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*ON THE PERIPHERY OF EUROPE: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE
CONSTRUCTION OF TURKISH-CYPRIOT ADOLESCENT
IDENTITIES*

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Ferdiye Ersoy asserts her moral right to be identified as the author of this thesis.

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Thesis Summary

Institution: Aston University
Title: On the Periphery of Europe: *An Investigation of The Construction of Turkish-Cypriot Adolescent Identities*
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Synopsis:

This research study investigates the identities of a group of adolescent Turkish Cypriot (TC) students in their final year of secondary education in northern Cyprus, which it is argued, lies on the periphery of Europe.

The main aim is to explore the linguistic construction of TC youth identities within school contexts but primarily the classroom in a political context in which the uniquely ambiguous status of Turkish Cypriots within the European Union (EU) continues, and where Turkish Cypriots are considered to be Europeans as individuals but not as a separate political entity. A secondary focus is upon the students' investment in learning the English language. Identity is defined as a lifelong process of 'the social positioning of self and the other' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005:586) which is endlessly re-created (Tabouret-Keller, 1997) and the distinction between the terms 'identity' and 'identities' is discussed.

The study explores the social construction of TC students' identities using an ethnomethodological case study. By using Conversation Analysis of selected extracts from the data collected through observations of classroom interactions, focus group discussions and interviews, the thesis shows that TC students perceive and enact 'in-between identities' in terms of their ethnicity, societal values, age, religion, languages and Europeaness.

Being on the periphery of the EU, it is argued that the Turkish Cypriots of northern Cyprus are the 'peripheral members of the EU, remaining present yet absent. They are personally EU citizens but not as a society and cannot be represented within EU institutions. But will they ever acquire full membership, as any peripheral member would aspire to have or will they remain in between occident and orient? The possible answers to this question and the resulting ideological associations will shape how and to what extent these TC students perceive and enact their identities.

Keywords: Identity and language, social construction of identity, conversation analysis, TC students as in-betweeners

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Transcription Key

ⁱ =	latching
?	rising intonation
—	emphasis
(.)	micro pause
(2)	2-second pause, etc.
:	Prolongation of the preceding sound
(...)	indecipherable talk
::	elongation of preceding sound
><	talk delivered at a faster rate
<>	talk delivered at a slower rate
[interruption

List of Abbreviations Used

AAVE:	African American Vernacular English
ACT:	Allowable Constraints
BPS:	British Psychology Section
CA:	Conversation Analysis
CEFR:	Common European Framework
CoE:	Council of Europe
SESL:	English as a Secondary Language
GC:	Greek Cypriot
GO:	Goal Orientations
ICA:	Institutional Conversation Analysis
IELTS:	International English Language Testing System
IF:	Inferential Framework
IGCSE:	International General Certificate of Secondary Education
L:	Language
QA:	Question-Answer
RQ:	Research Question
S:	Student
SA:	Summons-Answer
T:	Teacher
TC:	Turkish Cypriot
TCU:	Turn Constructional Unit
TRNC:	'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus'
TRP:	Turn Relevance Point
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme

Chapter 1: Introduction

The key research aim of the PhD study is to explore the identities of adolescent Turkish Cypriot (TC) students in their final year of secondary education in northern Cyprus. In an attempt also to understand and analyse the interplay between identity and language, one focus of the study will be upon the role, if any, of second language learning within this context. Identity is a lifelong process and endlessly re-created (Tabouret-Keller, 1997). The distinction made between the terms ‘identity’ and ‘identities’ in this research is that ‘identity’ is used as a collective noun for an abstract concept, whereas ‘identities’ refers to its manifestations in individual speech and behaviour. Also, ‘TC students’ refers to Turkish Cypriot students between the ages of 17 and 18. This particular age represents the transition between childhood and adulthood characterised by young people’s gradual acquisition of additional rights and responsibilities (Cyprus Human Development Report, 2009).

TC adolescent identity issue is complex and multi-faceted. The key research questions formulated in Chapter 3 (p.87) seek answers to how TC final year students, from a private and a state school in Cyprus, **enact** and **perceive** a range of identities in different classroom contexts and what they perceive their investment in the English language to be. The last question (p.87) aims to explore what we learn about the range of identities of language learners in the two schools and whether there are any differences in private and state school context.

1.1 Context

This study aims to understand and characterize TC adolescent identities in a political context in which the uniquely ambiguous status of Turkish Cypriots within the European Union (EU) continues, and where Turkish Cypriots are considered to be Europeans as individuals but not as a

separate political entity (see chapter 2). The age of 17-18 years is a crucial social transition and decision-making time for these TC students in relation to their further education, jobs, military service, living with/away from parents, and sometimes even getting married. One or more of these major decisions have to be taken at this time in their lives, and as a result, the ways in which the TC students perceive and enact their own identities is an issue of particular importance. Young people spend much of their lives in senior school, and for reasons of access, this will be the principal context in which their identities are researched.

In order to understand the potentially complex identities of young Turkish Cypriots, the historical and political context of Cyprus is introduced below and developed further in Chapter 2 as a necessary background against which identity issues are explored in this study. Cyprus is one of the most controversial countries of the Mediterranean. Owing to its geographical location, the island has long been the focus of political struggles attracting many colonizing powers which ruled it since ancient times. Today Cyprus continues to be a site of power relations between not only Turkey and Greece but also the United States, European Union countries and Russia as powerful third parties involved for a variety of global, political and geographical reasons. Turkish and Greek Cypriots, the natives of the island, have strong historical and cultural connections with Turkey and Greece, to which they commonly refer as their respective ‘motherland countries’. Conflicting interests and differing political perspectives of all the parties involved, including the motherlands, make Cyprus one of the most problematic areas of the world and hence create, reinforce and reproduce what is widely known as the Cyprus problem.

An interview with Mehmet Yaşın in the *Caretta* magazine (2008: April, no: 47), a prominent Turkish Cypriot poet of the 1974 generation (an expression referring to the division of the island as a result of the 1974 events) reads:

Life in Cyprus is completely centred around the subject of the Cyprus problem...The isolation affects the Turkish Cypriots very deeply, in every sense. There are very few communities, in Europe, who have lived such an isolated life. Usually the political, economic, commercial and administrative deadlocks caused by isolation are emphasized. I believe there is a psychological deadlock which is much more determining. Feeling disconnected from the world, being punished and unwanted, being surrounded by hostilities and developing very unhealthy psychological defence mechanisms in reaction to these hostilities, individuals perceive themselves through a mirror of un-recognition, un-acceptance, and exclusion and this perception makes them either very fragile or very aggressive, or fragility and aggressivity feed each other.

What is interesting and applicable in Yaşın's comments is firstly his own expression on the issue of perception of identities in Cyprus as a member of the post-1974 generation. Secondly and perhaps more profoundly, his statement about how material obstacles (such as their unrecognised status and its negative consequences for international networking and involvement) in becoming a part of the European and/or international community can turn into psychological obstacles, is of benefit to this study. Yaşın (2008) suggests that there could be some far-reaching negative impacts of this situation on the Turkish Cypriots, marginalising them within Europe and impeding their ability to exist internationally with a fully acknowledged European identity, and this is also a useful point to explore.

1.2 Identity

According to a Turkish Cypriot researcher Kizilyürek (2004), identity construction is a political process and an analysis of this political process is needed when we define an identity. This is why the ongoing Cyprus problem should be identified as one of the key frameworks in which identity issues are addressed in Cyprus. As the poet expresses above, the political situation of Cyprus clearly influences how the Turkish Cypriots perceive themselves and how their identities are affected by this political but also socio-psychological context. Zygmunt Bauman quoted in Kizilyürek (2009) points to the fact that identity often refers to an ongoing struggle and that any

field of power relations and conflict has the potential to be a natural habitat of identity issues which are born within the conflict and fade away when the conflict starts to disappear.

After colonial powers started to withdraw their control over Cyprus in the 1960s, the two Cypriot communities became involved in a process of defining and re-defining their identities – the struggles of differentiation and independence continue even today. Hence the conflict sets the scene for identity issues as described by Bauman (in Kızılyürek, 2009) above. Given the ‘Identity – No-Identity’ complexity of the Turkish Cypriots (Hasgüler, 2007), which joins the trend of identity crises in other parts of the modern world with conflicts, and an increasing focus on the individual and Turkish Cypriot communal identity in Cyprus, now would seem an opportune time to contribute to this discussion. Through efforts to understand Turkish Cypriot young students’ identities in the ambiguous Cypriot context of the Cyprus problem, a window could be opened through this study for an in-depth understanding of how these students construct, perceive and enact their identities in difficult times.

A strong theme in recent ‘identities’ research literature is sameness and difference. Bucholtz and Hall (2006:370) state that identity ‘literally refers to sameness’, although it is a much more complex formulation in practice. Identity work frequently involves ‘obscuring differences among those with a common identity.... The perception of shared identity often requires... an other against those socially constituted as the same’.

Sameness and difference, the two key concepts of the new developments in anthropological research (Bucholtz and Hall, 2006), offer complementary perspectives to research on linguistic identities. Sameness allows for individuals to imagine themselves as a group, while difference produces social distance ‘between those who perceive themselves as unlike’ (Bucholtz and Hall,

2006:371). In a study on adolescent identities by Heller (1999) in a French-language high school in English speaking Canada, for example, it was observed that social groupings both acknowledged similarity and established identity but more importantly 'invented' similarity by minimising difference. Other research on adolescent identities in US high schools showed that identity categories were created based on a range of social categories often involving pairs of opposites: Jock versus Burnout, based on class (Eckert, 2000); Nontena versus Surena, based on nationality (Mendoza-Denton, 1996); uncool versus cool, based on engagement with youth culture (Bucholtz, 1999), but that similarities were highlighted and differences minimised within each identity category (Bucholtz and Hall, 2006). This shows that students' identities in different countries and categories were based on opposites but within the categories members tried to be as similar to each other as possible. This insight may be useful in exploring TC students' perception of their own identities and discovering how much members of opposite categories minimise their differences and/or emphasise their similarities.

In light of the studies on identity and also of the pilot study findings, one research interest of this study is to explore how much a sense of sameness has allowed the students involved in the pilot study to be or to act as a group and to what degree it produces a social distance between the ones who are less alike; and also which elements of identities are particularly salient within a range of social categories (such as gender, language use, ethnicity, nationality, and so on) of young Turkish Cypriots in their final year of college, in the sensitive Cypriot context.

1.3 *Language(s) and Identity*

The subject of identity is very pertinent given that the population in northern Cyprus has become increasingly heterogeneous particularly in the post-EU accession of the Republic of Cyprus in 2003. The main ethnic groups living in this part of the island are the indigenous Turkish Cypriots, naturally, but also those born and educated in the UK who emigrated back to northern Cyprus. There are other immigrants from different countries such as the UK, Canada, Iran, Pakistan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan but from Turkey to a very large extent. This means that various languages and varieties of languages are spoken by young people in northern Cyprus, which may have an influence on the construction of their identities. However, the English language remains one common factor among young people, and is the most widely learnt second language.

Following the division of the island in 1974, the Greek Cypriots, whose official language is Greek, have been living in the southern part of the island, under the administration of the internationally recognized Republic of Cyprus; while the Turkish Cypriots, who speak Turkish, have been living in the northern part, under an administration they call the ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’ (TRNC), which is recognized only by Turkey. The role of the English language in post-colonial countries, such as Cyprus, is also very important. As a former British colony and of interest to the British in terms of language and culture, there has been much discussion on the linguistic and cultural hegemony of English (Bourdieu, 1997).

The hegemony of English is a subject of controversy universally, from scholars around the globe as well as those from Cyprus where the penetration of English is considered by some researchers as a threat to the integrity of the local languages (Papapavlou, 2005). Similarly, both amongst

Turkish and Greek Cypriot scholars, the influence of English on the local culture and languages is more and more on the political agenda as it is considered that people in command of this resource can potentially have access to symbolic, social, cultural and economic power (Bourdieu, 1997). This power, in turn, forges its way into the global-local or glocal marketplace. By this I mean global products are tailored for local consumption with consideration of local culture and laws. For example, the use of English for shop signs, or company names in English is a common factor in the two communities. Some researchers see that the Cypriots are too willing to adopt and integrate European languages, especially English, and values into their linguistic and cultural repertoire. The consequences of this behaviour are regarded by these researchers as negative, leading to the possible marginalization of the native language (Turkish or Greek) and the re-evaluation of a sociocultural identity based upon foreign values (British or European). Hence it is felt by these scholars as an uncomfortable situation in the Cypriot setting. Atalianis (2004), on the other hand, states that standard Greek as one of the official languages in Cyprus is robust, and that the Greek Cypriots share a common national linguistic identity. English is not a threat; instead it provides a fluidity of identity which is a reality and an advantage. Although there is a massive debate almost on a daily basis in local newspapers about the cultural and ethnic identity of the TCs in the north, English has not been seen as a threat to the TC identity in the TC setting by the Turkish Cypriots. The threat to the TC identity, if one had to be named, is perceived generally by the public to be a result of the uncontrolled immigration from Turkey, as, for example, referred to by Mert (12.07.2010) in a local newspaper. The study thus aims to explore how these contextual factors relate to TC students in the study and also what the students' investment is in the English language in the given TC and/or general Cypriot setting. The expression 'investment in the English language' has been borrowed from Norton (2013)

who, inspired by the work of Bourdieu (1991), uses it to refer to the socially and historically developed relationship of learners to the target language and their decision to learn and practise it. Norton (2013) argues that if learners invest in the target language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic resources such as language, education or social entourage and material resources such as real estate or money, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital and social power.

1.4 Thesis Outline

This thesis consists of seven chapters. The first four explore the conceptual/theoretical dimensions of my research project, and the last three focus on the analysis, discussion and findings of the empirical material generated in the course of my ethno-methodological case study. The last chapter concludes the research.

In this first chapter, the thesis began by introducing the constructed concepts of ‘identity’, Turkish Cypriot students, the Turkish Cypriot context as well as language and identity issues in Cyprus within contemporary approaches.

The aim of this first chapter was to explain how the concept of identity is used throughout the thesis as well as the context in which it is used; thus it sets the scene for the research. This chapter constructs the framework of my research in three sections, each of which involves introductory discussions and explanations of the major concepts employed. I defined the concept of ‘TC students’ and ‘TC identity’ and attempted to explain the interrelationship between identity and language issues in Cyprus and how political, cultural and linguistic issues are embedded in the construction of identity.

In chapter two I expand on the historical and educational background of Cyprus. The chapter offers a general overview of the context in which the two schools in the study are situated and it also aims to explain the research context. Context is considered an important factor which plays a key role in relation to a study of identity, such as, for example, the country or part of country in which the research is undertaken, the socio-ethnic background or the culture as well as the living and studying conditions of the participants. In relation to my choice of ethnomethodology in analysing the data, the value placed on context becomes justifiable since, for example, ethnomethodology notes that words are indexical: in other words they rely for their meaning in the context on which they are used.

In chapter three I provide a literature review of research on identity with the aim of defining how TC students perceive and enact their own identity as the key concepts to be explored. The chapter then examines the literature by providing a detailed description of the scope of the theoretical framework presented. In order to gain clarity and more detailed understanding of identity as the specific area of my research project, I first review the literature that theorises perspectives on identity as a general concept and young TC students' identity in particular. Surveying previous studies on identity is in line with current practice in research projects where it is regarded as acceptable for researchers to familiarise themselves with existing research and knowledge prior to collecting their own data (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, and Lowe, 2002).

Chapter four sets out the rationale for the methodology used in the study with respect to the research questions presented above. Methodology refers to the principled choices we make about cases to study, methods of data gathering and data analysis in planning and executing a research study (Silverman, 2011). I discuss, therefore, how my choice of 'case study' approach to conducting research on 17-18 year old TC student identities is conducive to studying my

research questions. The chapter also gives an introduction to the potential informants in this study. Within an ethno-methodological research paradigm, I have chosen the case study design using a qualitative approach as the most appropriate methodology mainly because in general it is the preferred strategy when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being asked about participants in a bound system (Yin, 2003), that is to say the school and the researcher has almost no or limited control over what is happening within the general school framework.

Chapter five analyses the range of identities of language learners in the two schools in northern Cyprus and whether there are any differences in English and Turkish-medium school contexts which emerge by the use of Conversation Analysis (CA) principally, but also Institutional Conversation Analysis (ICA). These data analysis tools are applied to classroom interactions observed, as well as to focus group and interview discussions of the TC students. The key emphasis in this chapter is on ten extracts which represent some of the main categories or themes which emerged from the data collected in relation to how the TC students index social construction of identity through talk.

Chapter six is divided into three sections which aim to answer the three research questions explicitly. The first section discusses the main difference between the terms of perception and enactment of identities. I firstly focus on the TC students’ own perceptions of identities and then how they enact or demonstrate identities through the acts they linguistically perform in their natural environment. In the second section, the concept of investment is explored in relation to how the students themselves use the English language and invest in it as speakers of the language in the two selected schools. The last section of the chapter aims to provide an overall picture of the range of identities revealed in the two schools and to discover whether there are any variations in private and state school contexts.

The concluding chapter brings together the theoretical approaches and ethno-methodological case study research and presents the research findings and conclusions in this context. It also summarises the key insights achieved and how these insights have contributed to the sum of human knowledge in this study. Finally, it also discusses possibilities for further research.

Chapter 2: The Turkish Cypriot Context

2.1 *Introduction*

This chapter provides a general overview of the Turkish Cypriot (TC) context in which the two schools in the study are situated, and aims to explain the research context. Context is an important factor which plays a key role in relation to a study of identity, such as, for example, the country or part of country in which the research is undertaken, the socio-ethnic background or the culture as well as the living and studying conditions of the participants. The research context, therefore, potentially carries influence on how participants' identities are enacted and perceived, and needs to be explored first in order to set the scene for the research.

In order to problematise the notion of TC students' own perception and enactment of identity and critically reflect upon social, cultural, linguistic, gender, ethnic, religious or European identities in this TC context, it becomes important to provide an outline of the historical and political background to this complex mosaic of cultures, nations, religions and languages. As a researcher, I aim to give as impartial an account as possible, but as a citizen of northern Cyprus who has lived through its recent history and grew up with the Cyprus problem, I must acknowledge that it may be impossible to be wholly impartial (Silverman, 2000).

2.2 *The Cyprus Context*

For centuries, Cyprus has been seen not only as a meeting point between Europe and Asia, Christianity and Islam and East and West because of its unique, varied and mixed background and range of communities but also as a point of interaction and opposition. The country has been characterised by extreme nationalisms that have long divided its society (Philippou, 2007)

causing a major issue for the Cypriots which is yet to be resolved to this day: the Cyprus problem.

Identity is one of the underlying concepts related to the 'Cyprus problem' (Philippou, 2007) which is basically an international question and a geopolitical issue (Theophanous, 2000). The Cypriot problem emerged in the early history of modern day Cyprus and is perceived radically differently by the two communities of Cyprus. For the Turkish Cypriots it 'is caused by the Greek Cypriots and the international community who have failed to appreciate the sovereign equality of the TC people, as well as Turkey's legitimate interests and rights in Cyprus' (Olgun, 1999). However, for the Greek Cypriots, it is 'a question of invasion and continued occupation by Turkey' (Sizoupolos, 2000). Volkan (2008) summarises the two points made above from a societal trauma and identity perspective. He claims (2008:95), that when speaking or writing about 'the Cyprus problem':

Cypriot Greeks and Cypriot Turks select and highlight two different events respectively as the most traumatic and devastating for their communities.

Volkan (2008) further claims that, for the Greeks, the dividing of the island by a de facto border into northern Turkish and southern Greek sections in 1974 as a result of the landing of the Turkish army is the most devastating societal trauma in the last five decades. The Turks, on the other hand, look back to 1963 and recount their horror story when the Greek Cypriots, who outnumbered Cypriot Turks four to one, forced the Cypriot Turks to live in subhuman conditions in enclaves geographically limited to three percent of the island for eleven years (from 1963 to 1974). It is crucial to bear in mind, therefore, these radically different perceptions of 'the Cyprus problem' by the two communities living on the island *with* 'the Cyprus problem', in this research on TC student constructions of identity.

2.2.1. Cyprus: History

In the Mediterranean, Cyprus is the third largest island after Sicily and Sardinia, located 40 miles to the south of Turkey and 600 miles to the south-east of Greece (Sözen, 1998). The island has always been the field of power struggles since ancient times due to its geographical location: it attracted many colonizers and was ruled successively by the Egyptians, Greeks, Phoenicians, Assyrians, Persians, Ptolemies, Romans, Byzantines, Franks, Venetians, Ottoman Turks and the British (Joseph, 1997). As a result, throughout history, the identity of the residents of Cyprus, the Cypriots, has been (re)constructed and represented within changing social, sociocultural, ethnic, and political circumstances.

Timeline of Cyprus History

- 1050 B.C. Hellenisation
- 58 B.C. -1191 Part of Roman/Byzantine Empire
- 1191 Richard the Lionheart
- 1192-1489 Lusignan Dynasty
- 1489-1571 Venetian control
- 1571-1923 Ottoman Empire
- 1878-1960 British Administration
- *Annexed 1914, British crown colony from 1925*
- 1960 Independent Republic of Cyprus
- *Two communities: two official languages & widespread use of English*
- 1974 Division of Cyprus into north and south until present (2014)
- 1983 Auto-proclamation of the *TRNC in the north*
Unrecognised Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
- 2003 Referendum for the UN Reunification Plan in both parts
Accepted by the TC, refused by the GC communities
- 2004 Divided Cyprus becomes a member of the European Union *as undivided*

Cyprus remains, to this day, a focus of tense power relations, especially between Turkey and Greece which have had crucial influences on the island because of not only their political interests but also their historical and cultural connections with the native people of the island,

namely the Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Because of these connections, Turkey and Greece are generally accepted as ‘motherland’ countries by the Turkish and Greek Cypriots respectively. In addition, the United States, European Union countries, and Russia are external powers that are closely interested in Cyprus for a variety of global, political and geographical reasons (Samani, 1999). These conflicting and multi-level interests in the island make Cyprus one of the most politically complicated areas of the world and in particular within the boundaries of the EU. The conflicts of interests, in turn, reinforce and maintain the Cyprus problem.

The English (language) connection with the island reaches into the remote past. Richard I, (the Lionheart) of England captured the island from the Byzantines in 1191 during the Third Crusade. From Richard the island passed to Frankish crusader-adventurer Guy de Lusignan whose family ruled the island until 1489, when it passed by natural succession to the Venetians. During this period neither French nor Italian nor Latin Christianity seemed deeply-rooted among the Greek-speaking and Orthodox local population. However, a community of Arabic-speaking Latin-rite (Maronite) Christians immigrated from the Levant during this period, and their unique form of Arabic has survived until recently (Borg, 1985). The Ottomans conquered the island from the Venetians in 1571 and ruled it until 1923. However, Great Britain administered the island under treaty with the Ottomans from 1878, annexed the island during World War I, gained sovereignty from the Turks in 1923, and declared the island a crown colony in 1925.

One factor in the conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in the 1930s was the influence of Turkish and Greek nationalisms (Özkırmılı and Sofos 2008). In many ways, the Greek and Turkish nationalist projects were similar to each other. Greece and Turkey have been historically positioned as the ‘other’ in their respective nationalist pictures, each being seen as being at the ‘antipodes of the survival of the other’ (Özkırmılı and Sofos 2008:2). The politics of British

colonization was another contributing factor in the conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. It had a great influence on the formation of the ethnic differentiation between the two communities. In the beginning, the basis of the conflict was their focus on different religions. However, differences in language, race, cultural and historical backgrounds became apparent later. The different religions and languages of the two communities empowered the opposing relations between them which suited the British as it facilitated the British administration's divide and rule approach on the island. The Turkish Cypriots, who identified themselves as a Turkish speaking Muslim community, lived in peace with the British administration until the 1930s (Erhürman, 2007). At the beginning of the 1930s, with the rise of nationalism throughout the world and the empowerment of the young Republic of Turkey, Turkish Cypriots aimed to establish their national identity (Erhürman, 2007). This time the focus of the Turkish Cypriot community was diverted towards the historical and cultural differences that distinguished them from Greek Cypriots. The language, religion and historical background of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, constructed differently from each other, constitute the main foundation bricks in the formation of their multiple identities.

After World War II the independence movement in Cyprus became complicated by the fact that the different linguistic (and religious) communities, Greek and Turkish, favoured different visions of the island's post-colonial future. Most Greek Cypriots favoured union with Greece, while Turkish Cypriots favoured partition into Turkish and Greek Cypriot areas. In 1960 Cyprus gained independence as a bi-communal state, under the guarantorship of the UK, Greece, and Turkey to keep the peace between the communities. According to its Constitution, 'the State of Cyprus' is an independent and sovereign Republic with a presidential regime, the President being a Greek and the Vice President being a Turk elected by the Greek and Turkish Communities of

Cyprus' (Stavrínides, 1999:3). Makarios, the first GC president of Cyprus, had always had problems with the governments of Greece during his political life; his relations with the Greek leadership, for example, deteriorated further when the military seized power in Athens in 1967. Makarios was disliked by the anticommunist regime in Greece and his flirtation with Eastern Europe and Third World nations, and his charismatic appeal to Greeks everywhere were major concerns of the Greek governments in the 1960s and 1970s (Solsten, 1991). He had also been criticised by the Greek government of the period when he tried to change the constitution of the 1960 Republic (Kızılyürek, 2005). This could demonstrate that neither the Greek nor the Turkish Cypriots shared the same objective, the same perception of identity or the same 'Cyprus problem'.

The result of this difference in perception of the Cyprus problem was the inter-communal violence which broke out in 1963, only three years after the Republic of Cyprus was created, leading to the dispatch of UN troops and the establishment of the Green Line separating the communities.

In 1974 the military government in Greece organized a coup to overthrow the Cyprus government and Turkey took the northern half of the island to protect the rights of the Turkish minority. A ceasefire was quickly arranged but not before more than a third of each ethnic community had been forced to flee their homes.

As a result, Cyprus was de facto divided into north and south. Greek Cypriots living in the north and Turkish Cypriots living in the south had to leave their homes, lands and properties and settle in their respective parts of the island. Although universally considered as non-recognised, the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' (TRNC) was founded in 1983. Despite this

internationally non-existent and non-recognised state, Turkish Cypriots live, or have chosen to live, in the north since it is their only homeland.

The idea of 'homeland' or 'land' is worth elaborating when discussing the Cyprus context since it also brings along the idea of boundaries. In my view, if you have a piece of land you have boundaries. If there are area boundaries they need to be protected against any trespassing or possible violation that might occur, especially if there is an ongoing conflict with your neighbours. In parallel to this line of thinking, physically existing boundaries of the non-existent or non-recognised state in the north played a key role in the construction of the idea of 'homeland'. As Heidegger (cited in Bhabha 1994:1) points out, 'a boundary is not that at which something stops but, the boundary is that from which something begins its presence'. Hence, the boundaries between the northern and the southern parts of Cyprus have reinforced and re-emphasised the long-lasting perception of difference and otherisation mechanisms between the two main Cypriot communities of the island.

2.2.2 Historical and political issues in focus

The people of Cyprus, the ‘Cypriots’, share many customs but maintain distinct linguistic, ethnic and religious identities: Turkish is spoken in the north, where the majority is Turkish Cypriot and Muslim and Greek is predominantly spoken in the south, where the majority is Greek Cypriot and Orthodox. Both Turkish and Greek Cypriots claim that ‘historically Cyprus has been theirs’ and thereby illustrate the nationalism of each community (Papadakis, 1996). The Ottomans retained sovereignty when they passed over Cyprus to the British in 1878. Cyprus gained its independence from the British in 1960, with the signing of the Zurich-London agreements, which assigned Turkey, Britain and Greece as guarantors of the island and provided for Britain to keep two military bases on their former colony.

The 1960 Constitution of the Cyprus Republic stated clearly that the educational systems of the Turkish and the Greek Cypriots were to be left separate. However, they were used as the ‘cornerstone’ of nationalist ideologies by both Turkey and Greece to increase their influence and the effect of this was to widen the gap between the communities (Kızılyürek and Hadgipavlou-Trigeorgis, 1997).

A military coup organized by the Greek Junta in July 1974 against President Archbishop Makarios (the first President) in Cyprus led to the military intervention of Turkey, one of the three guarantor states of the Cyprus Republic, a week later. As a result Cyprus was divided into north and south, separated by the ‘Green Line’ to this day (2014). The ‘TRNC’ (recognised only by Turkey), commonly called northern Cyprus, declared its independence in 1983. After an

easing of the travel restrictions on the island, in April 2003, there has been unprecedented mobility between the two communities but the boundaries remain.

2.2.3 *The European dimension in the Cypriot context*

In 2004, the United Nations (UN) Secretary General's Comprehensive Settlement Proposals (the 'Annan Plan' (Annan, 2004) to reunite the island was accepted by a majority of Turkish Cypriots in a referendum, but rejected by a resounding majority of Greek Cypriots. As a result, a divided Cyprus acceded to the EU in May 2004, and although the whole of the island is considered to be part of the EU, the EU legislation is suspended in the northern part, in line with Protocol 10 of the Accession Treaty 2003 (Sabathill, et. al., 2008).

In order to deal with the consequences of this situation, the EU has set up a Directorate-General Enlargement Taskforce which attempts to promote economic, cultural, educational and political relationships between the Turkish Cypriots and the EU (Sabathill, et.al, 2008). The policy of the EU with regard to the TC community was set out by the General Affairs Council in April 2004, just before the Republic of Cyprus joined the EU and stated:

The TC community has expressed its clear desire for a future within the EU. The Council is determined to put an end to the isolation of the TC community and to facilitate the reunification of Cyprus. Two years later, in 2006, the General Affairs Council approved the aid regulation, with financial resources allocated to this programme. This assistance is currently extended on a yearly basis to support *inter alia*:

- bringing the TC community closer to the EU through information on the European Union's political and legal order;
- promotion of people to people contacts and educational scholarships;
- promotion of social and economic development including restructuring, human resources development and regional development. (Sabathill, et.al, 2008).

The renewed negotiations between the leaders of the two communities under the auspices of the UN to reach a comprehensive settlement leading to the re-unification of the island have been

ongoing for nearly 40 years and have been supported by the UN and the EU. If a Cyprus settlement comes into force it will be possible for EU rules (*acquis communautaire*) to apply over the whole of the island. However, the current suspension does not affect the personal rights of Turkish Cypriots as EU citizens.

These increased personal rights and mobility also include the TC students' educational rights within the EU. These opportunities within the EU context have undoubtedly played a key role in maintaining the English language as the main foreign language taught and learnt in northern Cyprus. In some cases English is the medium of education in public and privately owned schools with an English style of education. To name a few schools in the northern coastal town of Kyrenia where our two schools in this study are located, there are the English School of Kyrenia, Necat British College, Sunny Lane Primary School, Girne American Prep School and College, Happy Land Nursery School in the private sector, and Turk Maarif College in the public sector.

The authorities in northern Cyprus, where English remains the second language taught (except in examples as per above), set the goals of the English language curriculum of Turkish Cypriot secondary school learners as B1 (intermediate) level of the Common European Framework (CEFR) established by the Council of Europe. The TRNC Ministry of Education and Culture Report (September, 2004:2) clearly stated that the TC administration adopts a language education policy that follows European guidelines set by the Council of Europe:

The philosophy of the curriculum for English in the secondary school is in line with that of education as a whole in Europe. The curriculum is humanistic, aiming at the development of a 'whole' person, mentally, morally and aesthetically refined, healthy, active and creative, able to promote intercultural understanding, tolerance, cooperation and respect among individuals so that the ideals of democracy,

freedom, justice and peace can prevail and the European dimension of education can be realised.

The next section attempts to look closely at the key concepts of the European language education guidelines in order to better understand the philosophy behind the secondary school curriculum of TC (language) education.

2.3 *The EU Language Education Guidelines: Multilingualism and Plurilingualism as two key concepts*

There is a considerable amount of literature from the Council of Europe on this subject. The following is a review of the information publicly provided by the Council of Europe (CoE) and other published official documents and reports such as the Language Policy Division of the CoE (2009), 'Languages in Education, Languages for Education' and the official website of the CoE (<http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/>).

Multilingualism and Plurilingualism

The main distinction between the two key terms widely used in language education by the European authorities is that multilingualism refers to societies and plurilingualism refers to individuals. Plurilingual/bilingual education is not considered as a prestigious or rare event in Europe. Rather it is seen as an ordinary situation. Far from being exceptional, linguistic plurality and diversity are considered to be a part of everyday reality and of everybody's daily experience. Accordingly, the CoE language education guidelines include the following points:

- Every society is multilingual

The Language Policy Division of the CoE (2009), in a text called ‘Languages in Education, Languages for Education’ recognises that every society is multilingual together with its traditional languages, their varieties, minority languages, regional languages and dialects. Indeed this is the case for the TC society, with not only Turkish and English but also Turkish dialects and other minority languages spoken. In addition to this ordinary multilingualism, contemporary societies are exposed to greater linguistic diversity because of the increased economic and professional mobility, such as is the case within the EU or even the TC context, where workforce immigration from Turkey, Pakistan, Turkmenistan, Iran as well as thousands of university students from many different cultural and linguistic backgrounds is a well known fact. The CoE points out the importance of coping with the challenges of this increasing linguistic and cultural diversity, and underlines the need for social inclusion and valorisation of this linguistic and cultural capital (Beacco and Byram, 2007).

- Every language is plural

Beacco and Byram (2007) explain that a language has several varieties which arise as a result of, for example, societal and economic developments or language contacts.

- Every school is a space open to plurality of languages

For the CoE language education experts such as Beacco and Byram, every school is a space which is open to multiplicity of languages and cultures bringing together speakers or social actors with different repertoires who have one language or several language varieties in common, already developed prior to their entry into schooling. A country’s education system with its pre-determined missions may or may not tolerate openness in schools for those diverse languages

and cultures. Prevention of linguistic and cultural expression, according to Beacco and Byram (2007) will never prevent such practices from finding their own ways of expression, perhaps informally, and their own functions, such as constructing and asserting the speakers' multiple identities via the use of these languages or language varieties.

- Every identity is plural

According to Beacco (2005) and Byram (2006), school is an important space where socialisation occurs and a major factor which contributes to the individual's personal development since it also helps to construct the identities of those it teaches and educates. In contemporary European societies this identity cannot be one and unchanging. Plurilingual competence is a concept which manages several or plural language resources and capacities in one large plurilingual set of skills. Likewise identity can be perceived as one with plural components coexisting at the same time (Beacco, 2005), (Byram, 2006). Identity can be regarded as one meaning that the individual can enact its various facets and perceives a sense of unity, but plural in that every member of society today enacts different identities in many different networks and social groups, with multiple identifications, social, cultural, linguistic identities. As a result, the individual (or the student) perceives him/herself and is perceived by others as plurilingual, as well as having multiple roles and hence identities. This idea of multiple identities is further discussed in Chapter 3 which focuses on the literature review.

- Plurilingual and intercultural education

The focus of this section so far has been on the key terms and concepts of societal multilingualism and individual plurilingualism. Plurilingual and intercultural education takes into account above all what already exists (Beacco 2005 and Byram 2006), but provides a

change in perspective, characterised by the fact that it involves not only foreign languages but that languages in proximity, the languages of learners, the language(s) of schooling and of all subjects, are integral to it (Language Policy Division, Nov. 2010) In fact, plurilingual and intercultural education is above all distinctive with respect to its purposes, which are the fundamental rights of each learner, based on values which guarantee his/her education as an individual and as a citizen.

The Council of Europe emphasises a range of educational values: social cohesion and solidarity, participatory democracy, reciprocal understanding, and the respect for and valorisation of linguistic and cultural diversity. Their overall message is that plurilingual and intercultural education needs to be conceived as a global language education, across all languages of the school and in all disciplinary domains, which provides a basis for an identity open to linguistic and cultural plurality and diversity, insofar as languages are the expression of different cultures and of differences within the same culture. All disciplines contribute to this language education through the contents which they carry and the ways in which they are taught. This global language education aims to develop plurilingual and intercultural competence, the components of which are defined in the Guide for the development of language education policies in Europe (Beacco and Byram, 2007):

- *Plurilingual competence*: capacity to successively acquire and use different competence in different languages, at different levels of proficiency and for different functions. The central purpose of plurilingual education is to develop this competence.
- *Intercultural competence*: combination of knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviours which allow a speaker, to varying degrees, to recognise, understand, interpret and accept

other ways of living and thinking beyond his or her home culture. This competence is the basis of understanding among people, and is not limited to language ability.

In summary, the Council of Europe aims to describe the idea of plurilingual and intercultural education across all disciplines in a globalised language education of all languages. The purpose of this globalised language education is to develop plurilingual and intercultural competence and an awareness of multiple identities of the learner.

2.3.1 The case of English within plurilingualism

In accordance with Council of Europe policies and principles which underlie the concepts discussed above, all languages are of equal value. While they have the same value, they represent and convey values too. Public opinion, decision-makers, parents of pupils and the pupils themselves may attach different degrees of importance to different languages (Breidbach, 2003); (Neuner, 2002). The increasingly pre-eminent position of English needs to be realistically acknowledged so that necessary action is taken to ensure that other languages have a place in education systems as well. The privileged position enjoyed by English at school is evident in different ways as follows (Breidbach, 2003; Neuner, 2002):

- In many if not the majority of member States of the CoE, other than those which are Anglophone, it is the first foreign language studied in the early stages of schooling.

English is the first language studied in the early stages of school in both parts of Cyprus. This often corresponds to the wishes of parents or to the fact that the students are hoping to study in the UK. This also corresponds to representations strongly rooted in the society from the colonial days. In the TC case, for example, the parents would consider the English language to be the

internationally valid language since it is by far the most used language in Cyprus for international communication and for further studies;

- English is increasingly considered by the schools as a kind of basic unavoidable skill.

This skill maintains the status of the English language as, for example, that of the new technologies. The TC education system too underlines the unavoidable requirement for ‘English and computer skills’ for further education and job opportunities;

- English can, finally, be considered by school as largely sufficient in itself.

According to Jenkins (2009) the phenomenon of English as a lingua franca has been a subject of considerable debate. English is the most common and the least costly lingua franca which facilitates solutions to the issue of the organisation of the teaching of foreign languages at school and international communication in the society. For example, the TC education system has reduced the number of third language lessons (French and German) to a minimum of two lesson periods of 40 minutes each per week. One reason is possibly the higher cost incurred by the education system by hiring more teachers (Breidbach, 2003; Neuner, 2002). English teachers are also more easily available and their fees suffer from high competition for vacant teaching positions.

One natural consequence of this demand for English is that the purposes of plurilingual and intercultural education are not fully met. English must have a place in the language curriculum, but CoE considers one modern foreign language far from sufficient to meet a society’s linguistic, social and cultural needs and hence its multiple identities, on its own. As a positive note, Jenkins (2009) uses data drawn from participants in the EU’s Erasmus Programme that demonstrates

how first-hand experience of English as a lingua franca communication seems to be raising their awareness of its communicative effectiveness.

2.4 Current linguistic situation in the TC context

The Turkish language, one of the two official languages of the Republic of Cyprus (Language Education Policy Profile, 2004) as stated by the 1960 Constitution of the Republic, is not recognized as an official EU language, unlike the Greek language. English is taught as a second language (ESL) in schools and is the medium of education in some secondary schools (including the school selected in this research) and tertiary education colleges. It is imported to the island as the colonial language (Goutsos and Karyolemou, 2004) and is widely used by both Turkish and Greek Cypriots living in both parts of Cyprus, to the extent that there has been considerable apprehension about the influence of English on the status and the structure of the Greek language. McEntee-Atalianis (2004) supports the view that the penetration of English in Cyprus is real but says that it does not represent a threat to the Greek language. However, she does not comment about the relationship of the English language to the Turkish language in Cyprus.

According to a report on language policy and language education policy in the Republic of Cyprus (2003-2005) in the northern, the Turkish part of the island, Turkish language is the main language seen on notices and signs, public and private, although penetration of English in everyday life is widely seen and no apprehension has been observed so far. This could mean that although the English language is omnipresent in daily life it is not considered as a danger to the Turkish language.

