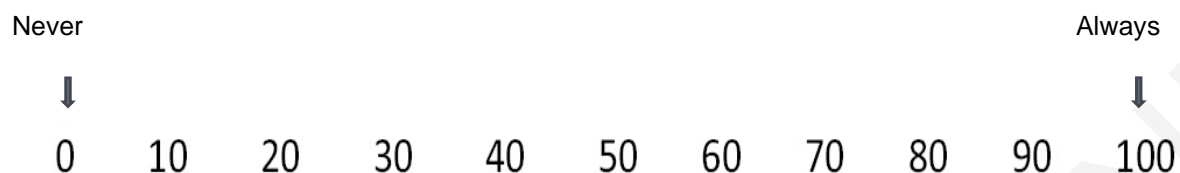
Once a
week

More than once
a week

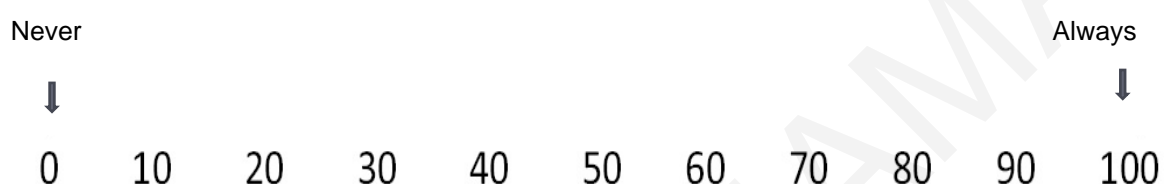
Every
day

(XIV) Please answer the questions I1 and I2, only if you had contact with members of the Turkish Cypriot community.

12. On average, how frequently did you have negative/bad contact with Turkish Cypriots?



13. On average, how frequently did you have positive/good contact with Turkish Cypriots?



(XV) Please circle the statement that best represents your opinion.

1	The more power TC have in this country, the more difficult it is for GC.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
2	People from the TC community commit a lot of crimes that affect GCs.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
3	I can work for a Turkish Cypriot boss	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
4	Rotating presidency will result in domination of the minority over majority	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
5	TCs are responsible for the increase of drug trafficking	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
6	TC take jobs away from GC	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
7	The children of TCs should have the same rights to attend public schools in southern part as GC children do.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
8	TC get more from the Republic of Cyprus than they contribute	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
9	TC have increased the tax burden on GC	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
10	TCs must be eligible for the same health care benefits as GCs	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree

11	TCs must be as entitled to subsidized housing or subsidized utilities (water, electricity, sewage) as poor GCs are	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
----	--	-------------------	----------	----------------------------	-------	----------------

(XVI) Please circle the statement that best represents your opinion.

1	Turkish Cypriots must learn to conform to the rules and norms of Greek Cypriots if they want to live in the southern part.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
2	Turkish Cypriots undermine the Greek Cypriot culture.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
3	Turkish Cypriots have different work ethic than Greek Cypriots.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
4	Turkish Cypriots should have to accept Greek Cypriots' ways.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
5	The values and beliefs of Turkish Cypriots regarding religious issues are compatible with the Greek Cypriots.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
6	The values and beliefs of Turkish Cypriots regarding moral issues are compatible with Greek Cypriots.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
7	The values and beliefs of Turkish Cypriots regarding social relations are compatible with the beliefs and values of most Greek Cypriots.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
8	The values and beliefs of Turkish Cypriots regarding family issues and socializing children are quite similar to those of the Greek Cypriots.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
9	Turkish Cypriots raise their children with less values.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
10	Marriages among Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots are a threat to the Greek Cypriot culture.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree

(XVII) How important part of your life do you consider religion to be?

Not at all
Important

Extremely
Important



0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

To what extent do you consider yourself a religious person?

Not religious at all Slightly religious Moderately religious Very religious Extremely religious

How often do you go to the Church/Mosque/Temple?