Bilingualism (English and Greek) in the Greek community is, however, more overt and emphasised both in public places, courts, shops, and government offices, and in private contexts in the southern Greek part. Interestingly Greek and Turkish bilingualism is not widespread, especially in the younger generation. Although there is Greek, it is practically non-existent in the everyday lives of the TC people, yet there is an increasing number of TC beginning to learn Greek. Karyolemou (2005) points out that bilingualism (in Turkish and Greek languages) has traditionally been more common among the Turkish community. Karyolemou also (2005:28) observes: ‘The presence on the Cypriot territory (*the whole of the island – my emphasis*) of two different languages has not resulted in the establishment of a bilingual society but rather in the development of two distinct linguistic communities.’

The much smaller linguistic communities such as Armenian and Arabic speaking communities of the Republic of Cyprus, however, are vastly outnumbered by recent immigrants and temporary workers in northern Cyprus speaking Russian, Bulgarian, Turkmen, Philippine, Persian and Pakistani languages as well as a vast number of Turkish mainland dialects. The common language or the lingua franca of intergroup communication for these diverse populations is, of course, English. It has been widely observed that the non-Turkish linguistic communities rapidly *invest* in learning and using Turkish as well, an outcome of which could by-pass their investment in English, in this particular context.

The phrase ‘*investment in a language*’ has been borrowed from Norton (2013). Inspired by the work of Bourdieu (1991), she refers to the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their desire to learn and practise it. Norton argues that if learners ‘invest’ in the target language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic resources such as language,

education, friendship and material resources such as goods, property, money), which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital and social power. Bourdieu (1986) explains the term cultural capital as a theoretical hypothesis which makes it possible to explain the unequal academic achievement of children originating from the different social classes by relating academic success. That is, the specific profits which children from the different classes can obtain in the academic market, to the distribution of cultural capital between the classes. For Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital acts as a social relation within a system of exchange that includes the accumulated cultural knowledge that confers power and status. As the value of language learners' cultural capital increases, so do the learners' perception of themselves, their aspirations for the future and their imagined identities improve. There is a relationship, then, between investment in a language and identity, an identity which is theorized as multiple, changing, and a site of struggle. Why language learners invest in one language rather than the other is then an evaluation made on the basis of this struggle.

2.5 Language education in the TC context with a European perspective

The de facto state of the unrecognised Turkish Republic of northern Cyprus (TRNC aims to take into account the EU and Council of Europe's language policies such as 'plurilingualism of individuals' and 'multilingualism of the society' as well as the EU's 'mother language plus two' policies.

If applied to learning the language of each other, these European policies can also be seen as an opportunity by some to bridge the common aspects of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot cultures, through language, which have been influenced by each other and use teaching of

languages, including, but not limited to Greek and Turkish, beyond their linguistic purposes. Currently however most of the Cypriot Greeks of all ages have negative feelings about the Turkish language. Only 10% of Cypriot Greeks show any interest in learning Turkish as a second or third language. They prefer English, French and German (Karyolemou, 2002:220, Europeans and their languages: 2006). Similarly, negative attitude also dominates within the Turkish community towards the Greek language.

Ironically, the accession of Cyprus to the EU has had the effect of making Turkish an official EU language (since it is an official language of the Republic of Cyprus). The EU has decided, however, not to translate EU documents into Turkish at this time. English, as one of the two official languages of the EU, hence remains the *lingua franca* between the two communities.

2.6 *The framework of the study*

In the light of its historical developments over the centuries, recent political changes, conflicts of interests and within an unsettled political status, the framework of this study can, therefore, be defined as sensitive: on one hand there is a *de facto* divided Cyprus which on the other hand is a *de jure* member of the EU as a whole. Members of the two biggest communities living on the island, formerly under British rule and currently within the EU boundaries, have at least three languages spoken amongst them, namely, Turkish, Greek and also English as their *lingua franca*. There are also varieties of these traditional languages and other minority languages, and hence these islanders can be described as plurilingual.

On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriots, unlike the Greek Cypriots, are considered to be European citizens only as individuals but not as a community. Their community is multilingual but not officially European. Perhaps, being on the periphery of the EU, I would argue that the Turkish Cypriots of northern Cyprus are the 'peripheral members' of the EU.

We can therefore conclude that identity and language issues are academically, socially and culturally relevant and salient in the unique Turkish Cypriot context which contains not only overlapping and co-existing but also clashing identities. Not only identity issues but also language issues are of a particular academic, social and cultural relevance in this unique linguistic and cultural context in between overlapping, co-existing or even clashing identities.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

This chapter provides an overview of previous research on identity with the aim of defining TC students' own perceptions and enactment of identity as the key concepts to be explored. It then examines the literature by providing a detailed description of the scope of the theoretical framework presented. In order to gain clarity and more in-depth understanding of identity as the specific area of my research project, I first review the literature that theorises perspectives on identity as a general concept and then the literature on young TC students' identity in particular. Surveying previous studies on identity is in line with current practice in qualitative research work where it is regarded acceptable for researchers to familiarise themselves with existing research prior to collecting their own data (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, and Lowe, 2002).

Insight from previous work on identity serves four main purposes. First, it increases awareness of existing theories of identity at the primary data collection stages of the project. Second, it helps maintain a focussed sense of the topic's perspective on the subject of identity enactment and perception. Thirdly, this should lead to the development of my own perspective on identity used in this research; and the opportunity to appreciate how other researchers have analysed data on identity construction.

The literature review will also provide ideas for creating a framework for identifying data collection requirements, and the data analysis tools. It also includes a study of relevant secondary sources of data from a number of academic domains including the social construction of identity, with reference to sociolinguistics and sociocultural linguistics, L2 learning, multilingualism and code-switching, all of which should inform my understanding of identities within the Cypriot context.

As discussed in chapter 2 the Cypriot context, to this day, remains unique within the European Union, not only by its complicated political situation, but also and perhaps as a result, in terms of the notion of its complex ethnic composition as well as the role of multiple languages. Although there has been a considerable amount of sociolinguistic research emerging from Greek Cypriot scholars about language and identity issues of the Greek Cypriot community, especially since the establishment of the University of Cyprus in 1992 (summarised in Papapavlou, 2005), there is little attention given to the language and identity issues of the Turkish Cypriots in their studies. The main foci of this research, essentially from the Turkish Cypriot universities, are the contact between Turkish and Greek Cypriot dialects, linguistic changes that have occurred due to the migrations of Turkish people from Anatolia since 1974, inter-dialectal contacts, language of the mass media, and attitudes towards foreign words. There is, however, growing interest in Turkish Cypriot identity formation and evolution from TC researchers such as Kızılyürek (1997) and Hasgüler (2007). My research aims to develop the ways in which TC identities are socially constructed by studying the interaction of the actual participants within the local Cypriot context.

3.1 Social construction of identity

The idea that identities are socially constructed frames the entire project since the goal of the social constructionism is to investigate the participants' socially constructed views, perception and enactment of their identities through talk. Social constructionism is therefore based on meaning emerging from socially constructed interaction. In parallel, the main focus of this study is to explore how TC students make meanings through their use of social language that is their interaction with others. Furthermore, the study aims to critically analyse how the TC students' perceptions of their own identities emerge through interaction and finally how and why they understand those meanings the way they do.

Social constructionism has emerged as an important perspective in social sciences where reality or at least parts of reality, are said to be socially constructed and not naturally inherited. Burr (1995) argues that the social constructionist perspective includes a wide range of features and is not restricted by definition. Burr (1995) underlines the fact that there is not a specific feature which identifies a social constructionist position, rather a number of assumptions which can be grouped.

The assumptions Burr (1995:2-5) refers to above are grouped under four main areas. Firstly, she maintains that social constructionism has a *critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge*. The social constructionist approach invites us to be critical of the idea that our observations of the world unproblematically show its nature to us, to challenge the view that conventional knowledge is based upon objective, unbiased observation of the world. The second assumption pointed out by Burr (1995:2-5) is *historical and cultural specificity*. All ways of understanding are historically and culturally relative products of that culture and are dependent upon the particular social and economic arrangements prevailing in that time. The third key assumption of social constructionism is that *knowledge is sustained by social processes*. It is through daily interactions between people in the course of social life that our versions of knowledge become fabricated. The fourth assumption Burr (1995) refers to is that *knowledge and social action go together*. Descriptions or constructions of the world therefore sustain some patterns of social action and exclude others. Our constructions of the world are therefore bound up with power relationships because they have implications for what it is permissible for different people to do, and for how they may treat others.

According to Creswell (2007) individuals (and in this case, our participating students in this research) seek understanding of the world in which they live, work and study; they aim to make

meaning of their world. Social constructionism considers these meanings as varied and multiple rather than single or unique. It follows that, in a social constructionist study, one naturally looks for complexity or multiplicity of views which are not restrictive, as argued by Burr (1995) above, rather than narrowing them into a few categories and ideas. The goal of the study with a social constructionist perspective such as this one is also to rely on the participants', in other words, the participating TC students' multiple views of the situation, specifically, their perceptions and enactment of their own identities.

The subjective meanings and identities which emerge are negotiated socially, culturally and historically through talk. They are not simply imprinted upon the students, but formed through interaction with others. As a result, we can say that meanings and identities are socially constructed through historical and cultural norms that operate in students' minds (Creswell, 2007). Talking about meaning-making Poplin, (1991) also points to the fact that learners are not able to construct new meanings passively. This can be seen in line with the social construction of identity which emerges through talk with others as a result of students' social, cultural and historical prior knowledge. In research on identity with a social constructionist perspective, patterns of identity and meaning are expected to emerge inductively rather than starting with a pre-determined theory or prior decision on a theory.

In parallel to this thinking, Stake (1995) describes social constructionism as a theory of knowledge that considers how social phenomena, such as the ways in which TC students perceive and enact their identities, emerge in social contexts, not as a pre-set theory. The study of *how* reality is socially constructed therefore becomes crucial for social constructionists. The focus of the social constructionist theory is on 'disclosure' or demonstration of how those social phenomena are socially constructed. This demonstration of having a critical stance in relation to

the taken-for-granted knowledge (Burr, 1995) gives the ‘aha’ experience and is one of the main principles of social constructionist approach.

According to the social constructionist perspective, what exists or seems to exist as the TC students’ sense of reality or their identities need not have existed, or it is not inevitable. Their identity is not determined by the nature of things nor is it inherited or given to them. The students’ identity is constructed socially through interaction using their prior knowledge, culture, history and experience in their minds and it emerges through talk.

The next section reviews the main theories on identity with an intention to provide a framework for the analysis of the ways in which TC students perceive and enact their identities. It is intended that the framework itself will help guide the analysis so that the study can situate the TC students’ identity in their interactions and explore how and why meanings emerge the way they do and even why identities can even sometimes be *troubled* (Iedema and Caldas-Coulthard, 2008). Identity trouble is described by Iedema and Caldas-Coulthard (2008) as a term that captures the increasing attention and efforts that go into defining, re-defining and identifying ourselves, our actions, our communities, and our understanding of our lives in the contemporary context. The following section considers some of the key definitions and theorisations of identity.

3.2 Identity – Identities

As defined earlier in the introduction chapter, ‘identity’ is used as a collective noun for an abstract concept, whereas ‘identities’ refers to its manifestations in individual speech and behaviour. Identity is one of the most widely used but fundamentally controversial notions in the humanities and social sciences that defy precise definition (Van Dijk, 2008). The dictionary

definitions capture older, essentialist senses of the word. The Penguin English Dictionary (Garmonsway, 1982:378), for example, defines identity as ‘fact or condition of being a specified person or thing; state or quality of persisting unchanged; state of being identical, sameness’. This definition has been fundamentally challenged by social theorists, who argue that an individual does not have a unique identity but *identities* because of multiple subject positions which vary in different contexts of speech and behaviour in relation to power (LeCourt, 2004).

Unlike the dictionary definition which restricts identity to the state of being identical, Eckert offers a definition with a variety of states which are dynamic and constructed according to a person’s social, linguistic, cultural contexts. Eckert (1997:41) describes identity as one’s ‘meaning in the world: a person’s place in relation to other people, a person’s view on the rest of the world, a person’s understanding of his or her value to others’. Eckert further claims that a person’s engagement in the world is a constant process of identity construction.

There are numerous perspectives on identity as there are definitions. I have selected the perspectives listed below which I consider to be particularly relevant to a study on TC adolescent identities as they all focus on personal and social personae as potentially complex and multi-faceted. Here, I discuss and review each of these perspectives in turn with the aim of assessing their value to my study.

3.3 *A social psychological perspective: the Social Identity Theory (Henri Tajfel)*

The social psychologist Tajfel’s influential Social Identity Theory has been one of the major approaches in European social psychology of the last decades (Van Dijk, 2008). This theory links the individual to the social world through a conception of various identities focused on social groups.

Tajfel (1979) defines social identity as the identity one gets through *identification* with a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. Some of the memberships are more salient than others; some may vary in their degree of importance in time. An individual is a member of numerous social groups and this membership contributes, positively or negatively, to the image he or she has of himself or herself. Tajfel compares the definition of 'group' with Emerson's (1960:102) definition of 'nation', as 'a body of people who feel that they are a nation.'

The group has three components, according to Tajfel (1979):

- i) a cognitive component: knowledge that an individual belongs to a group;
- ii) an evaluative component: the notion of the group or its membership having positive or negative connotations; and finally,
- iii) an emotional component: love, hatred, like, dislike directed at one's own group or the other groups.

The theory further suggests that people have an inbuilt tendency to categorize themselves according to one or more groups, building a part of their identity on the basis of membership of that group and enforcing boundaries with other groups. Therefore people divide the world into 'us' and 'them' based on a process of social categorization, which is explained by Tajfel (1981) as putting people into social groups in such a way as to maximize positive distinctiveness; groups offer both identity because they tell us who we are and self-esteem because they make us feel good about ourselves. This is known as *ingroup* (us) and *outgroup* (them). Social identity theory also states that the ingroup will discriminate against the outgroup to enhance their self-image.

Wetherell (1996) has challenged this theory on the basis of an experiment with young people on the Pacific Islands and New Zealand where she discovered that mechanisms of group interaction differed among young people of local origin. In this experiment, she observed less prioritization of 'my group' and more effort to maximise benefits for both 'my and their groups' unlike the young people of European origin who confirmed Tajfel's (1986) findings. Wetherell (1996: 217-8) concludes that 'what might be crucial is the way in which group members interpret and give meaning to the ingroup situation in line with the collective frameworks of their culture and community.'

In the investigation of TC adolescent identity Tajfel's perspective might usefully apply because it could enable the researcher to distinguish between the groups. For example, the students may define binary positions in their groups or schools in terms of their gender, religion or ethnicity that exist within the two schools participating in this Project. The students may distinguish themselves in terms of such categories as 'us' and 'them' as boys and girls, Muslim and Orthodox, religious or non-religious, Turkish and Greek or Turkish Cypriot and Turkish. The perspective may also help to develop an insight on the notion of 'us' and 'them' and to reflect upon group membership both within the schools' social sub-groups but also between the two schools and even, at a macro level, between the larger social or ethnic communities in Cyprus.

3.4 A sociolinguistic perspective (Andrée Tabouret- Keller)

LePage and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) perspective adds a sociolinguistic dimension to Tajfel's (1979) theories discussed above in that 'language acts are acts of identity'. They propose that the individuals themselves create their own patterns of linguistic actions either to reflect the

behaviour of the groups with which they want to be associated, or to contrast with the behaviour of those groups with which they want to be dissociated.

Tabouret-Keller (1997) elaborated on this position which holds that individuals create their own 'language' in order to be part of or to distinguish themselves from a group. Her conception of personal identity is based on a dynamic, constantly changing social network made up of the heterogeneous result of all identities which the individual has been given and/or achieved him/herself. Identity is conceptualised as negotiated through language, and consequently any linguistic act is understood as an act of identity.

Tabouret-Keller (1997) revisits the notion of identity, describing it as a lifelong process endlessly re-created according to historical, institutional and economic constraints, social interactions, encounters, and willingness that may be subjective and unique. Each individual exploits different layers of identities, some parts of which are prone to change and replacement, and others being permanent throughout their lives within their social and cultural space. According to Tabouret-Keller we are both identified and we identify ourselves, within the society of our time, within various groups (institutional, professional, friends, etc.) to which we belong, within the surroundings of our home, our office, etc. She hence puts an emphasis upon the dynamics of changing language and people living in a non-homogeneous environment.

This perspective which takes into account both the individual and the context in which that person lives could be an applicable framework in the case of TC adolescents living in northern Cyprus. The dynamics referred to by Tabouret-Keller (1997) might be of a particular concern in this study: adolescence as a dynamic period in one's life; TC identity as a dynamic notion within

this territorial framework, and northern Cyprus as a non-homogeneous environment in terms of languages and nationalities.

3.5 *A rhetorical and cultural perspective (Karen Tracy)*

Tracy’s (2002) perspective on identity derives from human communication theories involving conversation and talk. She conceptualises identities in four categories: *master identities*, *personal identities*, *interactional identities* and *relational identities*:

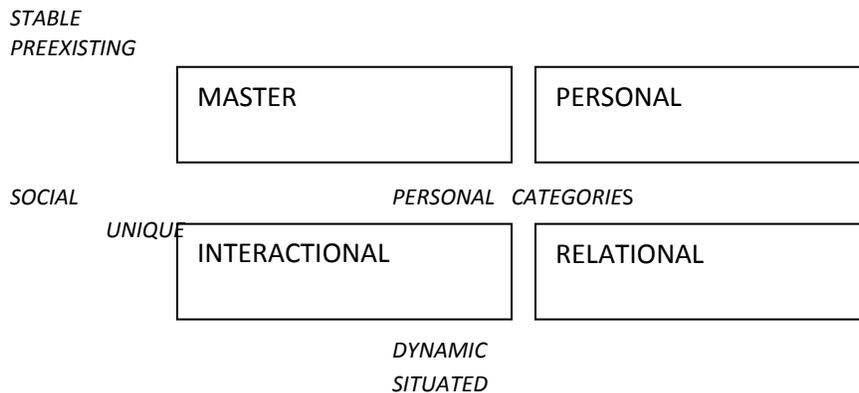


Figure 1

Conceptualizing Identities
 Source: Tracy (2002), Figure 1.2, p.20

The ‘rhetorical’ perspective of Tracy’s (2002) model assumes that an individual makes strategic choices to achieve specific (conversational) goals while the ‘cultural’ perspective of the model argues that those choices are influenced by embedded cultural practices. Tracy details a series of different types of identity, recognising that everyday talk has a strong influence on identity formation.

Master identities are defined as the aspects of a state of a person’s being that are relatively stable and unchanging (Tracy, 2002). They are indexed by Bourdieu’s (1977) notion of *habitus* which

refers to socially acquired predispositions, tendencies, inclinations which are revealed in many ways, such as language. Gender, ethnicity, age, and nationality are stable features of master identities.

Personal identities are the kinds of identities that are attributed to people on the basis of their attitudes and behaviour towards an issue and also those aspects of people that index the way they talk and usually conduct themselves (Tracy, 2002). Unlike master identities, personal identities involve ‘altercasting’ which means other people create an identity for someone on the basis of how they perceive that person in terms of language and behaviour (Tracy, 2002). Personal identities contribute saliently to distinctions between the individuals, whereas master identities are social categories that construct an individual as belonging to a group whose members share the same master identity.

While master and personal identities can be considered as fairly stable, *interactional* and *relational* identities are more dynamic and situated in specific interactions or contexts. They can be changing depending on the contexts of the spoken interaction contrary to the master or personal identities. Interactional identities are specific roles that people take on in interaction with specific other people. Lastly, relational identity is described as the kind of relationship that a person enacts with a particular partner during a conversation in a specific situation. Tracy (2002) distinguishes clearly that relational identities are negotiated from moment to moment and are highly variable.

Everyday talk has a strong influence on our identity formation for us and for others. Tracy’s model takes into account a person’s strategic conversational choices which are influenced by cultural practices. Furthermore it captures details such as pre-existing, social or personal as well

as unique or dynamic aspects of identity. It could therefore, provide a meaningful framework in order to capture the influence of talk and culture on TC adolescent identity formation in the unique, dynamic and multi-cultural Cypriot context.

3.6 *Sociocognitive perspective (Teun A. Van Dijk)*

Another approach to identity, social identity in particular, described by van Dijk (2002; 2008) is the multi-disciplinary and sociocognitive approach. For van Dijk cognition is a set of functions of the mind such as thought, perception and representation. The sociocognitive perspective entails a socially constructed perspective added to the functions of mind, namely, thought, perception, representation or reproduction of these functions. Van Dijk (2002) argues that the label of the `sociocognitive' approach does not mean that making meaning from 'talk and text' should be limited to the social and cognitive study of meaning or identity, or to some combination of these dimensions, but the sociocognitive interface of the relations between mind, interaction and society remains a fascinating perspective because of the social constructionist approach it applies to perception and thinking.. He further highlights that the complex, 'real-world' issues such as identity also need a cultural, historical, socio-economic, philosophical, logical or neurological approach, among others, depending on what one wants to know. Whatever cognitive and social dimensions of identity one deals with, the dimension of identity taken into consideration needs to account for at least some of the detailed structures, strategies and functions of language, and 'text or talk'. These may include grammatical, interactional, stylistic, rhetorical, semiotic, narrative, argumentative or similar forms and meanings of the verbal or multimodal structures of interactive communication.

Van Dijk (2008) distinguishes between social identities as stable mental representations and the expression of these identities in situations by individual group members. He compares the distinction between social identity and the expression of identity with the distinction between language and grammar shared by a community, and actual language use by its members. Van Dijk (2008) points out that it is in the uses of language that group members are able to combine and display identities in unique ways, and construct new or ad hoc identities.

On the one hand, social identities are shared by members of collectives, designed to enable and control social, cultural and political practices, but on the other hand they are cognitive, that is, distributed and located in the minds of individuals, as is the case for language and other type of knowledge such as people's cultural and historical heritage.

The sociocognitive perspective links social identities and personal identities but also distinguishes between them. This dynamic relationship could provide a useful framework for an understanding of the inter-relationship between personal and social identities of the TC adolescents as members of their collectives.

3.7 *The sociolinguistic variation perspective to identity (Penelope Eckert)*

Eckert's sociolinguistic variation perspective on identity was initially based on linguistic variation which results from the existing socioeconomic hierarchy of society. According to Eckert's perspective, identities emerge from the speakers' orientation to their place in that societal hierarchy.

Eckert views the identity and sociolinguistic variation perspective of identity in three stages which she calls first, second and third waves (2012). Eckert's first reference is to Labov's 1972

work entitled 'The Social Stratification of English in New York City' which symbolises the beginning of the first wave of quantitative studies on sociolinguistic variation. Labov's tradition involved quantitative methods to explore the relationship between linguistic variability and major demographic categories such as class, age, gender and ethnicity. The results of these studies helped to develop the bigger picture of the social variation of sound change, in which the socio-economic hierarchy moves from the upper working class towards lower working class. The vernacular played a key role in Labov's theory of variation and was defined as each speaker's first and most automatic or a systematic linguistic production (Labov, 1972). Class, for example, was determined according to standard sociological measures and placed individuals passively within a structure that determined their access to standard language and their exposure to linguistic change (Eckert, 2012). This first wave of sociolinguistic variation perspective on identity was hence based on the socio-economic hierarchy and its effects on speakers' talk with a systematic or natural orientation to their assigned place in that hierarchical society.

Eckert considered that the second wave of linguistic variation and identity studies moved on to employ ethnographic methods in order to find out the relation between variation and local, categories of identities designed by participants themselves. These ethnographic methods provided local meaning to the larger and more abstract categories outlined in the first wave. Both first and second wave identity studies focus on some kind of social groups, and examine linguistic elements by and large as a function of their defining role as local or regional dialect features. The sociolinguistic variation perspective views the meanings of variants as identity markers related directly to the groups that most use them. The second wave added the '*social*' aspect to the use of vernacular in relation to standard linguistic features and a focus on the vernacular as an expression of local or class identity. Various ethnographic studies investigated

identity with the sociolinguistic variation perspective such as Milroy's (1980) study of phonological variation in social networks in Belfast. Cheshire's (1982) study in Reading, England, also sought out the positive value of the vernacular in a study of non-standard features in the speech of working-class adolescents who frequently visited two local parks, and, of course, Eckert's (1989) renowned study on adolescents in a Detroit secondary school, described below.

Eckert's study was also part of the second wave and was based on the apparent fact that adolescents initiate sound change and the use of the vernacular. The study sought an answer to the question of the role of class in adolescent variation. Eckert (1989, 2000) conducted an ethnographic study of adolescents in high schools from the predominantly white American suburban area in Detroit. The student social groupings in these schools involved two opposite social categories, *jocks* and *burnouts* with middle and working class cultures, respectively. The more academically oriented jocks based their networks, identities, and social lives in the school's extracurricular domain which led them to form a friendly and competitive hierarchy as well as maintaining cooperative and even close relations with teachers and administrators. Burnouts, on the other hand, almost all following a less academically- oriented vocational curriculum, rejected the institution as a location for social life and identity and based their networks, identities, and social lives in the city, within the neighbourhood and the large urban community.

The jocks were mainly from the upper part of the socioeconomic hierarchy, whereas the burnouts from the lower part. However, Eckert noted that there was sufficient crossover of language used to allow the comparison between parents' class and adolescents' class. Failing to match the two categories would suggest that patterns of variation are not set in childhood as fixed and unchanging but continue to develop along with social identity.

The study (Eckert 1989), revealed that as socioeconomic status increased the use of urban linguistic variables decreased, with distance from the city of Detroit. Although there was some correlation between the use of some language patterns and mother's education as well as social category, patterns of variation were, according to Eckert's (1980) study clearly not set in childhood but served as resources in the construction of identity later in life. This finding indicated that larger class correlations do not simply indicate the negative side effects of education, occupation, and income, but also reflect local dynamics which emerge in practices that shape class.

Patterns of variation also emerged as part of broader styles and preferences including places the students went to and a range of products they used such as food or music that jocks and burnouts consume in constructing their mutual opposition. Some examples of these consumer products were seen to be Detroit City versus university jackets, bell bottom jeans versus straight-leg cut jeans and even the choice of colours as dark versus softer and lighter pastels, among others, which all explicitly indexed urban oriented versus school oriented. Eckert's (1989) study, perhaps surprisingly, revealed that, despite variations in language and differences with regard to location, outfit and consumption products, burnouts from the more suburban schools and jocks from the urban periphery mutually admired each other: burnouts admired jocks for their independence, tough looks, and street fashion clothing style; jocks from the city outskirts felt envious of burnouts for their comparatively richer backgrounds, sophisticated behaviour, and better academic achievements. One concern of this study, however, was highlighted by Damatta (1991) who claims that Eckert treats adolescent identities in her study mainly as an issue of class as manifested in American society and draws attention to the duality of working class versus middle class in 1980s' American society. Damatta (1991) claims that some comparison between

other countries or simply between the East, West, North or South regions of the US could have been useful instead of keeping the study mono-national or even mono-regional in nature.

Building on the findings of the first and second waves of the sociolinguistic variation perspective of identity, the third wave referred to by Eckert (2012) focuses on the social meaning of variables. Eckert (2012) points out that the third wave, she calls the *stylistic linguistic variation perspective* of identity, has an emphasis on linguistic style from the year 2000 onwards. It views styles not the variables as directly associated with identity categories and explores the contributions of variables to styles. In so doing, the third wave of sociolinguistic variation perspective of identity departs from the dialect-based approach of the first two waves, and views variables as located in layered communities. Since this third wave takes social meaning as primary, it examines not just variables that are of prior interest to linguists, or changes in progress for example, but any linguistic material that serves a social and/or stylistic purpose. In shifting the focus from dialects to styles, it shifts the focus from speaker categories to the construction of social roles.

The current study of the TC students in two schools in northern Cyprus may hence allow a simple comparison between Eckert's adolescents and the TC ones, in terms of their emerging identities through talk. Eckert's second wave linguistic variation ethnographic study in the Detroit school in 1989 with adolescents appears to bear some similarities to my intended study on the TC students, in terms of the age group to be studied. The sociolinguistic variation theory could therefore be a useful tool in exploring emerging identities through the use of variable features of language and/or styles used in talk in the two schools in northern Cyprus since there are at least two languages (Turkish and English) and several dialects (Turkish Cypriot and a number of Turkish mainland dialects) which can potentially be used by the participating

students. The use of these languages and language features or variables separately or simultaneously within talk, may index meaning and demonstrate how they may construct their identities. Comparisons or contrasts of language variables and/or styles, if applicable, could perhaps enable a more profound understanding of how young adolescents perform their identities in their everyday lives.

The sociolinguistic variation theory or the more recent *stylistic linguistic variation perspective* on identity developed by Eckert (2012) could be a useful tool in exploring emerging identities through the use of variable linguistic features or dialects and/or styles used in talk by the TC students in the two schools in northern Cyprus. The use of these dialects, styles and other variables separately or simultaneously during their interaction in the multilingual spaces, may index meaning and help to explore how the TC students construct, perceive and enact their identities.

3.8 *Sociolinguistic and sociocultural linguistic perspective*

The last theoretical model to be discussed is the sociocultural linguistic perspective to identity developed by Bucholtz and Hall (2006). Before elaborating on their perspective I would like to establish what I perceive to be some important differences between the sociolinguistic and sociocultural linguistic approaches.

Sociolinguistic perspective is literally based on language learned as a result of social and language interactions (Tracey and Morrow, 2006) whereas the sociocultural linguistic perspective takes into consideration a wider social and human context. This could be that

sociolinguistically one would focus more on the talk and social communication whereas sociocultural linguistically would take into consideration more cultural elements such as how and why something was said. Although both approaches would refer to an understanding of the cultural context of the TC students, as related to their identity construction, a sociolinguistic perspective would probably focus more on language aspects and features, spoken language and how spoken language has an impact on identity. The sociocultural linguistic perspective, on the other hand, would tend to focus on broader cultural aspects such as how TC language users and learners (as L1 and/or L2), activate prior knowledge from personal cultural experiences as well as language features used in the spoken language and also how they would use prior knowledge of the language (accents, vocabulary, style) and cultural experience in their talk to position themselves in relation to their own identities.

Despite the differences between the two perspectives concerning cultural and prior knowledge, Bucholtz and Hall (2008) underline the fact that it would be unjustified to make a sharp distinction between the sociolinguistic perspectives and the sociocultural linguistic investigation of language given their common ground in similar approaches to language, culture, and society. The authors (Bucholtz and Hall, 2008) claim that the sociolinguistic and sociocultural linguistic perspectives even have common theoretical, methodological, thematic, and political points and explore ‘emerging areas of productive dialogue’. These closely overlapping research traditions need to ‘forge an alliance or coalition that fosters dialogue and collaboration between complementary approaches (Bucholtz and Hall 2008: 403). They use two international contexts to illustrate the benefits of bringing together different branches of sociolinguistics. This brings us to another point that needs to be highlighted in my opinion: that is, sociocultural research on language has long been international in scope but was always considered under the large

umbrella of sociolinguistics. It is important therefore to include the sociocultural linguistic dimension to identity in order also to cover not only the largely American intellectual tradition (Bucholtz and Hall, 2008), but also to include worldwide studies of multi-cultural and multi-dimensional contexts. Multiple and complex identities may also emerge in the TC context which is one of those potentially multi-cultural and dimensional international contexts.

3.9 *A sociocultural linguistic perspective: the Sameness Theory (Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall)*

Bucholtz and Hall (2006) developed a theoretical model for investigating the relationship between language and identity. This framework emphasizes the dynamic, emergent and intersubjective (social) nature of identity and highlights the role of interaction in identity construction. Bucholtz and Hall (2006) explore two key concepts, ‘sameness and difference’, which they name as the ‘raw material of identity’. Their claim is that these concepts have complementary perspectives on identity which ‘literally refer to sameness’. Sameness allows the individuals to see themselves as a group and difference produces social distance between those who perceive themselves as unlike. These theorists further claim that, although one might expect that identity would be more salient when people are most similar, it may not be as straightforward for an outside observer when a group of people should be classified as ‘alike’ since there is an infinite number of ways in which people vary from or are similar to each other.

3.10 *The sociocultural linguistic approach to identity*

What follows is a comparatively more detailed discussion of the sociocultural linguistic approach to identity than the four other perspectives discussed above. This is because I consider it to be the most comprehensive perspective that would be in line with the nature of my research on TC adolescent identity constructed in linguistic and sociocultural school contexts (Wells, 1999).

Sociocultural linguistics is understood as the broad interdisciplinary field which is concerned with the intersection of language, culture and society.

Identity, in the sociocultural linguistic perspective is defined as ‘the social positioning of self and the other’ (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005:586). It operates on multiple linguistic levels simultaneously – vowel quality, turn shape, code choice or ideological pattern, and all these possess social meaning. The interdisciplinary perspective taken by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) aims to help analyse identity as an essentially linguistic phenomenon. The term also encompasses socially and talk oriented forms of analysis, such as conversation analysis used in my research (see chapter 4 on methodology). Hence the approach conveniently connects the identity as a centrally linguistic phenomenon (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005) to previous social and cultural knowledge and experiences of the TC students under investigation in the local context of the two schools in northern Cyprus.

Identity in the sociocultural linguistic perspective is described as emerging at a multiple analytical level rather than a single level one, as in code-choice (Turkish, English or various Turkish dialects such as the Cypriot Turkish and Istanbul Turkish or Eastern Turkish dialects and accents), each code having a place within the local hierarchy of languages, originality, or turn-taking shape or forms simultaneously. Bucholtz and Hall’s (1995:586) approach privileges the interactional level, since ‘it is in interaction that all these resources gain social meaning’. Identity is hence regarded as a discursive not an intuitive construct, which proceeds to a conclusion by reason or argument not by intuition, and emerges in the communicative interaction, in line with this study which will be based on emerging themes in conversation in various school contexts.

Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) framework is based on five principles which are seen as central to my study on identity. First, I present a summary of all five principles as adapted from Bucholtz and Hall (2005). I then discuss two of them, the emergence and the indexicality principles, in greater detail and explain why I choose to focus on them.

In brief, the five principles of the sociocultural linguistic perspective on identity can be summarised as follows:

The emergence principle challenges fixed and somewhat psychological macro views on identity, such as social context (situational, institutional) arguing that 'identity is a discursive construct that emerges in interaction' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005:587). *The positionality principle* includes not only the traditionally static macro-level categories (such as gender and class) but also local ethnographic or micro-level categories (such as dialects, accents, stances, styles) as well as the transitory positions (such as roles) as well. *The indexicality principle* lists the types of linguistic resources whereby interactants indexically position themselves and others in discourse. *The relationality principle* is considered as the 'heart of the model' and highlights the relational foundation of identity. Identity is considered as an inter-subjective performance or achievement. *The partialness principle* considers the limits and restrictions on individual meaning making in the process of identity construction while acknowledging the important role that deliberate (*or perhaps impartial*) social action may play in producing identity.

Overall, Bucholtz and Hall (2005:587) therefore view identity 'as intersubjectively rather than individually produced and interactionally emergent rather than assigned in an a priori fashion'.

I will now examine the *emergence* and the *indexicality* principles in more detail, with some of my own examples, reinforced by the examples given by the authors, in order to acquire a better understanding of what they mean and why and how they can be relevant in this study.

I. The emergence principle

This principle of Bucholtz and Hall's perspective on identity challenges the traditional view of identity that it is within an individual's mind and the principal link between identity and language use stems from the user's internal mental state. Researchers such as Johnstone in 1996 (quoted in Bucholtz and Hall, 2005:587) 'have shown that the only way that such self-conceptions enter the social world is via some form of discourse'. Bucholtz and Hall then extend the previous work on emergent culture, performance, language to emergent identity maintaining that identity emerges from the specific conditions of linguistic interaction (2005:588):

Identity is best viewed as the emergent product rather than the pre-existing source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore as fundamentally a social and cultural phenomenon.

The authors claim that this is not unlike (or it is familiar with) the ethno-methodological concept of 'doing' (idem) various kinds of identity, as also discussed, amongst others, by Garfinkel (1967) and West and Zimmerman (1987). Identity is an interactionally relevant accomplishment (as in, for example, Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998) through which we are able to view as not simply a psychological mechanism of self-classification that is mirrored in an individual's social behaviour, but rather as something that is constituted through social action, and especially through language. Identity is not a psychological phenomenon that the TC students would use to put themselves in pre-established identity categories. Rather it is a social and cultural phenomenon that is constructed by the students themselves and emerges through their talk. The

way the term ‘emergence’ is used by Bucholtz and Hall applies to the interaction which is in consideration only, and not to any knowledge and resources developed in previous interactions. The discussion of this principle continues to demonstrate that it would be more appropriate to recognise identity as emergent, especially in cases where speakers’ language use is different from the norms typically assigned to the language user’s social category, such as gender, class or age.

The emergent nature of identity is demonstrated by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), with examples of different groups of speakers. The first example given focuses on the discourse practices of hijras. Hijra is a transgender category in India, whose members, although predominantly born male, are identified as neither men nor women. The second example highlights Korean men’s use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) because they do not have any access to a variety of English with ethnically specific meaning. The point made is that, as a result of this, some Asian American men resort to AAVE in order to locate themselves against racial ideologies that privilege whiteness.

I will draw on the hijra case to illustrate Bucholtz and Hall’s (2005) emergent principle of identity. In the extract given by the authors, the feminine gender marking does not reflect a straightforwardly assigned feminine identity for the hijra Sulekha character: she is contested by her family, and she constitutes herself as feminine in opposition to her family’s perception of her gender. Added to this, is the fact that hijras do not use feminine self-reference in a standard way: in some contexts they alternate between feminine and masculine forms in referring to themselves, which makes it even more action and context specific. It is therefore deduced that, on a much smaller scale, similar processes of identity construction takes place every time a speaker assigns social gender to another individual. As quoted by the authors, Butler (1990) also

demonstrates that such practices create or develop each person's gender identity or even the concept of gender itself as a socially meaningful system. The use of feminine linguistic forms by hijras who are assigned to the male sex at birth actively produces new forms of identity through language. In the TC context, student's choice of and alternation between specific linguistic forms, English, Turkish or TC dialect for example, in an English-medium school context may also indicate his/her construction of ethnic, social or cultural identity in that locally created context. Although macro categories cannot be ignored, it becomes evident that manifestations of identity emerge within the immediate social context, especially through interaction.

II. The indexicality principle

According to the authors, this principle of identity is concerned with the 'mechanisms whereby identity is constituted' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 594). The mechanism is indexicality, which is how linguistic forms are used for the construction of identities. The explanation of this principle starts at a basic level, firstly by stating that an index (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005:594) 'is a linguistic form that depends on the interactional context for its meaning such as the first person pronoun 'I'. Then, indexicality plays a role between linguistic forms and social meanings (Ochs, 1993). The main idea is that, in identity formation, ideological structures, as cultural values and beliefs, determine indexicality through language, to a large extent (ibid):

Identity relations emerge in interaction through indexical processes which include the following:

- *Open mention of identity categories;*

Sociocultural linguistic work has contributed to this open or direct categorisation process through the added dimension of social action. An example would be to be openly called a ‘hijra’ (see the emergence principle above) which would be seen as an ultimate insult within normative Indian societies. In the TC context, an example could be enactment of whether they are in favour of or against acquisition of European identity.

- *implying and pre-supposing identity positions of self and the others;*

This is of course a less direct form of identity categorisation, which needs more inferential work for interpretation. An example would be gender-neutral references to lovers by gay men or lesbians who fear displaying their sexual orientations or hostile reactions. An example in the TC context would be implying, rather than openly stating one’s position with regards to a possible future unification of the divided Cyprus. In a context where hostility to reunification of the island between the Turkish and the Greek Cypriot administrations in order to form one country—one nation—one Cyprus is expected to be high, a speaker might just imply his or her position (for or against) rather than openly declare it in order to avoid conflict. In so doing not only the speaker is presupposing an identity situation where there will be conflict. By implying his/her position, one aims to minimise reaction, or avoid conflict. In so doing, the person is presupposing the position of the other interactants and displaying and enacting own identities.

- *stance–displaying one’s orientations in talk;*

Identity construction can also take place through stance; that is, attitude, evaluation, affection or knowledge orientations can also display identity. Du Bois (2002) characterizes stance as social action. In his terms, if you evaluate something, you position yourself. This type of positioning is

considered as either ‘aligning or disaligning’ with the other interactants. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) state the stance-displaying aspect of identity construction has been widely explored within conversation analysis by such researchers as Heritage and Raymond (2005), or language and gender researchers, such as Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003), and which all share an analytical focus on the linguistic orientation in ongoing talk. Ochs (1993) emphasised the concept of indexicality arguing that indexical connection between specific language and specific social identity is not direct, but it is more related with interactional stances such as being forceful and so on.

- *Using ideologically related linguistic structures with specific people.*

At a more macro level linguistic structures such as dialects, languages may also be related to indexing identity categories. Especially in emerging work on language and globalisation such as ‘Language in Late Modernity’ (Rampton, 2006), or ‘Multilingualism’ (Blackledge and Creese, 2010) language choice is an important index of identity construction. In an example given by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), the speakers speak two languages, English and another language, but the preferred language remains English most of the time. In the TC context, student’s choice of specific linguistic forms, English, Turkish or various Turkish language dialects, may demonstrate his/her construction of a specific identity in a specific context with specific people such as teachers, administrators or student friends. Language choice may index modernity, being cosmopolitan, or simply their multilingualism and/or multiculturalism.

Why the emergence and indexicality principles?

One reason for selecting just two principles is because Bucholtz and Hall's model uses a number of cases in order to demonstrate how their model functions contrary to my study which focuses on one case only, making it too complex and restrictive to apply. Because of the deep complexity of the model I need to be selective about the aspects of the model which are pertinent to my study. The main reason, however, is the fact that I consider these two principles as the most relevant to my study.

The emergence principle states that the individual's sense of self and his individual mind are reflected in a form of discourse, and identity emerges from the conditions of linguistic interaction and not from a previously existing source of language. An example would be the violation of standard and culturally accepted (or taken for granted) associations between linguistic forms such as pronouns (he, she) or titles (Sir, Madam, My teacher (*hocam*), Mr., Ms.) and specific social and cultural categories such as gender, age or class. It is or it becomes hence a social and cultural phenomenon. This perspective is in line with this study on TC students whose culture and own perceptions of their identities could be reflected in their talk via their lexical or grammatical choices, for example, and hence emerging through their social talk.

The indexicality principle, too, is pertinent in my study since it is closely related to cultural beliefs and values, and can be found on all levels of linguistic structure, such as overt reference of identity categories or labels, using implications or presuppositions in order to avoid problems during interaction, taking stances and use of styles (as quoted by Eckert, 2012) to evaluate, show affection or in a manner that pertains to knowledge. Indexical stances and styles in identity are inherently ideological, starting their creation from 'a set of interactional standards for special

social groups (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 596). Style was also discussed in Eckert's (2000) third wave sociolinguistic variation approach and was defined as a repertoire of linguistic forms linked with identities. Social meaning and identities emerging from style most definitely require ethnographic or ethnomethodological investigation, as it is the case in this research. The indexicality principle of the sociocultural linguistic perspective lastly considers that languages and dialects can express identity as well.

All of these aspects of the emergence and indexicality principles of the sociocultural linguistic perspective are the most salient and appropriate considerations in my study and hence I choose to focus on them in detail.

If multiple dimensions of identity are brought together by sociocultural linguistics, the analysis could produce a more diverse and multi-faceted picture. It is evident that identity in all its complexity can never be contained within a single analysis, be it micro-analysis of conversation (conversation analysis) or any other methodology. The sociocultural linguistic perspective of identity with its five principles discussed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) - Emergence, Positionality, Indexicality, Relationality, and Partialness— all aim to anchor identity in interaction. Bucholtz and Hall claim that identity is emergent in discourse and does not precede it so identity can be located as an 'intersubjectively achieved social and cultural phenomenon'. The linguistic resources that indexically produce identity are broad and flexible including labels, implications, stances, styles or even entire languages and varieties. This is why identity does not reside within the individual but rather in intersubjective relations of sameness and difference.

The sociocultural linguistic (or the sameness) theory leads to the view that externally imposed identities have much to do with the observer's own identity position. Bucholtz and Hall (2006)

consider it crucial to pay close attention to speakers' own understandings of their identities, as revealed through ethnographic analysis and the speakers' actions. Sameness and difference, the two key concepts of the theory (Bucholtz and Hall, 2006), offer complementary perspectives to research on linguistic identities. Sameness allows for individuals to imagine themselves as a group, while difference produces social distance 'between those who perceive themselves as unlike' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2006:371).

In a study on adolescent identities by Heller (1999) in a French-language high school in English speaking Canada, it was observed that social groupings both acknowledged similarity and established identity but more importantly 'invented' similarity by minimising difference. Other research on adolescent identities in US high schools showed that identity categories were created based on a range of social categories often involving pairs of opposites: Jock versus Burnout, based on class (Eckert, 2000), Nontena versus Surena, based on nationality (Mendoza-Denton, 1996), uncool versus cool, based on engagement with youth culture (Bucholtz, 1999); but that similarities were highlighted and differences minimised within each identity category (Bucholtz and Hall, 2006).

The linguistic sociocultural perspective of identity research amongst adolescent students is particularly relevant to the specific transitional age I will be studying. As described by Eckert (2000:4) 'adolescence marks the official transition from childhood to adulthood and from a family social sphere to a peer-based social order'. Adolescents often lead other groups in the use of vernacular forms (Bucholtz and Hall, 2006), a factor which Eckert (2000:4) attributes to 'that age group's positive motivations for the use of innovative and non-standard forms.' This appropriating of an entire code seems to be linked with adolescence, at least with the Western societies studied. Bucholtz (1999) and Bucholtz and Hall (2005) presented the case study of one

European–American boy’s use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) in constructing an alternative masculinity described as white. This was named *crossing* by Bucholtz (2006). The term ‘language crossing’ (or code-crossing) was described by Ben Rampton (1995) and refers to the use of a language which is not generally thought to belong to the speaker. Rampton (1995) states that language crossing involves a sense of movement across strongly felt social or ethnic boundaries. This situation may raise issues of validity within the group of interactants during the interaction. In the adolescent groups studied by Rampton (1995) crossing occurred in moments and activities where there were fewer restrictions of ordinary social order. Crossing may occur from the dominant ethnic group into the minority ethnic group’s code or linguistic form as a result of ethnic and gender factors. Bucholtz interprets this ‘crossing’ as a dominant ethnic group feeling that it is lacking a credible ethnic identity and hence laying claim on another ethnic group.

According to Bucholtz and Hall (2006) identity is present in actions, not in people, and identities are attributes of situations not individuals or groups. Some identities may change in a dynamic way to meet new circumstances, contrary to the traditional, essentialist view of identities as unitary and lasting social categories. This dynamic perspective links language, social and cultural context and identity. Actions, such as clothing, ways of speaking and school performance all have symbolic value in the adolescent context (Bourdieu, 1977); Eckert, 2004) and are used to display identity.

We have seen above that language scholars offer many accounts of identity as a social, cultural and interactional phenomenon. The authors of the sociocultural linguistic perspective of identity aim to unite all of these aspects of identity in order to complement existing theories rather than pitting them against the others. As the product of social action, identities may change in new

circumstances. In the context of our research on TC adolescent identity, the sameness theory can provide an interesting theoretical framework in which to consider the social sub-groups in each school but also between the two schools because of the heterogeneous nature of the population, languages and contexts of these schools themselves.

3.11 *The use of the sociocultural linguistic perspective (the Sameness Theory) in the multicultural or Turkish Cypriot secondary school context*

Searching for social meaning will require close qualitative analysis of how linguistic usage interrelates with speakers' social characteristics. It becomes vital, then, to collect, analyse and interpret the right speech samples that represent the social characteristics in order to get at their locally constructed meanings (Eckert, 1997). The essence of ethnomethodology and the case study to be used in this research is their exploratory nature which allows the local categories to emerge rather than test hypothesis against pre-determined categories. This point is also made by Bucholtz and Hall (2005:585-591) as the positionality principle within the framework they propose for the analysis of identity 'as constituted in linguistic interaction'. This principle challenges, as does Eckert (1997), the widely accepted view that identity is simply a collection of broad social categories such as gender, age, and social class (as, for example, Labov, 1966). Rather, as suggested by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), language users orient to local identity categories in a context and this can help reduce the 'analytical gap'.

As Eckert (1997) puts it, the challenge is to be able to find the relation between the two pictures. That is to say to find the link between the small picture of students' linguistic ways of constructing identity in their everyday lives within the local boundaries of their school community in northern Cyprus and the larger picture. This entails close familiarity with the

community of the students studied, their own view of the social structure and their own position within that structure, and ultimately of their community's place in the global network.

The other important point to bear in mind is that sociocultural linguistic studies aim to explore the micro details of identity as it is shaped from moment to moment in interaction. The emergence principle has already shown us that identity emerges in interaction moment by moment in temporary roles and orientations adopted by the participants. The TC students may also temporarily orient themselves to identities as leaders, followers, joke tellers, (dis)engaged listeners, or others. Bucholtz and Hall (2006) point out that some interactional positions of identities perceived by the participants may not be similar to conventional identity forms. However, the point is that the temporary roles can contribute as much to the identity construction as the traditional categories such as boy, girl, student, teacher. It is these ideological associations that may shape 'who does what and how' during the moment of interaction, but not in a systematic manner. The larger picture aims to demonstrate that different kinds of positions occur simultaneously in a single interaction and these multiple facets help to better understand how identity is constructed within a broader ideological frame.

3.12 *Recent literature on Turkish Cypriot identity*

Having established the linguistic sociocultural perspective of identity for the purpose of this research, I will now explore recent scholarly work on identity within the TC context. There has been a considerable amount of sociolinguistic research emerging from Greek Cypriot scholars on language and identity issues of the Greek Cypriot community (summarised in Papapavlou, 2005). A special edition on North Cyprus (IJSL -International Journal of **the** Sociology of Language, no.181, 2006) indicates, on the other hand, that the main foci of research in the

studies have not primarily been on issues of identity. There is, however, growing interest in TC identity formation and evolution from TC academics such as Hasgüler (2007, 2008) and Kızılyürek (2004).

According to Kızılyürek (2004), TC national identity formation in the 20th century was influenced by the emergence of modern Turkey, following its founder Kemal Atatürk's (1881-1938) secular reforms, and the rise of Greek nationalism in Cyprus, perceived as a threat by the Turkish Cypriots. Kızılyürek (2004) further argues that the Turkish Cypriots in an act of counter nationalism constructed Turkey as their 'motherland' and adopted its secular and language reforms. Kızılyürek (2004) argues that until the division of Cyprus in 1974, TC identity formation was based on 'identification' with Turkey. However, after this date a new process of 'differentiation' began: identification and differentiation were reflected in and by their mother-tongue, the Turkish language. Kızılyürek's (2004) definition of identity is therefore closely related to L1 language use, and evaluated from historical and political perspectives with particular attention to the relationship with Turkey.

Whether the accession of Cyprus (and hence the Turkish Cypriots as individuals) to the EU has triggered a new, yet comparable, process of identification or identity formation to the one described by Kızılyürek (2004), but this time with Europe, remains largely unresearched. I shall be open-minded about whether the question of European identity formation will have any bearing upon my investigation of TC young people's identities, but regard an understanding of the complex history of Cyprus in relation to Europe as crucial to my overall study.

In a conference paper, Hasgüler (2007) claimed that the intensive discussions on the 'Cypriot identity' started after 1974, and the strong incentive behind these discussions is the division of

the island. The idea of ‘Cypriotness’, according to Hasgüler (2007) was first introduced by the Governor of Cyprus, Sir Ronald Storrs, in 1927, who considered the expression ‘native’ as condescending and therefore instructed the use of the expression ‘Cypriot’ in government offices and official documents. Hasgüler (2007) claims that the political conflicts between the two communities over the years added to the notion of otherization as ‘us and them’ as two distinct identities: Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot, as opposed to a single Cypriot identity in Cyprus. The definition of otherization below is helpful in understanding the existing estrangement between the peoples of Cyprus.

Otherization is explained as the process that we undertake in ascribing identity to the ‘self’ through the often negative attribution of characteristics to the ‘other’. Otherization can be considered as problematic in that it does not allow for the agency of other people to be a factor in their identity construction because ‘it does not permit the negotiation of identity between people, but imposes crude, often reductive identities on others’ (Young, 2008:159). Both the perception and enactment of identity may hence be under some influence of the general and locally created Cypriot context.

3.13 Individual and Group identity in the Cypriot context

Volkan (1991) defines group identity – whether it refers to religion, gender, nationality, or ethnicity– as the subjective experience of groups of individuals who are linked together by a persistent sense of sameness while also sharing some characteristics with other groups (other students in the schools, other communities, for example, the Greek Cypriot community in Cyprus). Individuals may define themselves in a variety of different ways, but also collectively: they define and differentiate themselves as Turkish, Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, Greek,

English or Jewish. Core or the individual identity as well as group identity is applicable in this study. We can consider that not only do the students themselves have their individual or core identities, but also they have their group identities in their own schools. Even the emerging identities of their schools and those of the TC society as one large group in Cyprus can be taken into consideration.

Volkan (1991) points to the so-called group identity of Turkish Cypriots and their discontentment as a result of their 'threatened' identities as evidence of, what he calls 'trans-generational trauma' at group level. In other words, he argues that Turkish Cypriots have a shared mental representation of a dramatic past event during which a large group (Turkish Cypriot community to which the participating young students currently belong) suffered loss and/or experienced helplessness, shame and humiliation in a conflict with another group. He links this dramatic event to the past generations' inability to mourn losses of people, land or prestige inflicted by another group. Parallel to the Turkish Cypriots' inability to mourn over losing power on the island, the Greek Cypriots too were unable to mourn their idealization of the past. This inability to mourn by both communities is possibly because of the continuation of the situation inflicted upon them, i.e. loss of land, power or prestige. The fact that the Turkish had come to the island as the ruling party but were not ruling any more, combined with Greek Cypriot shared longing to be part of the 'total body' of their motherland, caused the confrontation emerging over the ownership of the island, the increasing alienation of the two communities and their continuous inability to mourn under the circumstances led both peoples to grow further apart.

Volkan (1991) claims that while each individual in such a group has his/her own identity and personal reaction to trauma, the images are 'deposited' into the developing self-representation of

children in the next generation as if these children will be able to mourn the loss or reverse the humiliation. What is important is that this humiliation links the members of the groups together.

The case study approach of this research will provide an in-depth understanding of the perceptions on the issue of identity of these participants.

Volkan (2001) acted as a facilitator for over 30 years in unofficial ‘psycho political’ dialogues between representatives of Cypriot Turks and Cypriot Greeks (Volkan’s naming – as opposed to Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots), amongst many other ethnic groups in the world. Volkan (2001) noted that issues related to group identities such as religious, national or ethnic identities, assumed primary importance and personal identities of the participants faded into the background. In relation to this, he highlighted (2001:34-79) that:

Each individual participant in the dialogue, regardless of his or her personality organisation, professional or social standing, or political orientation, feels that his/her side is under personal attack and is compelled to defend their large group and become their spokesperson. The personal stories that emerge typically reflect what ‘others’ did to ‘us’ and additional aspects of group conflicts and identity difficulties.

This clearly reminds us of the ‘sameness’ theory of identity discussed above which also states that identity ‘literally refers to sameness’ (Bucholtz and Hall, 2006:370). Although it is a much more complex formulation in practice, identity work frequently involves ‘obscuring differences among those with a common identity. The perception and enactment of shared identity too often requires... an ‘other’ against those socially constituted as the same’, (ibid). This would be an interesting aspect of group identities to be conscious of within the schools to be analyzed.

3.14 Identity from a multilingual perspective

Multilingualism

Having multilingual speakers in the TC schools in this study is the main reason why this research needs a perspective on multilingual identity. Another reason is the ‘feeling’ and personal observation that language policies in northern Cyprus may not provide sufficiently for the plural linguistic practices in the schools. A third reason would be the apparent difference created between, on one side, the private schools, providing English-medium education to their students as early as at kindergarten level together with mother-tongue Turkish lessons, and French and German as second language; and, on the other hand, the public or state schools where English or other foreign languages such as French and German are taught as the second and third languages, based on a weekly programme of approximately four to six hours out of a total of 35-40 lesson hours of lessons per week. The linguistic gap or distinction is hence immense. Blackledge and Creese (2010:5) state that ‘social construction of distinction based on ‘ethnicity’, ‘race’ and ‘class’ go hand-in-hand with social construction of distinction based on linguistic practice and ideology.’ This can also be extended to mean that these distinctions based on linguistic practice can and will probably play an important role in the social construction of the students’ identities.

Multilingualism also plays a role with the increased movement of people across the world, rapid expansion of digital information technology, or even political entities such as the European Union, with its two official languages, English and French, and equal status of all official languages spoken in its member states, all having contributed to the introduction of greater plurality. This plurality, in turn, is moving individuals towards a concept of linguistic practices

as ‘multiple, plural, shifting and eclectic’ (Blackledge and Creese. 2010:25). The multiplicity or plurality of languages has gained much attention in other large political entities, such as UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation) as well as the EU. The year 2008 was designated by UNESCO as the International Year of Languages. The then UNESCO Director Mr. Koichiro Matsuura, underlined the fact that linguistic communities and educational practices must encourage the use of first languages. This initiative aimed to prevent an orientation of monolingualism as opposed to multilingualism in the educational practices of, in particular, multilingual students (Blackledge and Creese, 2010:42) “...*Only if multilingualism is fully accepted can all languages find their place in our globalised world*’ (UNESCO, 2008).

In an ideal globalised and multilingual world as referred to above all languages are accepted as equally important to each other and coexist in harmony. Heller (2007:1) quoted by Blackledge and Creese (2010) moves away from multilingualism as coexisting language practice to a more critical approach. Instead, Heller (2007) situates language practices in social and political contexts and privileges language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action’. This approach, also adopted by Blackledge and Creese (2010) with regards to multilingual language practice, relates to the TC students’ social construction of identity. They construct meanings and identities with their linguistic repertoires (at least with Turkish, English and also some Turkish dialects and accents), probably as do their teachers, friends and even parents themselves. The TC students use this ‘eclectic array of linguistic resources to create, parody, play, contest, endorse, evaluate, challenge, tease, disrupt, bargain and otherwise negotiate their social worlds’ (Blackledge and Creese 2010) and hence to construct their identities.

If the linguistic repertoire is restricted by a powerful institution such as the school, and if the students face interdiction to ‘negotiate their social worlds’ (Blackledge and Creese 2010) tensions may arise as a result. This was the case in Heller’s (1999) study in a Francophone school in Canada where she observed tensions between the monolingual ideology of the school and the language use and ideologies of some of its students. In a school that was concerned with using French to resist the domination of English, students set up their resistance to the school through the English that was oppressing them.

Language choice, use and attitudes are clearly connected to language ideologies and relations to power, as in the example above. Identity options which are available to students at this given moment in history are subject to change, as are the ideologies that value particular identities more than others (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001); Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2001). This shift is more and more visible in the recent globalisation and post-colonial trends for new identities, as in Cyprus which remained a British colony until 1960, for almost half a century. In this framework, what is also visible is that languages themselves, especially in multilingual contexts, do not remain neutral and some languages and identities may become more privileged than others. Here, the students may begin a process of ‘negotiation of identities’ (Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001); Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2003) in search of self-positioning with potential new identities. This negotiation is done through language choice amongst the multilingual speakers themselves or in institutional contexts (Norton, 2006) such as schools. Freeman Fiels (2008) quoted in Blackledge and Creese (2010) points out that student identities are constantly being negotiated and shaped within all forms of schooling and this negotiation may take place in two or more languages in multilingual contexts. She stresses that the choice of the linguistic resources available to the students may even overcome the strong institutional influences.

Negotiated identities in multilingual contexts such as schools are considered as produced in discourse and social interaction, and ‘as multiple, dynamic and subject to change’ (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). Multiplicity refers to the notion that identities are socially constructed in relation to variables such as age, class, ethnicity, gender, generation, sexual orientation and social status (Blackledge and Pavlenko:2001); (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). What is of relevance to this study is that identities are constructed and validated through linguistic practices available or at times unavailable, to the TC students of this study at a particular point in time and space (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). The TC students can then occupy different positions in different ways. Similarly they may claim favourable positions or resist problematic ones in different contexts and at different times. They may use English and Turkish or a Turkish dialect to negotiate identities as it would suit them at that particular moment in time and space.

Blackledge and Creese (2010) further differentiate between three types of negotiation of identities: one is *imposed identities* which the individuals cannot resist or contest at a particular point in time and are not negotiable for varying reasons. Institutions, for example in northern Cyprus or in the UK may seek to impose certain identity positions on their students. An example would be at a simple level, when a teacher says to a student ‘you are Turkish’, the student may feel uncomfortable to contest or negotiate their identity in a powerful institutional context, by saying for example, ‘no, I am Turkish Cypriot’. As a consequence of this, the others may not be encouraged to pursue a negotiation process. The second, called *assumed identities* are accepted and not negotiated; the student would simply accept to be called ‘Turkish or Turkish Cypriot’, despite his/her ethnicity and would consider it natural or acceptable at that point in time. The last group is the *negotiable identities* which are contested or bargained for by groups and individuals.

In the third category, as the title of this study states, one could query how negotiable the European identity is, for example, for the Turkish Cypriot students on the periphery of Europe.

3.15 Use of code-switching in multilingualism

Languages are not socially equal and equally empowering in multilingual societies and hence negotiation of identities is a natural outcome of this inequality (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2003). This negotiation takes place in linguistic practices between individuals, groups and institutions. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2003) approach identities from the social constructionist perspective, with an emphasis on the role of power relations focusing on negotiation of identities in code-switching and language choice.

Code-switching can be understood to be a source through which speakers express social and rhetorical meanings and index ethnic identities (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2003). Heller's (1982) research on negotiation of language choice in the Caribbean demonstrated that multilingual speakers use multiple social spaces and that each act of speaking (or silence) may constitute an 'act of identity' (Le Page and Tabouret, 1985). According to Myers-Scotton (1998) speakers opt for a code or language as a negotiation of rights and obligations, assuming knowledge of indexicality. According to this view then, language choice and code-switching are indexical of identities, i.e. 'code-switching patterns may be indicative of how speakers view themselves in relation to the socio-political values attached to the linguistic varieties used in code-switching' (Myers-Scotton, 1998:99).

Heller (1982) explored the ways in which language practices and identities are bound up with power relations in two ways: Firstly, language is seen as a part of social action and interaction for influencing others; and secondly, language is seen in a symbolic way as linked to gain, have

access to, and exercise of power (Bourdieu, 1991); (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2003). Consequently, any analysis of language practice needs to examine language choice and use (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2003: 12). The implication is that code-switching needs to be examined not as a unique phenomenon but as a part of a range of linguistic practices which bilingual speakers in particular employ to achieve their goals and to challenge and resist symbolic domination (Heller, 1982).

In summary, multilingual speakers index their identities partly through their language choice, code-switching or their bilingualism. Some of my TC adolescent participants of this study are in a multilingual educational context using English as a medium of study, and hence the negotiation of identities, and also their perception and enactment from a multilingual perspective, is an important aspect of the L2 learner and native speaker experience, although it will be just one aspect of my study. An important aspect will be to explore what the bilingual (Turkish and English) TC final year students from the two schools perceive to be their ‘investment’ in the target language which is English.

I will now discuss three key terms employed in my research questions forming the framework and the structure of the study: *Enactment, Perception and Investment*.

3.16a Enactment

Enactment of identities in this study simply refers to how the students construct their identities through acts which are, as discussed above, guided by prior knowledge as well as cultural and historical preconceptions. Hence the previous chapter on TC background naturally finds a significant role concerning the students’ enactment of identities. Their environment or context (Van Dijk, 2009) also plays a key role during this identity enactment: the classroom, the school

and the entire TC space with its society, community hierarchy, family, values, culture, history and linguistic practices will act as stimulus and preconception for the TC students' performance of their identities.

3.16b Perception

According to the Oxford English Dictionary perception is 'the process of becoming aware or conscious of a thing or things in general; the state of being aware; consciousness; understanding.' The current form of perception goes back to 14th century and relates to its original Latin meaning the action of taking possession, anticipation or the functions of the mind or the senses (Schacter, 2011). What can be deduced is that perception is what allows us to make sense of the world through the experience of our senses or sensations as well as through our prior knowledge. However, the questions which remain to be addressed is 'how we perceive' and 'what it means to perceive' yet these are beyond the scope of this research and cannot be answered here. In my view, perception in social constructionist terms would be 'a person's constructions of their own experiences' which are just versions of reality (or data) rather than 'raw data' itself.

My understanding of perception from a social constructionist perspective is the versions of truth and reality students construct when they are asked to comment on their views and experiences.

3.16c Investment

The concept of investment, which I borrowed from Norton Peirce (1995), indicates the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners with the target language (which is English in this study), and their often hesitant desire to learn and practice it. Investment can be best

understood with reference to the implied economic comparisons that Bourdieu (1986) uses in his work – in particular the notion of cultural capital. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) use the term cultural capital to reference the knowledge and modes of thought that characterize different classes and groups. They argue that some forms of cultural capital have a higher exchange value than others.

If learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital. Learners expect or hope to have a good return on that investment – a return that will give them access to resources which have been inaccessible up to the present moment. So just as the investment of funds in a business to get a better return, investment in a language is to get a better return socially, culturally or economically. I will draw upon this notion of investment, according to Norton, which conceives of the language learner as having a complex social history and multiple desires in this study.

3.17 Summary and Research Questions

Different perspectives on identity offer a more complete scope for analysis for this complex and multi-faceted TC adolescent identity issue. We understand that some aspects of identities can change through social interaction while others remain stable (Tracy, 2002) and that the way we acquire identities for ourselves is partly strategic and partly through the way we are positioned by different cultural norms and expectations (Bucholtz and Hall, 2006).

In considering the potential complexities and the heterogeneous nature of adolescent identities in northern Cyprus, although all of these models reviewed above are useful, I argue that it is the Bucholtz and Hall's sociocultural linguistic model which can provide a meaningful and comprehensive framework in order to capture those unique complexities. From the review above, I have formulated the following key research questions:

1. How do TC final year students, from a private and a state school in Cyprus, **enact** and **perceive** a range of identities in different classroom contexts?
2. What do TC final year students from the two schools **perceive** to be their **investment** in the target language (English)?
3. **Overall**, what do we learn about the range of identities of language learners in the two schools? Are there any differences in private and state school context?

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In line with the research questions presented at the end of the literature review chapter, this section aims to set out the rationale for the methodology used in the study. Methodology refers to the choices we make about cases to study, methods of data gathering and data analysis in planning and executing a research study (Silverman, 2011). I discuss, therefore, how my choice of ‘case study’ approach to conducting research on 17-18 year old TC student identities is conducive to studying my research questions. The chapter also gives an introduction to the context and to the potential informants in this study.

Within an ethno-methodological research paradigm, I have chosen the case study design using a qualitative approach as the most appropriate methodology mainly because in general it is the preferred strategy when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being asked about participants in a bound system (Yin, 2003), that is to say the school (as in my RQ 1 and RQ 2), and the researcher has almost no or limited control over what is happening within the general school framework. In terms of school rules, organisation and policy of the school, for example, I clearly had no control at all. In more specific terms, however, it is evident that what is happening concerning the research cannot be considered as completely ‘control-free’ since I have designed the research and had a considerable amount of control over the focus groups and interviews, especially in terms of providing prompts and conducting the interviews.

Lastly, the focus of this study is, as expected in a case study with an ethno-methodological research paradigm, on a contemporary phenomenon (identity issues in northern Cyprus) with some real- life context (Yin, 2003).

4.2 *Research paradigm: ethnomethodology*

The ethno-methodological project focuses on the common sense methods that we use in order to make sense of our experiences and constitute social realities (Garfinkel, 1967). A mixture of ‘ethno’ (people) and methodology (the systematic performance of scientific practices), ethnomethodology seeks to find the methods used by individuals in everyday interaction in their specific contexts which achieves a sense of order, known as ‘society’. Garfinkel (1967) is known as the founder of ethnomethodology who rejects the ‘grand theories’ of social structure but prefers the focus on the practices of participants. Grand theory is explained (Skinner, 1985) as a theory which attempts an overall explanation of social life, history, or human experience. The key concepts of ethnomethodology focus on forms of *actions* and not on forms of *structure or institutions*. It is the exploration of these forms of actions that give a direction to ethno-methodological research.

Ethnomethodology seeks to describe how things happen; it is not interested in whether knowledge obtained from the corpus of data is valid (see section 4.6 for validity). Ethnomethodologists use experiments, participant observation, interviews and case studies along with other techniques in their own way and to their own ends. Case study, accordingly, will be used in this study to address the uniqueness of particular interactions in particular cases by particular individuals, rather than seek to prove overall patterns behind all such interactions amongst all the participants. Identities of particular participants appearing through interaction will be considered as unique and specific rather than as all-encompassing identities prevalent in the schools or relating to TC students in general.

According to Silverman (2006) ethno-methodologists usually observe social settings and interactions, and take notes about the everyday activities and relationships of their research

participants. They are likely to focus on the 'interpretative practices' of the participants. In the Cyprus Human Development Report 2009 (Youth in Cyprus: p.193) 'focusing on *research with* youth as opposed to *research on* youth' (original emphasis) the term 'interpretative' captures the innovative and creative aspects of the youth's participation in their society (or classroom); as opposed to being passive recipients of the society's (or the classroom's) norms and values it focuses on how the youth create and participate in their own unique peer cultures. Similarly, data gathered from observation and interviews, focus group interactions and interpretation of the way the participants understand the world, will be central to my study which focuses on the details of conversations transcribed from these interactions. This concern with detail is equally central to the methodological strategies of Conversation Analysis (CA) and Institutional Conversation Analysis (ICA).

CA (see Section 4.9) is a method of data analysis that developed from and continues to relate to ethnomethodology, both of which will be used as tools of analysis of TC young adolescent identities. Both ethnomethodology and conversation analysis emphasize how social life may be organised within multiple social realities and concerns. They also accentuate how social realities and identities are built from the 'bottom-up' that is to say from ordinary interactions to general social processes (Silverman, 2006).

Ethnomethodology, like conversation analysis, treats social realities as rooted in generalized meanings that people enter into and use during their everyday activities and interactions. The two approaches therefore would enable the portrayal of social realities and identities of the young TC adolescents in their everyday talk- in interaction.

Ethnomethodologists use various interpretation procedures that researchers habitually use to classify aspects of people's experience and establish connections between them. Any classification of data and search for connections will, therefore, be central to my analysis of young TC adolescent identities. An example of an ethnomethodological standpoint in analyzing how people are assigned categories by way of 'contrast structures', for example, is a case Smith (1978) uses. Unlike structural agreement, structural contrasts indicate that there's a shift in the meaning attached often in the opposite sense. In Smith's case, 'K' is assigned a category of 'mentally ill' by 'Angela'. A contrast structure is created, through talk, for distinguishing a person as normal, natural, or preferred and the other person as abnormal, unnatural or undesired, as its opposite. I find Smith's example useful in portraying how ethnomethodology can be a tool in displaying how TC students, their behaviour or circumstances can be 'cast by the speakers themselves, as instances of cultural categories and may be assigned moral and political significance' (Silverman, 2006:39).

It is worth emphasizing that local circumstances or the context are significant in any ethnomethodological study. Silverman (2006) calls this *localness*. In the TC identities study, *localness* or the fact that we are dealing with 18 year-old students in their final year of study in northern Cyprus, more specifically in a bound context of the two selected schools situated in the town of Kyrenia, is hence an absolutely vital point to be considered in the social construction of their identities. Social constructionist worldview, as discussed in detail in the Literature Review Chapter (chapter 3) considers that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work (Creswell, 2007:20). They develop subjective meanings which are varied and multiple. Within this worldview I seek to look for complexity of views on students' identities formed

through interaction with others rather than narrow the meanings into a limited number of categories.

4.3 *Qualitative approach to case study*

I find Silverman's (2011) metaphorical definition of qualitative research as a fabric composed of many textures, threads and colours (i.e. general worldviews and perspectives) held together by a loom (i.e. a framework for the qualitative research) a useful way of visualizing qualitative research. The frameworks as I have described above, can be described as ethno-methodologist or social constructionist research. Within these worldviews one can select an approach towards his or her study, which in my study is the case study via the ethno-methodologist approach within a worldview that fits qualitative analysis. One of the main characteristics of a qualitative worldview can be said to be the idea of multiple realities (Creswell, 1994) which could be interpreted as multiple identities of the young TC students who are participants in this study.

Let us now look at the concepts of qualitative analysis and case study approach in detail.

4.4 Case study: Eight Principles

I will now explore the case study as the specific methodological framework of study in this research. Case study, according to Creswell (2005) involves the study of an issue (identities) explored through one or more cases (two groups in two separate schools) within a bounded system, that is to say a setting or a context (two schools in Kyrenia in northern Cyprus).

Yin (1989) offers the following description of case study:

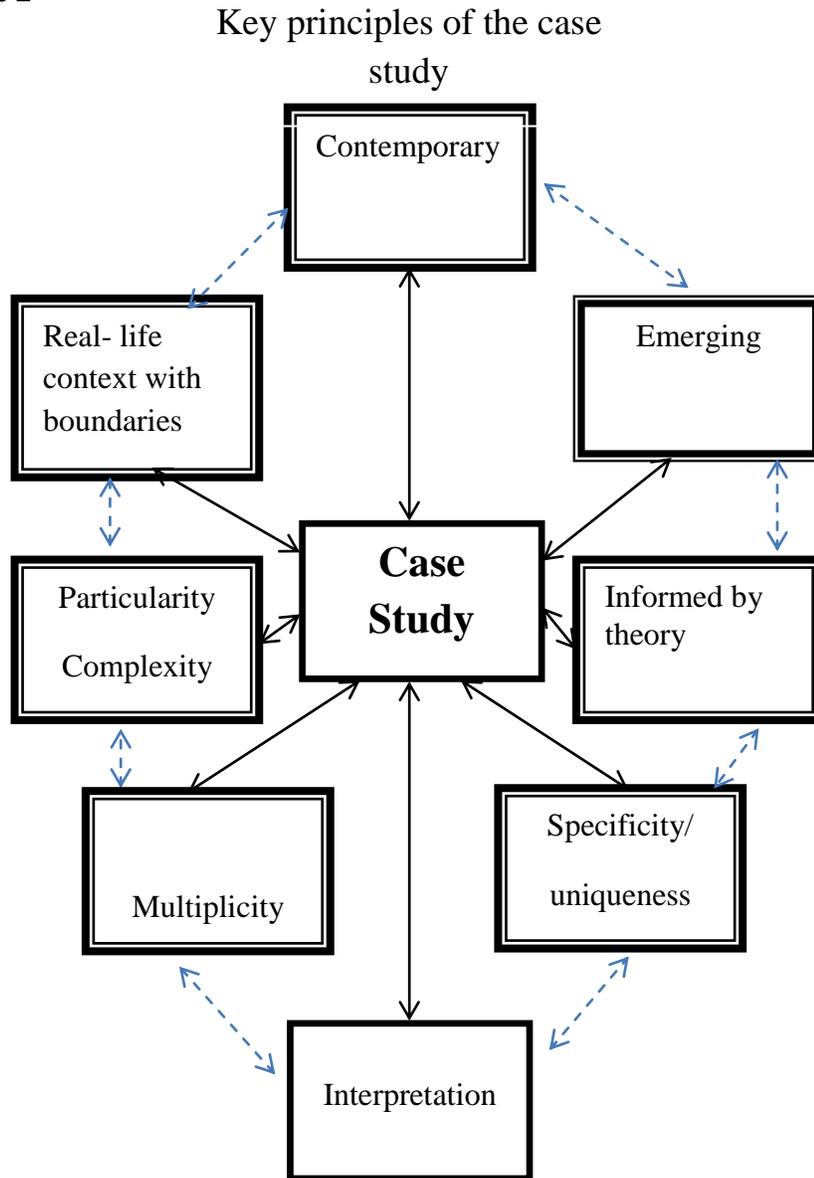
A case study, where the researcher explores a single entity or phenomenon (the case) bounded by the time and activity (event, programme, process, social group, institution) and collects detailed information by using a variety of data collection procedures during a sustained period of time.

For this study, I consider case study as a methodology, a type of design in qualitative analysis.

Yin (2003) sees case study as a closely related method to qualitative research since it shares many, if not all, characteristics of qualitative research, such as the emphasis on natural setting, researcher being the key instrument in collecting data through multiple sources (focus groups, interviews, observations), inductive data analysis (where categories and themes are built from a bottom-up approach), participants' meanings (not only the researcher's own meanings), a nascent design (see section on principle III of case study below), a theoretical lens, interpretative inquiry and a holistic account which includes multiple perspectives. I view the following key principles as salient to my case study on identities:

1. Informed by theory
2. Uniqueness - Specificity
3. Emerging
4. Interpretation
5. Multiplicity
6. Particularity –complexity
7. Real life context with boundaries
8. Contemporary

Figure 2



I begin with the eight key principles of the case study in relation to my PhD study. Let us start with *theory*.

I. Case study is informed by theory

Theories arrange a set of concepts to define and explain some phenomenon (Silverman, 2011). The theories we start with (through deductive approach) or that we will discover (through inductive approach) are important for conceptualizing findings and will expectantly improve our definition and understanding of identities through the case study method. Driven by the notion of historical and social construction of identities in Cyprus, Turkish Cypriot identity is crossing a period of confusion and complexity and theories may help to unfold these complexities.

In case study, researchers often use a theoretical approach (Creswell, 2007) to view the study. The theoretical orientation of my study on identity has a social constructionist perspective. This family of theories and perspectives, which also includes ethnomethodology and the case study method, claim that the knowledge must be set within the conditions of our world today, i.e. *contemporary* and *multiple* perspectives (two key principles of my definition of case study) are constructed through local actions and interactions. Ethnomethodology is the 'route' I choose to discovering aspects of identities at a micro level in a bottom- up approach and points to the notion of performing identities contextually.

Yin (2003) argues that empirical research advances only when it is accompanied by theory and logical inquiry and not when treated as a mechanistic or data collection endeavour. This is also regarded as the basic theme in the case study method. The main role of theory in doing case studies is to develop preliminary concepts at the outset of a case study. This helps to place the case study in an appropriate research literature. It also contributes to the definition of the case by identifying criteria for selection (single or multiple) and screening potential candidates (for maximising different perspectives). Guidance from preliminary theoretical concepts is therefore

necessary to make these choices (Yin, 2003). Case study will be run to research identities in contemporary Cyprus according to the set of principles drawn from Yin (2003) and Stake (2005) listed in this section in detail. The role of theory will not only aim to make choices to ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions (RQ 1 and RQ 2) but also in selecting the cases (Turkish-medium school and English-medium school) and specifying what is being explored on identities, as in, for example, Yin’s (2003) exploratory case study.

The case study perspective draws on social constructionism, studying the turning point in the lives of 17-18 year-old TC adolescents, and their identities, at this particular point, in which the participants find themselves in the *unique* moment in TC history. Hence, case study acts as the framework for the procedures, the approach to the inquiry into the complexity of identities in my research.

II. Case study is unique

Case studies are unique and their uniqueness makes them specific (Stake, 2005). The case and the story need to be understood with greater internal knowledge. There has always been a sincere interest in learning how people function in their ordinary pursuits and settings but this requires participation. The emphasis is on the uniqueness of one case, on what it is and what it does, how it works and why in that specific way. We need to know the case well, not only how it is different from the others but also willingness to put aside the observers’ meanings and value the meanings attached by the specificity of the one case.

Awareness of the differences from other cases also implies knowledge of details of that specific case. Case study requires in-depth examination to see the unseen, to reflect the uniqueness of our own lives and engage with our own interpretative powers.

In my study, young TC identity in the two schools is a unique case distinguished by the character of the issue, its timing, geography and political background within the European zone. It is a unique case of a community in Europe in the only divided country in Europe with unique issues with regards to their identity, often perceived by themselves as having their identity under threat of fading away. The only divided country in Europe is a unique case which deserves attention. It is likely that such a unique position could have repercussions on young people's identities *emerging* through talk.