Never Only at events (i.e. marriage, funeral etc) Once or twice a year 5-6 times per year Once a month 2-3 times a month Once a week More than once a week Every a day

Please circle your religion:

Orthodox Muslim Catholic
Buddhist Atheist Agnostic Other:.....

Please circle the answer that best describes your opinion:

The specific religious affiliation was

- A. A choice I made
- B. Defined by the geographical space I was born/raised
- C. Other:

Appendix 3 – Consent Form for Educators’ Participation in Greek



Έντυπο Συνειδητής Συναίνεσης για Συμμετοχή Εκπαιδευτικού

Τίτλος έρευνας: «Η εφαρμογή των δικαιωμάτων του παιδιού στην Κύπρο»

Στοιχεία Ερευνήτριας: Ελένη Κοτζιαμάνη, Διδακτορική Φοιτήτρια Ψυχολογίας, Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου

Επικοινωνία: τηλ.: 99 53 49 43, e-mail: ekotzia@gmail.com

Υπεύθυνος Καθηγητής: Χάρης Ψάλτης, Αναπληρωτής Καθηγητής, Τμήμα Ψυχολογίας, Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου, τηλ.: 22892077

Αγαπητή/ε Εκπαιδευτικέ,

Στο πλαίσιο εκπόνησης της Διατριβής μου θα μελετήσω τις αναπαραστάσεις παιδιών και ενηλίκων σχετικών με τα δικαιώματα του παιδιού στην Κύπρο. Συγκεκριμένα, σκοπός της παρούσας έρευνας αποτελεί η διερεύνηση του περιεχομένου των δικαιωμάτων του παιδιού, με άλλα λόγια τι αυτά περιλαμβάνουν, με ποιο τρόπο εφαρμόζονται στην Κύπρο, αλλά και σε ποιες περιπτώσεις η παραβίασή τους είναι αποδεκτή, καθώς και αν υπάρχει κάποια συσχέτιση με το κυπριακό πρόβλημα.

Στην έρευνα θα συμμετέχουν έφηβοι (14-18 ετών) και εκπαιδευτικοί όλων των βαθμίδων. Για τους σκοπούς πραγματοποίησης της έρευνας, οι μαθητές και οι εκπαιδευτικοί θα κληθούν να συμπληρώσουν ερωτηματολόγιο, η χρονική διάρκεια της συμπλήρωσής του οποίου δεν αναμένεται να ξεπερνά τα 30 λεπτά. Ο χρόνος συμπλήρωσης του ερωτηματολογίου εναπόκειται στην/στον ίδια/ίδιο την/τον εκπαιδευτικό. Απαραίτητη προϋπόθεση για τη συμπλήρωση του ερωτηματολογίου είναι η σύμφωνη γνώμη της/του εκπαιδευτικού για τη συμμετοχή της/του στην ερευνητική διαδικασία. Μπορείτε να έρθετε σε επικοινωνία με την ερευνήτρια για να πληροφορηθείτε για τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας ή για περαιτέρω πληροφορίες.

Τα ερωτηματολόγια θα συλλεχθούν και τα δεδομένα θα τύχουν στατιστικής ανάλυσης. Καθίσταται σαφές ότι η συμμετοχή σας θα είναι εντελώς **εμπιστευτική** και διασφαλίζεται η απόλυτη εχεμύθεια. Μόνο η ερευνήτρια θα έχει πρόσβαση στα ερωτηματολόγια, ενώ το όνομά σας δεν θα συμπληρώνεται σε κανένα σημείο του ερωτηματολογίου. Η χρήση των δεδομένων θα γίνει αποκλειστικά και μόνο για τους σκοπούς της έρευνας. Για τη διεξαγωγή της έρευνας έχω προβεί στις απαραίτητες ενέργειες για την εξασφάλιση των σχετικών αδειών από την Εθνική Επιτροπή Βιοηθικής Κύπρου και το Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού. Συνοπτικά, θα ήθελα να αναφέρω ότι:

- η συμμετοχή σας είναι **εθελοντική**,
- είστε **ελεύθερη/ος να εκφράσετε τη δική σας άποψη**,
- είστε **ελεύθερη/ος να αποσυρθείτε από την έρευνα οποιαδήποτε στιγμή, χωρίς οποιεσδήποτε συνέπειες**.

Για οποιαδήποτε απορίες σε σχέση με την έρευνα μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με την ερευνήτρια.

Η υπογραφή σας σε αυτό το έντυπο συναίνεσης δηλώνει ότι έχετε πληροφορηθεί για το σκοπό και τις διαδικασίες που αφορούν την έρευνα αυτή. Έχετε διαβάσει τις πληροφορίες που δόθηκαν και συμφωνείτε να συμμετάσχετε σε αυτήν. Σας ευχαριστώ εκ των προτέρων για τη συνεργασία.

Ημερομηνία: ____ / ____ / ____

Όνοματεπώνυμο Εκπαιδευτικού:

.....

Υπογραφή Εκπαιδευτικού:

.....

Appendix 4 – Consent Form for Children’s Participation in Greek



Έντυπο Συνειδητής Συναίνεσης για Συμμετοχή Παιδιού

Τίτλος έρευνας: «Η εφαρμογή των δικαιωμάτων του παιδιού στην Κύπρο»

Στοιχεία Ερευνήτριας: Ελένη Κοτζιαμάνη, Διδακτορική Φοιτήτρια Ψυχολογίας, Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου

Επικοινωνία: τηλ.: 99 53 49 43, e-mail: ekotzia@gmail.com

Υπεύθυνος Καθηγητής: Χάρης Ψάλτης, Αναπληρωτής Καθηγητής, Τμήμα Ψυχολογίας, Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου, τηλ.: 22892077

Αγαπητοί Γονείς/Κηδεμόνες, Αγαπητά Παιδιά,

Στο πλαίσιο εκπόνησης της Διατριβής μου θα μελετήσω τις αναπαραστάσεις παιδιών και ενηλίκων σχετικών με τα δικαιώματα του παιδιού στην Κύπρο. Συγκεκριμένα, σκοπός της παρούσας έρευνας αποτελεί η διερεύνηση του περιεχομένου των δικαιωμάτων του παιδιού, με άλλα λόγια τι αυτά περιλαμβάνουν, με ποιο τρόπο αυτά εφαρμόζονται στην Κύπρο, αλλά και σε ποιες περιπτώσεις η παραβίασή τους είναι αποδεκτή, καθώς και τη σχέση αυτών των αναπαραστάσεων με τις στάσεις τους απέναντι σε άλλα κοινωνικά ζητήματα και κοινωνικές ομάδες.

Στην έρευνα θα συμμετέχουν έφηβοι (14-18 ετών) και εκπαιδευτικοί όλων των βαθμίδων. Για τους σκοπούς πραγματοποίησης της έρευνας, οι μαθητές και οι εκπαιδευτικοί θα κληθούν να συμπληρώσουν ερωτηματολόγιο, η χρονική διάρκεια της συμπλήρωσής του οποίου δεν αναμένεται να ξεπερνά τα 30 λεπτά. Ο χρόνος συμπλήρωσης του ερωτηματολογίου θα αποσαφηνιστεί σε συμφωνία με τη διεύθυνση της σχολικής μονάδας στην οποία φοιτά το παιδί, ώστε να διασφαλιστεί ότι δεν θα επηρεαστεί αρνητικά η διδασκαλία. Απαραίτητη προϋπόθεση για τη συμπλήρωση του ερωτηματολογίου είναι τόσο η σύμφωνη γνώμη του γονέα/κηδεμόνα, αλλά και του ίδιου του παιδιού για τη συμμετοχή του στην ερευνητική διαδικασία. Ως γονείς/κηδεμόνες μπορείτε να έρθετε σε επικοινωνία με την ερευνήτρια για να πληροφορηθείτε για τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας ή για περαιτέρω πληροφορίες.