III. Case study is emerging

Case study as an ethno-methodological approach does not impose meaning but prefers to observe and locate it in the study of talk-in-interaction. In case study, emerging themes, categories and patterns are identified from the bottom-up by organising the data into units of information. This consequently leads largely to inductive methods being used. This inductive process involves researchers working back and forth between the themes and the database (Stake, 2005) until a comprehensive set of themes is established. Sometimes participants can participate interactively in order to shape a theme that may emerge. What I mean by emergent is that the initial plan for the case study may not be strictly applied and that all phases of the research process may change or shift (Creswell, 2007) after entering the field for data collection. For example, the research questions of the case study may change the forms of data collection, the individuals studied or the sites of the study may all be modified. The original idea is to learn about the identities from the participant students in the two schools and to address the four research questions in order to obtain that information. According to Burney and Mahmood (2008) the inductive research approach moves from specific observation to broader generalizations and theories known

commonly as a bottom-up approach and conclusions are likely to involve a degree of uncertainty. In an inductive approach, data gathered from observations, focus groups and interviews are grouped into a pattern and this will allow a tentative hypothesis and then theory or theories to emerge in relation to the identities. Indeed any possible conclusions concerning identities are complex issues and therefore are highly likely to involve some uncertainties. On the contrary, a theory driven approach would start research with a theory or theories and look for patterns which fit them.

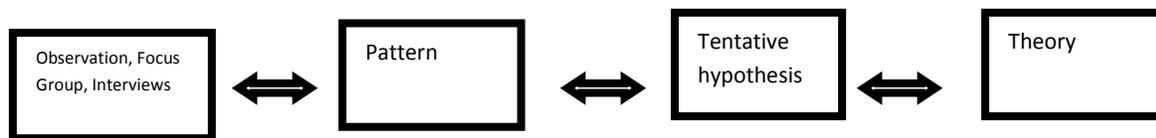


Figure 3 Simultaneously inductive and deductive approaches (*own diagram*)

In either case the emerging identities through talk go through *interpretative* procedures in line with the qualitative thinking.

IV. Case study is interpretative

All research depends on interpretation. Standard qualitative designs call for interpretations to stem from the field, through observations and one's own subjective judgments together with analysis and all the while realizing our own consciousness (Stake, 1995). Case study is a form of qualitative inquiry in which researchers make an interpretation of what they observe, hear, and understand. It is true that a researcher's interpretations cannot be separated from his/her background, context, history, and own understandings. The 'why' and 'how' questions which are central to case study also lead to interpretations being made. Interpretations can also be offered

by the readers who might be Cypriots (mainly Turkish), and the participants themselves, all of which add to the multiplicity of views. On the subject of student identities in the two selected schools the ‘how’ questions (RQ 1 and RQ 2) but also the question relating to the perceived ‘investment’ of these students in the English language (RQ 3) all lead to interpretations of what I, as the researcher, see, hear and understand. To this, it would be helpful to add the fact that my background and prior understandings on the subject of *multiple* identities of TC youth cannot be regarded as unrelated to the interpretations which will be offered in the case study.

V. Case study has multiplicity

Case study relies on multiple sources of data, such as, interviews, focus groups and observations rather than relying on a single source. In my case study, all of these sources are used and reviewed (see Section 4.6). My aim is to make a sense of the data gathered, organise them into categories or themes that cut across all of the data sources. Multiple sources of evidence give multiple views of the case. Multiplicity of views on the subject of identities is offered not only by the readers (who are likely to be mainly Cypriots) or myself, but also, and more importantly, by the participating young Turkish Cypriots themselves. These multiple perspectives are central to the *particular and complex* case study.

VI. Case study has particularity and complexity

In this case study I am interested in the complexity of this particular case, not in sampling. According to Stake (1995) and Yin (2003) case study is a poor basis for generalisation. Only a single case or just a few cases are studied in depth because the case is considered as a specific, complex, and a functioning thing. Certain generalisations may be drawn for the case, but increasingly the generalisation is refined. Stake (1995) considers this as common in research.

Such generalisations about a case or a few cases in a particular situation might not be thought of as generalisations and may need a modified labelling such as '*petite generalisations*' (Stake, 2006). An example of this would be a child who repeatedly faces difficulty in learning the target language who is described as having learning difficulties. This is a generalisation. After further observation, it becomes apparent that the difficulty comes in only learning languages, or even in that one particular language, say, English, and perhaps not in French or in their learning of the general curriculum. The generalization is hence refined.

'*Grand generalizations* also can be modified by case study. Readers may have the view that TC young adolescents are good at learning languages. If a case study demonstrates a counter-example, it invites a modification of the generalisation. A positive example is likely to enhance the confidence but not to establish a generalisation. The real objective of the case study is 'particularisation', not generalisation. We take a particular case and come to know it well, not primarily how it is different from others but what it is what it does. There is emphasis on uniqueness. This implies knowledge of others that it is different from, but the first emphasis is on understanding the case itself.

Identity, by definition is a concept that is not free from complication (see section on identity in the Literature Review Chapter. It has ambiguities and complexities. This unique complexity is also a result of the complex political status of northern Cyprus in this contemporary period. As it was clearly stated in the Cyprus Human Development Report (2009) there is a feeling of insecurity and fear of future which causes great concern amongst the youth in northern Cyprus. This is also why the perceptions of the young TC students in northern Cyprus, at the end of their secondary education, at the transitional period of making new decisions about the directions they are willing (or not) willing to make, are of concern in this study.

Is this a generalization? Or can this generalization be validated (or not) by this research? Answers these questions would be noteworthy outcomes of the data analysis that follows in the next chapter. We cannot and do not intend to generalize across the school nor even across the classroom since these are individual perceptions of the participating students and can be contrasting. Competing views and single attitudes add to the complexity of the case.

Our aim, as also highlighted by RQ 4 is to analyze the complexity of the identities of the young TC adolescents as well as their own perception of their identities within a *real-life and bounded* context.

VII. Case study has real-life context with boundaries

Case study as a qualitative research method to examine contemporary real-life situations aims to provide the basis for the application of ideas and extension of methods.

Yin defines the case study research method as:

an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 1984, p. 23).

In case study, I am dealing with naturally occurring data and not an experiment, in a real life setting. In our case, the setting is the two schools and the classrooms which are bound with time, space and activity. Smith (1978) helped define the case as ‘a bounded system’ drawing attention to it as an object rather than a process which has working parts. The case is hence seen as an integrated system whereby the parts may not be working in harmony, and the purposes may not always be rational. However, it is a system in a real setting and has set boundaries. In this research on identities, the boundaries are defined as the participants themselves in terms of their

age, class, origins, gender (equal number of girls and boys) and the school setting: in Kyrenia, Cyprus in one English-medium and one Turkish-medium school; timing too is set in real-life context, all of which involve a case study in a real life context and is *contemporary*.

VIII. Case study is contemporary

Case study is the preferred strategy when the investigator cannot control the events and is a contemporary phenomenon as opposed to a historical one within a real-life context (Yin, 2003). The case study relies on many of the same techniques as a history, but adds two sources of evidence not usually involved in the historian's repertoire: direct observation of the events being studied and interviews of the people involved in the events. Although there may be overlaps of case studies and histories, the case study's unique strength is its ability to deal with a variety of evidence beyond what might be available in a historical study. Yin (2003) argues that case study has a distinct advantage when a 'how' and 'why' question is asked about a contemporary set of events, over which the researcher has minimum or no control.

This case aims to gain an insight into the young TC identities and identity perceptions in the 'contemporary' northern Cyprus. This particular moment (2012) is a particular moment in time. The Republic of Cyprus is a member of the EU and even held the presidency of the EU for six months (1 July 2012 to 1 January 2013). Nonetheless, northern Cyprus remains unrecognised, yet the Turkish Cypriots themselves have the benefit of EU membership as individuals. This duality of 'being and not being' a part of the EU is a contemporary issue that is topical driven in this 'particular' period in time in Cyprus.

4.5 *Research context: the case of two schools*

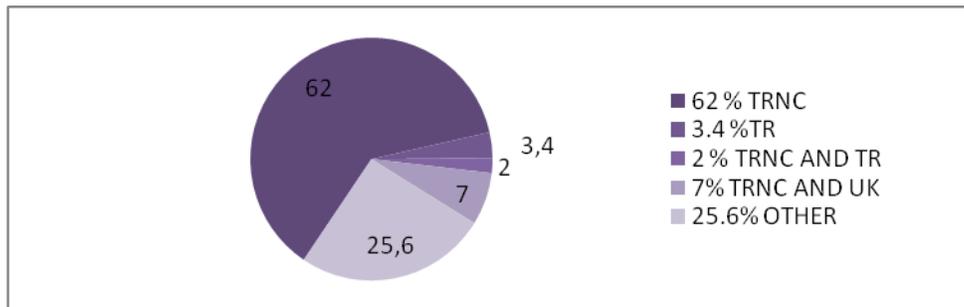
This case study involves *two* local schools situated in or around Kyrenia: An English-medium private school as well as a Turkish-medium public school and will use three qualitative methods, observation, focus group and interview (discussed in Section 4.6) which are all compatible with a case study approach. The project timing is given in **Appendix 1**.

4.5.1 *School A*

This privately owned English-medium secondary school can be described as plurilingual and multicultural as it can be seen from the number of student nationalities in Chart 1 below. The school is part of a large group of schools which includes the whole range from the reception year up to the university section where I worked as the Director of School of Languages. It was hence conveniently located both for time and practicality reasons. The school context was informally described by the students themselves as '*very multicultural*' or even '*the only multicultural one in northern Cyprus*'. The school administration welcomed this study mainly because their school had never previously been selected as a '*case*' in an academic research project. They were constructive and keen to host this research, without even asking the question '*what's in it for us?*' This, in turn, motivated both the teachers and the students to take part actively.

With the written approval of the Director of this school I conducted some information gathering meetings with the administrators in order to organise a timetable for the visits and also to obtain some first-hand data concerning the school. (See **Appendix 2** for interview notes with the director and teachers in School A). According to the figures given by the Vice-Director of the school, the number of students at the school was 324, 5.4 % of whom were children from Turkish families from Turkey or with at least one parent from Turkey; 71% were Turkish

Cypriots or with at least one parent from Cyprus and 25.6 % had other nationalities such as British, Russian, Moldavian, Kazakh, Iranian and Bulgarian. These percentages guided me in my selection of students for the study. Some school statistics gathered from the School A administrators are represented in the following charts:



Key to abbreviations:

TRNC: ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’ (*unrecognised*)

TR: Turkish Republic

UK: United Kingdom

Other nationalities: Moldavian, English, Israeli, Bulgarian, Russian, Iranian, Kazakh

Figure 4 showing the distribution of nationalities in the English-medium school (A)

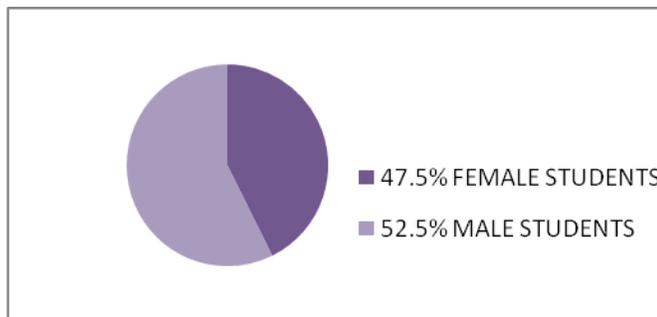


Figure 5 showing the gender distribution in the English-medium school (A)

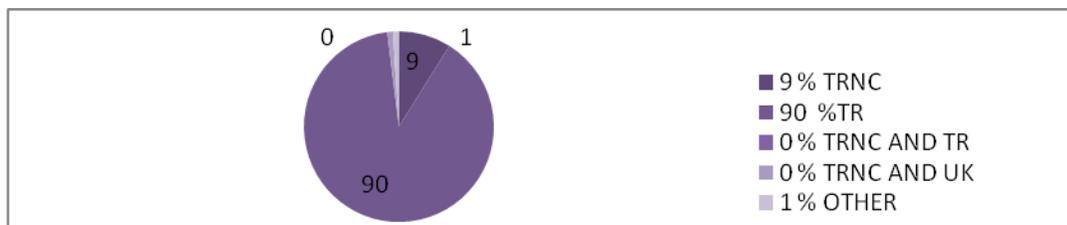
What emerges from this initial observation is that the choice of School B, a much larger mixed public school, as the second school selected for the case study would enhance the validity of this

research. The main reason for this is that research on TC students' identities conducted only in one school could be more illuminating if compared with a large, public and Turkish-medium school where the socio-economic background of the students would be considerably more diverse.

4.5.2 School B

A preliminary information-gathering visit to the Director of School B, the Turkish-medium school, revealed that the school administrators were also keen to host the project but it was imperative to have a written letter of approval from the Ministry of Education. This was not the case with the private school. Once the letter authorising the project was received a number of visits were arranged with the school administrators and the teachers concerned with the project. (See **Appendix 3** for interview notes from School B). These information-gathering visits further revealed that the number of students at the school was 580, 90% of whom were children from Turkish families from Turkey; 9% Turkish Cypriots and 1% had other nationalities such as Russian, Turkmen, Azeri, Moldavian, Kazakh and Bulgarian.

These are shown in **Figure 6** as follows:



Key to abbreviations:

TRNC: 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' (*unrecognised*)

TR: Turkish Republic

UK: United Kingdom

Other nationalities: Russian, Turkmen, Azeri, Moldavian, Kazakh and Bulgarian.

Figure 6 showing the distribution of the nationalities in the Turkish-medium school

(B)

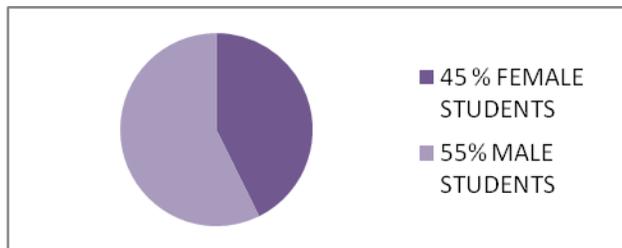


Figure 7 showing the gender distribution in School B

4.5.3 Research participants

Who are our research participants and why were they selected as (and also accepted to be) participants in this study?

TC Students

The point concerning the unique case of northern Cyprus distinguished by the character of the issue, its timing, geography and political background within the European zone has already been made earlier in this chapter, in section 4.4.

I have selected two schools in Kyrenia because of their convenience but also for the diversity (and contrast) they offered in terms of the economic, social, cultural and national backgrounds of their students and families, the language used as the medium of education (English versus Turkish), administrative bodies of the two schools (private versus public), student population (approximately 300 versus 600), teacher nationalities (more/fewer teachers of different nationalities), student choices for further education (UK versus Turkey/Cyprus) and languages

commonly used by students in their daily interactions (English and Turkish versus Turkish/English only).

The two classes selected for the study, in each school, were English and Geography. As our research questions 1, 2 and 3 clearly express, this study is interested in how TC final year students **perceive** and **talk** about their identity positions in the classroom, their investment in the target (English) language and overall range of identities which are linguistically performed by language learners in the two schools. A language lesson in English then becomes an essential context of interest for the project. The Geography class, on the other hand, was selected as a non-language (L2 or L1) lesson where use of language is expected to be relatively higher than some other subjects, such as mathematics, statistics, P.E, art or music.

Focus groups from the classes observed served as our key informants for more intensive study in each school. Duff (2006) explains that choosing seven ‘cases’ (i.e. individual students) initially means that there will likely five or six cases remaining. These six students became my key research participants in each school as the members of the focus group and the interviewees. The focus groups consisted of six students in their final year of study. The study focused on this age group because this is a time in a young student’s life, usually considered as one of the turning points for his/her future. This crucial moment of navigating the road from childhood to adulthood offers many key directions they could opt to take today, such as their further studies, military service (for boys), vocational career, marriage, living away from home and so on that will determine the shape of their lives tomorrow. The following criteria were carefully taken into consideration for the study because they would enable diversity and representativeness of different categories of students found in the class in each school.

The criteria were based on:

- i. Students' willingness to participate in the group discussion and the interviews,
- ii. Their gender (equal number of girls and boys)
- iii. Their ethnicity (equal number of indigenous TC, Turkish mainland teenagers and UK born Turkish Cypriot adolescents of Turkish Cypriot parents)
- iv. Proficiency in English (range of abilities in the use of English as an L2 or L1; the exact nature of proficiency was defined by the English teacher for each class)

The school administration and all the participants were assured of their and the school's anonymity and their details were kept confidential.

4.5.4 *Ethical Issues*

Aston University guidelines on research ethics have been respected in this research project and the research Code of Conduct according to Aston University guidelines and policy were carefully followed.

The PhD project originally started at the University of Reading, ethical approval was received from the Ethics Committee of that university. As also indicated by the Aston University regulation, 'to do positive good and to do no harm' was considered at each stage of this project. Primary data obtained from the observations, focus group discussions and interviews have been stored and its protection, anonymity and confidentiality have been respected. For example, the names of the two schools have been changed to School A and School B, names of the school administrators, teachers and the participant students have all been altered as well. Only the country (northern Cyprus) and the city (Kyrenia) have been kept as original names. There are four public and three private schools in and around Kyrenia and although this is not

a huge number to ensure absolute anonymity, it was the best I could do under the circumstances. Furthermore, I will not publish any information which could lead to the identification of individuals now or in the future.

Gaining the schools' and the participant students' consent was one of the most salient issues in this project. Both school administrations provided their written consents but permission from the northern Cypriot Ministry of Education was also sought since one of the schools was a public school and hence is directly responsible to the Ministry. Pre-selected focus group prompts and interview questions were presented to the Ministry administration and their approval was obtained.

The focus group and interview students were individually informed about the confidentiality and anonymity and their consent was received in writing but I bore in mind that difficult situations could still arise if some students in the classroom setting were not comfortable with being observed or recorded. Gallagher (2009) reflects on this problem in his observational study in a primary classroom. In response to the problem, he developed a card system that allowed pupils to choose every day whether they wanted their activities to be recorded or not. In my case, if a student no longer wanted to participate in any of the data collection sessions, they were clearly advised at the beginning of each session that all they had to do in order to withdraw was simply to inform.

Safety in the schools and the classrooms was established by the schools themselves and bearing in mind that the responsibility for research always rests with the researcher, I made sure that the equipment I used such as voice recorder or camera were of good quality with no

potential danger, especially in terms of electricity cables, for the teachers, the participants or myself.

4.6 Research design

Validity, Reliability and Trustworthiness

According to Stenbacka (2001) reliability is more concerned with measurements and evaluates the quality of studies in quantitative and qualitative research in different ways. Patton (2001), on the other hand, states that validity and reliability are two factors which any qualitative researcher should be concerned about while designing a study, analysing results and judging the quality of the study. Some researchers such as Lincoln and Guba (1985:290) assert that the quality of the study in each paradigm should be judged by **its** own paradigm's terms. In qualitative paradigm, for example, the terms credibility, neutrality, consistency or reliability are seen as essential criteria. To ensure reliability in qualitative research, examination of trustworthiness is crucial (Seale, 1999).

Lincoln and Guba (1985:316) claim that there can be no reliability without validity and as a result, a demonstration of validity is sufficient to establish reliability.

If we consider that the issues of reliability, validity, trustworthiness and quality mean differentiating good research from bad research then it would be naturally important to test and increase them in any research in both qualitative or quantitative paradigms.

The research design has one ultimate aim above all: to find answers to the three research questions of this case study which deals with the complex phenomenon of identities. Yet any researcher has obligations to go beyond simple data gathering to finding credibility of the data

gathered which will then make my research study valid. I define validity, in this context, as the credibility of the data collection methods to produce answers relating to TC student identities.

The data collection methods of the case study, therefore, need to be the best fit for purpose. They need to contribute to and maximise how the meaning is established in the case study (Stake, 1995). The appropriateness of these methods will enhance high-quality answers to the research questions, which, in turn, prepare the ground for ‘trustworthy’ meanings to emerge.

In the following section, I will aim to explain why these methods are the most trustworthy, credible and effective in the search for the social construction of identities in the context of northern Cyprus.

4.6.1 Data Collection Methods

My case study will use three qualitative methods to supplement the data which are all compatible with a case study approach to studying a social context, in which the participants routinely live, learn and work (Holliday, Hyde and Kullman, 2004). The rationale for using more than one type of method stemmed from the view that often the best overall solution to complex and multi-faceted issues such as ‘student identities’ maybe found using one methodology and several methods which offer different yet supplementary perspectives (Sussman, 2002). My aim is to capture contrasting voices of the TC students (if any) and complex interactions which could reveal perceptions of my TC research participants’ identities in order to ensure the reliability of the data collected.

In Sections 4.6.1 to 4.6.3, I will explain what each data gathering tool entails and why it will be used in this case study. Section 4.7 on Research Stages aims to give a brief description of how

the methods were used at each stage. The following figure provides a step-by-step explanation of the data collection stages:

Figure 8

DATA COLLECTION STEPS



4.6.2 Observation

Gold (1958) famously suggested four approaches to observation within ethnographic research: pure observer, observer-participant, participant-observer and pure participant. I chose the method of pure observer, since it would initially help me to familiarize myself as the researcher and possibly to comprehend complex identity issues directly. Observation is something we all do from our birth and never finish. Most of the time we naturally observe things we are familiar with, or what we look for. In order to see what happens in a classroom both as familiar and unfamiliar situations the researcher needs a practiced eye. Classrooms are places that are capable of unfolding what is familiar and what is novel too. Through pure observation of a classroom, I intended to explore those infinite variations in classroom interaction and behaviour in relation to the students' identities. Further, observation can initially allow for some *petite* generalisations on adolescent identity issues in their routine classroom activities to emerge without trying to become or intervene with the integral organisational system of the class itself (Miles and Huberman, 2004). It is important to emphasise that just because something is or seems 'routine', we cannot assume that it is easy to observe or record as observation. As Sacks (1992) pointed out in a lecture, activities that the molecules are able to engage in quickly and routinely have not been described by enormously brilliant scientists.

In this respect, Sacks, together with Garfinkel (1967), offered the ethnomethodological perspective (study of people or members of a group described earlier), which seeks to describe methods individuals use in *doing* social life (Sacks, 1984). He suggests that the researcher must, as members of the group would, observe and record what has happened using members' knowledge, rather than what must possibly have happened (Sacks, 1992) using non-member knowledge.

With regards to this methodological research on TC youth identities, it has been therefore, important to use the observation method carefully, almost as a member of the group observed, proceeding cautiously by examining the methods TC students use to produce observable and reportable acts of identity (Sacks, 1992); in other words, how they actively use language to index their identities rather than how I myself as the researcher conceive these activities to take place using my own prior knowledge and expectations.

The class observation phase acted as a useful lead-in to smaller and more focused group discussions which followed because observation can effectively supplement focus groups and interviews and thus enhance the quality of evidence available to the researcher (Silverman, 2011).

4.6.3 Focus Groups

Focus group method is described by Wilkinson (2011) quoted in Silverman (2011) as a method which ‘encourages an informal group discussion ‘focused’ around a particular issue: identities. According to Powell and Single (1996) focus group research involves organised discussion with a selected group of individuals to gain information about their views and experiences concerning identities, change and life events (Sussman, 2002).

The benefits of focus group research include gaining insights into these students’ shared understandings of ‘identities’ of everyday life at school and the ways in which they are influenced by others in a group situation. The key characteristic of focus groups is the insights and data produced by the interaction between participants (Powell and Single, 1996).

In an example of constructing meaning in a focus group, Silverman (2011) gives the example of Wilkinson, who demonstrates in a case study, how focus group speakers skilfully attend to the opportunities and constraints by the ‘positioning of what they say within a sequence of turns and how the researchers can establish participants’ own understandings as displayed directly in the focus group talk. As Wilkinson demonstrates (quoted in Silverman, 2011) and as in my social constructionist approach, focus group talk is considered to *constitute* the social realities as opposed to *infer* them through our own knowledge and understanding. Focus group data will, therefore, facilitate the understanding of how particular utterances within a sequenced focus group discussion will reveal participants’ own understandings and identities displayed directly in their group talk.

4.6.4 Interviews

Although ‘unstructured’ or ‘open-ended’ interviews are common in qualitative research, I chose the semi-structured face-to-face interviewing as the third data collection method used in the study. In the social constructionist perspective, interview participants of the study, i.e. both the interviewer and the interviewees, are considered as actively involved in constructing meanings. Their interaction is jointly constructed, and so are the meanings and identities. From this perspective, interviews can be seen as an interpretative practice (discussed earlier in this chapter) in which what is said is inextricably tied to where it is said, how it is said and, importantly, to whom it is said (Holstein and Gubrium, 2004). The relationship between interviewer and interviewee, then, is fundamental in research interviews. In this respect, being a local Turkish Cypriot with similar language skills (Turkish and English) and sociological background as the interviewees themselves might have facilitated my connection with and acceptance by the participants as an ‘insider’.

Miller and Glassner (2004) and Rapley (2004), both quoted in Silverman (2011) point to the fact that interview talk is not simply related to the topic of the interview. They claim that, instead, interview talk reveals two interlinked phenomena, identity and culture, both of which are central to this study (Silverman, 2011):

Identity work: The talk in an interview may be as much about the person producing themselves as an ‘adequate interviewee’, as a ‘specific type of person in relation to this specific topic’. In this sense, interview data may be more a reflection of the social encounter between the interviewer and the interviewee than it is about the actual topic itself. (Rapley, 2001:16) (*Original emphasis*)

My research is based on ‘how’ these identities are mutually constructed during the interviews, especially focusing on turn-by-turn construction of identities, discussed in detail in the conversation analysis section that follows. An essential requirement is subjectivity, as far as it is possible within this context, of the interpretation of data whose nature includes interviews where ‘the researcher is essentially the main “measurement device” in the study (Miles and Huberman, 2004). This point can be seen as a strength where the researcher displays impartiality but as a weakness if there is excessive personal bias, although some level of personal bias is present in all research (Wiersma and Jurs, 2009). It is a question of acknowledging one’s standpoint, especially in controversial matters such as identity issues in Cyprus, where any researcher, including myself, will have a particular ethnic, linguistic and even political perspective.

Interviews were expected to give more comprehensive information about specific variables of interest, i.e. language, gender, ethnicity, at a more individual level and possibly an in-depth perception of identities. The interviews (and focus group discussions) aimed to address RQ2 and RQ3 where I wanted to explore and understand how the TC final year school students perceive and talk about their identity positions and what they perceive to be their investment in the

English language. This was also a potentially rich moment which showed different aspects of their identities as language learners and as students. The interviews were conducted in the language the students themselves used naturally, either in English or Turkish. The transcriptions were later translated into English if necessary. **Appendix 11** (p.325) shows these interview extracts in the original language of the interview. The value of analysing original texts cannot be ignored as, for example, they provide us with rich data which can be turned to through the years as new insights and new methods of analysis are developed.

According to Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) all interactions involve the use of some form of turn-taking organization. In parallel, many kinds of institutional interaction use the same turn-taking organization as ordinary conversation. Some interactions such as the interviews, however, involve very specific and systematic transformations in conversational turn-taking procedures. These special turn-taking systems are important in studying institutional interaction because they have the potential to alter the parties' opportunities for action, and to modify the interpretation of the conversation (Heritage, 1998). For example, the opportunities to initiate actions, what the actions can be intended to mean, and how they are interpreted in the interviews can be considerably shaped by the 'interview specific' turn-taking rules for interaction.

In ordinary conversation, very little of what we say, the actions we perform or the order in which we do things is determined in advance (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). In this sense, conversations are unpredictable. In some forms of interaction such as the interviews conducted for this study the topics but also the contributions and order of speakership is organized from the outset in an explicit and predictable way. This kind of organization involves special turn-taking procedures that can be described as special turn-taking systems. The most intensively studied institutional turn-taking organizations have been those that obtain in the courts (Atkinson and

Drew 1979), news interviews (Greatbatch 1988); (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991) and classrooms (McHoul 1978); Mehan 1985). As these institutional conversation types in courts, interviews, or classrooms suggest, special turn-taking organizations tend to be present in formal environments that normally have two significant features (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991). One is that there are a large number of potential participants in the interaction, whose contributions must be ‘controlled’ in some kind of formal way, such as in a classroom and/or there is an audience, such as in a court or an interview.

The three data collection methods, observations, focus groups and interviews, offered a rich and valid source of data in this case study which provided access to the ways in which TC students in their final year of secondary study account for their identities.

4.7 *Research Stages*

The proposed research was designed in **six** stages. The following is a short description of how the three data collection methods were used in these stages.

i. The Pilot Study

The aim of the pilot study was to provide some insights on the subject of the construction of TC adolescent identities in northern Cyprus. At the pilot study stage, the notion of identity was investigated in a single school context: in the private, English-medium school.

The key research question of the pilot study was to find the relationship between English language learning (ESL-L2 or as LI) and the self-perception of identities by Turkish Cypriot language learners in their final year of college. My principal focus was, at this stage, to observe, listen and gain greater understanding of the identity issues arising from the way in which students speak and how they use their language(s).

The pilot study aimed to discover whether the topic (TC students' identity) and the data collection methods (observation, focus groups and interviews) were appropriate to this study. In parallel to this, it also revealed that including a second school from the Kyrenia region with different social, ethnic, linguistic backgrounds would undoubtedly add a more complete dimension and sense of context in this case study on identities. (See **Appendix 4** for the pilot study)

ii. Pre-observation director/teacher meetings

The pre-observation director/teacher interviews followed the pilot study stage. They mainly aimed at gaining contextual information about the classes, students and the schools and managing technical administrative matters such as when, where, what and with whom. They also intended to elicit information on the nature of the class to be observed, the kind of material being taught, the teachers' approach to teaching, the kinds of students in the class, typical patterns of interaction and class participation, and any problems that might be expected. These data were expected to enable the selection of the six students to be followed for more intensive study.

What I learnt from the teacher interviews informed my student selection process and choice of methods. Other naturally occurring data gathered in these interviews relating to student, teacher and school backgrounds have been included in this section on methodology and case study since they provide valuable internal perception and framework of the school environment where student identities are constructed and investigated.

iii. Classroom Observations

Having established a programme for the school visits during the initial meetings with the school administrators, I proceeded to the observation stage. In my observation sessions I was interested in how the participant students revealed any data in their interactions with each other and with the teacher concerning their own identities (See **Appendix 5** for the semi-structured observation schedule). Although these observation notes were semi-structured (but quite naturalistic nevertheless) I tried to note down as systematically as possible, data such as the number of times both the teachers and the students used code-switching in one part of the lesson; responded to a question or a comment in the language that they were asked or made, or simply whether they made relevant anything I considered related to the subject of their identities.

The classes were hence observed with the ethno-methodological perspective in mind and some parts of lessons were video-recorded. The classroom observation phase contributed towards RQ1 because I was able to observe how the students speak and behave in both a language and a non-language lesson, which revealed different aspects of their identities as second language learners or as native speaker language learners.

iv. Observation: Field Notes

The second observation of the focus group students in the two schools was mainly shadowing the same group through the school day as much as possible and keeping field notes. I attempted to record all relevant information in an unobtrusive way. Observation was naturally not structured and the emphasis remained on capturing the linguistic and identity perspective of the students being observed. They were written as a narrative and needed to be organised immediately following the observations.

In my field notes I was interested how the participant students revealed any data in their interactions concerning their own identities, how they situated themselves in their groups, in the classroom and in the school in general, and also any kind of information they revealed in general about TC identity or identities. An extract of these field notes can be seen in **Appendix 6**.

v. Focus group discussions

The next stage was the organization of focus group discussions. Focus group students from the observed lessons, who accepted to participate, served as the key informants. There was one focus group in each school. The aim of this was to record some informal and natural conversations during their lunch hour, for example. The discussions were arranged to take place on school grounds but at a free time and place which was convenient to the participants. This was pre-arranged with the school administration prior to the day.

The sessions took place in a vacant classroom and audio-recorded. Prompt statements were provided to this group for discussion (See below) and the students were asked to rank individually the top three and the bottom three in terms of importance and relevance to them.

The prompt statements either arose from the pilot study or were popular topics in the northern Cyprus media on identities at that moment: Havadis (See **Appendix 8** for the newspaper articles and for the focus group prompts (30.3.2010), Star (28.3.2010), Yenidüzen (22.12.2009), Kıbrıs (19.10.2010) Yenidüzen, Kıbrıs and Havadis are popular daily newspapers in northern Cyprus which are published in Turkish.

The students then had to agree as a group to select only three of the statements for group discussions. My two focus groups were asked to discuss the following issues relating to identity. Data which were collected by the focus group method aimed to reveal the local and sequential construction of identities of the young Turkish Cypriots. (See **Appendix 7** for focus group details)

vi. Semi- structured, face-to-face interviews

The third and last data collection method and the last stage of the research design were the interviews. Student interviews took place in a quiet room allocated by the school administration, on the same day as the focus group discussions. The reason for this was that the observations and focus group discussions were considered as smooth warmers to the more demanding and intense interviews. In a couple of cases, since time was not sufficient, they were re-scheduled on the next day.

The actual interviews involved the same five or six students of the focus group from each school with a relatively pre-determined list of questions and/or topics that were provided to them (See **Appendix 9**). These topics focused on factors that surfaced during the preceding observation sessions and/or the focus group discussions, and therefore appeared relevant to student identity

issues. I was actively involved with pre-prepared prompts and although the interactional nature was maintained, I tried to avoid both monopolizing the interview and fading into the background.

Once the participants were assured of their anonymity and that their details would be kept confidential, the face-to-face interviews would offer deeper personal insights into the identity issues addressed in my study. Particularly, they allowed me to probe deeper into how they socially constructed their identities through face-to-face talk while they were simultaneously able to elaborate on their thoughts and opinions. Additionally, various underlying concerns, conflicts and contradictions were brought to life as discussed in the Data Analysis chapter.

The main advantage of face-to-face interviews was that the questions could be responsive to the interviewee and adapted if necessary, doubts clarified and responses properly understood or verified. Non-verbal cues from the student could also be picked up through body language (Wiersma and Jurs, 2009).

The duration of the interviews ranged from 15 to 25 minutes. They were conducted in Turkish and/or English, recorded and then transcribed.

The students were interviewed one at a time and the medium of interview was selected by the students as English. For the sake of consistency for this research, extracts from one male and one female student of Turkish Cypriot origin were used for Conversation Analysis and Institutional Conversation Analysis.

The interviews were loosely structured as follows:

Introductory text for the interviews after settling in the student and establishing rapport:

"Today I am here to talk to you because I am conducting a research project about young people in northern Cyprus, and so to get my research right, I thought I'd better talk to some young students studying in northern Cyprus to find out what they know, think and feel about the things that I'm writing about. This means it's your ideas and thoughts that count. There are no right and wrong answers, and if you are not sure about anything just tell me. If you don't know the answer to a question, please don't worry about it. Just tell me you don't know the answer. Thank you for accepting to do this interview."

Demographics: Teenager's age in years and months: _____ Teenager's school year: _____ Teenager's gender: _____ Teenager's ethnicity: _____ Teenager's religion: _____ Teenager's home postcode: _____ Date of interview: _____ Ethnicity and Nationality of interviewer: Turkish Cypriot Language in which interview was conducted: Turkish _____ English _____

Figure 9 Interview Demographics

4.8 Data Analysis

Data analysis followed an inductive approach allowing study findings to emerge from the data. Firstly, the information from the observations, interviews and focus group transcripts, discussion notes and videos were synthesized. Suspecting the large quantity of the data to be analysed, it began with some codings (see **Appendix 10**) via the case study method just to get a feel for what they contain. Far from being a complete analysis, classification can provide some initial direction to the data (Wiersma and Jurs, 2009). In brief, the insights and data on TC youth identities collected were preliminarily categorised by identifying the recurring and dominant themes.

Having gathered the data through an ethno-methodological perspective, its detailed analysis was intended to be theoretically defined as well. Yet, as Sacks et.al (1974) put it, whatever theory you use, your research will be shaped by concepts. In theoretically defined analysis, the researcher aims to shift the focus from the concept of what is simply said, observed and read to exploring and explaining the underlying meanings, structures and themes (Rapley, 2011 quoted in Silverman, 2011).

Analysing extracts of talk focuses largely on sequence. Meaning is tied to the order in which things happen or are presented (Silverman, 2011). Considering the importance of talk and order in our data and the ethno-methodological approach already applied, it naturally became evident that Conversation Analysis (CA) as one of the main traditions of social sciences (Silverman, 2011) which inform the transcripts of talk, would be an appropriate tool. This decision was a contextualised response to the nature of the corpus of the data, rather than a predetermined theoretical position.

The following diagram shows the data analysis stages:

Figure 10

DATA ANALYSIS STEPS



4.8.1 *Conversation Analysis (CA)*

CA emerged out of Garfinkel's (1967) programme for ethnomethodology and its analysis of 'folk' (ethno) methods' (Silverman, 2011). Having already applied the ethno-methodological approach to the research design of this study, it follows that CA is, naturally, an appropriate method that can be applied to data analysis relating to the TC youth and their methods of identity construction.

Sacks et al. (1974) describe CA as a research method that takes conversations and in particular turn-taking allocations in real-life settings as the object of study, and as a means of enacting social relationships and deducing possible power relations of participants. My study on identities and identity construction naturally rely on student conversations with their teachers or classmates (class observations), conversations amongst the participants (observations, focus group) or with the researcher (interviews). In this respect, too, CA is considered as a suitable method for the study.

CA's main aim is to analyse conversation as a joint endeavour which involves more than just one person, and involves conversational turns, which are governed by rules. Conversation Analysis is also known as 'a simplest systematic for the organization of turn-taking for conversation' or 'the speech exchange system' (Sacks et al., 1974).

CA is traditionally associated with micro-analysis of discourse. According to Fairclough (1992) discourse is 'language above the sentence or a form of social/ideological practice.' Foucault (1972) uses a plural form to denote 'practices that systematically form the object of which they speak.' In other words, CA undertakes to analyse naturally occurring conversation, or 'talk-in-

interaction', in a range of daily settings. These micro-interactions or talks are not considered as tiny insignificant little talks which happen under the big umbrella of the macro-structures. Instead, these macro-structures (societies, groups), are seen as partly created through the micro-interactions (Silverman, 2011) which need not be underestimated.

Traditionally, CA tends to consider interactive talk as opposed to monologic (which relates to monologue) sequences such as narratives in social, public or private settings. More recent work, on the other hand, concentrated principally on conversation in institutional settings such as schools or workplaces (Drew and Heritage, 1992), as discussed later in this section.

Conversation analysis is 'grounded in ethno-methodological principles', according to Baxter (2003), and is famous for its 'disinterest in external social or natural causes as well as for its rejection of making use of information that the participants themselves have not chosen to 'make relevant' within the duration of talk-in-interaction. Schegloff (1997:166-7) states the main aim of CA is the 'conversation sequence itself and what this and this alone, reveals about the participants.'

...because it is the orientations, meanings, interpretations, understandings etc. of the participants in some sociocultural event on which the course of that event is predicated – and especially if it is constructed internationally over time, it is those characterizations which are privileged in the constitution of socio-interactive reality, and therefore have a prima facie claim to being privileged in efforts to understand it.

This can be interpreted in my research as contextual categories of identities cannot be postulated a priori in order to understand and analyse the data unless they are made relevant by the participants themselves in the conversation sequence, either in what they say or in what they do. For Schegloff (1997), this 'grounded reality' of talk-in-interaction which is made visible by the CA, provides analysts with visibly strong alibi.

Another way of presenting the principles of CA is in relation to the questions which it asks. The essential question which we must ask at all stages of CA of data, according to Seedhouse (2005) is **‘why that, in that way, right now?’** This question encapsulates the perspective of interaction as action (why that) which is expressed by means of linguistic forms (in that way) in a developing sequence (right now) (Seedhouse, 2005). Sacks et al. (1974) provided the most original and creative account of the organisation of *turn-taking* in ordinary conversation. This states a set of norms with options which the participants can select. The simple systematics model is a mechanism for allocating turns to particular participants in a conversation. When a TRP (Turn Relevance Point) is reached, what follows is not a ‘free-for-all with everyone present having an equal chance of getting the floor next’ (Cameron, 2001:91). Instead Sacks et.al. suggest there is an ordered set of rules for the allocation of the next turn, which can be shown in summary like this:

The three turn-taking rules are, therefore:

- 1 Current speaker selects the next speaker. If this mechanism does not operate, then:
- 2 Next speaker self-selects. If this mechanism does not operate, then:
- 3 Current speaker may (but does not have to) continue.

The basis of the system is turn-constructive units (*TCUs*) and transition relevance places (*TRPs*). At a TRP the norms governing transition of speakers come into play. Overlap occurs for a number of reasons and in a number of ways. As Coates (1993) describes them, overlaps are moments of slight over-anticipation by the next speaker: instead of beginning to speak immediately following current speaker’s turn, next speaker begins to speak at the very end of current speaker’s turn, overlapping the last word.

4.8.2 *Analytical Framework*

My analytical framework uses the following well-known features of conversation analysis because they can index how the students construct identities through talk in a particular context and at a given time. In social construction of identities through talk, in particular, these features will draw attention to change in the turn-taking sequences. These in turn can signify how identities are locally constructed in that particular context and moment.

Interruptions are considered as violations of the turn-taking rules of conversation; that is, the next speaker begins to speak while current speaker is still speaking at a point in current speaker's turn which could not be defined as the last word (Coates, 1993). Violation, by definition provided by the Oxford Dictionary suggests that somebody's peace and/or privacy has been disturbed or not respected. In parallel to this definition, interruptions as violations index aspects of identity with regards to the speakers, why they were interrupted, why that way and why then. The answers to these 'why' questions will indicate aspects of their identities. CA features can be considered as multi-functional. By this I mean, why and how the teacher uses interruption more than the students in an extract, for example, may, depending on the contextual background, indicate that the teacher has a superior power position in that class at that particular moment, as someone holding the 'authority'. It may, on the contrary, indicate the eagerness of the teacher who is trying to motivate his/her students to achieve a set target for that lesson. The system of turn-taking is normative, that is to say it is related with norms. So speakers may choose to perform specific social actions 'by reference to one-party-at-a-time, even though they are realized through designedly simultaneous talk' (Schegloff, 2005: 48).

Overlap, then, may be designedly used to intensify the cohesive or non-cohesive nature of particular social actions. The ununited nature of local talk can index, for example, the lack of interest on the topic by the speaker; whereas overlapping may indicate his/her excitement at that particular moment to interact before the end of the previous turn.

In institutional settings, the organisation of turn-taking is constrained and related to *the institutional goal*, and this is the case in language classroom interaction (Markee, 2000); Seedhouse, 2004).

Repair comes into play whenever there are problems in the accomplishment of talk and may be defined as the treatment of trouble occurring in interactive language use. Trouble is anything which the participants judge is impeding their communication and a repairable item is one which constitutes trouble for the participants. Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977: 363) point out that ‘nothing is, in principle, excludable from the class ‘repairable’.

Repair is a vital mechanism for the maintenance of agreement between the speakers. It is of particular importance for language learners and teachers to understand how breakdowns in communication and misunderstandings can be repaired, as repair in the L2 classroom tends to be more difficult than in other settings (Seedhouse, 2004). It is important to distinguish *self-initiated repair* (I prompt a repair of my mistake) from *other-initiated repair* (somebody else notices my mistake and initiates a repair). Self-repair (I correct myself) must also be distinguished from other-repair (somebody corrects my mistake). Depending on the context that repair was done and who initiated it, repair can mean that the speaker is looking for a concession, a kind of peacemaking in a conversation that broke down. It can index a conciliatory nature of the speaker who aims to settle disputes or misunderstandings. It can, on the other hand, indicate that the

person doing the repair is simply correcting himself/herself or the other speaker in order to demonstrate what is correct instead.

Seedhouse (2004) suggests that interactional organisations of *turn-taking*, *adjacency pairs*, *preference organisation* and *repair* are often misunderstood by linguists to be a system of units and rules in the descriptive linguistic sense and to constitute the methodology of CA.

Adjacency pairs are a fundamental unit of conversational organisation and a key way in which meanings are communicated and interpreted in conversations (Paltridge, 2000). In other words, they are utterances produced by two successive speakers in such a way that the second utterance is regarded in relation to, and as a result of, the first utterance. Schegloff (1968), in an experiment with 500 telephone calls to and from a police station, discovered that 499 calls had the answerers speak first. His conclusion was that the call answerers do not answer a question but rather they are obliged to respond to a summons. He suggested therefore that summons–answer (SA) or question –answer (QA) or greetings sequences can be classed as adjacency pairs.

The adjacency pairs are not considered as final exchanges: the summoner is obliged to talk and further interaction depends on the completion of the sequence and the questions need to be answered for the conversation to continue. The receiver of the summons or the question feels obliged to answer and the summoner’s question establishes a SA or a QA sequence where the answer is expected. Adjacency pairs can also demonstrate how simple words or utterances can be used by young TC students to enter into conversation despite their usually pre-determined rights and ways in which they use to initiate interaction in the classroom context. In such cases, the students are constructing themselves an identity of a permission taker in a setting that conversation is expected to start by a figure of authority. For example:

Student	Teacher?
Teacher	Yes?
Student	Can I ask a question?
Teacher	Go ahead

As first discussed by Sacks (1974) the first utterance by the student ‘teacher’ establishes an SA sequence where the response is ‘yes?’. This response allows the student to ask what she/he really wanted to ask at the start, that is: ‘*can I ask a question*’ which must produce an answer. Consequently, this first utterance is a powerful way in which young adolescents enter into conversation despite their usually restricted rights to speak in the classroom context. Adjacency pairs can reveal, therefore, some aspects of TC youth identities with such SA, QA or greetings sequences. The summoners and answerers and the reasons for the summons and questions can indicate identities constructed in the classroom both amongst the students themselves and between the students and the teacher too.

It is important to remember that what is regarded as a ‘normal’ follow-up in one culture or a region may not necessarily be accepted in the same way in another. Similarly to Beal, (quoted in Paltridge, 2006), I have found that in the Turkish Cypriot culture, for example, when someone offers something to a friend, one expects that he or she insists before accepting it. In my experience, this is not necessarily the case in the European or the British culture and hence may require a different second part of an adjacency pair, as in the example below:

Turkish Cypriot friends: accepting an offer		English friends: accepting	or	refusing an offer
A	coffee?	C		C
B	no thanks	D		D
A	come on we have to have coffee	C		C
B	OK then			

Preferred and dis-preferred responses

In the adjacency pairs, as we have seen, when a speaker produces a first pair part they should stop talking and allow the second speaker to produce the second part. According to Paltridge (2006) there is, nevertheless, some freedom in responding to the first part of an adjacency pair. For example a question can be answered favourably, as in the extract above, or rejected, i.e. answered unexpectedly, disagreed with or simply refused.

The preferred and dispreferred responses can also indicate young TC identities so far as they demonstrate the ways in which teacher-student or student-student relations are constructed through responses to each other within the local context. The willingness or refusal to cooperate in the talk may reveal their positive or negative attitude towards a particular subject or a particular person or simply their lack of concentration and focus at that particular moment. They may hence contextually index an identity of pro or anti- institutional behaviour in that particular context and time. Some of the dispreferred responses in a classroom with teenage adolescents may simply index what the students have on their own agenda as their priority, perhaps, that has nothing to do with what's happening in that lesson.

Longer sequences with 'chaining turns' are common in institutional settings, such as the classroom. Instruction phase of the lesson may be managed through question-answer sequences in which the third turn is a kind of evaluation. Here is an example of *chaining*:

1. **Mr. Mathew** ahmm (.)in the text book it's page two hundred and fourteen (3) right (.)
2. farming fishing mining one more (.) what is my job if I'm cutting trees down?
3. **Murat** foresting=
4. **Mr. Mathew** =yes forestry good (.) okay so primary industry is to do with the
5. extraction of raw materials (.) okay the extraction of raw materials right (.) is
6. primary industry still big in the UK?
7. **Murat** no]
8. **Mr. Mathew** [no okay

Here the evaluation consists of a repeat of the answer to confirm its correctness, together with an accepting 'yes' or 'okay'. The teacher then initiates a new question – answer sequence with 'Is

primary industry still big in the UK? Classroom conversation can therefore consist of what Drew and Heritage (1992) call a ‘*recursive chain or progression*’ of such three-part sequences. Use of chaining can reveal aspects of the young adolescents as responsive, attentive, and having a positive attitude towards the lesson, the teacher and even the institution (the school) itself. According to Seedhouse (2004) the organisations in the system themselves are expressed in context-free terms, but the key point is that participants employ these organisations in a context-sensitive way to display their social actions. It is because the participants (and analysts) are able to identify the gap between the context-free model and its context-sensitive use that analysts are able to understand the social significance of the context-sensitive implementation. This is the basis of the CA claim to be able to uncover the culture-specific perspective.

The concept of ‘interactional organisations’ was introduced in relation to ordinary conversation by Schegloff, Sacks and Jefferson (1974). A number of studies (e.g. Drew & Heritage 1992a) describe how these interactional organisations are adapted to institutional goals in different *institutional settings*. Seedhouse (2004) describes how these interactional organisations or systems are adapted to and used in language classrooms.

4.8.3 *Institutional Conversation Analysis*

CA takes context into serious consideration (Silverman, 2011). In the classic statement of CA, ‘conversation is always situated – it always comes out of, and is part of, some real sets of circumstances of its participants’ (Sacks et al., 1974:699). This means that the context of ‘naturally occurring talk’ is important but, according to Silverman (2011), just because talk is occurring in a ‘formal’ setting, such as a school, it is necessarily different from ordinary

conversations. Sacks et al (1974) suggest that ordinary talk provides a baseline from which some move may be made towards an institutional character, for instance, by the teachers or administrators in a school. By looking into institutional talk in the classroom, for example, we need to examine carefully how the structures of ordinary talk become specialised, or simple or simplified, reduced or in some way adapted to the purposes of the institution (Maynard and Clayman, 1991).

It is through talk that we live our lives, build and maintain relationships, and establish 'who we are to one another'. (Drew, 2005:74)

Cameron (2001) points to the fact that discourse analysts privileged what they call 'ordinary talk', meaning the typical kind of talk which occurs in private and domestic settings between people who have a close relationship as opposed to distant relationship, such as in an institution. This kind of domestic talk is regarded as 'basic'. Basic here stems mainly from the basic language competence children acquire by talking to close family members in family settings. Institutional talk refers to talk in such settings as business meetings, classrooms, doctor- patient consultations, courtrooms, service encounters and relationships are expected to be not of a familiar nature.

Participants in these classrooms as institutional settings organise their turn-taking in a way that is distinctive from ordinary conversation. It can be seen from the four classroom transcripts that both the teacher and the students are organising their conduct so as to display and realise the 'institutional' character. In this context, Schegloff (1991) has argued that, if it is to be claimed that some interaction has a specifically 'institutional' character', then the importance and actions of the institutional context must be shown in the details of the participants' talk. This means that in addition to the normal CA tasks of analyzing the talk of the participants and the underlying

organization of their activities, talk and its organization must additionally be demonstrated to have orientations which are specifically institutional or which are responsive to constraints which are institutional in character or origin. As Schegloff observes, although we can have strong intuitions that activities are 'organized differently' in institutional settings, it is much more difficult to specify these differences precisely, and to demonstrate their underlying institutional character. Drew and Heritage identified several distinct domains of interactional phenomena which might be investigated for their relevance to the nature of institutional interaction (Drew and Heritage, 1992).

4.8.4 *Analytical Framework*

Analysts have focused on the considerations that make talk in institutional contexts different from ordinary talk. Paul Drew and John Heritage summarise what they take to be the main differences between institutional and ordinary talk (Drew and Heritage 1992:22):

- 1 Institutional interaction involves an orientation by at least one of the participants to some core goal, task or activity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in question. In short, institutional talk is normally informed by *goal orientations* of a relatively restricted conventional form.
- 2 Institutional interaction may often involve *special and particular constraints* on what one or both of the participants will treat as allowable contributions to the business at hand.
- 3 Institutional talk may be associated with *inferential framework* and procedures that are particular to specific institutional contexts.

It is with this definition of institutional CA that I will conduct a parallel and supplementary analysis to my data. This implies that there will be two lenses through which the selected extracts will be analysed: the ordinary CA where pure and original features of talk index identities (as

discussed earlier in this Section) in the way used by Sacks and institutional CA using the principles developed by Drew and Heritage, as above. This would allow for more robust analyses which would help to understand and explore how meanings, social realities and identities are constructed in a school setting in a more comprehensive way.

An additional section on ICA (Institutional Conversation Analysis) will be added to the standard Conversation Analysis (CA) section of each extract in order to add to the richness and the complexity of the analysis. Basically, ICA will focus on the above mentioned principles in rather a technical and contextual way:

- Goal orientations (GO)
- Allowable constraints (ACT)
- Inferential framework (IF)

In practical terms, some of interactions in the classrooms observed had very specific goals (as in Drew and Heritage's list above) set by the teacher or the institution. One, for example, was to prepare the students for the IGCSE Geography exam as the main overall objective. The specific goal (GO) of the institution in that particular lesson was to teach them about the primary industry in the UK, in particular. The teacher was asking all the questions relating to his goal (apart from one that was unrelated to the subject). Participants were asked to respond to the questions of the representative of the institution. The teacher ignored the only question asked by the students. His hesitation (*ahmmm*) and long pauses indicated his discontent about the situation. For ACT, then, the teacher considered the student's attempt as not allowable, and he inserted his authority to continue his own business at hand and he imposed the turn-taking rules imposed by the institution (IF).

The sequence of one way questions in institutional settings also illustrates an asymmetrical talk. In other words, the asymmetric distribution of questions and answers demonstrate that the participants do not visibly have equal status, power, responsibility or control in this classroom. This also distinguishes it from domestic or private encounters. Typically, in a classroom setting, the dominant party (the teacher on behalf of the institution) has the right (and/or the obligation) to ask the questions and the subordinate party (the students) has restricted rights to ask questions. The dominant party asking the questions, therefore, gains considerable power to direct the interaction according to his or her goals. The question forms the first turn of an adjacency pair, and not only does it require an answer, but also it is expected to be an appropriate answer: a preferred response as opposed to dispreferred response.

Drew and Heritage's third point concerning the *inferential frameworks* in institutional talk is that people who engage in talk which has an institutional goal use their understanding of what the institution aims to achieve to make inferences about the meaning (s) of words (or utterances) that they might not necessarily make in other contexts (Cameron, 2001). In the above extract this could be seen in the teacher's repetitions of answers as a way of his (or the institution's) approval. This is a highly unlikely interaction in a private or domestic setting. The teacher's (dominant speaker's) understanding of the school's (or the institution's) goal is that students will be prepared for the IGCSE in Geography, so, he acts and speaks accordingly, as above. The two CA approaches were valuable in analyzing how my participants enacted 'social realities' and hence constructed their identities, since most of my primary data was based on conversation in classroom observations, between focus group students and during interviews.

The process of data analysis is 'eclectic' (Creswell, 1994:153) and hence it is difficult to determine the right way. The way I conducted the data analysis was to initially identify a coding

procedure to be used and reduce the data to certain categories. Observational notes, focus group discussion and interview transcriptions were sorted out flexibly according to these codes. The ‘unstructured data’ (Creswell, 1994: 154) collected were colour coded on transcripts and notes of reference made accordingly. Unusual or otherwise useful quotes were also recorded that could be incorporated into the case study story. Coding areas were loosely adapted from Bogdan and Biklen (1992: 167-172) quoted in Creswell (1994: 156) as perspectives held by subjects on identities; students’ way of thinking about identities, Cyprus and the Cypriots as well as the EU, the English language, and education. The categories of information and the codes formed the basis for the emerging story of the case study. (See **Appendix 10**)

In this chapter, I have aimed to illustrate how and why observation, focus groups and interviews as data collection methods and the conversation analysis method were significant in my study and to give an impression of the prospects that I have attempted to explore. Detailed analyses of ten selected transcripts from observations, focus groups and interviews follow in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis

This chapter aims to explore the range of identities of language learners in the two schools in northern Cyprus and whether there are any differences in English and Turkish-medium school contexts which emerge by principally the use of Conversation Analysis (CA) but also Institutional Conversation Analysis (ICA). The following two diagrams (Figure 11 and Figure 12) summarise the main points of reference used for each type of analysis.

Conversation Analysis-CA

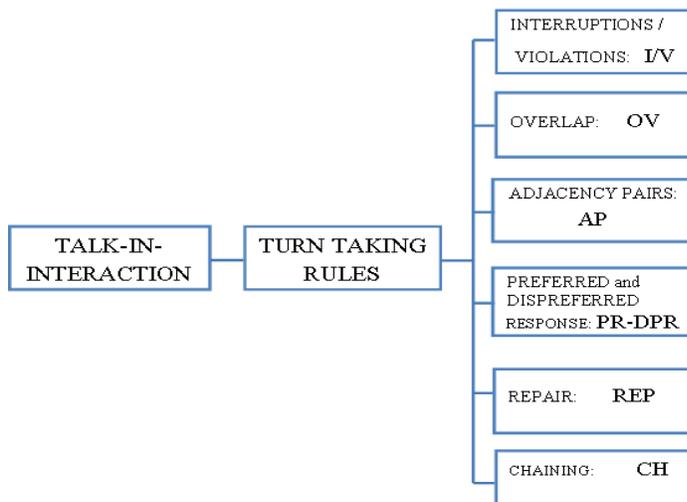


Figure 11

Institutional Conversation Analysis-ICA

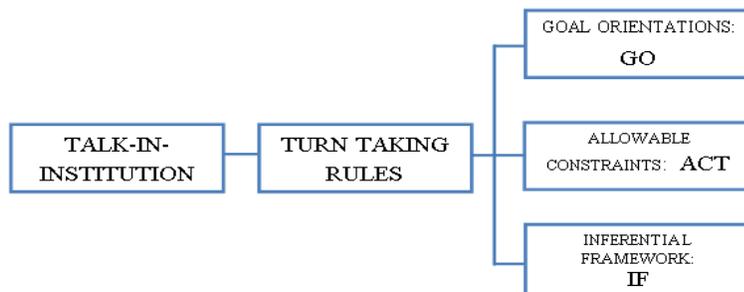


Figure 12

The process of data analysis is diverse (Creswell, 1994:153) and hence it is difficult to determine the ‘right way’. The way I conducted the data analysis was to initially identify a coding procedure to be used and reduce the data to certain categories. Observational notes, focus group discussion and interview transcriptions were sorted out flexibly according to these codes. The ‘unstructured data’ (Creswell, 1994: 154) collected were colour-coded on transcripts and notes of reference made accordingly. Unusual or otherwise useful quotes were also recorded that could be incorporated into the case study story. Coding areas were loosely adapted from Bogdan and Biklen (1992: 167-172) quoted in Creswell (1994: 156) as perspectives held by subjects on identities; students’ way of thinking about identities, Cyprus and the Cypriots as well as the EU, the English language, and education (see **Appendix 10**). The categories of information and the codes formed the basis for the emerging story of the case study.

The key emphasis in this chapter is on the following ten extracts which represent some of the main categories or themes which emerged from the data collected in relation to how these students index social construction of identity through talk. Pseudonyms are used throughout the extracts in order to ensure the anonymity of the informants.

1. Extract 1: English lesson at the English-medium private school (School A)
2. Extract 2: English lesson at the Turkish-medium public school (School B)
3. Extract 3: Geography lesson at the English-medium private school (A)
4. Extract 4: Geography lesson at the Turkish-medium public school (B)
5. Extract 5: Focus group at the English-medium private school (A)
6. Extract 6: Focus group at the Turkish-medium public school (B)
7. Extract 7: Interview of a girl student at the English-medium school (A)
8. Extract 8: Interview of a boy student at the English-medium school (A)
9. Extract 9: Interview of a girl student at the Turkish-medium school (B)
10. Extract 10: Interview of a boy student at the Turkish-medium school (B)

5.1 CA for classroom observation: Extracts 1 to 4

Extract 1: an English lesson at School A

School A is a privately owned English-medium school established outside the coastal town of Kyrenia. The school is a multicultural and plurilingual school with a population of approximately 400 students. The main languages spoken at the school are English and Turkish. The aim of the English lesson as explained by the teacher was to understand the difference between fact and opinion. She divided the class into pairs and provided each pair with a short piece of text on various unrelated subjects written on previously prepared pieces of paper. Each pair was expected to give their comments and reasons justifying their decisions on whether their texts contained a fact or an opinion. The following extract is from the ensuing class discussion: See Page 8 for the transcription key.

Participants:

T: Teacher (female, TC from the UK) **Tatiana:** a girl student **Pinar:** a girl student
Safiye: a girl student **Behiye:** a girl student **Ss:** several students at a time

Official language of the lesson: English Mixed group
Objective of the lesson: To understand the difference between fact and opinion

1. **Tat** it's about how much they're paying for the cost of the (...) it's telling you an
2. exact number]
3. **T** [so what's the exact number?
4. **Tat** one point five billion dollars=
5. **T** =so that's a fact (.) they pay one point five billion dollars(.) for an aircraft]
6. **Tat** [sorry(.) seven (.) it's
one point seven=
7. **T** =one point seven (.) ok (.) all right(.) so you picked out a fact there (.) Pinar and
8. Behiye (.)what's your article about? give me the title?
9. **Pin** talk after cause (2) (*coughing*) sorry about that(.) we talk after (...)
10. like that cook book pulled after recipe
11. **T** ok (.) right (.) so can you pick out a fact or opinion in there? what does it have?
12. so if I say there's something about a cook book there(.) something has
13. happened (.) looking at this do we think (.) is this a fact in here?]

14. **Pin** [no
15. **T** why do you think it's not a fact Safiye?
16. **Saf** I don't think ehmm ehmmm (2) because it's].
17. **T** [yeah (.) it gives you the name of the
18. book (.) the author (.) tells you about the article (.) that's happened in this article
19. Behiye there's a spelling mistake, they had to recall and they had to retype all the
20. books (.) that's what's happened (.)today it's very hot (.) do you think it's hot?]
21. **Ss** [yes
22. **T** that's your opinion? or do we know for fact that it's hot?]
23. **Saf** [fact
24. **T** temperature quite hot isn't it? that's good (.) all right (.) so (.) in the IELTS (.)
25. when you're sitting the exam (.) you're going to have lots of texts (.)

Conversation Analysis - CA

From this extract, what we notice at a glance is that turns are being taken between students and the teacher one after another and there is an equal distribution of turns, twelve each, counting student group turns as an individual turn.

The student's first turn (Lines 1 and 2) is comprised of two Turn Construction Units (TCUs). It starts with a statement giving reasons for her choice on the subject of 'fact or opinion' which we know from the previous transcript. The second TCU is another attempt to justify her position. The interesting point here is that nobody, not even the teacher, uses the first Turn Transition Relevance Point (TRP). There could be two assumptions in this context: one is that the teacher is aiming to give Tatiana a second chance to complete her valid argument or this is a result of the respect this group has for Tatiana. What is evident is that Tatiana has more access to turns than her colleagues in this English class.

It is only at the end of the second TCU that there is a violation to Tatiana's turn by the teacher in Line 3, also forming an adjacency pair. The teacher's turn is a question beginning with a connective expressing reason or purpose, 'so' preceding the 'wh' question 'what'. This is

probably because the teacher as the dominant partner in this conversation is trying to do ‘bridging’ between Tatiana’s first turn and the next turn with the aim of obtaining the ‘right’ or the exact answer. Consequently Line 4 is a preferred response to the teacher’s question and shows that the teacher is successful in reaching her goal and thus latches, in collaboration with Tatiana (Lines 4 and 5).

The interesting point is that it is the student herself who is doing a self-repair by violating the teacher’s next turn in which the teacher is determinedly approving what this student has just said. Tatiana gives the correct number: one point seven. The teacher latches again and accepts Tatiana’s self-repair with discourse markers such as ‘ok’, and ‘all right’ without hesitation. Tatiana is, as we know from observation of a number of lessons, a strong ally to the teacher. The teacher takes this answer, and repeats it, as if to reconfirm their alliance, and to reaffirm her own authority and dominance in this conversation. She is re-asserting control and her ‘expertise’ on this subject. Her domination continues with her choice of the next speaker(s). This is one of the methods Sacks et al (1974) referred to ‘current speaker chooses next speaker’.

The following quotation illustrates the point above.

1. Tat it’s about how much they’re paying for the cost of the (...) it’s telling you an
2. exact number]
3. T [so what’s the exact number?
4. Tat one point five billion dollars=
5. T =so that’s a fact (.) they pay one point five billion dollars(.) for an aircraft]
6. Tat [sorry (.) seven (.) it’s one point seven=
7. T =one point seven (.) ok (.) all right (.) so you picked out a fact there (.) Pinar
- and
8. Behiye (.) what’s your article about? give me the title?

Lines 7 and 8 demonstrate an unsuccessful attempt by the teacher to involve the two quieter girls, Pinar and Behiye.

9. Pin talk after cause(2) (*coughing*) sorry about that(.) we talk after (...)
10. like (.) that cook book pulled after recipe

Pinar starts the turn by refusing to answer ‘talk after cause’ which is not yet responsible, or grammatically complete. This is followed by a long pause of two seconds and coughing all of which indicate a dispreferred response. She continues the turn since the teacher has not reacted to her first refusal, by apologising. Unconvincingly Pinar attempts to answer but her response is confusing. The teacher’s next turn (Lines 11 – 13) starts with discourse markers ‘ok’, ‘right’ as an operation to save Pinar which themselves can be used as Turn Transition Relevance Points (TRPs) by Pinar but she chooses not to.

The teacher continues her part of the conversation with five questions (or parts of questions) using ‘can’, ‘what’, ‘do’ forms of questions as if to provide a range of opportunities and styles for the girls, in particular Pinar, to be able to give the teacher’s expected answer. It is only after the last TCU ‘looking at this do we think is this a fact in here?’ that Pinar interrupts the teacher with a one-word answer ‘no’ (Line 14).

- 11 T ok (.) right (.) so can you pick out a fact or opinion in there? what does it have?
12 so if I say there’s something about a cook book there (.) something has
13 happened (.) looking at this do we think (.) is this a fact in here?]
14 [no

At this point, the teacher desists from her attempt to allow extra time for Pinar and proceeds to maintaining control of the floor and designates the next speaker by asking a direct question to Safiye, Pinar’s partner. Safiye is equally reluctant and unable to answer indicated by her choice

of words such as ‘ I don’t think’, fillers ‘ehmm ehmmm’, a long pause of two seconds, and an incomplete TCU ‘because it’s’ (Line 16).

16 Saf I don’t think ehmm ehmmm(2) because it’s].
17 T [yeah....

The teacher’s next turn is a violation of this TCU with affirmative ‘yeah’. This is followed by a long turn by the teacher explaining that the answer is ‘it is a fact’ and giving reasons for it. What is noticeable is that the teacher refers to Behiye (another girl) in an effort to generate interest in this conversation that went on too long and was unproductive. The information she is giving as the expert on this subject of fact or opinion is relevant to everybody; she appears to want to involve as many students as possible in this exercise. She might also be concerned that other students might be affected by Pınar and Behiye’s non-participative and non-collaborative responses, in an institutionally undesired manner.

One point to consider in this comparatively longer turn of 54 words is the teacher’s abrupt new topic-setting at the end of her part of the conversation in Line 20, ‘today it’s very hot (.)do you think it’s hot?’, to which students respond ‘yes’, collaboratively but as an interruption. The teacher’s next turn, forming a new adjacency pair, comprises of two parts. The first TCU ‘that’s your opinion’ is used as a question with elongated ‘ion’ sound expressed by a question mark (?). This is a common way to form questions in natural talk, also in the Turkish language, which is a language most of these students use as a second language if not as their mother-tongue. The second TCU is a clear cut question, to which Safiye now responds giving the much-wanted answer ‘fact’.

Finally the teacher seems relieved as in Lines 24 – 25, ‘that’s good, all right, so’ and can move on to her point in connection with the IELTS exam.

24 T temperature quite hot isn't it? that's good (.) all right (.) so(.) in the IELTS
25 when you're sitting the exam (.) you're going to have lots of texts (.)

The first reference to the IELTS exam was made at the beginning of the lesson (as we know from the observation of this lesson), the second one towards the end of the lesson. Reference to this exam possibly highlights a hidden discourse amongst the members of this class. Firstly, they might have a British background or a connection to the UK through their families as children of families who might have immigrated to Cyprus. Secondly, these students might be hoping to pursue their tertiary education in the UK. This discourse may also refer to their status in the Cypriot society as well as their ethnicity. Only students with European nationalities and financial capacity generally have the opportunity of studying in the UK or other EU countries. Other nationalities, as we know, are required to meet visa requirements and pay international fees making it a harder financial and bureaucratic challenge to meet.

It is worth noting that in this simple extract, although there is an equal distribution of twelve turns between the teacher and the students (as a whole group), the teacher's turns are on average 20 – 30 words (the longest being 54 words), but the student turns are on average between 1-7 words (the longest one being 18 words). Teacher questions total 80 as opposed to no questions asked by the students. This data alone index a form of asymmetrical power relations imposed by the classroom and the school setting. I suggest that the one-word answers or students as unwilling respondents in the conversation may index their opposition to this institutional power exercised upon them. Interestingly the students do not hesitate to interrupt the teacher as in Lines

5, 16, 20 and 23, possibly an indication of their resistance to being treated as subordinate members in this institutional context or simply ‘playing the game’ of being a student.

Extract 2: an English lesson in School B

School B is a public Turkish-medium school established in the centre of the coastal town of Kyrenia. The school has a population of approximately 800 students. The main language spoken at the school is Turkish.

In the extract below, the teacher and the class are discussing an extract from an English textbook (*Inspiration 3 - MacMillan*) on the importance of having friends. They are discussing pictures of friends and making sentences with the given pattern and vocabulary.

Participants:

SM: teacher (female, TC)
 Ss: a few students at a time

Sev: a girl student
 Meh: a boy student

Official language of the lesson: English Mixed group

Objective of the lesson: Discussion and reading on what girls and boys talk about

1. **SM** (....) what about boy?can you tell us what the boys talk about?=
 2. **Ss** =football.
3. **SM** football (.) many kinds of sports (.) women don't talk about sports (.)
 4. they are always talking that they are fat and that they are not doing
 5. sport (.) ok so what else do they talk about (?) football any kind of
 6. sports?=
 7. **Ss(girls)** =girls...
8. **SM** girls?
 9. **Ss(girls)** hunting:
 10. **SM** hunting (.) yes we know someone who is always talking (.) with boys
 11. talking... what else (?) what about problems (?) do you think boys share
 12. their problems like girls?
 13. **Ss(girls)** no::]
14. **Sev** [no they can't sh]are
 15. **SM** [they can't share (?) I always had that impression as well
 (.) do
16. they (?) if they have a problem (.) do they go to their friends (?) who is your
 17. best friend (?) a boy (..) come on] (*the teacher turns towards Mehmet*)
 18. **Meh** [Kemal=
 19. **SM** =Kemal(.) ok(.)do you go to Kemal and say
 Kemal I've got a very personal problem(.) you talk to him about a problem?
 20. **Meh** yes (*he nods*)
 21. **SM** you do:::: interesting (2) we all think that boys don't talk about it they
 22. are always strong (.) but they are not(.) we know now(.) ok(.) ehmm (.) is
 23. there anything else you want to say(?)

Conversation Analysis - CA

From this extract, what we notice at a glance is that turns are being taken between students and the teacher, one after another. The teacher's first turn is comprised of one Turn Construction Unit (TCU). It starts with 'what' which we can see from the rest of her turn is the start of a question which is possibly a pre-request. This in itself is probably not a TCU – it is not yet 'responsible' because no action has been completed.

The teacher's turn in Line 1 constitutes a 'repair'. This repair involves a practice that the teacher 'orients to' and resolves problems in speaking and understanding in her turn of talk. She is in fact doing self-repair within the same turn by paraphrasing her question and finishing the TCU. The TCU is 'what about a boy?' which is still not responsible until the second question follows:

Line 1 can you tell us what the boys talk about? =

Her turn ends with latching with the answer 'football' by the students. The TCU is grammatically complete, and is treated as complete (as having established its action) by the students, who take the next turn. Thus, the end of the word 'about', is the first Transition Relevance Place (TRP).

The students' response 'football' is another TCU and also constitutes the second part of the adjacency pair set up by the teacher. It shows that these students, whose mother tongue is not English, have understood the first pair part to be making a question. The students' response 'football' is an answer and a 'preferred' turn, delivered straightforwardly, without delay. However, the teacher takes this answer, and repeats it, as if to confirm, since she is the authority, the dominant participant in this conversation. She is re-asserting control and her 'expertise' on this subject, not only on the English language. She is also making claims on the subjects of sports, women and gender in general.

Clearly the dominant participant in this conversation is the teacher since she is opening the talk with her chosen questions. She is also controlling the topic of discussion which is 'what the boys talk about when they are amongst themselves'. This question follows, (I know from the previous

transcripts of the same lesson) from the same question relating to girls. Gender is therefore made overtly relevant in this classroom talk by the teacher through comparison between boys and girls.

Although there are more than one Turn Construction Units in Lines 3-6, the students only respond to the teacher's next question:

Line 5 ok (.) so what else do they talk about (?) football? any kind of sport (.) =

and the response is latched:

Line 8 =girls

From Lines 2 to 19, it is noticeable that the teacher repeats the last word(s) of the students' response, almost each time, as follows:

S: Student **T:** Teacher

Line 2 S football
Line 3 T football

Line 7 S girls
Line 8 T girls

Line 9 S hunting
Line 10 T hunting

Line 13 S no
Line 14 S no, they can't share
Line 15 T no, they can't share

Line 18 S Kemal
Line 19 T Kemal

These show that the students are minimally collaborating with the teacher and the teacher is possibly aiming at reinforcing learning as well as re-asserting control and sharing her 'expertise'.

The goal here is the goal set by the institution (the school) as referred to by Drew and Heritage (1992).

Line 10 T hunting (.) yes we know someone who is always talking... with boys
 Line 11 talking... what else(?) what about problems(?) do you think boys share
 Line 12 their problems like girls?

Here, the teacher is inferring shared knowledge by the use of the pronoun ‘we’ as an in-group identity marker (Eldridge, 1996), making herself a part of the group together with her students. The concept of hunting is made relevant as a marker of gender by the girls as something boys talk about. Interestingly, according to Bret (2003), hunting has been a primary undertaking and source of masculine identity throughout human history and is considered as a ritual for initiating boys into manhood.

Line 14 S [no they can't sh]are
 Line 15 T [they can't share(?) I always had that
 impression as well(.)

In this adjacency pair, the teacher interrupts the student girl as she is about to complete the TCU, before she has fully pronounced the verb ‘share’, by repeating her sentence ‘no they can’t share’, and then agreeing with her: ‘I always had that impression as well’.

There appears to be seamless chaining with ‘preferred’ responses to adjacency pairs until Line 21, even if the students are minimally compliant as learners. The school and hence this lesson is compulsory so the students’ participation are all but one ‘one-word-answers’ showing a minimum level of interest. This may also be interpreted as a form of resistance towards ‘institutional talk’. As Drew and Heritage (1992) noted, the dominant participant is asking all the questions throughout the extract. There clearly is a pre-established system of turn-taking and allocated questions and answers. In this extract alone, there are eight questions, six one-word

answers and one four-word answer, interrupted by the teacher. Students ‘orient to’ order in talk: they are not violating the sequences.

The Lines 19 – 23 interestingly include a ‘dispreferred’ response from Mehmet (a male student). The teacher is clearly expecting a different answer from Mehmet, because Mehmet is disagreeing with her presumption that ‘boys don’t share personal problems with other boys’. This is evident in her response to Mehmet, as the second part of the adjacency pair:

Line 21 T	you do ?::: interesting (2) we all think that boys don’t talk about it they
Line 22	are always strong (.) but they are not (.) we know now (.) ok(.) ehmm (.) is
Line 23	there anything else you want to say (?)

Her surprise/disappointment is reflected in her rising intonation and elongated sound of ‘do:::’ implying a questioning surprise, followed by her choice of qualifying adjective ‘interesting’ and a long pause of two seconds, all of which shows that this was not her expected or preferred response. In Line 22 she is attempting self-repair on this unexpected situation: ‘we know now’, perhaps resenting the fact that the student knows something she did not know, as the teacher, the authority, the expert.

She is also using the process fillers ‘ehmm’ and ‘ok’ to cope with the situation and then gaining control of the floor again with a new question: ‘is there anything else you want to say?’ as if to say ‘I have the power to select the next speaker and the next topic’, and concluding the discussion on the subject of boys sharing personal problems in comparison to girls.

Extract 3: a Geography lesson at School A

The lesson was in English with a native English speaking teacher. Teacher was asking questions on the subject of primary, secondary and tertiary industry and writing notes on the board. He was facing the board and occasionally turning to face the students.

Participants:

T: teacher (male, from the UK) Mustafa (Mus): a male student
Burak: a male student **Emre:** a male student
Ss: several students speaking at the same time **Mixed group**

Official language of the lesson: English

Objective of the lesson: Industrialisation and service industry

1. **T** ...primary (.) good (.) and if we were in a primary industry can somebody tell me
2. a job they'd be doing?
3. **Ss** farming fishing]
4. **T** [farming fishing (.) yes (.) another one (2) farming (.) fishing (.)
5. okay (.) another two (.) there are another two jobs (.) Mustafa farming fishing (.)
6. what's another one?
7. **Mus** mining=
8. **T** =thank you Mustafa you sounded like Eliz then (.)but that was great thank
9. you (.) farming fishing mining one more]
10. **Bur** [sir which page?
11. **T** ahmm (.)in the text book it's page two hundred and fourteen (3) right (.)
12. farming fishing mining one more (.) what is my job if I'm cutting trees
13. down?
14. **Ss** foresting=
15. **T** =yes forestry good (.) okay so primary industry is to do with the extraction
16. of raw materials (.) okay the extraction of raw materials right (.) is
17. primary industry still big in the UK?
18. **Ss** no]
19. **T** [no okay
20. **Emre** (...)
21. **T** say again please? =
22. **Emre** =they prefer to import

Conversation Analysis - CA

From this extract, what we notice immediately is that turns are being taken between students and the Geography teacher one after another and there is an equal distribution of turns, seven turns for each participant of the conversation (teacher – student as a group). The sequence is unbroken

throughout the extract. There is symmetry in the conversation and the adjacency pairs are formed collaboratively.

The first turn in this conversation is taken by the teacher. The first TCU in this turn is the word 'primary' here referring to primary industry, and we understand that this is a repetition of the preceding answer provided by a student. The teacher hence affirms the correct answer by repetition followed by a double confirmation 'right'. The question which follows forms the last TCU in this turn and the first part of the adjacency pair.

Several students provide answers voluntarily, Line 3, 'fishing farming' to this seemingly straightforward question. The students' preferred response forms the second part of this adjacency pair.

The teacher interrupts the students' turn by repeating 'fishing farming' as affirmation, since he is the dominant partner, the expert in this institutional conversation (Heritage, 2005). This kind of teacher affirmation through repetition can be observed throughout the extract:

3	Ss	farming fishing
4	T	farming fishing
7	S	mining
8	T	mining
14	Ss	foresting
15	T	forestry
18	Ss	no
19	T	no

It is worth noting that the students are not necessarily conversing as individuals in these turns but rather they are anonymous respondents/students treated as one individual (or the other party

with whom the conversation is taking place) by the teacher. Anonymous student responses form some of the students' turns in this extract as in Lines 3, 14, 18.

The implications of anonymity in the classroom context can be considered as salient in this particular lesson. According to McKeachie, Wilbert, et al. (2005) anonymous versus identified participation may have gender, ethnicity, and status implications within the classroom. It might simply offer security and power in case of a possible 'wrong' answer. This could be one of the strategies used by the teacher in order to encourage *reflective learners* and to offer shy students a means of developing ideas that they can then contribute to the class discussion as opposed to students who frequently volunteer to contribute as *active learners*, who typically think while they speak.

The teacher's turn is completed with a question addressed directly at Mustafa (Lines 5 and 6), with the current speaker choosing next speaker (Sacks et al, 1974).

5 TMustafa farming fishing
6 what's another one?

Mustafa has an immediate answer to this question forming a collaborative and preferred response 'mining'. The teacher – student collaboration is further enhanced by the teacher's latching and thanking Mustafa for his correct and spontaneous answer.

Unfortunately, the ideal teacher-student collaboration and orderly institutional ethos is abruptly interrupted by Burak.