Τα ερωτηματολόγια θα συλλεχθούν και τα δεδομένα θα τύχουν στατιστικής ανάλυσης. Καθίσταται σαφές ότι η συμμετοχή του παιδιού θα είναι **εντελώς εμπιστευτική** και διασφαλίζεται η απόλυτη εχεμύθεια. Μόνο η ερευνήτρια θα έχει πρόσβαση στα ερωτηματολόγια, ενώ το όνομα του παιδιού δεν θα συμπληρώνεται σε κανένα σημείο του ερωτηματολογίου. Η χρήση των δεδομένων θα γίνει αποκλειστικά και μόνο για τους σκοπούς της έρευνας. Για τη διεξαγωγή της έρευνας έχω προβεί στις απαραίτητες ενέργειες για την εξασφάλιση των σχετικών αδειών από την Εθνική Επιτροπή Βιοηθικής Κύπρου και το Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού. Συνοπτικά, θα ήθελα να αναφέρω ότι:

- η συμμετοχή του παιδιού είναι εθελοντική,
- το παιδί θα είναι ελεύθερο να εκφράσει τη δική του άποψη,
- το παιδί θα είναι ελεύθερο να αποσυρθεί από την έρευνα οποιαδήποτε στιγμή, χωρίς οποιεσδήποτε συνέπειες.

Για οποιασδήποτε απορίες σε σχέση με την έρευνα μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με την ερευνήτρια.

Η υπογραφή σας σε αυτό το έντυπο συναίνεσης δηλώνει ότι έχετε πληροφορηθεί για το σκοπό και τις διαδικασίες που αφορούν την έρευνα αυτή. Έχετε διαβάσει τις πληροφορίες που δόθηκαν και συμφωνείτε, τόσο ο γονέας/κηδεμόνας, όσο και το παιδί, ώστε το τελευταίο να συμμετάσχει στην έρευνα.

Ημερομηνία: ____ / ____ / ____

Όνοματεπώνυμο Γονέα/Κηδεμόνα:

.....

Υπογραφή Γονέα/Κηδεμόνα:

.....

Όνοματεπώνυμο Παιδιού:

.....

Υπογραφή Παιδιού:

.....

Appendix 5 – Detailed Description of Codes and Sub-Codes for Printed Press’ Analysis

Code	Sub-Code	Description
Violence	Forms of Direct Violence	Explicit references to various forms of direct violence such as domestic violence, corporal punishment, physical fights and sexual abuse either imposed or suffered by children.
	Forms of Structural Violence	Explicit references to various forms of indirect violence embedded within the structures of the society such as poverty, non-investment of public funds on children, lack of preventive measures applied by social services, and so forth.
	Causes of Violence	References to causes of violence once that is enacted by children. The causes can be traced at various levels such as political (i.e. impunity of the offenders), educational (i.e. teaching of violence), economic (i.e. non- investment on children), social (i.e. indifference of the society) or other (i.e. mental issues in cases of repeated delinquency).
Family	Family Ties	References to factors that contribute to the loosening of family ties.
	Children’s Development	References to prerequisites that exist or should exist within family units that allow for the healthy development of children.
	Birth	References to the birth of children (i.e. prematurity or death during a labor).
	Family Threat	Any reference presented to be a sign of threat to the family and by extension to the society or the nation.
Education	Role of Education	Any reference to the aims of education within the Greek Cypriot society.
	Cost of Education	References to the cost of education on the families of children.
	Curriculum	All references to characteristics of the curriculum taught in Greek Cypriot schools and ways that serves or not the needs of children.
Participation	Students’ Demonstrations	References to description of events at which students demonstrated against a cause or to resolutions submitted by students’ unions to various authorities.
	Students’ Elections	Any references to the procedure, result, objection or other initiative taken related to the election of the Pancyprrian Students’ Council (ΠΣΕΜ).
	General Participation of Children	References to any events or children’s opinions expressed via specific children’s bodies (i.e. Children’s Parliament, ΠΣΕΜ) or children in general (i.e. via a school visit to the Parliament).
	Type of Children’s Participation	Any references to if and how various agents guide or manipulate children’s participation.