10 Bur [sir which page?

The teacher starts his next turn with a process filler ‘aahhmm’ and a long pause of three seconds in an effort to gain time and reorganize himself with regard to this dispreferred response in many ways. Not only is it an interruption of the dominant partner in the conversation, the expert representing the institution, the content of the student’s question is unrelated to the topic set by the teacher. Furthermore, it indicates that the student has not been following the lesson, being unaware of the whereabouts they are in the textbook.

11 T ahmm (.) in the text book it’s page two hundred and fourteen (3) right (.)
12 farming fishing mining one more (.) what is my job if I’m cutting trees
13 down?

The ‘right’ in the middle of the teacher’s turn is the breakpoint between the answer to Burak and the continuation of the lesson as previously set by the teacher.

14 Ss foresting=
15 T =yes forestry good (.) okay so primary industry is to do with the extraction
16 of raw materials (.) okay the extraction of raw materials right (.) is primary industry still
17 big in the UK?

The teacher is gladly latching to the students’ preferred response, correcting their answer as ‘forestry’ instead of ‘foresting’ and approving with ‘good, okay’.

Similarly to the English lesson in the same school, we notice a series of references to the UK and the IGCSE exam in the Geography lesson as well. These references highlight and make relevant a number of possible expectations of these students with regard to their tertiary education. These objectives could possibly indicate some aspects of their family backgrounds, ethnicity and financial status in the Turkish Cypriot society in which they live. These were observed to be unparalleled in data obtained at the Turkish-medium state school.

The question starts with a greeting ‘my teacher’ which is a Turkish way of referring to the teacher (*hocam*) showing respect.

The hesitation ‘ehmm’ in Line one used as the process filler, also indicates that this is a hesitation perhaps indicating nervousness about taking the initiating role and a conversational opening. Lines 1 to 3 constitute the first Turn Construction Unit (TCU) to which the teacher responds Line 4. The question, then, forms the first turn and the response the second turn of the adjacency pair thus completing it. The end of the response constitutes the Transition Relevance Point (TRP). The interesting point here is that the student has taken the initiative to ask the question as if she was the dominant party in the turn-taking sequence and the teacher’s response is a preferred response. Our roles have been exchanged in this part of the conversation.

In line 5 though, the ‘silence’ is a violation of the sequence and there is hence a breakdown of the chain in the conversation.

In line 6 the teacher makes a statement:

‘I want someone to read aloud about the Russian Federation (1) anybody?’

The part of the statement until the one-second pause constitutes a TCU and is quite a long pause, an ideal TRP which is ignored by the students. The teacher then continues his turn by a collaborative question: ‘anybody?’ to whom a female student volunteers a response, hence forming a ‘preferred’ response and the second part of this adjacency pair. It is important to note that a question is not usually answered with a question, as in Line 7 below.

Line 7 me teacher?

This question ('me teacher?') not only provides a response to the teacher's question ('does anybody want to read?') as an answer ('I do'), but gives the option of approval to the teacher at the same time. The teacher has the option of accepting her proposal or refusing it. The student is given the approval with a nod from the teacher until she is interrupted by him.

In Line 8 T Tchernobyl means what? it exploded do you remember?

The teacher, as the dominant participant asks two more questions to which the students only nod and approve; there are at this point only non-verbal responses. This is important as Schegloff (2005) widened Conversation Analysis' (CA) unit of analysis from '*talk-in-interaction*' to '*talk-and-other-conduct in interaction*' or '*practices-in-interaction*' to capture the notion that CA conducted or videoed interaction captures its embodied nature more completely. Adding non-verbal responses in this extract enable us to capture more than the words would have done on their own. In other words, these '*other- than- talk -practices*' enable us to capture more about the conversation than the talk alone. In the following quotation the teacher selects the next speaker, Emine, by addressing her directly, as Sacks et al (1974) noted as one of the three techniques that the current speaker can use:

Line 10 CC ehmm (.) Emine (.) continue please

From Lines 14 until Line 20, however, the teacher selects 'the current speaker may continue' technique also noted by Sacks et al (1974).The conversation chain, in this sequence, is broken by silences which are considered as violations of sequential talk. The orderly sequence is being challenged by the silences imposed by the students in this Geography lesson.

Lines 12 – 15 form a sequence of three turns with two adjacency pairs within. Line 12 and 13 is the first adjacency pair, and Lines 13, 14, 15 the second one hence ‘Line 13 South Africa’ plays the role of both the first part and the second part of an adjacency pair.

Line 12 T	who won the 2010 world cup? where was the match?
Line 13 S	South Afjrica
Line 14 T	[yes that’s right (.) but despite the fact that the country has gold and
Line 15	diamond reserves the country is very poor (.....)

The first part of this adjacency pair is constituted by the use of closed questions, the ‘wh’ questions (who and where), seeking neither detailed reasoning nor explanations. On the contrary, only simple one word answers will suffice. So this might indicate that the teacher is already setting the context for short answers. It might be possible that from his experience of teaching these students his expectation is reduced to short or minimal responses. This might also work the other way round: the students’ awareness of the teacher’s expectations might also affect their classroom performance.

The following lines, Lines 16 to 20, show where the conversation chain appears to be completely broken: the teacher is performing a monologue of questions violated by silences which he is expecting the students to use as TRPs, but they choose not to.

Line 16 T	what other natural resources can you think of?
Line 17 Ss	(...)
	<i>(Ss talk amongst themselves but do not answer the question)</i>
Line 18 T	what countries can you think of that have a natural resource?
Line 19 Ss	(...)
	<i>(Ss talk amongst themselves but do not answer the question)</i>
Line 20 T	what natural resources does Turkey have?

In Lines 13 to 15 the topic of South Africa and its poverty is made relevant by the teacher. The reference to its gold and diamond reserves, and the choice of the contrastive double conjunction

‘but despite’ show that the teacher is making relevant his personal opinion on the poverty of South Africa. It can be interpreted that he considers it a shame or a dilemma that a country so rich in natural reserves has so much poverty.

Here, in Lines 16 to 20 evidently, the teacher is positioning himself in the institutional format by asking all the questions and also approving with an overlap as in the example in Line 14:

Line 14 [yes that’s right (.).

He is also ignoring the silences as violations and giving himself the next turn four times in a row.

The overall structure is ‘one speaker speaks at a time’ but there are silences which can be regarded as violations to the sequential talk. These interactional problems need to be ‘repaired’ by the participants in this talk. The extract is also an example of ‘asymmetrical’ talk in which the students and the teacher do not have equal power, status, responsibility or control as explained by Drew and Heritage (1992). The dominant party, here the teacher, has the right and the obligation to ask questions but the students can also choose silences as their responses, which might indicate their resentment or opposition to the school context of dominance. Being an uncooperative student could also be a game played in a classroom context.

To sum up, as in the English lesson, the minimal involvement by the students in the Geography lesson, may index some kind of resistance to this institutional context: the lesson and hence the school. The noticeable feature in this extract is the silences and almost no participation in the subject set, which is dominated by the teacher.

5.2 Institutional Conversation Analysis–ICA of four Classroom Observation Extracts (Extracts 1 to 4)

Goal orientations: GO

Allowable constraints: ACT

Inferential frameworks: IF

Participants in an institutional setting such as these classrooms organise their turn-taking in a way that is distinctive from ordinary conversation. It can be seen from the four classroom transcripts that both the teacher and the students are organising their conduct so as to display and realise the 'institutional' character. In this context, Schegloff (1991) has argued that, if it is to be claimed that some interaction has a specifically 'institutional' character, then the importance and actions of the institutional context must be shown in the details of the participants' talk. This means that in addition to the normal CA tasks of analyzing the talk of the participants and the underlying organization of their activities, talk and its organization must additionally be demonstrated to have orientations which are specifically institutional or which are responsive to constraints which are institutional in character or origin. As Schegloff observes, although we can have strong intuitions that activities are 'organized differently' in institutional settings, it is much more difficult to specify these differences precisely, and to demonstrate their underlying institutional character. Drew and Heritage identified several distinct domains of interactional phenomena which might be investigated for their relevance to the nature of institutional interaction (Drew and Heritage 1992); (Drew and Sorjonen 1997); (Heritage 1997). The main domain in institutional conversation analysis, as suggested by Drew and Heritage (1992) included turn-taking organization, sequence organization, turn design, lexical choice and forms of asymmetry. Let us now explore some of these points from an institutional conversation analysis (ICA) perspective focusing mainly on the goal orientations (GO), allowable constraints (ACT) and inferential framework (IF).

The goal orientations (GO) of these extracts are simultaneously inherent and overtly stated. A great majority of the goals which remain inherent are what schools with varied expectations and goals across the globe aim to do: to meet the challenges of the academic programme. That might include preparing the students for state-mandated achievement tests or internationally recognised ones (such as IELTS or IGCSE as in School A) and ensuring that students make progress understanding course content. The teachers know the standards as defined by their state and local districts or by a Board of Directors (in a private school such as School A) and recognize that they are accountable for all students' performance in reaching these standards. This is a major inherent institutional goal that sets the framework for all other goals throughout this study. Students too have goals and they approach the school (and the classroom) with diverse expectations and aims. For instance, some might be eager to earn good IELTS/IGCSE grades and pursue their academic studies after their last year in their secondary school in an English-medium university in the UK; some might be more vocationally oriented and some might even claim to have no goals at all.

ICA: Extract 1

More locally, the aim of the first English lesson in School A (page 150) as overtly explained by the teacher at the beginning of the lesson (from which the extract is taken) is to understand the the difference between 'fact and opinion' as this is considered to be relevant to the IELTS examination.

The GOs are hence declared and the exam itself is made relevant again in Lines 24 and 25:

24	T	temperature quite hot isn't it? that's good (.) all right (.) so (.) in the IELTS (.)
25		when you're sitting the exam (.) you're going to have lots of texts (.)

In the case of the first extract what we see is that turns are primarily Question-Answer (Q-A) sequences and the teacher is asking all the questions orienting to her lesson objective (Lines 5, 7, 11 – 25). The teacher is in control of the situation in this locally constructed institutional talk and the participants demonstrate their understanding of the ACTs as in Lines 9 to 14:

9	Pin	talk after cause (2) (<i>coughing</i>) sorry about that(.) we talk after (...)
10		like that cook book pulled after recipe
11	T	ok (.) right (.) so can you pick out a fact or opinion in there? what does it have?
12		so if I say there's something about a cook book there(.) something has
13		happened (.) looking at this do we think (.) is this a fact in here?]
14	Pin	[no

The student, Pinar, refuses to (or simply cannot) answer the question asked by the teacher and knowing that this is not really allowable in this institutional context she is making an effort to find an alternative moment 'after' to do the expected. Her uneasiness can also be indexed by her coughing, her relatively longer pause (2), the repetition of 'we talk after' and even her excuse 'sorry about that'. The teacher in her long turn (Lines 11-13) insists on obtaining an answer to her question and counter attacks this unallowable situation where she did not reach her goal by the use of a multiple part question, to which Pinar replies with a simple 'no'. The problem here is that the 'no' is only a one word dispreferred response which is allowable in terms of turns but demonstrates that the student is resisting the inferential framework where the teacher '*knows*' all the answers to the questions on this subject. Whether the real goal of the teacher, that is to show the difference between a fact and an opinion, has been met or not remains unknown.

The repetitive use of the conjunction 'so' (Lines 3, 5, 7, 11, 12, 24) is also an index of the inferential framework (IF): the teacher is attempting to reach a conclusion as if she has been working on a practical experiment and demonstrating the result obtained from it. The classroom

is the laboratory where the teacher should provide evidence and teach her students the ‘reality of her findings’ on the subjects taught.

Extract 2 - ICA

The specific goal of the Geography lesson in School A was to improve the speaking skills and teach topic-related vocabulary. The turn-taking in the extract is a Question-Answer (Q-A) sequence. Most special turn-taking systems, such as this classroom talk, exploit Q–A exchanges (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991). As can be seen from the turns, the teacher as the representative of the institution is asking all the questions and the students are answering them even if they are, in majority, minimal responses (Lines 2, 7, 9, 13, 18, and 20). There is a clear departure from the ordinary talk (asymmetric and uneven lengths of talk, questions always asked by the same participant in the talk and so on). In a classroom context one can experience this deviation from ‘ordinary talk’ if for example, the students are punished for shouting out answers or talking when the teacher is talking. The inferential framework (IF) determines such interactive behaviour and the allowable constraints (ACTS) permit certain kinds of behaviour. The IF within this local classroom context orients the students to answering any question which is directed at them by any representative of the institution. They are therefore obeying this (imaginary?) rule of ‘having to answer’ to the teacher who already knows the answer. What is also happening is that they are spontaneously refusing to provide detail. Perhaps this could be regarded as using a backchannel (Yngve, 1970) of refusing the institutional power imposed on them to a certain extent.

Extract 3 - ICA

The contextual goal orientation (GO) of this Geography lesson in School A was to discuss natural resources and their strategic importance in general. The talk therefore was initiated by,

monitored and guided according to this motive. The lesson's orientation led towards this pre-determined institutional goal. The interesting aspect of this lesson (and as its reflection, this extract) is the minimalist participation by the students. The interactional moves made by the teacher are asking questions (Lines 6, 8, 12, 16, 18, 20), selecting the next speaker (through selection of a reader) as in Lines 6 and 10, approval (Line 14) and making a statement of a fact of reference (Line 15). In all of these interactional moves the inferential framework (IF) is set and all the participants of this interaction understand and act accordingly. The special allowable constraints (ACT) in this local context are made clear in Lines 16 – 20. The teacher has three turns of questions to which nobody provides any answers:

- 16 **CC** what other natural resources can you think of?
17 **Ss** (...)
 Students talk amongst themselves but do not answer the question
18 **CC** what countries can you think of that have a natural resource?
19 **Ss** (...)
 Students talk amongst themselves but do not answer the question
20 **CC** what natural resources does Turkey have?

He insists and changes his question, moving the emphasis from natural resources (too specific perhaps?) onto countries. When this also fails to provoke discussion/participation, he makes his question more explicit, more local and context-linked to students' own experience of Turkey itself (could the choice of Turkey rather than Cyprus perhaps index anything about the co-constructed student identities in this context?). Rather, here, the point is the (un)allowable special constraint imposed on the participants that there must be an answer to the question asked in this classroom. In the case of the contrary, as in this classroom situation, the question may change form but will persistently be asked, as an interrogation that must discover the truth. The fact that students do not even attempt to answer may index their lack of interest, lack of knowledge, but

also perhaps the lack of courage to say ‘ I don’t know’. The IF may be such that such behaviour is not regarded as ‘acceptable’ or ‘cool’ in this classroom context.

Extract 4 -ICA

Some of the interactions in this observed Geography lesson in School B had very specific goals (Drew and Heritage 1992) set by the teacher or the institution. In this extract, for example, the goal orientation (GO) is to prepare the students for the IGCSE Geography exam as the main overall objective. The specific goal (GO) in this particular lesson is to teach the students about the primary industry in the UK (Line 1), in particular. The teacher is asking all the questions relating to his goal (apart from the one that is unrelated to the subject, in Line 10). Participants are expected to respond to the questions asked by the representative of the institution. The teacher ignores Burak’s question which is, though unrelated, the only question asked by the students.

10	Bur	[sir which page?
11	T	ahmm (.)in the text book it’s page two hundred and fourteen (3) right (.)
12		farming fishing mining one more (.) what is my job if I’m cutting trees
13		down?

The teacher’s hesitation ‘ahmmm’ and long pauses probably indicate his discontent about this disallowed situation. For ACT, then, the teacher considers the student’s attempt as not allowable, inserting his authority to continue his own business at hand and imposing the turn-taking rules of the institution (IF). He continues the turn after a long pause of three seconds and makes a new beginning with ‘right’, almost implying that the initial part of his turn was not quite right and from here on the turn is going to function as ideally it should have done: that is, the institution will continue to use the questioning method as a pedagogical practice in seeking the right answers from the learners.

5.3 Conversation Analysis of Focus Groups: Extracts 5 and 6

CA uses ‘naturally occurring data’ because such data cannot be considered as a product of the researcher’s manipulation, direction or intervention (Heritage and Atkinson, 1994). It is crucial to note, however, that the naturally occurring data from the focus group discussions in the two schools took place in a pre-defined framework as these students were provided with 22 pre-selected statements which, in fact, set the scene for their discussions. Their ‘natural’ talk was inevitably affected by these statements and the subjects they impose which construct the discussion framing devices. This said, although focus group conversation is partly constrained, it can nevertheless allow for naturally occurring talk within this discursive frame.

As detailed in the methodology chapter, one focus group was formed in each school with the aim of recording some informal conversations during the students’ lunch hour. Prompt statements on identities provided for focus group discussions were expected to provoke discussion on the personal, social, linguistic, ethnic, and national aspects of student identities as a focus group-based qualitative approach can come closer to understanding actual life events (Sussman, 2002), especially concerning the multi-faceted nature of identity.

Extract 5: Focus Group at the English-medium School: School A

The focus group discussion took place immediately following the English lesson which I observed and recorded. All the students who had volunteered to join the focus group discussion, with the exception of Burak, who later withdrew saying that he was not interested, met in a meeting room situated in a building adjacent to their school.

Five students were seated around one big table. There were three girls and two boys. A camera on a stand was fixed by the technician who left the classroom when the discussions started. I was in one corner of the classroom listening but not intervening. The following extract is taken from the first five minutes of a 25-minute group discussion. The aim of the students was to find three statements they are most connected with and three they are least concerned with, as a group. The numbers they mention refer to the statements they are provided with, as per above. I included the following extract in my conversation analysis because it indicates how the subjects of discussion were chosen by these students in this English-medium private school.

Figure 1 Focus Group Prompt Statements:

I included the following extract in my conversation analysis because it indicates how the subjects chosen were made relevant by these students in this English-medium private school. They are discussing the statement: ‘*Girls in our society are equal to boys*’. The following extract is in the first five minutes of a 25- minute discussion period.

Participants:

Girls: Berrin (BER), Beliz (BEL), Yagmur (YAG)
Boys: Cem (CEM), Yucem (YUC), Burak (BUR) later withdrew.

Language of the discussions: English

Mixed group

PLEASE CHOOSE ONLY THREE OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS YOU MOST CONNECT WITH, AND THREE YOU LEAST CONNECT WITH.

1. Teenagers are neither children nor adults.
2. *Girls in our society are equal to boys.* **CHOICE 1**
3. Having immigrants is good for our economy.
4. One day, North and South Cyprus should be united. (least connected)
5. Turkish Cypriots are not real Europeans.
6. I am a Cypriot, I am a Turk, and I am unlucky.
7. According to the Constitution of Cyprus there are two mother-tongues in Cyprus.
8. In Cyprus the Greek / English language is as important as the Turkish language.
9. English is an important language for me.
10. *I listen to and enjoy English music.* **CHOICE 2**
11. Even if I don't understand a lot, I listen to and enjoy English music.
12. In Cyprus there are two ethnic identities: Turkish and Greek
13. I sometimes go to the Greek side.
14. I want to learn English.
15. Turkish / Greek/ Europeans are kind and sincere.
16. My teachers / my school / my family / my community have helped me develop as a person.
17. I enjoy being at school / in Cyprus.
18. I am proud of being a Turkish Cypriot / speaking English.
19. I think learning English will help me find a good job / live a better life / feel more European.
20. *There is erosion in the Turkish Cypriot identity.* **CHOICE 3**
21. We are in minority in our own country.
22. *Turkish Cypriots are not racist.* **CHOICE 4**

Statements most connected to by this focus group were:

Girls and boys are equal to boys.
I listen to and enjoy English music.
There is erosion in the Turkish Cypriot identity.
Turkish Cypriots are not racist.

The statements they least connected with were:

One day, North and South Cyprus should be united.
I am a Cypriot, I am a Turk, and I am unlucky. (*They said they were proud to be a Turk and a Cypriot*)

1. **CEM** do the same, (.)don't worry(.) don't make it] complicated
2. **BEL** [no (.) we want (.) I want two] (...)
3. **BER** [me too I want two]
4. **BEL** [it's that simple (.) you chose this one and it's finished (?)]
5. **BER** [if it is equal it will be equal?]
6. **CEM** [what equality is this guys?=
=what's so special about you that's different from us?]
7. **BEL**
8. **CEM** [no (.) you're trying to be superior to me]
9. **Ss** (*laughter and giggles*)
10. **BEL** one minute (.) one minute(.) come back (.) if you believe him then (.) when we're sitting (.) you
can remain standing (.) that's what I mean?]
- 11.
12. **CEM** [sure]
13. **Ss** (*laughter*)
14. **BER** [of course like that (.)we are equal when it suits you]
15. **BEL** [no but this is politeness=
16. **CEM** =yeah] yeah]
17. **BEL** [you don't have politeness (.) your brains don't get that yet
18. **Ss** (*unintelligible noise from the boys*)
19. **BEL** see it's you who don't believe it (.) not us (.) not ourselves (.) you created it?

Conversation Analysis - CA

From this extract, what we notice upon a close look is that turns are being taken between students participating in the focus group discussion one after another. Cem's first turn is comprised of three Turn Construction Units (TCUs). The turn starts with an imperative 'do the same'. Cem would prefer the girls to choose the same statements from the list provided as the boys. He continues his attempt to guide their choice by re-assuring the girls, as if to assure them that nothing unsafe would happen, and, finally, finishes the turn with a negative imperative, stating his preference for keeping this exercise simple rather than complicated.

1. **CEM** do the same, (.)don't worry(.) don't make it complicated]

Beliz swiftly refuses with a clear 'no', interrupting but only at the Turn Transition Relevance Point (TRP), in her response to Cem, forming the second part of the adjacency pair. She points

out that they would choose the Statement: *Girls in our society are equal to boys*. The focus group hence orients to gender right at the beginning of their discussion as a result of the statement they have selected. What is noticeable is the use of the pronoun ‘we’ at the beginning of her response to Cem. Beliz is inferring shared knowledge by the use of the pronoun ‘we’ as an in-group identity marker of gender. She is in the role of their leader who is reacting to or opposing Cem’s orientation. However, she immediately switches to the pronoun ‘I’, withdrawing from the status of girls’ leadership and designating Statement 2 as her personal choice.

2 BEL no (.) we want (.) I want two]
 3 BER [me too I want two]

Berrin interrupts Beliz with enthusiasm, agreeing, and forming the adjacency pair with a preferred response. Girls are teaming up against the boys, almost to mirror their quest for gender equality. Lines 2 to 5 is a series of preferred responses between the girls, forming a pact of solidarity against the boys in order to persuade them that ‘*girls in their society are equal to boys*’. This inherent struggle bursts out in line 5:

5 BER [if it is equal it will be equal?]

Cem challenges the way in which the girls are imposing their own choice of statement as the group’s choice. He does this with an interrupting ‘wh’ question. Cem seeks an answer to his ‘what’ question forming a TCU, but to no avail. The next turn latches to the previous one, forming an adjacency pair, although Beliz’ response is a dispreferred response. Not only has she chosen to ignore Cem’s question but her reply is a challenging question in itself:

6 CEM [what equality is this guys?=
 7 BEL =what’s so special about you that’s different from us?]
 8 CEM [no (.) you’re trying to be superior to me
 9 Ss *laughter and giggles*

At this point Cem becomes defensive and counter-attacks the girls accusing them of trying to be superior. Here lies the point: He starts his turn with the refusal ‘no’, as if to say, ‘No, I did not say that’. Otherwise, grammatically this part would not be a logical reply. This is followed by the TCU which is now a responsible statement, but what is explicitly suggested is the discussion on the subject of gender superiority. Does Cem’s TCU hide a gender identity issue? Do young TC girls and boys try to be/act/think/suggest/converse/speak in a way that considers the other gender as inferior?

Laughter and giggles of Line 9 indicate a mixture of feelings rather than simply laughing at a funny joke. It is possible that it is simply the reflection of the unease these young TC adolescents feel in terms of gender issues. The following extract conveniently demonstrates that a turn can also be simply composed of laughter or noise:

10	BEL	one minute (.) one minute (.) come back (.) if you believe him then (.) when we’re
11		sitting (.) you can remain standing (.) that’s what I mean?]
12	CEM	[sure]
13	Ss	<i>(laughter)</i>
14	BER	[of course like that (.) we are equal when it suits you]
15	BEL	[no but this is politeness=
16	CEM	=yeah yeah:::::]
17		
18	BEL	[you don’t have politeness (.) your brains don’t get that yet]
19	Ss	<i>(unintelligible noise from the boys)</i>
20	BEL	[see (.) it’s you who don’t believe it (.) not us (.) not ourselves (.) you created it?

What we can perceive in this part of the conversation is that it is made up of turns which are arranged one after another. It is interesting to note that a turn does not necessarily and only mean words. Turn design, as described by Drew (2005) includes what goes into a turn. As we can see in Lines 9, 13 and 18, these turns may comprise of simple laughter, giggles or unintelligible noise. This is concerned with what action the turn is doing, and what is needed in terms of the

‘details of the verbal constructions through which that action is to be accomplished’ (Drew 2005).

The Lines 10 to 19 indicate a conflicting situation where girls as a group and boys as a group are teaming up against each other on the subject of gender equality. There are violations, almost at every turn. Belkis, in Line 10, is having a comparatively longer turn with several potential TRPs but alas she is neither interrupted nor really responded to, until Line 12. It is Cem, a boy, who finally interrupts her with ‘sure’ clearly with sarcasm. He is not convinced that boys should remain standing and offering seats to girls and this is made by his clear cut one- word- answer ‘sure’. The next turn, Line 13, is once more, a mixture of laughter and giggles which could be the follow up laughter from Line 9 in terms of its meaning.

In line 15, Belkis starts her turn with a ‘no’, almost an automatic refusal of anything a boy would say, and provokes another discussion on politeness or gentlemanliness which is made relevant by the girls in Line 10 implicitly, and Lines 15 and 17 in a more explicit manner. Whether gentlemanliness is a perception of adolescent identity as preferable social practice is something to be researched in greater detail. Cem’s response creates the adjacency pair latching onto Belkis’ turn, with a ‘yeah yeah’ (Line 16). The elongated ‘yeah’, indicates similar sarcasm and meaning with Cem’s previous sarcastic ‘sure’ in Line 12. Cem is alone in this duello and chooses sarcasm as his weapon. Belkis goes further in Line 17, interrupting the long ‘yeah’ sound, accusing the boys of two things: being impolite and unintelligent! Because of the nature of the focus group discussion, we can interpret her turn as either her (or the girls’) perception of the male gender as less intelligent, or as her (their) way of simple self-defence.

Line 18 is described as unintelligible noise from the boys. However, this provides a response to Beliz which can be considered as the second part of the adjacency pair but it is, nevertheless, a dispreferred response since there is more than one person involved and is a disapproval of what was said in the previous TCU of the turn.

Finally, Beliz starts her turn (Line 19) with 'see'. In fact she orients to the preceding incomprehensible noises. She has analysed the prior speaker (s)'s turn, interpreting the noises, as evidence of the boys' prejudiced attitude on this subject. She has clearly made up her mind that the boys do not believe that girls and boys are equal. As CA calls the 'next turn proof procedure', Beliz' last turn is hence responsive, putting the blame of this 'inequality' on the boys. Yet she, herself, has acted as the context setter (Lines 2, 4, 7, 10); she has manipulated the choice of the discussion topics right at the beginning of the focus group discussion (Lines 2, 4); she has taken seven turns out of a total of 18 turns in this extract (38.9%). Additionally, Berrin had three turns (16.7%). In comparison Cem, as the only boy actively participating in this extract, only had five turns (27.8%). Girls express their views on this subject without social, cultural, linguistic restrictions and prejudice. In other words, one gender has not imposed nor oppressed the other but the girls seem more powerful as they, unlike the boys of the group, demonstrate solidarity on this issue. Equality between girls and boys was chosen as a subject of discussion by the focus group of School A, at the beginning of the discussion. CA applied to this extract shows us that the students are taking turns, with or without violations, and there is sequence organisation (Drew, 2005). It was clear in this sequence that girls and boys formed their own groups within the focus group. As Heritage (2005) suggests, the aim of CA is to show that 'context and identity have to be treated as inherently locally produced, incrementally developed, and, by extension, as transformable at any moment'. So rather than assuming that a transcript will represent a

‘synchronic snapshot’ (Antaki et.al. 1998) of a consistent and immutable self, CA charts the identity work to shifting selves, depending upon the demands of talk’s sequential environment. In the light of the CA of this extract, then, we can assume that in this locally produced talk on equality between girls and boys, which is transformable at any moment, and contingent on the context and the talk’s environment, identities can mutate. The girls’ orientation to gender in this extract demonstrates that they are freely expressing their views on gender equality without any apparent social, cultural, linguistic restrictions and that they are challenging the boys and their orientation to gender at this moment. This orientation to gender also indexes that these students are distinguishing themselves as two separate groups in relation to gender: female and male.

Extract 6 Focus group discussion at the Turkish-medium school, School B.

Figure 14

Prompt Statements: (as School A)

PLEASE CHOOSE ONLY THREE OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS YOU MOST CONNECT WITH, AND THREE YOU LEAST CONNECT WITH

1. Teenagers are neither children nor adults.
2. Girls in our society are equal to boys.
3. Having immigrants is good for our economy.
4. ***One day, North and South Cyprus should be united.*** **CHOICE 1**
5. Turkish Cypriots are not real Europeans.
6. I am a Cypriot, I am a Turk, and I am unlucky.
7. According to the Constitution of Cyprus there are two mother-tongues in Cyprus.
8. In Cyprus the Greek / English language is as important as the Turkish language.
9. English is an important language for me.
10. ***I listen to and enjoy English music.*** **CHOICE 2**
11. Even if I don't understand a lot, I listen to and enjoy English music.
12. In Cyprus there are two ethnic identities: Turkish and Greek
13. I sometimes go to the Greek side.
14. ***I want to learn English.*** **CHOICE 3**
15. Turkish / Greek/ Europeans are kind and sincere.
16. My teachers / my school / my family / my community have helped me develop as a person.
17. I enjoy being at school / in Cyprus.
18. I am proud of being a Turkish Cypriot / speaking English.
19. ***I think learning English will help me find a good job/live a better life / feel more European.*** **CHOICE 4**
20. There is erosion in the Turkish Cypriot identity.
21. We are in minority in our own country.
22. Turkish Cypriots are not racist.

Statements most connected to by this focus group were:

One day, North and South Cyprus should be united;

I listen to and enjoy English music;

I want to learn English;

I think learning English will help me find a good job/live a better life/feel more European.

No statements were selected as statements they least connected to.

The focus group discussion took place immediately following the English lesson which I observed and recorded. All the students who attended the lesson attended the discussion with the exception of Erkut, a male student, who only joined the focus group discussion thanks to the phone call by the English teacher.

Five students were seated around four joined up desks. There were three girls and two boys. A camera on a stand was fixed by the technicians who left the classroom when the discussions started. I was in one corner of the classroom listening but not intervening. The following is the beginning of their discussion. The aim is to find three statements the students most connected with and three they least connected with, as a group. The numbers they mention refer to the statements they are provided with in the list above. I included the following extract in my conversation analysis because it indicates how the statements selected were made relevant by these students.

Participants: Girls: Sevilay (Sev), Imren (Im), Aylin (Ay)
Boys: Mehmet (Meh), Erkut (Erk)

Language of the discussions: Turkish

Mixed group

Extract 6.1

1. **Erk** four eight four eight ten four and nineteen (.) this is my choice (.) think about it]
2. **Ss** inaudible discussions and laughter
3. **Meh** çiftetelli... (*this is the name of a traditional Cypriot dance song*)
4. **Ss** *laughter and giggles*
5. **Sev** nineteen
6. **Erk** any other?
7. **Meh** it could also be four]
8. **[it could also be four]**
9. **Sev** [at shopping]
10. **Ay** [I go shopping I said
11. (.) you:::
12. **Erk** according to me (.) four (.) fourteen=
13. **Meh** =yes (.) fourteen]
- 14.
15. **Im** four (.) fourteen]
- 16.
17. **Sev** [ok (.) fourteen (.) fourteen
They look back to see if I am there
18. **Erk** because there are jobs
19. **Meh** job opportunity
20. **Im** why?
21. **Ayl** job opportunity
22. **Im** why?
23. **Ayl** becau]se
24. **Erk** [beca]use
25. **Im** [fourteen
26. **Meh** (...)
27. **Ss** *girls giggle and laugh*

28. **Erk** camera is recor[ding]
 29. **Im** [uhhh?
 30. **Ayl** Turk]ish
 31. **Erk** [let's not touch it=
Erkut gets up and goes to the camera
 32. **Meh** =job opportunity? job opportunity? (*turns to me*)
 33. **Ayl** job opport]unities]
 34. **Erk** [shall we sta]rt?
 35. **Meh** [ye]s
 36. **Sev** [yes]
 37. **Meh** [job opportunity
 38. **Erk** they will not employ
 39. **Meh** let's start
giggles and laughter
 40. **Erk** one day north and south Cyprus have to get together=
 41. **Sev** =yes

Conversation Analysis - CA

What we see immediately is that turns are being taken by students in this opening extract which is unsettled and scattered in terms of its content. The conversational exchanges from this sequence reveal that the students are participating in this discussion merely to please the teacher. Erkut, who only participated to the discussion because the teacher had called his mobile asking him to join the group, sets the scene hurriedly (Line 1):

- 1 Erk four eight four eight ten four and nineteen (.)this is my choice(.) think about it]

We feel that Erkut is impatient to 'get this exercise over and done with'. He apparently has a close teacher - student relationship with the English teacher, whose request he did not decline. Nobody interrupts Erkut, whose favourite subject, as I was informed by the teacher, is English. He acts as if he is the master of this ceremony. Yet, he politely invites his comrades, to think about it! His choices (statements 8, 10, 19) all relate to the English language, his safety zone. It is worth noting that the leadership skills and influence of Erkut resulted in three of his suggestions being adopted by the group (statements 4, 10 and 19).

Noticeably, there is a number of turns of laughter and giggles as in Lines 2, 4, 27, 39, inaudible (or parts of) turns (Lines 2, 26), and irrelevant conversation or behaviour during this sequence, all of which might demonstrate a kind of irony or ‘send up’ of the exercise.

26	Meh	(...)	
27	Ss	<i>girls giggle and laugh</i>	
28	Erk	camera is recording]	
29	Im		[uhhh?

Some examples of these ‘ironical’ acts could be given such as in Line 3, where Mehmet, for a reason only known to the group, mentions a traditional Cypriot dance song (*çiftetelli*); or Line 17, where they are looking for me, (as if to decide whether they should continue the discussion or not); Lines 26 to 29 above also demonstrate that the exercise is not being taken wholeheartedly seriously since their preoccupation is laughing at something Mehmet said and being surprised at Erkut’s warning that the camera is recording. Line 29, Imren interrupts Erkut’s turn, showing her sudden concern that the camera might have recorded something undesirable by her.

Aylin, in Line 30, continues with the discussion on the statements, but her turn is interrupted by Erkut, who at this stage has got up and walked towards the camera. Yet, in his apparent leadership role, he suggests that nobody should touch the camera:

30	Ayl	Turkish]	
31	Erk	[let’s not touch it= <i>Erkut gets up and goes to the camera</i>	
32	Meh		=job opportunity? job opportunity? (<i>turns to me</i>)

At the end of this sequence (Line 31), even though Mehmet is making the effort to resume their discussion, he looks at me, as if to say ‘ok, we will do this discussion because our teacher asked us to, and we know it is for you’.

In this opening extract, we can observe the multiple use of words and hints such as ‘jobs, job opportunities, employ’ (Lines 18, 19, 21, 32, 33, 37, 38) which are mentioned seven times in such a short sequence. It could be assumed that these young Turkish Cypriots in their final year of secondary education are concerned about their future and especially employment opportunities. Perhaps it could be further assumed that such an idea might also affect their expectations and hence their success at university entrance examinations. According to numbers provided by the school director, only 20% of the students in their final year of secondary education sit the entrance examinations for universities in Turkey; they will rather opt for local universities in Cyprus which do not require this exam.

Let us now have a close look at the data emerging from the discussions. Firstly, the students of this focus group chose to discuss the reunification of north and south Cyprus as a priority: ‘*one day, North and South Cyprus should be united*’, which may lead us to assume that the political situation of their country seems to be their primary concern. Secondly, the other statements, however, interestingly, all relate to the English language: either as language in connection with (English) music or their desire to learn English language for a better future.

I listen to and enjoy English music.

I want to learn English.

I think learning English will help me find a good job/live a better life/feel more European.

The following short extract (Extract 6.2) with the same participants as in Extract 6.1 highlights what was an audible and comprehensible discussion of their first choice of the prompt statements, ‘*One day, North and South Cyprus should be united*’.

Extract 6.2

1. **Ayl** I think if we did reunite (.) we'll be over populated (.) there's so many more
2. people that side=
3. **Erk** =and Turkish Cypriots would be a minority=
4. **Ayl** =yeah and[
5. **Erk** [and they'll slowly try to take over from our] country
6. **Ayl** [they will take over yeah and em:::::=
7. **Sev** =yeah but eventually Turks (.) I mean Cypriots would get together (.) and there'd
8. be new (.) yeah Cypriot=
9. **Erk** =yeah (.) but in the meantime (.) there'll be lots of fights and and raids and that?]
10. **Im** [but I don't] think
11. **Sev** [it'll all] die out
12. **Erk** [it'll be the new] comers
13. **Ayl** [it'll [be like
14. before(.) we had Turkish Cypriots (.) and now we'd all come together like and be Cypriot=
15. **Sev** =I'd prefer that (.) I really would like the idea of being called Cypriot (.) rather than
16. being called a Turkish Cypriot (.) and religion being the cause of a barrier=
17. **Im** =we're like the least
18. religious country in the Muslim world I think (...) [ssssh

19. **Sev** [I tell you(.) there was a time when there were
20. Greek villages(.) like my great grandmother speaks fluent]Greek
21. **Im** [there still is=
22. **Erk** =there still is=
23. **Meh** =well (.) I think that if we do get back
24. together (.)I don't think we'll be able to live together (.) if we did get united(.) cause we've got
- too
25. much history(.)and at the moment everyone] too much
26. **Ayl** [into the history
27. **Im** yeah (.) and religion
28. **Ayl** yeah (.) everyone's too emotional
29. **Im** and:: there was a referendum and we did say yes=
30. **Erk** =but (...)
31. **Im** but:: nothing's changed (.) the world's just carrying on like there was no [referendum
32. **Ss** [(...) =
33. **Im** = yeah but
34. (.) the world and a lot of countries promised a lot of things(.) but all
35. we had to say was yes (.) but no one seems to take any notice of it just acts like it's never
36. happened=
37. **Ayl** =that's true=
38. **Im** =and the whole world (.) I think (.) is helping the Greek side more=
39. **Ayl** =they're part of the EU which brings us onto another topic

What we observe in this long extract is that turns are being taken and there is a sequence that is respected by the participants. The students are talking one after another demonstrating an understanding by the recipient of the action done in the first turn. As Sacks et al. (1974) wrote

It is a systematic consequence of the turn-taking organisation of conversation that it obliges its participants to display to each other, in a turn's talk, their understanding of other turn's talk.

Aylin's first turn is comprised of two turn construction units (TCU). It starts with 'I think', which we can see from the rest of her turn is to declare her thoughts on the idea of re-unification of Cyprus. Erkut latches smoothly at the end of the second TCU at a relevant Turn Transition Relevance Place (TRP) forming an adjacency pair with a preferred response. The content of his talk also latches to Aylin's turn in this conversation. Lines 1 to 6 demonstrate a series of harmonious exchanges, between these two students, on the same subject until Sevilay, in Line 7, latches, agreeing, yet, exploiting the opportunity to join the talk, as Aylin is hesitating with process filler, an elongated 'ehmm'.