Appendix 6 – Detailed Description of Codes for the Analysis of the Circulars of the Church

Codes	General Description	Detailed Description
Childhood	Representations of the General Characteristics	References to descriptions of childhood either as a difficult period of life, full of opportunities or characterized of hope and dreams.
	What Children Do	References to childhood as a period where (a) the child develops, including the development of the character, (b) learns and explores, and (c) prepares for adulthood.
	Guidance	References explicitly made to the guidance children need in childhood
	Children as Actors	References to children as dynamic actors that can shape their environment
	Children's Responsibilities	References to children responsibilities, such as to build their personalities and be the 'safekeepers' of the nation
Education	Purpose of Schooling	References to the purpose of schooling as: the acquisition of knowledge, the preparation for labor market and adulthood, the character development, the creation of autonomous personalities, the society building and the transferability of values, and the creation of better future society
	Human Right	References to education as a human right
	Characteristics of Education	References to specific characteristics of schooling (i.e. needs effort, provides opportunities, taking into consideration the technological advancements, etc)
	Students' Roles	Roles related to students, for example to understand the opportunities, to succeed etc
Society	Traditional vs Modern Society	References to the discrepancy among the traditional vs. the modern society, along with characteristics that accompany the modern society and their results in comparison to characteristics of the traditional one.
	Challenges of Modern Society	References to various challenges that modern societies face, such as the consumerism, the wrong ideals, the 'false' ideologies etc.
	Financial Difficulties	References to the economic crisis and the financial difficulties people faced within the Cypriot society
	Youth Responsibility	References to the responsibility of young people to adhere to the values of the traditional Cypriot society and to resist to the challenges of the modern society
	The 'Ideal' Individual	References to characteristics that the 'ideal' individual and citizen should possess, such as the adherence to the

		Greek Christian virtues and ideals, the support of the family ties etc
Role of the Church	Practices	References to any traditions within the Church related to God (such as pray or blessing), that Church employs to support individuals or the society
	Education	Explanations related to the role of the Church within the educational system
	Support Children	References to characteristics and actions of the Church that provide support to the children
	Act as a Family Member	References to actions of the Church that support to the children in a manner that assimilates a parental role
	Support Society	References to characteristics and actions of the Church that provide support to the society
Cyprus Issue	Cyprus Issue	Any references to the Cyprus Issue in relation to the nation
	Responsibilities of Children	References to responsibilities of children and young people in relation to the Cyprus Issue
	Group Cohesion	References to specific events of the past or violations of the rights or groups of people (i.e. the enclaved students) with the goal to cohere around the nation
	Threats	References to any actions or policies that threaten the nation's survival or identity
	Violence	References to support army recruitment or any polemical wording, such as 'fight' or 'guard'.
	Church's Role	References to the role of the Church in leading the nation out of the stalemate and the termination of rights' violations

Appendix 7 – Tables for Quantitative Analysis for the Four Daily Newspapers

FILELEFTHEROS NEWSPAPER		2014	2015	2016
Total No of Articles		21	55	44
Front page headlines		6	9	5
Type of article	General News	14	20	18
	Feature	0	2	6
	Commentary/Opinion	1	24	6
	Other	6	9	14
Date presented	November 15	2	2	6
	November 16	0	4	3
	November 17	1	4	4
	November 18	4	12	6
	November 19	3	5	4
	November 20	4	5	2
	November 21	1	4	6
	November 22	1	7	4
	November 23	0	4	3
	November 24	1	5	4
	November 25	4	3	2
Other sources cited		1	4	3
Sex of the journalist	Man	10	17	4
	Woman	5	21	19
	Children	0	2	0
	Not reported	6	15	21
Size of the article	Full page	1	2	1
	More than half	2	3	3
	Half page	1	2	3
	¼ - ½	2	8	11
	¼ or less	15	40	26

SIMERINI NEWSPAPER		2014	2015	2016
Total No of Articles		36	52	32
Front page headlines		10	9	4
Type of article	General News	13	21	7
	Feature	2	2	0
	Commentary/Opinion	4	13	3
	Other	17	16	22
Date presented	November 15	2	3	5
	November 16	3	3	3
	November 17	2	7	3
	November 18	3	8	2
	November 19	3	8	1
	November 20	5	4	2
	November 21	2	3	3
	November 22	6	5	5
	November 23	1	2	3
	November 24	6	6	3
	November 25	3	3	2
Other sources cited		3	4	0
Gender of the journalist	Male	9	17	3
	Female	4	13	7
	By child	0	1	0
	Not reported	23	21	22
Size of the article	Full page	8	8	7
	More than half	8	13	0
	Half page	0	0	1
	¼ - ½	3	3	7
	¼ or less	17	28	17

HARAVGI NEWSPAPER		2014	2015	2016
Total No of Articles		25	56	25
Front page headlines		3	8	4
Type of article	General News	9	14	13
	Feature	0	1	0
	Commentary/Opinion	7	25	4
	Other	9	16	8
Date presented	November 15	3	3	2
	November 16	1	0	2
	November 17	3	7	3
	November 18	3	6	3
	November 19	1	7	7
	November 20	3	7	1
	November 21	3	6	1
	November 22	3	8	1
	November 23	0	4	3
	November 24	3	5	1
	November 25	3	3	1
Other sources cited		4	3	5
Sex of the journalist	Man	9	10	2
	Woman	1	9	6
	Not reported	15	37	17
Size of the article	Full page	0	3	2
	More than half	5	1	0
	Half page	2	5	3
	¼ - ½	3	6	4
	¼ or less	15	41	16

POLITIS NEWSPAPER		2014	2015	2016
Total No of Articles		47	56	40
Front page headlines		10	7	3
Type of article	General News	22	20	16
	Feature	3	3	0
	Commentary/Opinion	14	20	4
	Other	8	13	20
Date presented	November 15	8	5	8
	November 16	3	2	6
	November 17	6	11	1
	November 18	4	11	3
	November 19	3	5	5
	November 20	5	3	2
	November 21	4	4	3
	November 22	3	6	0
	November 23	6	1	6
	November 24	2	4	5
	November 25	3	4	1
Other sources cited		2	1	3
Sex of the journalist	Man	20	15	3
	Woman	8	20	9
	By child	0	0	0
	Not reported	19	21	28
Size of the article	Full page	0	2	0
	More than half	7	8	5
	Half page	0	7	0
	¼ - ½	9	12	6
	¼ or less	31	27	29

Appendix 8 - List of words or phrases that educators responded that crossed their minds once they heard the phrase children's rights

Housing	Grades
Education	Oppression
Food	Right not to be separated from parents
Joy	Property
Happiness	Information
Responsibility/ies	Personality
Security	Human
Love	Maltreatment
Freedom (ελευθερία και βούληση)	Neglecton
Play	Positivism
Equality (all children have equal rights or all children are equal)	Happy life
Respect	Initiative
Protection	Stability
Care	Unconcern (ανεμελιά)/carelessness
Health	Diversity
Family	Parental protection
Peace	Law society
Name	Overexaggeration
Justice	Parents' rights
Violation(s)/Violation of rights	Economic rights
Right(s)	Minority children
Identity	Institutions that safeguard them (ΥΚΕ, Παιδοβουλή, NGOs)
Democracy	Inalienable (αναφαίρετα)
Life	Children have rights
Abuse	Values
Commissioner/Koursoumba	Clean environment
Homeland	Provisions
Convention	Friendship
Freedom of thought	Perspective
Freedom of expression/speech/expression of opinion/freedom of opinion/freedom of speech/voice of the child	I have right...
Understanding	Surviving
Water	Fitness/Sports
Participation	Alert (συναγερμός)
Religion/freedom of religion	Socialization
Clothes	Obedience
Well-being/quality of life	Dignity
Free time	Creativity
Entertainment (ψυχαγωγία)	Misery
Violence	Choice for afternoon activities
Sexual abuse/sexual harassment	Upbringing (ανατροφή)
No violence/protection from any kind of violence	Restriction
Healthy environment/healthy conditions	Action
Labor	Guidance
Privacy/personal life	Help
Affection	Encouragement
	Protection from his family
	Abortions