6	Ayl	[they will take over yeah and ehmm:::::=
7	Sev	=yeah but eventually Turks (.) I mean Cypriots would get together (.) and there'd
8		be new (.)yeah (.)Cypriot=

Although she is agreeing with a 'yeah', providing a preferred response to the prior turn, she has used this ideal TRP in order to break the dialogue sequence between Aylin and Erkut. This is perfectly acceptable in a focus group discussion setting where students are completely free to interact naturally. An interesting observation here is the use of the word 'yeah', three times in this adjacency pair. In this whole extract alone, the students used the word 'yeah' eight times forming (parts of) TCUs, with differing interactional work. As TCUs are not definable outside of how they work in sequences, we cannot pre-determine a fixed meaning to the word 'yeah' either. The action of the first 'yeah' in Line 7 is affirmative (yes, they will take over), the second is to indicate Sevilay's agreement with Aylin (although it comes with a 'but'), and the last one is placed between two adjectives 'new' and 'Cypriot', strengthening the first adjective and possibly gaining time in an attempt to find another descriptive word that would fit.

The next turn is another latching starting with a ‘yeah but’ forming a subtle way in which speakers kindly disagree with the prior talk. The point he is making is to state his opposition to the (re)-formation of a new Cypriot identity, as inherently suggested by the previous speaker. He explains further that this would cause violence.

Lines 6 to 17 demonstrate a natural sequence of talk between these students in which national identity is made overtly relevant. The words Turkish, Turk, Turkish Cypriot(s) or Cypriot are mentioned in Lines 3, 7, 8, 14, 15, 16. Some of the students are for a whole-island Cypriot identity, as in the Lines below and some others are against.

9	Erk	=yeah (.) but in the meantime (.) there'll be lots of fights and and raids and that?]
10	Im	[but I don't think]
11	Sev	[it'll all die out]
12	Erk	[it'll be the new comers]
13	Ayl	[it'll be like
14		before (.) we had Turkish Cypriots (.) and now we'd all come together like and be Cypriot=
15	Sev	=I'd prefer that (.) I really would like the idea of being called Cypriot (.) rather than
16		being called a Turkish Cypriot

We can notice that there is a lot of violation of the turns in this sequence (Lines 9 – 16) showing excitement and an urge to say what one thinks, at the earliest opportunity, but also their engagement in the discussion, whereas Sevilay, in Line 15, latches her turn to the previous turn as the second part of an adjacency pair, ‘I’d prefer that’ forming her first TCU and orienting to the idea of Cypriotness. After a micro pause, she starts her second TCU, paraphrasing and elaborating on the subject. Violations or overlapping do happen in conversations as the model suggested by Sacks et al. (1974) is interactionally created by these participants. If a turn-taking is to function, some kind of mechanism needs to function for the turns to continue (Liddicoat, 2011).

The word ‘Greek’ is mentioned twice in Lines 20 (twice) and 38, and EU is referred to once, only at the end of this extract (Line 39).

15 Sev (...) rather than being called a Turkish Cypriot (.) and religion being the cause of a
16 barrier=
17 Im =we’re like the least religious country in the Muslim world I think (...) [ssssh
18 (students continue to talk and Imren gazes at the group)
19 Sev [I tell
20 you (.) there was time when there were Greek villages (.) like my great grandmother
speaks fluent Greek]

In Lines 15 – 20, religion and being Muslim is made relevant by the students. Religion is mentioned four times in this extract: in Lines 16, 18 (twice) and 27, and is referred to as a barrier to re-unification (Line 15). Imren latches her turn, in agreement with Sevilay, and taking the issue further by her personal perception of northern Cyprus as the least religious Muslim country in the world (Lines 17-18). The emergence of religion is noteworthy because it is neither used nor implied in the prompt statements. The fact that Imren refers to northern Cyprus as the least religious Muslim country in the world and that religion is considered as an obstacle to Cypriotness by Sevilay, may also imply that these students consider the religion of the Greek Cypriots as an obstacle to the notion of Cypriotness rather than the religion of the Turkish Cypriots. As ‘practices-in-interaction’ (Schegloff, 2005) are employed by the CA methodology, we can deduce that the ‘ssssshh’ sound in Line 18 made by Imren (and her gaze in the direction of the group) is an interactional attempt to get the attention of her friends and her group friends and to listen to what is being said.

Finally, the last sequence (Lines 29-39) demonstrate the students’ engagement in a discussion on the renowned ‘referendum’ carried out by the UN Plan (the Annan Plan, 2004) on the

reunification of the island. The interesting point, again, is that the word referendum was not overtly used in the prompt statements, but reunification of north and south was.

Imren starts Line 29 with the word ‘and:::’ with an elongated ‘ae’ sound as if to make the opening for an important announcement, such as “the winner is....”: ‘We said yes at the referendum’. She reiterates, later, in Line 35.

29. Im and:: there was a referendum and we did say yes=
 30. Erk =but (...)
 31. Im but:: nothing’s changed (.) the world’s just carrying on like there was no [referendum
 32. Ss [(...) =
 33. Im = yeah but
 34. (.) the world and a lot of countries promised a lot of things(.) but all
 35. we had to say was yes (.) but no one seems to take any notice of it just acts like it’s never
 36. happened=
 37. Ayl = that’s true=
 38. Im =and the whole world (.) I think (.) is helping the Greek side more=
 39. Ayl =they’re part of the EU which brings us onto another topic

Imren’s strong opening turn of the sequence, is interrupted by Erkut, in Line 34, with the connective ‘but’ declaring, by definition, that, he is going to say something to the contrary. Imren, counter-attacks with another ‘but::: ’ (Line 35), applying her previous and successful method of sound elongation, to make her point, thus completing an adjacent pair. Line 38 is inaudible, but we can detect that Imren is latching, in partial agreement with the words ‘yeah but’, and continuing to make her point about the referendum. There are five ‘buts” used in five lines (Lines 34 – 39), four of them by Imren, which may, in itself, indicate a controversial situation. Resolution finally comes at the end of Line 39. Aylin latches, agreeing harmoniously with Imren, and this harmony of latching continues until the end of this sequence (Lines 28 – 39), forming a series of adjacency pairs. Nobody uses the TRPs for taking turns and Imren is allowed by the group to continue without any violations. In fact, we can observe some use of the co-construction of turns between Imren and the two others (Aylin and Erkut) in this sequence.

Aylin and Erkut are in fact finishing off each other's sentences. Latching turns, on the subject of referendum, finally end with reference to the EU, as another selected topic for discussion. The co-construction of turns through latching also signifies the harmony in which the students are co-constructing identities in relation to the UN peace plan: Turkish Cypriots who had accepted it as opposed to Greek Cypriots who refused it and the rest of the world who did not keep their promise vis-a-vis the Turkish Cypriots. The students, through the use of pronoun 'we' (Line 35) demonstrate their belonging to the TC people. The following final turn in this sequence clearly demonstrates Tajfel's 'us and them' grouping as well between the TC and the GC.

39. Ayl =they're part of the EU which brings us onto another topic.

5.4 Institutional Conversation Analysis – ICA of Focus Group Extracts 5 and 6

Goal orientations: GO

Allowable constraints: ACT

Inferential frameworks: IF

Unlike the classroom extracts, the focus group discussions had no teacher intervention. In other words, although the framework for the discussion was set by a pre-determined set of topics provided for the members of the focus group in a pre-determined school-related context with six members of the same class, and despite my presence in the room together with the equipment for recording, there was no verbal intervention to their talk. The goal orientation (GO) was determined by their choice of topics from the pre-determined list of topics. Although asked to remain within the context of the topics on identity if possible, they were not prevented from having the 'mobility' to change the subject as they wished.

As Seedhouse (2004) puts it, as the pedagogical focus varies, the organisation of the interaction varies. This also means that the focus group discussion has its own interactional organisation which is different from the classroom talk we have seen so far. Here the locally constructed interaction can transform my ‘intended discussion’ into ‘actual discussion’ of their own choice and decision. By this I mean that the focus group’s allowable constraints (ACT) were less observable than the classroom talk. This is partly because of the apparent absence of the authoritative figure and because the institution was not represented by an individual present in the discussion. This allowed turn-taking and the sequences to vary more than in a classroom context. ‘Power’ too was more ‘equally’ shared between the six students; or at least, the power was not entirely dominated by the institution, as in a classroom. This is also indexed by the number of interruptions or asymmetric turn-taking (as opposed to fewer interruptions in a lesson and more orderly turns as in Teacher–Student-Teacher sequence) in Lines 9 to 14 from Extract 5 as below that has S1–S2- S3-S1–S4 sequence: S1: Student 1; S2: Student 2 etc.

9. S1 =yeah (.) but in the meantime(.) there’ll be lots of fights and and raids and that?]
 10. S2 [but I don’t] think
 11. S3 [it’ll all] die out
 12. S1 [it’ll be the new] comers
 13. S4 [it’ll [be like
 14. before(.) we had Turkish Cypriots (.) and now we’d all come together like and be Cypriot=

The inferential framework (IF) of this locally created context in the focus group discussion in School A is that the turn-taking rules apply but not necessarily in a particular order, shape, lexical choice, or turn-taking sequence. Rather, the identity topics discussed are the focus of this interactive engagement. This point is made relevant in Line 39 by Aylin:

38. Im =and the whole world (.) I think (.) is helping the Greek side more=
 39. Ayl =they’re part of the EU which brings us onto another topic

The goal orientations (GO) of the focus group extracts are clearly, in both focus group interactions, related to the identity-related subjects they selected from a pre-set list provided for them. The goal of the researcher was an instrument in their goal-setting in this interaction. It has to be emphasized that, although they were informed that they were free to withdraw if they so wished, five stayed, and showed enthusiasm in the focus group interaction. Whether the motives of those who stayed were related to the task itself or they were interested in simply doing a different activity in a different class environment is not clear.

5.5 CA of interviews - Extracts 7 to 10

This is the third and last method of data collection that was used in our study. Miles and Huberman, (2004) suggest that: "Semi-structured interviews may help to explore and understand more complex issues ordinarily difficult to articulate", and applying the semi- structured, face-to-face interviewing method can give more in-depth information about how TC students locally create/do or perform identities.

This meant that I as the interviewer had a relatively pre-determined list of questions and/or topics that were presented to the participants. These topics focused on factors that were surfaced during the preceding observation sessions and/or the focus group discussion and the pilot study, and considered relevant to student identity issues. The main advantage of face-to-face interviews is that the questions can be responsive to the interviewee and adapted as necessary, doubts clarified and responses properly understood or verified. Non-verbal cues from the student can also be picked up through body language (Miles and Huberman, 2004).

The interviews were loosely structured as follows:

Introductory text for the interviews after settling in the student and establishing rapport:

"Today I am here to talk to you because I am conducting a research project about young people in northern Cyprus, and so to get my research right, I thought I'd better talk to some young students studying in northern Cyprus to find out what they know, think and feel about the things that I'm writing about. This means it's your ideas and thoughts that count. There are no right and wrong answers, and if you are not sure about anything just tell me. If you don't know the answer to a question, please don't worry about it. Just tell me you don't know the answer. Thank you for accepting to do this interview."

Demographics:

Teenager's age in years and months: _____

Teenager's school year: _____

Teenager's gender: _____

Teenager's ethnicity: _____

Teenager's religion: _____

Teenager's home postcode: _____

Date of interview: _____

Ethnicity and Nationality of interviewer: Turkish Cypriot

Language in which interview was conducted: Turkish _____ English _____

The issues that were followed up in the interviews largely depended on the lessons observed and the focus group discussions. The following questions were freely adapted from the BPS Developmental Psychology Section ‘*Children’s Views of Britain and Britishness in 2001*’. They were firstly piloted (see Pilot Study section in chapter 4) and thought to be appropriate for instigating data on their identities. In an attempt to conduct the interviews as smoothly and naturally flowing as possible, the following questions were asked in no particular order.

1. **Did you contribute to the lesson? Why?**
2. Did you switch from English to Turkish and why?
3. How comfortable do you feel with using English in class?
4. Do you want to learn English? For what?
5. Do you think speaking English makes you more European/more global/ offers you better chances of higher education/ a better job?
6. How do you see your ‘role’ and status in the class?
7. Which social group(s) do you belong to and wouldn’t want to belong to in the class/school?
8. Are you a speaker/listener/active/passive member of the class?

Contemporary issues: identity and self-categorisation:

9. What is your nationality? How long have you lived in Cyprus?
10. Is there ‘Cypriot’ identity?
11. Why do you think a Cypriot identity has (or hasn’t formed)?
12. Are there any pure Cypriots? Who are they?
13. Are Turkish Cypriots European? Are they more/less European than the Greek Cypriots/Turkish mainlanders?

English-medium school: School A

The following interviews also took place immediately following the focus group discussions in the English-medium School A. The students were interviewed one at a time and the medium of interview was selected by the students as English. For the sake of consistency for this research, extracts from one male and one female student of Turkish Cypriot origin were used for Conversation Analysis and Institutional Conversation Analysis.

I have selected these particular extracts, for three reasons: first, all extracts include plenty of mention of what students perceive to be their investment in the target language (English) themes as described as my RQ 3; second, they provide a wealth of material that is useful in exploring how these students contextually construct (or co-construct with the interviewer) their identities as the main focus of my RQs 1, 2 and 4; and third, they are conveniently to the point.

Extract 7: Interview 1

A male student in School A:

Cem is a 17 year old boy who was born and has lived in Cyprus. He said that he speaks ‘lots of English’ with mother and his ‘mother was born there’, *there* being the UK. Without any preliminary to the interview the students in School A, too, introduced themselves in relation to the UK and to the English. Cem preferred that the interview was conducted in English. *See Appendix 11 (p.325) for the interviews conducted in the students’ mother tongue Turkish.*

Cem: a male student

FE: interviewer

1. **FE** did you contribute to the lessons?] (.) why?]
2. **Cem** [yes (.) [I’m interested in the subject(.) I had knowledge
3. on them (*speaks of the English and the Geography lessons*)
4. **FE** oh (.) did you switch from English to Turkish (.) or from the Turkish Cypriot dialect
5. to Turkish mainland dialect(.)? and wh]y?
6. **Cem** [I use English and I prefer it (.) sometimes I prefer
7. Turkish if it fits a daily issue=
8. **FE** =hmm (.) OK (.) how comfortable do you feel with using Eng [lish in class?
9. **Cem** [very comfortable (.) it is my
10. mother ton]gue
11. **FE** [OK (.) do you think speaking English makes you more European (.) more global (.)
12. or offer you better chances of higher education (.) a better job?
13. **Cem** no (.) it doesn’t make me more European (.) I am a Turkish Cypriot (.) but more globalised (.) I
14. can communicate with everyone(.) and it definitely gives me a wider choice for my future (.)

15. **FE** I see (.) do you want to learn English?(.) for wh[at?
16. **Cem** [same thing
17. **FE** huhum (.) what motivates you to learn English?
18. **Cem** same thing =
19. **FE** = OK (.)what is your nationality?
20. **Cem** UK from my mum (.) who is a Turkish Cypriot (.) my dad is Turkish Cypriot (.) I will
21. get a TRNC identity card=
22. **FE** =oh (.) OK (.) do you think (.) there is a 'Cypriot' identity? =
23. **Cem** =yes?
24. **FE** OK (.) why do you think a Cypriot identity has (.) or hasn't formed?
25. **Cem** (*in Turkish*) we all advance in the same way (.) (*continues in English again*)
26. Finish school (.) get married (.) live close to your parents (.) work locally (.) or in the UK (.)
27. but do the same(.) all of this?

There are nine turns for each speaker in this extract. The interviewer, FE, is asking nine questions, at least one in each turn. This sets up the scene. FE is in control of this part of talk. She sets the questions and hence dominates the scene as in all these interviews. One reason for focusing on this part of the interview is that it illustrates how interviews are occasions for the co-construction of meaning. This is most obvious in terms of the question-answer sequences comprising the interview: quite simply, Cem (or any of the other interviewees) would not be providing these accounts had I not asked them these questions; in fact, had we both not agreed to do an interview in the first place. Of greater analytic consequence is how Cem's answers display his orientation to me: as an adult, possibly, but more likely as a teacher or university researcher who has some investment in ESL (Talmy, 2010).

The first question is a direct yes/no question followed by a 'why'. The second part of the question forms the second TCU of this question. Cem is quick to answer positively in Line 2, squeezing in between the two TCUs of FE's turn. This eagerness may also demonstrate that he is

keen to show that he ‘has knowledge’ of those subjects. He is constructing the image of a ‘good’ student who behaved according to the institution’s expectations by learning the expected. In Line 3, FE initially shows a reaction ‘oh’ to the previous turn but continues with her agenda nevertheless. She makes relevant ‘switching’ between two languages (English and Turkish) but also two dialects (TC dialect and Turkish mainland dialect) almost as if she was revealing some of the identities which might be perceived in this local context. Cem’s answer (which is already in English) is clear: I use and prefer English. He adds that he might prefer Turkish on one condition: ‘if it fits a daily issue’. The student here has therefore confirmed his bilingualism and stating his preferences in connection to the functions a language could perform. Cem has the choice between English and Turkish and he continues in Lines 9 and 10 to say that English is his mother tongue. As Cem declared at the beginning of the interview, neither was he born nor had he lived in the UK but considers it his ‘mother tongue’. The next turn has several TCUs (five) and each could offer a potential TRP to be exploited by Cem, but he chooses not to. He provides a dispreferred response with a categorical ‘no’. He states that he is a Turkish Cypriot although this option was not proposed. The reference to TC identity re-appears in Lines 20 and 21. He emphasizes that although his mother was from the UK, she remains a TC and that he, himself, would get a TRNC (unrecognized Turkish Cypriot Republic) identity card. He is apparently proud in declaring that this would officially make him a TC. In Lines 25 – 27 Cem starts his turn in Turkish (the only turn in this extract). This is a preferred response of the adjacency pair. He gives his definition of what a TC is or what he/she does: ‘A Turkish Cypriot finishes school, gets married, lives close to his/her parents, and works locally or in the UK’. He is again and repeatedly making the UK relevant in the life of a TC. Working in the UK is presented here as a natural stage in the life of a TC. He also makes a distinction between the expressions ‘European’

and ‘global’ by refusing one and accepting the other. He implies that English is a lingua franca and it will ‘definitely’ provide him with a ‘wider choice for his future’. This indexes that the future is a concern for these students (in both schools) especially since they are in their final year of secondary education where the near (or the distant) future remains unknown and there is change on the horizon.

The respondent’s answers to FE’s semi-structured interview questions are oriented to, shaped by and designed for the questions that occasion them (Talmy, 2011); in addition, answers are built on previous questions and answers the respondent has been asked and has (not)answered over the course of this interview. This crucial analytic resource can disappear, however, if data are represented as decontextualized quotes - as if FE was invisible - and consequently, a wide range of potentially salient insights concerning the data, analysis, and interpretations can be lost. It is important to re-emphasise that meanings and identities are contextually and locally co-constructed by Cem (or any of the students) and the interviewer. Relatedly, the interview is constituted by complex relations of power (Talmy, 2011), which can be differentially realized in many ways: who chooses what—and whatnot—to discuss, who asks what questions, when, and how, who is ratified to answer and who is not, who determines when to terminate a line of questioning, and so on. It is clear from this extract that a great part of this power is with the interviewer (FE) who as seen in the extract makes most (if not all) of these decisions. Cem can choose to ignore, as in Line 16 and 18 or give a dispreferred response, ‘same thing’, implying perhaps boredom or lack of interest in the interviewer’s line of questioning, but maintaining his good manners, anyhow, towards authority by a minimal response.

Extract 8: Interview 2

The female student at School A:

Beliz, a 17 year old girl student, was born in Istanbul of a Cypriot father and a Turkish mainlander mother, but she sees herself as 'KKTC' ('TRNC' in Turkish). She lived in Istanbul in Turkey before coming to Cyprus several years ago. She stressed that she felt more comfortable in Cyprus contrary to her life in Istanbul and that although her mother is from Turkey she feels she is a TC. Here is an extract from her interview:

1. **FE** do you think speaking English makes you more European (.) more
2. global (.) or (.) offers you better chances of higher education (.) a better job?
3. **Bel** I want to study law (.) so I need English (.) it is for social and professional
4. reasons
5. **FE** OK (.)do you want to learn English? (.) for wh[at?
6. **Bel** to be more social (.) more global(2)
7. everybody speaks English?
8. **FE** yes (.) what motivates you to learn English?
9. **Bel** same as what I said before=
10. **FE** = OK then (.) what is your nationality?
11. **Bel** Turkish (.) my mum) and Turkish Cypriot (.) my dad (.) but I see myself as KKTC
12. (TRNC)
13. **FE** is there a 'Cypriot' identity? =
14. **Bel** = yes
15. **FE** why do you think a Cypriot identity has (.)or hasn't formed?
16. **Bel** I don't want to mix with the Turkish?
17. **FE** oh(.) OK (.) are there any pure Cypriots?(.) who are[they?
18. **Bel** [yes (.) usually the old
19. people (.) younger ones are not as pure
20. **FE** OK (.) are Turkish Cypriots European?(.) are they more or less European than
21. the Greek Cypriots (.) and the Turkish mainlanders?=
22. **Bel** = we are more European than the Turkish mainlanders (.) but we are not in
23. the EU (.) the Greeks are (.) they have McDonald's (.) we don't (.) the
24. mainlander Turks sacrifice sheep in the middle of the street::: there is
25. more stealing there (.) the Greeks are more European (.)

There are 16 turns equally divided between the interviewer and the interviewee in this interview. All the questions are asked by FE and Beliz constructs each of her turns as preferred/dispreferred responses. In Lines 9 and 14 the responses are either one-word responses as 'yes' or dispreferred response as 'same as what I said before'. There are hardly any interruptions which indicate that each speaker waited until the previous turn is completed before taking the floor, even if, on several instances, TRPs provided opportunities for the next speaker to take the turn. This can also be seen as a traditional feature of interviews (Richards, 2011). The interviewee answers the question when the question terminates. This so-called feature of 'respect' is another locally shared identity co-construction where the interviewer too, shows the same respect of waiting until the end of the interviewee's turn. On four of her turns, FE starts with 'OK' or 'oh OK'. These 'continuers' (Richards, 2011) demonstrate alignment with the speaker. FE is hence in agreement with the flow of the interview and is content with the outcome. In other words, she is able to continue with the preferred responses and the flow of the adjacency pairs. A direct question in Line 13 provokes a slight surprise, Line 17, which begins with an 'oh' but continues with an 'OK' almost repositioning herself from the initial 'unexpected' response. This may have been due to Beliz having a Turkish mother but nevertheless not wanting 'to mix with the Turkish' when contextually such a comment/option was not made relevant by FE at all. Another comment concerning the question on TC identity oriented to age: the older Cypriots are 'purer' than the younger generation. This might be an allusion to increasing numbers of immigrants and/or mixed marriages in the TC society. The longest turn comes in Lines 22-25 (52 words) as an answer to the second longest multi-part question (21 words) in this extract. As the question orients to comparison between TC, Turkish (mainlander) and GCs and to Europeanism, Beliz provides us with some generous data:

22 =we are more European than the Turkish mainlanders (.) but we are not in
23 the EU (.) the Greeks are (.) they have McDonald's (.) we don't (.)the
24 mainlander Turks sacrifice sheep in the middle of the street::: there is
25 more stealing there (.) the Greeks are more European (.)

Beliz makes relevant a multi-national food chain trademark (McDonald's) as a symbol of Europeanism. The north of the island (unrecognised as it is) cannot import many international brands since the administration is not recognised internationally. Hence being in the EU also means having access to the McDonald's restaurants as is the case in the southern part of the island. Beliz also compares TC and Turkish cultures making these two identities relevant yet separating them. She shows her surprise and discontent in the way the Turkish celebrate the feast of sacrifice by an elongated 'eeee' sound in 'street:::', almost as a justification as to why she does not want to mix with them. Beliz also positions Greeks and Turkish Cypriots as more European than the Turkish.

Interviews at the Turkish-medium school: School B

The interviews in School B took place immediately following the focus group discussions. The six students of the focus group were interviewed one at a time and the medium of interview was selected by the students as Turkish. For the sake of consistency for this research, extracts from one male and one female student of Turkish Cypriot origin were selected for CA and ICA. I now turn to the analyses of data from interviews with two students, Erkut and Imren, from School B.

Extract 9: Interview 3

A male student at School B:

Erkut (Erk) is an 18 year old boy who was born and has always lived in Cyprus. Erkut described himself as ‘hyperactive’ in class and nonparticipating because he did not have much interest in the lessons. Responding to one of the semi-structured questions concerning groupings and/ or bullying at their school, Erkut stated that there were no groupings in his school and the occasional fights were mostly due to girlfriend- related issues. Interestingly all students interviewed in this school stated the same thing independently. Erkut informed me during the interview that he went to the UK several times on holiday and that his father sometimes spoke English with him at home.

Erk: the male student

FE: the interviewer

1. **FE** so::o (.) speaking English (.) this was one of the questions, (.)does it make you more
2. European (.) or more international? =
3. **Erk** =we can say European=
4. **FE** =does it make you more internation]al?
5. **Erk** [yes (.) because it’s a more international language=
6. **FE** =because it’s an international language (.) hmm(.) I see (.) do you think that speaking English
7. gives you better education and better work opportunities?=
8. **Erk** =of course (.) for a job (.) but at the same time because it’s an international
9. language, (.) because it’s the common language

What we see almost immediately is that turn-taking is taking place in a sequence in this conversation where the interviewer and the interviewee share an equal number of turns (three each). The interviewer uses all her three turns to ask questions to which the interviewee provides three preferred responses. This suggests that Erkut is cooperating with FE throughout this extract.

The questions asked relate back to RQ 3 which seeks to explore what TC final year students perceive to be their investment in the target language (English). During the interview, Erkut stated that English was his favourite subject because of the teachers. He then, willingly created a positive link between him, the English language, the interviewee role he was contextually allocated and the interviewer who was presumably, from his perspective, related to the world of the English language. In other words he created a bond between himself and the context of the interview.

In this locally constructed framework FE starts her turn by a lead –in ‘so:oo’ (Line 4) where she prolongs the ‘:oo’ sound of the word ‘so’ and begins the talk in a series of adjacency pairs. Is she simply gaining time to reflect on how she is going to introduce her topic (speaking English) or is this simply a preliminary to the declaration of the new question? She clearly maintains her authority by starting each adjacency pair and by asking all the questions in this extract. She then declares the issue (speaking English) as a pre-requisite of the question yet to be posed. She justifies herself, to Erkut, in case the situation is of no or little interest to him but nevertheless maintains that she will have to pursue this matter. In the absence of visual evidence, we can assume that there might have been some non-verbal demonstration (perhaps by simply looking around or checking his mobile) that Erkut was not totally focused. Erkut makes his choice and gives a preferred response to FE who, in turn, insists on the same question but only one part of it. Since the first question was an ‘either–or’ one and since Erkut opted for the choice of ‘European’, FE now seeks confirmation of Erkut’s initial choice, by asking the question on Line 4.

Erkut agrees by a clear ‘yes’ and goes on to give the reason why English makes him more international ‘because English is an international language’. This idea is enhanced in Lines 8

and 9 where Erkut mentions that English is the ‘common language’ and this is why speaking it can provide better education and work opportunities. What appears in this extract is also that the only ‘new’ or ‘original’ point Erkut makes is the ‘English is the common language’ point. All the other answers are either his choice from an ‘either-or’ question, or an agreement to an open-ended question ‘do you think x and y?’ as in Lines 6 and 7. His answer starts with a powerful ‘of course’ (Line 8) and then goes on to focus on the ‘job’ i.e. the second choice offered rather than the first, which he ignores. So perhaps the initial discourse marker ‘of course’, a preferred response to the adjacency pair, is only a polite answer seemingly showing agreement with the interviewer. Although the aim of these interviews was not to look for agreements or disagreements, the chaining apparent in the interviews are indicative of a contextualised student identity, perhaps typical of a Turkish or even the Mediterranean culture where the young are expected to respect the authority, age, position and maintain a positive attitude in any situation which involves authority figures such as teachers or interviewers. Perhaps, their reaction to girlfriend issues, as stated at the beginning of this extract, could also be seen as a trait indexing a locally constructed ‘hot-blooded’ Mediterranean identity.

On a one-to-one interaction it is harder to hide or disguise aspects of his/her identity contrary to class interactions or indeed focus groups where anonymity is easier to maintain. This may result in return to or maintenance of ‘standard or expected’ behaviour and identities in this particular context.

Extract 10: Interview 4

A female student at School B:

Imren is 17 years old and she was born in Cyprus and has always lived there. She emphasised that she loved English lessons and wanted to become an English teacher. Imren, like Erkut, contextualised her position in this unfamiliar context of the interview and created a link with her current identity as the interviewee. Her assumption is (rightly) that English language would be made relevant in this interview. This is a noteworthy assumption which could have some implications for the local co-construction of identities during these interviews. By this I mean that this assumption might have some effect on the students' linguistic approaches during the interviews and hence they might be producing or creating other local frameworks of identities in these specific linguistic interactions (Bucholtz and Hall 2005).

Imr: the female student

FE: the interviewer

1. **FE** in your view (.) does speaking English make a person more European? (.) or more international?=
2. **Imr** =it does(.) in my view (.) because it is an international language (.) that is a common
3. language
4. **FE** uhuh (.)? do you become a part of something (.) when you speak the common language?
5. do you become(.) a European] (.) for example?
6.
7. **Imr** [not like that really(.)how can I say it? I mean (.) if you speak
8. English that doesn't make you European]
9. **FE** [okay (.) hmhmm (.) but does it help?]
10. **Imr** [yes
11. **FE** hmm (.) okay(.)does it provide you with the prospect of having a better education in the future (.)
12. if you speak English? at the university? (2) or better prospects for a good job?
13. **Imr** yeah (.), that's definite (.)yes (.) I can say

As in the first interview the turn-taking between FE and Imren is orderly and the sequence is not broken throughout the extract. Turns are equally distributed between the interviewer and the

interviewee (four each). FE is asking all the questions again and each of her four turns is a question. The turns are also of approximately similar lengths, apart from Lines 11 and 12 where the turn is slightly longer than the other turns, being the longest in this sequence. This may indicate in this particular turn that FE is expanding on a question which she feels needs further unpacking. She is in fact giving options to the question through the use of 'or' to facilitate the answer. This is one of her locally constructed identities as the teacher or the interviewer (the holder of the options and/or the answers) in this particular case.

Imren's answer is a preferred response showing collaboration with the interviewer. She even makes use of some of the words FE uses in her question 'in your view does it....? It does in my view' and continues to give a reason for her choice. FE responds with a continuer (Richards, 2011) 'uh-huh' showing alignment with Imren and prompting the subsequent question in Line 4. Interestingly Imren does not interrupt nor overlap until the end of the second question within the same turn. That is to say that although there were several opportunities for Imren to take the turn (TRPs) she opts to wait until FE's questions and turn have all terminated naturally and she can take the floor. Imren is providing a preferred response again but she is nevertheless disagreeing with FE in Line 7. She further self-questions 'how can I say it?' in quest of an explanation or consciously attempting to gain time in order to elicit other possibilities. Then she declares what she thinks in Lines 7 and 8: speaking English does not make you more European in the Cypriot context. FE, in return, does not interrupt or overlap until the end of Imren's statement despite several possible TRPs where she could have taken the floor.

FE's turn in Line 9 starts with an 'OK' and the continuer 'hmmm' as an indication of a backchannel. FE acts as the listener who is providing a continuer or even an assessment (or approval) of what Imren has just declared; she is ready for more details on this subject. Suddenly the 'but' appears on the scene in Line 9 and signposts a new perspective (FE's perspective) on the issue: 'but does it help?' Imren (Line 10) provides the only short-cut and one-word answer in this extract, 'yes', almost as an automated reply. In Lines 11 and 12 (as in Line 9) FE starts her turn with the 'hmm' and 'okay' showing further alignment with Imren and asks a multi-part question with options as if to soften the situation by giving some freedom of choice to the student. Imren in Line 13 gives an elaborate preferred response beginning with 'yeah' and including more positive alignment signs such as 'that's definite', 'yes', and 'I can say', all of which constitute TCUs but none of which are selected by FE in order to take the next turn.

The meanings apparent in this interview extract are hence interactionally constructed between FE and Imren and its analysis needs to be interactionally sensitive taking into account not simply what was said but also how it was said (Richards, 2011). What we can deduce from this extract is that the interviewer dominates the interaction in this local scene with her questions; the interviewee produces preferred or semi-preferred responses with varying degrees of acceptance such as Line 7 (the weakest) or Line 13 (the strongest). It is therefore crucial to note how these nuances of language use turn-taking, emphasis and implicature (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005) to influence the co-construction of identities rather than simply settle for what the interaction is.

5.6 ICA of Interviews - Extracts 7 to 10

Goal orientations: GO

Allowable constraints: ACT

Inferential frameworks: IF

All interactions involve the use of some kind of turn-taking organization (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974), and many kinds of institutional interaction use the same turn-taking organization as ordinary conversation. Some interactions such as the interviews, however, involve very specific and systematic transformations in conversational turn-taking procedures. These special turn-taking systems are important in studying institutional interaction because they have the potential to alter the parties 'opportunities for action, and to modify the interpretation of the conversation' (Heritage, 1998). For example, the opportunities to initiate actions, what the actions can be intended to mean, and how they are interpreted in the interviews can be considerably shaped by the 'interview specific' turn-taking rules for interaction.

In ordinary conversation, very little of what we say, the actions we perform or the order in which we do things is determined in advance (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974). In this sense, conversations are unpredictable. In some forms of interaction such as the interviews conducted for this study the topics, but also the contributions and order of speakership, is organized from the outset in an explicit and expected way. This kind of organization involves special turn-taking procedures that can be described as special turn-taking systems. The most intensively studied institutional turn-taking organizations have been those in the courts (Atkinson and Drew 1979), news interviews (Greatbatch, 1988); (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991) and classrooms (McHoul, 1978); (Mehan, 1985). As these institutional conversation types in courts, interviews, or classrooms suggest, special turn-taking organizations tend to be present in 'formal 'environments

that normally have two significant features (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991). One is that there are a large number of potential participants in the interaction, whose contributions must be ‘controlled’ in some kind of formal way, such as in a classroom and/or there is an audience, such as in a court or an interview. Although the classroom observations and focus group discussions can be considered to fit into these groups at varying degrees, the interviews, on the other hand, were neither intended for any audience, nor there was any ‘restriction or ration’ of the time spent although I tried to keep within an equal amount of time with each interviewee, i.e. approximately 20 to 30 minutes.

To identify special turn-taking systems, we must distinguish interactions in which the search of interactional goals involves the participants in lengthy question answer (Q-A) chains, from interactions in which such chains are obligatory. The question and answer chain shown below is not an ‘obligatory’ chain such as a court situation but the GO (goal orientations) of these interviews are organised around the pre-prepared list of questions that the interviewer (FE) is asking the interviewee (the student), and the interviewee is nevertheless expected to answer, as demonstrated in these lines:

- | | | | |
|----|------------|-----------------|---|
| 1. | FE | Question | is there a ‘Cypriot’ identity? = |
| 2. | Bel | Answer | = yes |
| 3. | FE | Question | why do you think a Cypriot identity has (.) or hasn’t formed? |
| 4. | Bel | Answer | I don’t want to mix with the Turkish? |
| 5. | FE | Question | oh(.) OK (.) are there any pure Cypriots? (.) who are[they? |
| 6. | Bel | Answer | [yes (.) usually the old |
| 7. | | | people (.) younger ones are not as pure |

Rather than a quantitative criterion, that is equal number of turns of each participant in this segment of the interview, or the order of speakership (Interviewer– Interviewee- Interviewer- etc.) the decisively identifying feature of its organization is the departures from the types of contributions individuals are expected to make. This can happen in the courts where persons are

sanctioned if they answer when they should not, or failing to answer appropriately, or when children in classrooms are punished for shouting out answers or talking when the teacher is talking. These explicit sanctions can analytically index that the rules which we initially imagine in the participants' actions are in fact rules that the participants recognize that they should follow as a moral obligation. In short, explicit sanctions show that a turn-taking organization is being oriented to in its own right (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991). The following part of Extract 7, Interview 1 (discussed in detail earlier) demonstrates how these ACT (allowable constraints) are recognised by Cem. That is, he knows that he is expected to answer the questions asked in this interview and he had agreed to participate, but he is nevertheless trying to avoid this in the two turns by reducing his answer to a minimum ‘*same thing*’ twice. He does answer though as the IF (inferential framework) is set within this moral obligation. The interviewer (FE), having not received an acceptable answer modifies her question and finally accepts it with ‘OK’, and moves on with an unambiguous and straight forward question in order to maintain the turn-taking procedure.

1. **FE** I see (.) do you want to learn English? (.) for wh[at?
2. **Cem** [same thing
3. **FE** huhum (.) what motivates you to learn English?
4. **Cem** same thing =
5. **FE** = OK (.)what is your nationality?

As Seedhouse (2004) emphasised, the pedagogical focus influences the organisation of the interaction. This also means that the interview discussion has its own interactional organisation which is different from the classroom talk and focus group discussion we have seen so far. Here my ‘intended discussion on identities’ also sets the interview’s allowable constraints (ACT) which were less observable than the classroom talk and the focus group discussion. Turn-taking and the sequences did not vary as much as the classroom and the focus group context since there

were only the same two participants throughout each interview. ‘Power or the decision making mechanism’ was almost entirely dominated by the institution (or the interviewer) as in the classrooms. This is also indexed by the minimal number of interruptions by the interviewees and a perfect symmetry (Teacher–Student-Teacher sequences) throughout all the interviews.

The inferential framework (IF) of this locally-created context in the interviews in the two schools is that the turn-taking rules apply with a particular order: interviewer –interviewee-interviewer; the shape of the interview is perfectly symmetrical. Lexical choice is dominated by the question words ‘*wh*’ or personalised questions ‘*do you..?*’. The conversation’s rules are respected by both parties in these interviews and as far as the content of the interviews is concerned, the pre-selected identity topics are imposed and discussed as the focus of this interactive engagement.

Chapter 6: Discussion of findings

This chapter discusses how the TC students' identities emerged in the micro-analysis approach of CA and ICA. As Schegloff (1997) points out the value of CA for making larger claims, the CA and ICA analyses of the previous chapter offer a useful platform to make inferences about the wider cultural context of Cyprus. My three RQs on identity revolve around three main actions: students' perception and talk of their identities, students' enactment of identities, as well as what the students perceive to be their investment in the English language. The three main terms emerging from these RQs, **perception**, **enactment** and **investment**, have been discussed in greater detail in the Literature Review chapter.

Firstly, this chapter will explore students' enactment and perception of their identities as stated by RQ 1. In this first RQ then, as well as focusing on the students' own 'perceptions of identities', that is to say, how they are *socially aware* or *conscious of* and *talk about* their identities, I will also look into how these students demonstrate identities through the things they linguistically perform in their natural environment. Therefore, the main difference between these two terms is that enactments are identities that students 'act, do or perform' whereas perceptions are identities which students are 'consciously aware about' and 'express views about' in conversations. In RQ 2, the term *investment* will be explored in relation to how the students themselves use the English language and invest in it as native (or almost native like and hence perfectly bilingual) speakers in School A, or as L2 language learners in School B. RQ 3 aims to provide an overall picture of the range of identities revealed in the two schools and to discover whether there are any variations in private and state school contexts.

Following is the detailed discussion of each of the research question in an attempt to provide answers to them.

1. How do TC final year students, from a private and a state school in Cyprus, **enact and perceive** a range of identities in different classroom contexts?

6.1 Enacted Identities

The data on how the students enacted identities were mainly gathered from the observation of the lessons but to a lesser extent focus group and interview discussions. Although the main goal in the focus group and interview discussions was to understand *what* the students said about identities in the turn-taking, and *how* they explained their perceptions of their own identities through interaction, they inevitably *enacted* identities as well. In the observation of the English and Geography lessons and in some of the focus group discussions in the two schools main emerging themes are discussed below.