Exploitation
Development
Smile
Freedom of movement
Inequality
Custody (επιμέλεια, φύλαξη)
Trust
Sleep
Child/childness/childhood/right to be a child
Acceptance/acknowledgment/appreciation
Needs/basic needs/fulfilment of basic needs
Limits
United Nations
Injustice
Language
Protection from violence
Protection from discrimination
Children with disabilities
Refugee children
Calmness/peacefulness
Protection from exploitation
No abuse
Support
State
Communication
Choices
Honesty
Hobbies
Appropriate conditions of living/quality living
No labor
Solidarity
Freedom with limits
Freedom of choice of profession and sexual orientation
Right to a family environment without violence
Right to live in a friendly environment
Group work (ομαδικότητα)
Spiritual personal rights

Social welfare
mother
Overrights (υπερδικαιώματα)
constructive discipline
Innocence
Opportunities
Racism
Bullying
Right to labor and payment for it
Controllability (χαλιναγώγηση)
Crime
Underdevelopment
"Death" to those that violate them
To know what they are asking and how to ask for it
Culture
Hope
Assurance (διασφάλιση/κατοχύρωση)
Future
Regression (οπισθοδρόμηση)
Pressure
Self-identification (αυτοπροσδιορισμός)
My right...
I want
You are obliged
Independence
Control
Cultivation of a conscious citizen
Maturity
Criticism
Prevention
Deprivation
Simplicity
Forbearance (ανεξικακία)
Liveliness (ζωντάνια)
No social racism

Appendix 9 - List of words or phrases that children responded that crossed their minds once they heard the phrase children's rights

Housing
Education
Food
Joy
Happiness
Responsibility/ies
Security
Love
Freedom/Will
Play
Equality (all children have equal rights/all children are equal)
Respect
Protection
Care
Health/medical care
Family
Peace/peaceful conditions
Justice
Violation(s)/Violation of rights/Rights cannot be violated
Right(s)
Democracy
Life
Abuse
Commissioner/Koursoumba
Freedom of thought
Freedom of expression/speech/expression of opinion/freedom of opinion/freedom of speech/voice of the child
Understanding
Water
Participation
Religion/freedom of religion/non-religion (ανεξιθρησκεία)
Clothes
Free time
Entertainment/Freedom for entertainment
Violence
Sexual abuse/sexual harassment/protection from sexual abuse/no sexual abuse
No violence/protection from any kind of violence/prohibition of violence

Healthy environment/healthy family
environment/safe family environment/safe
environment/right family/appropriate family
environment
Child Labor
Privacy/personal life/private life
Affection
Exploitation
Smile
Freedom of movement
Trust
Sleep/rest
Child/children/childhood/
Social acceptance
Needs/basic needs/fulfilment of basic needs
United Nations
No discrimination
Children with disabilities
Calmness/peacefulness
No exploitation
No abuse/protection from abuse
Support/support in difficult circumstances
Choices/right to choose/freedom in
choices/respect
for choices
Honesty
Hobbies/interests
Appropriate conditions of living/quality living
No labor/protection from child labor/prohibition of
child labor
Solidarity
Freedom with limits
Freedom of choice of profession, studies and
sexual orientation
Oppression/No oppression
Right to Property
Information
Personality
No Maltreatment
Diversity
Law
Children have rights
Provisions
Friendship/friends/choice of friends
Socialization
Dignity
Upbringing (ανατροφή)/right upbringing
Guidance/individual guidance for every child

Innocence
Opportunities
Racism/no racism
Bullying
Right to work
Hope
Future/right to a better future
Independence
Liveliness (ζωντάνια)
Obligation/s
MOEC
Unfairness
No to overprotection
Money/financial/income/afford
Domestic violence/no domestic violence
Right to vote
Decision making/freedom in decision making/independence in decision making
Descent life
Different choices (ξεχωριστές επιλογές)
Hygiene
Culture
Good psychology/psychology
Humanistic education
Equal opportunities
Perception
Autonomy
Critical thinking
Private lessons
Equal education/equal opportunities for Education
Importance/recognition of importance
Underestimation/no underestimation
Political discrimination
Fight
Harassment
Equal treatment
Parents
To do what he wants
To be listened
Warmth (Θαλπωρή)
No child beating
Faith at themselves
Internet
Studying/learning
Interest towards them
Disagreement

Equality (Ισονομία)
Live without fear/safe life
Patience
No violation of physical integrity
Normal life
Forming its own personality
Problems at home
Things a child can do
Things they do not allow the child to do/things
they force the child to do
We don't have any
Hunger
Poverty
Rules
Compassion
Europe
Third world countries
Humanity
Self-sufficiency (αυτάρκεια)
Attention
Children of other countries
Children of other religions
Personal data
Equal rights with adults
Child psychiatrist
Study (tertiary ed) (σπουδές)
No war
Instructions
Isolation
Taking initiatives
Dialogue/conversations
Right to vote for educational matters
To do some things adults do
Parents should provide children the rights they
must have
Not to be a victim of racism or bullying
Obedience to the children's wishes
Self-control
Equality among family
Necessary goods
Representatives of rights
Deal appropriately
Body integrity
Blackmail
Possibilities
Beliefs
Restrictions (απαγορεύσεις)

Country
No pressure
No to go to school
Newborn
To study at a foreign country which is not
a European one
To get married with a foreigner from another
country
To talk at the internet with individuals
who trusts and loves
To love the person he wants
Purity
Companionship
Kindness
Greece-Cyprus-United
Comfort
Do not exist
Right to know the truth
Funny
Marriage
Reaction when it disagrees with someone else
Consume goods
Judge if it's good for them
Greece
Orthodox
Adults
To know his history
Carelessness (ξεγνοιασιά)
Child Molester
Can agree with someone else's opinion
The child has a right to choose by its own what
is wrong and what is right
Teachers do not have the right to yell at a child
To be able to disagree with the elders, especially
the parents and teachers
Feeling comfortable

Appendix 10 – List of grouped rights/concepts that participants indicated as ones that are violated the most in Cyprus.

Right or Concept	Reported by Educators	Reported by Children
Respect	X	X
Freedom of movement	X	X
Right to freedom of opinion/expression	X	X
Peace	X	X
None	X	X
I don't know	X	X
Right to non-discrimination	X	X
Right to family life (family care)	X	X
Right to play, free time, leisure and entertainment	X	X
Right to property	X	
Security	X	
Participation in decision making	X	X
Right to protection (maltreatment, abuse, sexual harassment, violence, domestic violence, bullying)	X	X
The right to be a child	X	
Right to choose	X	X
Happiness	X	
Right to identity	X	X
Freedom	X	X
Freedom of thought	X	X
Many	X	X
Right to health (including medical care and mental health)	X	X
Equal opportunities	X	
Love	X	
Social welfare	X	
Right to Education	X	X
Having too many rights	X	
Religious' freedom	X	
Critical thinking	X	
Right to grow and develop	X	X
Correct nutrition	X	
Breast feeding and smoking	X	
Right to communicate	X	
Special education	X	
Restricted	X	
Group work	X	
Right to food and housing		X
Right to drive from the age of 16		X

Racism		X
Right to private life		X
Social isolation		X
Justice		X
Free education at universities		X
Child labor		X
Right to life		X
Pressure		X
Independence		X
Understanding		X
Friendships		X
Access to goods		X
The right to know the truth about history		X

Appendix 11 – Images that depict the associations related to the word ‘boot’ in relation to the Cyprus Problem