School A

All the conversations in the two lessons (but also the focus group and interview discussions) took place in the English language, with minimal exceptions, when some TC students used the ‘odd’ word or expression in Turkish. This in itself shows that the students *enact* identities with an orientation towards the English language, even if they live in a Turkish-speaking environment and most of them (with some exceptions of the students with British and other nationalities) are bilingual with Turkish and are Turkish Cypriots. Although they are enacting a bilingual identity, their choice and preference for the English language (although it was partly imposed on them by the school as the predetermined medium of education), as seen throughout Extracts 1 and 3 and indeed the lessons as a whole, focus group discussions and interviews, could possibly mean a

number of things. Firstly, their *linguistic awareness* might be linked to their *cultural awareness* (Byram, 2012) and these students might be orienting to a British culture and style of living through the development of their linguistic and intercultural competences. Use of the English language or code-switching between mainly English and occasionally Turkish hence enables these students to conceptualise the world in a way that is not traditional (Byram, 2012). By enacting their bilingualism to the advantage of the English language, they might be intending to increase their capacity to resist the conventions of the TC society, even though it is considered to be in an in-between phase between tradition and the ‘desired’ modernization mentioned earlier in the introduction. Students are possibly aiming to reduce the cultural lag caused by the in-between phase of northern Cyprus which they might find far too slow for their liking. Hence they opt to use technology, for example, which they can easily reach and master to access worldwide information, but they also choose to use the English language in order, perhaps, to create a world of their own, on their own, by the means accessible to them, where they set the values themselves rather than have them imposed by their ‘natural’ environment; that is, possibly, their family, the TC society their school. They are able to achieve this through the language they can use as or almost as a native speaker, at no cost and no penalty.

Secondly, and linked to the first point, comes the reference to the IGCSE and IELTS examinations in both classes by the teacher as the representative of the institution. Both examinations orient to British qualifications required for acceptance to British and/or European universities. Both teachers in Extracts 1 (p.143) and 3 (p.155), independently, refer to these examinations as seen by the first reference to the IELTS exam in the English lesson, which was made at the beginning of the lesson (as we know from the observation of this lesson), and the second one, which is towards the end of the lesson, Extract 1 (p.143). The Geography teacher,

too, refers to the UK (Extract 3, p.155) and to the IGCSE exam during the lesson which was clearly designed for preparing the students for the oncoming IGCSE examination. Reference to these qualifications and to the UK as already discussed in the data analysis of the relevant extracts (Extracts 1, p.143 and Extract 3, p.155), could possibly highlight an underlying discourse amongst these students. IELTS and the IGCSE are UK-based exams and are prerequisites for British universities. A high school diploma would suffice for Cypriot universities. So, it can be deduced that these students would eventually aim to study in the UK or maintain this as an option. The discourse underlying the use of the English language in these two lessons observed above, might well be the shared 'Britishness' or a connection to the UK (such as the result of immigration, parents who might have studied there) or a future plan which involves the UK (tertiary education, job opportunities, internships). Not to be underestimated, these implied connections demonstrate a financial capacity which could eventually allow them to travel to and study in the UK (or the EU as a whole), but also they have the mobility to do so with preferential access facilities as EU citizens. With an *international student* status (as opposed to the *European* or *home student* status), not only entry to UK / EU countries becomes more challenging but also university fees are more than triple the amount. The teachers' references to these exams in the two lessons probably demonstrates how these exams are naturally assimilated to the students' local identities in the classroom, making the exams an accepted and unquestioned part of their school lives. The students in School A, therefore, enacted identities with a British or an international exam orientation as opposed to a local or no exam orientation. This British/international or local orientation in their school lives and identities is significant especially in terms of the role it plays for the students' future plans at this transitional time in their lives.

The last 'identity' I have identified that was enacted by the students was their status in the lesson in relation to the teacher, to the institution and towards each other. Although there was symmetry in the equal turns in both lessons (Teacher-Student-Teacher), the teachers were clearly the dominant partners in the conversations as they had all of the longest turns, and asked nearly all the questions in a teacher-centred style of teaching. In such contexts teacher is considered as the only expert with the *savoir-faire*, displaying their teacher identity in an institutional setting such as the school (Rivers and Houghton, 2013). Student answers in the interactions were one-word answers in the majority of their turns. This could possibly index asymmetrical power relations in this context where the students were enacting identities as subordinate members in these classrooms. They obey orders of the knowledgeable superiors and answer when they are asked to.

On the other hand, these minimal responses and turn avoidances could also demonstrate the students' opposition or resistance to the teacher dominance. Perhaps they were simply 'playing the game' of being a student, which is considered, by their peers, to be 'cool' to be enacting an identity that challenges the institution. The teacher, especially in Extract 1, p.143, but also in Extract 3, p.155, continues her/his dominance in order to 'break that game' and insists until s(he) achieves her/his pre-determined institutional goal that aims 'to receive an answer to her question'. Arguably, the imperative of the institution is to continue to use the questioning method as a pedagogical device in seeking the right answer from the learners. The teacher's classroom management is set around the power of the institution which makes her teaching centred around power as well. In a more learner-centred classroom-management context, Brophy (2013) argues that management systems should support instructional systems and student roles should be clearly articulated in the planning process for instruction, taking into account students' roles

emphasized in the classrooms. In these contexts this would mean, for example, more student participation in the organization of the lesson and more time for peer discussions to explore multiple meanings of the lesson objectives. The students would be participating in the power-related organisational aspects of classroom management, for example, which would involve sharing the teacher's power, to some extent. In the absence of this kind of participation and sharing, it would be logical to conclude, therefore, that the teacher-centred environment of the classroom has also had an impact on how these subordinate identities were enacted in these contexts.

Similarly to the dominance of the institution upon the students where the teachers also acted as leaders of activities and decision-makers in class, it became especially apparent in the focus group discussions that leader and follower roles naturally developed and were enacted by students themselves. In School A, for example, Beliz in the English-medium school manages to refuse Cem's (one of the boys in her group) chosen statement and impose her own choice of statement 2 relating to the equality between girls and boys: (Extract 5, p.172, Line 2) 'no (.) we want (.) I want two (...)', she can easily talk in the name of the others in the group (**we**) without any prior discussion on the subject. Strikingly, she has immediate supporters/followers from her peer group members though: Extract 5, p.172, Line 3 'me too I want two'. The hierarchy within the group is thus created and will affect the whole discussion session that follows the selection of the statements. The hierarchy of the Teacher–Student relationship of the classroom is transferred to within the students' own group in this discussion. The group of students have themselves constructed a hierarchy of power relations enabling decision-making and supporting the decision maker without any challenge. The existing power mechanisms of the institution and the teacher

might be serving as role models for the TC students to re-create similar models and mechanisms for their own interactions.

School B

The main identities that emerged from the lessons observed in School B turn-taking had similarities but also differences in comparison to School A. The first impressively similar identity enacted by the students was their status in the lesson in relation to the teacher, to the institution and towards the members of their class and the focus group. This might have stemmed from the fact that, similarly to School A, both lessons in School B employed a teacher-centred approach. Extract 2, p.149, provides us with many examples of the teacher's dominant role in the classroom conversation: The teacher introduced the topics and activities as in Line 1: 'what about a boy?' She asked almost all the questions and also provided corrections or approval to the answers given by students 'yes we know'. Lastly, the teacher oriented to and resolved problems through self-repair '...what about a boy? can you tell us what the boys talk about?'. The teacher's self-repair within her same turn aims to resolve the problem in her speaking and facilitates understanding of her question by the students through paraphrasing. The Geography teacher, too, in Extract 4, p.159, paraphrases or even changes his question in order to simplify and make it responsible since his question cannot remain unanswered. What the teacher aims to achieve is the correct answer, the expected correct information to a 'what' question pre-determined by the teacher. There is no apparent pre-occupation in the conversations in these extracts for 'hows' and 'whys'. The goal has been set as the answer to the '*what*' question in this institutional framework and the inference is that the teacher knows the answer and wants the students to provide the answer. The

inferential framework is such that the students should provide answers even if the teacher, as they all know, knows the answer.

A more learner-centred approach would urge teachers not to convey pre-established answers but, instead, to explore students' arguments. Teachers would probably ask more contestable questions and invite students to take positions and make supporting arguments. In his study of a school which adapts a more learner-centred kind of teaching approach, Wortham (2008) remarks that a student who dutifully repeats what the teacher has said is not considered successful, while a student who challenges the teacher and provides convincing arguments is considered successful.

On the other hand, students who assert their own points of view in a bold manner, as discussed by Wortham (2008), can be categorized either as successful or as disruptive, whereas they would likely be identified as disruptive in most classrooms. Hence, we can say that the teaching style and the manner (teacher or learner-centred teaching approach) could play an important role in students' own perceptions and enactment of identities. In a learner-centred approach, their identities could be constructed in a very different manner, mutating from the subordinate positions described in the English and the Geography lessons to, perhaps, disruptive or successful identities.

The educational goal of these teacher-centred teaching approaches, as demonstrated by the extracts of this study is narrowed down to specific factual information through the questions. This can also provide an explanation as to why most of the turns of these students are only one word answers. The students do not challenge this approach in their turns. In the conversation chain, in Extract 3, p.155, for example, which appears to be completely broken, the teacher is performing a monologue of questions violated by silences which he is expecting the students to

answer but they choose not to. Still, the teacher's dominance and expertise is not challenged and the traditional norms are not put at any risk. The chains of silences and the minimal involvement in the Geography lesson index similar subordinate identity enactment to School A. Alternatively they can be said to be resisting the institutional power imposed upon them or they simply 'enact' roles of studentship, by not answering, playing or perhaps lacking the knowledge for the answer as in School A.

The hierarchical power relations between the school and the school's own students as well as the students' resistance to or avoidance of this imposed power are two other common points in the two schools in terms of the identities constructed by the students in the two schools.

Power, relates to the teachers' (or the schools') control over valued resources, such as time-management, activity-choice, decision-making and other obligations students have in the two school settings. Hierarchical status and the resulting respect generated a top-down advantage. In summary, this ethno-methodological case study has shown that these TC students oriented to but also resisted hierarchy and the power relations which were imposed on them by their educational environment.

A second similarity is how the students enacted identities in relation to each other. Especially apparent in the focus group discussions were the leadership roles played naturally by two strong characters: Beliz in School A and Erkut in School B. Similarly to Beliz, Erkut becomes the unofficial 'chief' in the example (Extract 6, p.179, Line 1): 'four eight four eight ten four and nineteen (.) this is my choice (.) think about it'. Although what is said in the next turn is inaudible, there is nevertheless laughter. Nobody interrupts Erkut. He is the decision-maker, yet, he politely invites his supporters to think about it! The leadership skills and influence of Erkut on his peers

resulted in three of his suggestions to be adopted by the group (statements 4, 10 and 19), all three related to *his* favourite subject, which he declared as English. This demonstrates that he succeeded in imposing himself as the leader of the group. Neither his leadership nor his choices were challenged by his peer group members acknowledging him as their leader.

The main differences between Schools A and B stemmed from the latter's choice of the language of interaction which was Turkish. English was used as the unmarked choice in the English lesson but Turkish was also present mainly in teacher's instructions, interactants' jokes, or teachers' clarification of a point, and talk amongst the students themselves. The only language used in the Geography lesson and the English lesson (except for the lesson content) was Turkish indexing that these students enacted identities with an orientation towards the Turkish language. Unlike School A which was bilingual with a considerable emphasis on the English language, the students in School B enacted an identity which was broadly monolingual in practice. English was the second language used only when asked to, that is to say in the English lesson, whenever necessary. This can be considered 'natural' and to be expected in a Turkish-medium school and in a Turkish-speaking country. It is, however, worth mentioning here that three of the statements selected by the students in School B co-selected were related to English and its role in their lives at present and in the future. This point will be developed further in the discussion relating to RQ 2.

Another salient variation between the two schools possibly as a result of or linked to the first point, was the lack of exam orientation in the lessons, although it did appear in some of the interview discussions. No reference to any exams of any kind can indicate several points with regards to these students' enactment of identities. Firstly, as their teacher had informed me during her interview, the socio-economic background or their nationalities (mainly Turkish and

therefore non-EU) do not facilitate university education outside northern Cyprus or Turkey. Secondly, Cypriot universities offer places with a high school diploma and this is perceived as an easy option and a guaranteed university place. Enactment of locally-oriented identities become naturalised as part of the world in which they live and plan their future.

6.2 Perceived identities

In order to explore the self-perceptions of student identities through CA and ICA, I will mainly focus on the ‘*naturally- occurring*’ turn-taking procedures in the focus groups and interviews. A reminder of the focus group students’ choice of these prompt statements in the two schools, are illustrated in the following chart (Figure 16):

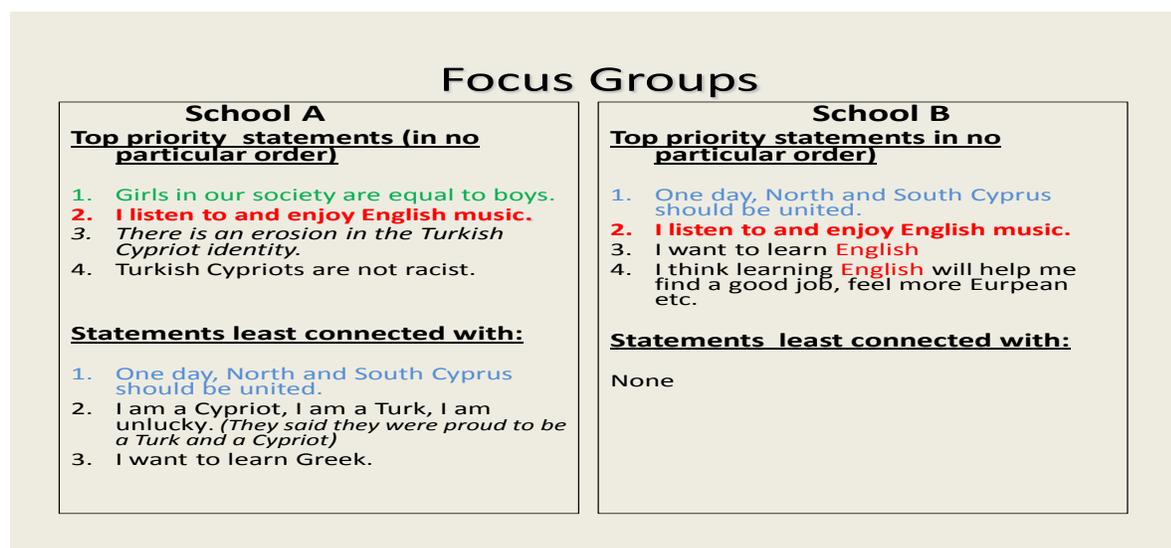


Figure 16 Focus group priority statements

School A

The first perception I observed was that gender is viewed as an important identity category to the focus group students in this school.

Their choice of the '*Girls in our society are equal to boys*' was a top priority statement, mainly due to one of the girl's leader position in the focus group which allowed her to act as the context-setter, as discussed in Extract 5, p.172. Having established herself as the group leader, the student also manipulated the choice of the discussion topics. Girls immediately teamed up with her against the boys and supported her in her arguments against the boys. It is clear from this Extract (Extract 5, p.172) that girls and boys formed their own groups within this focus group. The girls' orientation to gender in this extract demonstrates that they are freely expressing their views on gender equality without any apparent social, cultural, linguistic restrictions and that they are challenging the boys and their orientation to gender equality at this moment during the interaction. Of course, there may also be a 'girls versus boys' discourse that allows this type of confrontation. The self-imposed leader of the focus group goes further and even challenges the boys with direct confrontation. What she probably implies in her challenging questions, is, that there is nothing special about the boy that makes them superior to the girls.

This orientation to gender and its binary grouping of 'us and them' also indexes that these students are distinguishing themselves as two separate groups making an assumption within the structure of this discussion activity that there is a binary classification of gender. They are demonstrating a perception, in this locally-created focus group concept with an imposed list of statements which places the members in two sub-groups. This is how the gender roles are perceived. The boy, Cem, is accused of an '*inherently felt injustice suffered by the girls*', as there is nothing he said in this extract which claims direct superiority to the girls. The only thing he did, though, right at the beginning of the extract (Line 1), was to attempt to state (impose?) his choice of statements and even asked the girls to keep it simple. The girls' reaction to this was massively defensive and unwelcoming and they finally ended the selection to their advantage.

This was also probably due to the fact that Cem, the boy, was left on his own by his fellow group members (one had withdrawn and the other was particularly silent) and the girls, on the contrary, acted together. The girls' in-group solidarity was hard to combat alone and Cem even felt himself to be the victim.

What we can deduce here is that there is a perceived struggle of gender positioning within this group of TC students and an unsettled dispute about gender equality between the girls and the boys and this could possibly mirror TC society as a whole. No reference has been made relevant in this discussion to gender other than the traditional gender norms. The discussion remained within the conventional gender boundaries without challenging the gender stereotypes. It can then be assumed that these students enacted and/or perceived stereotypical identities at this moment of the discussion with an ongoing verbal conflict about gender roles and equality.

The second perception revealed was the students' concern and consideration about the Turkish Cypriot identity as expressed by the statement including 'erosion in the TC identity' as one of their four top priority sentences (See **Figure 16** above). This choice might have been a result of and a reaction to the increasing immigrant population in Cyprus which is rapidly outnumbering the TCs. Official *de jure* population figures (TRNC General Population and Housing Census, 2011) of northern Cyprus is approximately 286 257, whereas, *de facto*, it is stated to be around 300 000. TC Union of Public Workers, however (the biggest union of public workers in northern Cyprus with approximately 3000 members, Source: 'TRNC State Planning Organisation, Official Gazette No 6, 12 January, 1996) claim in some newspaper sources that this number is falsified. Subsequently their beyond-the-Cypriot boundaries and international aspirations for their lives do not seem to extend as far as an aspiration for a massively multi-cultural community. Alternatively, their desire would be to preserve the existing TC identity or the status quo that

they perceive to be under threat of extinction, as expressed by one of them with the following line:

There is only a busload of Turkish Cypriots left on the island.

Focus group student from School A

Furthermore, one of their least preferred statements was the *reunification of north and south Cyprus*. Again this may appear to be an atypical choice coming from a group of students having close links with European countries, mainly the UK, since any kind of reunification, as proposed in various UN plans such as the Annan Plan (2004), would probably mean applying the suspended European *acquis communautaire* (a term used in European Union law to refer to the total body of EU law accumulated until now) to the northern part of the island which would possibly offer European standards, easier international access in every sector of the TC society. As stated in the White Paper published by the European Commission (1995:65) on the direct relationship between language learning and identity, a relationship is presented as causal:

Languages are also the key to knowing other people. Proficiency in languages helps to build up the feeling of being more European with all its cultural wealth and diversity and of understanding between the citizens of Europe. (European Commission, 1995: 65)

Yet according to my findings, although the above point is not challenged, the students in this focus group who are perfectly proficient in at least one of the official EU languages, that is to say the English language, perceive themselves to be not as European as the students in the School B who are also L2 learners.

School B

Gender was overtly made relevant by the female teacher at the beginning of the English lesson in School B which had a pedagogical focus of ‘discussion of friendship between boys and girls.’ The teacher thus made assumptions within the structure of the activity that there is a binary classification between boys and girls and the agenda was set for a discussion relating to the gender topic. This assumption is noteworthy since it can possibly play a role in the way students construct their identities in this local context. The use of markers of gender such as ‘hunting or football’ for the boys, and the teacher’s teaming up with the girls using the pronoun ‘we’ in Extract 2, p.149, inferred shared knowledge of the gender characteristics. This is one of the ways the students perceived gender identities as traditionally set and accepted by the society. Boys do like this and girls do like that. This perspective is also fully and comfortably shared by the unique authority in the classroom. This kind of teacher’s perception is not only experienced by the teacher but of course the students as well. It is of considerable concern that ‘more time for the boys’ can become ‘naturalized’. For though not all boys will get more attention than all girls, this tendency can cut down on the time available for all girls. Applied to my English as a second language classroom in School B, the time spent for and/or about the boys might mean that males get more attention, speaking practice and more feedback on their utterances. There are, of course, many further ways teachers can treat female and male students differently, including selection (who asks/answers a question, who demonstrates), varying the level of difficulty of questions by gender, and employing double standards for, for example, error identification and treatment, presentation of written work, and acceptable classroom behaviour. These may be neither intentional nor recognized by either the teacher or the students but will undoubtedly have an

impact on the students' own perception and enactment of gender identities which are context-dependent and the gender roles which are situated.

Stereotypes are set, traditional gender roles remain unchallenged and boundaries are fixed and held by the teacher or the institution. The inferential framework is designed as the context in which some pre-established social framework is seen as containing the participants' actions (Drew and Heritage: 1992) and these students are kept within the norms of the framework. The teacher's limits, however, are not restricted indeed. She expresses herself in comparatively long turns. One of her turns is approximately 40 words, making it 40 times longer compared to, on average one-word turns of the students. Not only the length but also the content of her turns relate to gender stereotypes making her or the institution's domination massive in this sense. This domination and its acceptance in this context also index students' identity enactment of their subordinate roles as well as their 'apparent' acceptance of the normative gender roles and their set boundaries in this local context. Teacher-student interaction is heavily based on the 'differences between the two genders' (Extract 2, p.149) and she is committed to reinforcing this by going even further and asking a boy to obtain confirmation. Her attention is on the boys throughout this extract (Extract 2, p.149), although she might be thinking that girls are sharing her attention and the turns equally. Insidiously, what seems like 'equal time for the girls', or even perceived as the girls getting more can actually be less.

In School B, the first student perception of their identity I identified was that consumerism is valued by students in School B focus group as Extract 6.1, p. 181, shows how the statements were selected and made relevant by the members of the focus group in School B. Emergence of students' perception (also enactment) of identities became visible especially through their turn-taking but also through their lexical choice in this extract. Firstly, emergence of two words

'shopping' and *'job'* is an interesting characteristic of their discussion in relation to the selection of statements. Shopping in the southern part of Cyprus is still a popular activity for the Turkish Cypriots. Being the politically recognized state of Cyprus, south Cyprus enjoys a real variety of British and other international products and brands, world-famous shops and restaurants (such as Marks and Spencer's, Top Shop, Zara, Mango, Burberry, Diesel, McDonalds, KFC, and many more) contrary to the north, where the international brands have only recently started to appear on the market, often as agents of the Turkish main branches, due to international embargoes on the Turkish Cypriot community. The south, or the European Cyprus, therefore, remains an exciting attraction for shoppers and these students. Their perceived identities would appear to show a tendency towards a reunification of north and south which was one of their top priority sentences.

Similarly, in this opening extract (6.1, p.181), we can observe the multiple use of and references to such words as 'jobs, job opportunities, employ' (Lines 17, 18, 20, 31, 32, 36, 37), which are mentioned seven times in such a short sequence. It could be assumed that these TC students in their final year of secondary education are concerned about their future and especially about their employment opportunities. Perhaps it could be further assumed that they are aiming to select statements which are relevant to their everyday lives and concerns. According to numbers provided by the school director, only 20% of the students in their final year of secondary education would sit the entrance examinations for universities in Turkey; they will rather opt for local universities in Cyprus which do not require this exam, if they choose to pursue further studies. Similar to the above point, the students might be in favour of a reunification of the two sides in Cyprus in view of their anxiety about their future. They are therefore, at this moment in time, perceiving themselves as pro-reunification as job hunters, as anxious youth in quest for a

stable job or future, as would many other young people at their age in many other parts of the world. The only distinction for the TCs would be their self-perception of possibly a more fragile and less certain situation than their peers in other, more stable, political climates at this point in history.

Hence, one of the School B group's top priority sentences was, contrary to School A, their willingness to see *North and Cyprus united one day* and that *the English language would help* them feel more European. This difference from School A may also reflect the groupings in the two schools: School A focus group which is already comparatively more bilingual, internationally oriented, mobile and able is preoccupied with the safeguarding of its Cypriotness. The students' perception of their Cypriot identity does not seem to include a concern for a partnership with the Greek Cypriots, which appears to ignore the 'other' major component of the ethnic Cypriot identity and underlining their perception of their Turkish Cypriot identity during their discussions of their chosen statements. School B group, on the contrary, being 'local' and 'Turkish' oriented is perceived to be more enthusiastic about a reunification, perhaps in view of the potential value added to their lives by the acquisition of European values and/or standards as well as the English language. The interesting point here is that, although the focus group in School B chose the statement in favour of the reunification, their discussion revealed somewhat contradictory concerns. The issues made relevant by the students (Extract 6.2, p.185, Lines 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 28-31) were seen as threats causing the TCs to become a minority again, fighting and raids between the two communities, historical and religious factors, the referendum and being ignored and misled by the international community.

The emergence of religion is noteworthy because it is neither used nor implied in the prompt statements. It is made relevant in Extract 6.2, p.185, (Lines 16– 22) four times, and is perceived

as a barrier to the reunification (Line 16). The students' own perception goes further than this since they perceive the TCs to be 'the least religious Muslim country in the world' (Line 18). The fact that one of the focus group members refers to northern Cyprus as such and that religion is considered as an obstacle to Cypriotness by another may also imply that these students consider the religion of the Greek Cypriots as an obstacle to the notion of Cypriotness rather than the religion of the Turkish Cypriots. All these discussions demonstrate that they clearly perceive themselves as Turkish Cypriots as a group since the in-group identity markers '*we or us*' (referring to the Turkish Cypriots) were used 12 times in this Extract alone (Extract 6.2, p.185, Lines 1, 18, 22, 29, 30, 34, 40, 45) and '*our country*' (referring to the northern part of Cyprus) (Line 6), and '*they*' (referring to Greek Cypriots) was used three times (Lines 5, 7, 44).

The data revealed in the focus group extracts showed that the students in School B as a group were attracted by the international opportunities made accessible by the southern part of Cyprus and were in favour of a reunification and having a 'common Cypriot identity' in theory. However, they had reservations as to how it would function in practice. The controversial issue of the reunification of Cyprus and what the perceived barriers impeding a solution are also locally demonstrated in the turns of the Extract 6.2, p.185, by a total of seven '*but*s' used in this short extract alone. The School A, as we know, had already rejected this statement as one of their least connected to statements.

In the light of the CA of these extracts (Extracts 5, p.172, 6.1, p.181, 6.2, p.185), we need to remind ourselves that because these are locally-produced pieces of talk showing students' perceptions of their own identities which is transformable at any moment, and contingent on the context and the talk's environment, then, we can assume that identities can mutate. As Heritage (2005) suggests, the aim of CA is to show 'context and identity have to be treated as inherently

locally produced, incrementally developed, and, by extension, as transformable at any moment'. In the light of what Heritage says (2005) it is important to add that these students are talking and discussing in a context that is imposed on them, even if they were repeatedly informed that there was no obligation and that they could withdraw. In fact one did. But a more informal enactment and perception of their identities would certainly appear in their 'real day-to-day' naturally occurring data in connection with each other where they don't have to obey rules exerted by the adults (parents and the school teachers). In these turns, they are taking stances probably with a degree of scepticism. Evidently, they are teasing each other (through laughter), challenging the turn-taking rules (by not answering) and laughing at/with peers as all teenagers normally do. Talking or having to talk, with peers and within an official setting, about extremely serious and even alarming subjects such as their future, the future of the island, who and what they are, their identities or their investment in the English language might have provoked an added challenge to their school day. It is even possible that they are only expressing opinions in their turns which they might not even believe themselves or which are ephemeral. We need to be sceptical ourselves, starting from as neutral a standpoint as possible and aiming to acquire certainty through logical observation, about how we treat these data; we need to consider that they are still adolescents and some (or all) of their perceptions and enactment of identities would be influenced by various psychological transformations they go through at this transitory period. The above mentioned social sub-groups were the most predominant identities perceived by School A and School B students in the focus groups. These components of their perceived and enacted identities which were made relevant by the students themselves are jointly summarised in **Figure 17** below:

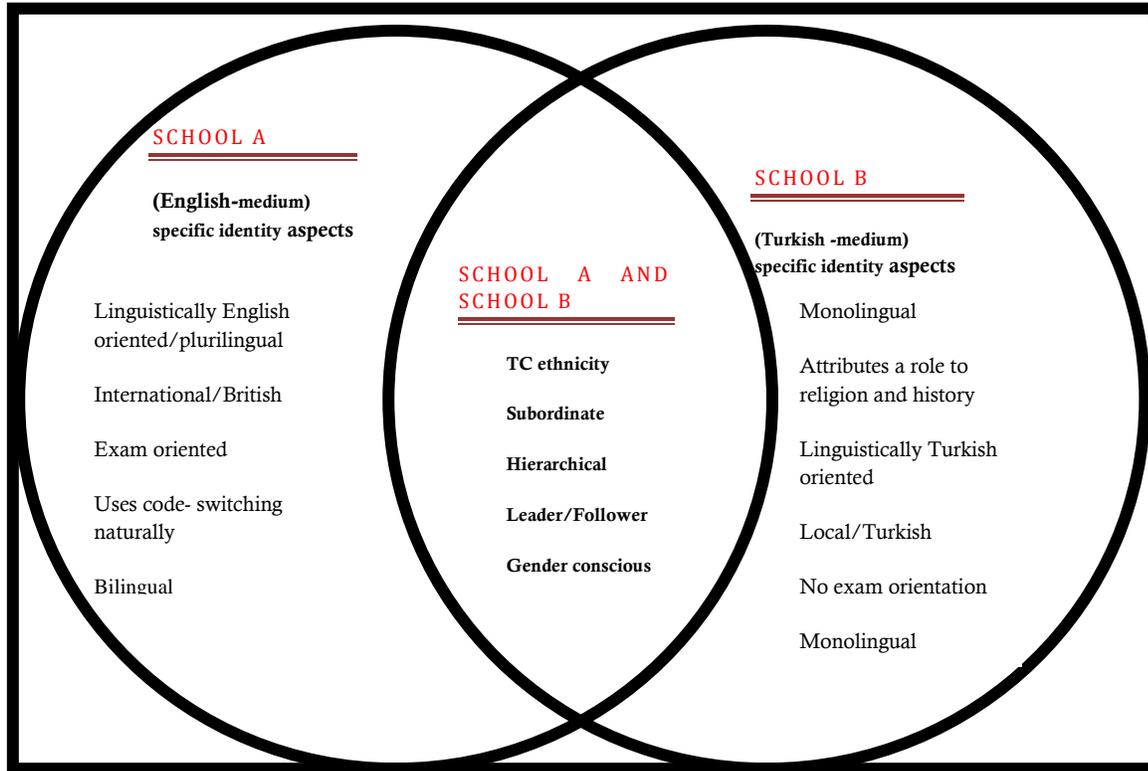


Figure 17 Perceived and Enacted Identities in the two schools in the Case Study

6.3

RQ.2. What do TC final year students from the two schools **perceive** to be their **investment** in the target language (English)?

The notion of investment in the context of this RQ presupposes that when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world (Norton, 2006). Thus an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner’s own identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space. In this spirit, the questions: ‘Are the students motivated to use the English language as L1 in School A and/ or to learn it as L2 in School B may not be as helpful as the question ‘How is the student’s

relationship to the target language socially constructed?’ As we have seen in the data analysis section, learners’ investment in the target language may be complex and even conflicting. The following definition from Ellis (1997:140) summarises the use of the word ‘investment’ and how it is used in this section: ‘Investment is the ‘learners’ commitment to learning’ (an L2 as in School B or using it as L1 in a bilingual setting, as in School A) which is viewed as related to the social identities they construct for themselves as learners’.

Focus group as well as interview analyses were helpful in exploring and understanding students’ investment in the English language since they provided relatively more in-depth insights on the relatively pre-determined topics of discussion. In the semi-structured interviews, one section was dedicated to the topic of the English language and meaning was co-constructed with the interviewer.

School A

One of the main key points with the English language was that in the English-medium School A it was used more as an L1 but also used as an L2 depending on the origins and the proficiency levels of the students. All the students can be described as bilingual with varying levels of proficiency in the two languages. In the Turkish-medium School B, however, English was only acquired as a second language, and the students aimed to be bilinguals by the end of their studies. How successful they were at reaching this objective is not a concern of this study but it was made clear by the teachers and the administrators that there would be a considerable number of students who would not fully achieve this aim after six years of study.

The students in both schools have English lessons of a minimum of four hours a week. School A focus group members and interviewees were all bilingual students with English and Turkish but all interaction was in English apart from the odd word or expression. These moments of code-switching have been indicated in the analysed extracts. In Extract 7, p.195, (Line 25) the beginning of the student's turn is in Turkish but he immediately returns to English. As the student himself clearly pointed out (Extract 7, p.195, Lines 6-7) 'I use English and I prefer it (.) sometimes I prefer Turkish if it fits a daily issue'. What he means is that Turkish is not his first linguistic choice for everyday use, but occasionally he might use it if it suits the needs of a particular matter. In a Turkish Cypriot setting and bearing in mind that neither was he born nor had he lived in the UK, he still considers it his '*mother tongue*' (Lines 9 -10), he chooses to use and invest in the English language as a native speaker. So what is his investment in it? 'How is his relationship to English socially constructed?' He is clear on this, (Lines 13 -14) 'it (the English language) doesn't make me more European (.) I am a Turkish Cypriot (.) but more globalised (.) I can communicate with everyone (.) and it definitely gives me a wider choice for my future.' It is indeed this 'wider choice' that he invests in: wider choice for education opportunities, jobs or perhaps living standards, people or music. This also indexes that the future is a concern for these students (in both schools) not surprisingly, being in their final year of secondary education and at the eve of some potential change in their lives.

The student interviewed in Extract 8, p.199, similar to the first student, considers English to be 'global'. She (Extract 8, p.199, Lines 3-4) perceives English as a need: 'I want to study law (.) so I need English (.) it is for social and professional reasons'. Her social construction is that English is a necessity, a tool for her social and professional development, hence her investment in it. The perceptions of the role of English in their lives are positive: it symbolizes an opportunity in their

quest for jobs or a better life, and leads them to their favourite songs and perhaps to their adolescent dreams. It seems therefore to be ‘a good investment’:

Why English music and not Turkish music? Come on say it...It sounds better... Seems attractive.

School A Focus Group member

School B

School B is a Turkish-medium school which provides four hours of English as a Second Language lessons per week with the same teacher. The teacher and the students were all native Turkish speakers and English was their second language. All the focus group discussions and the interviews were conducted in Turkish (the students’ choice) and then selected extracts were translated and transcribed. This was a major difference between the two schools: not only the language selected by the interactants but also their investment in the English language appeared dissimilar. In School B (Extracts 9, p.202 and Extract 10, p.205) the two interviewees created links between themselves and the English language during the interviews. Erkut stated that English was his favourite subject, willingly creating a positive link between him, the English language, the interviewee role he was contextually allocated and the interviewer who was presumably, from his perspective, related to the world of the English language. In other words he created a bond between himself and the context of the interview. This context was, at this precise moment, related to his investment in the language. Erkut also emphasized the idea of English being the ‘common language’ (Lines 8-9) and his constructed meaning was that investment in this language can provide jobs and opportunities.

In her interview, Imren (Extract 10, p.205) was as willing as her colleague to answer the question of the interviewer on the subject of the English language (Line 1) and similarly describes it as the

‘common language’ that makes you more international but not necessarily more European. This perception of language proficiency and identity reminds us of the sense of the EC White Paper (1995) the aim of which was to promote understanding between people and to build up the feeling of being more European through proficiency in languages. In the case of School B, this, in a way, seems to be perceived as such. The interviewed students invest in the English language in order to become more proficient language users and as a result, they consider that it would pave the way towards more globally-shared identities such as the EU and/or the international ones but also to better or wider opportunities and jobs (Extract 10, p.205, Lines 12-13, Extract 9, p.202, Line 8, Extract 8, p.199, Lines 3-4, Extract 7, p.195, Line 14).

In sum, the data analysed clearly expressed that School A and School B have different levels of investment perceived as a result of the language they predominantly use at school. The students in this study are internationally or locally oriented, further studies are organised in the UK or locally, and finally they are bilingual or monolingual. Their investment, as their commitment to learning English as L2 as in School B or using it as L1 in a bilingual setting, as in School A, is viewed as related to the social identities the students construct for themselves as learners. The meaning here is constructed socially but also perhaps historically and culturally. That is: these students are investing in the English language to varying degrees and forms in the two schools or even amongst the students within the same group in order to obtain a return on the time, effort and perhaps financial capability spent, in the form of wider educational, cultural or economic opportunities and jobs.

A key element with the investment in the English language is that it has become the lingua franca between the two Cypriot communities since the separation of the communities in 1974.

There is a noticeable increase in the learning of Greek/Turkish but English remains the ‘common’ language of interaction between the Cypriot communities.

The meanings emerging in these interview extracts in both schools were interactionally constructed between the interviewer and the interviewees and their analyses need to take into consideration the context of the interaction. This means that the interpretation should not simply include what was said but also how it was said (Richards, 2011). It is therefore crucial to note how there might be nuances of language use, turn-taking, emphasis and implicature (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005), which might influence the co-construction of identities rather than simply settle the discussion of findings for what the content of the interaction is.

6.4

R.Q.3. Overall, what do we learn about the range of identities of language learners in the two schools? Are there any differences in private and state school contexts?

Based on my analysis and discussion, I propose that School A had two distinct social categories as the defining identities within the school and a third category which defined itself in relation to the other two: English, Turkish and the ‘friends with everyone’ (*students’ phrase*), which I shall term the *‘in-betweeners’*. Linguistic patterns which mirrored this social categorisation were discovered. The elements of identities salient within the students in School A were observed to be defined by two sociolinguistic variables: *language and ethnicity*. The *‘Turkish’* group consisted of students whose Turkish was considerably better than their English (mainly Turkish Cypriots born and educated in Cyprus) and the *‘English’* group consisted of students whose English was better than their Turkish (mainly British children and Turkish Cypriots born and/or educated in the UK). The *‘in-betweeners’* (or friends with everyone group) apparently consisted

of the majority of the students in the school and was mixed, bilingual in Turkish and English and had students of all ages and backgrounds. The focus group members were members of the *English* and the *in-betweeners* categories.

On the other hand, the findings in School B did not reveal groupings of English against Turkish. This consisted of one of the major differences observed between the two schools. In fact the students stated in interviews that there were no groupings in their schools at all. What was hinted at in the interactions, though, was that there still existed a kind of *concealed underlying grouping* that was not overtly perceived nor perhaps acknowledged as such (see appendices with teacher interviews). Interestingly, this concealed grouping was not an overtly stated, transparent grouping as it was in School A, but was nevertheless alluded to in interview interactions. The students born and partly educated in Turkey, for example, spoke with an accent that is not considered as the TC dialect. Consequently the '*in-betweenner*' group formed in relation to the two groups and consisted of students who did not categorise themselves in relation to the two groups and which was also naturally obscured or concealed.

Some of the findings in the English-medium school (School A) of this research study in some ways echo Eckert's (1997) renowned study of one high school students in Detroit suburbs. Her study was based in one school only and was mainly concerned with the phonetic variations and their significance in identity formation. She found that there were two social categories: 'the jocks' who participated in all school activities and who would continue their education to university; and 'the burnouts' whose lives were based outside school in the local area. These two categories were the defining identities within the school. The third category consisted of students who did not see themselves as belonging to these two extremes of the school community. However, they defined themselves in relation to the 'jocks' and 'burnouts' as 'in

betweens' (Eckert, 1997). In Eckert's school this linguistic pattern was the strongest local urban accent in contrast to the strongest suburban accent and the 'in-betweeners' within the same school. There are parallels with my case study. Here, the main categories which emerged in School A were simply 'English' against 'Turkish' and the bilingual 'friends with everyone or *in-betweeners*' identities. In School B the hidden linguistic discourse was understood to be 'Turkish' against 'Turkish Cypriot'. Therefore I would argue that the predominant identities perceived and enacted by School A and School B students were linguistically oriented.

There were also other aspects of these students' identity which were made relevant by the students themselves that can be considered to be relevant and of crucial interest to this RQ:

1. TC student is in search of a place within the hierarchy of adults

In both schools it was clearly observed and evidence of this was demonstrated in the CA and the ICA analyses, that students were aware of the power-relations established by the institution and the teacher. It is impossible to overemphasize how students' relationships with adults (parents and teachers) are power-related. The teacher's job, in these traditional classroom settings, is mainly to keep everybody focused on one person, having to instruct rather than guide since they are not able to deal with a classroom of students on a one-to-one basis (as seen in Extracts 1 (p.143), 2 (p.149), 3 (p.155) and 4 (p.159)). Teachers can also refuse or even punish language used or behaviours adopted creating the asymmetry in their relationship with their students which can also be caused by age. These asymmetries can be seen in terms of power, freedom, knowledge, and resources (Eckert, 1997). The lack of symmetry in power-relations that underlies all relations between adults/teachers and students was closely felt by the

students and demonstrated in the classroom interactional turns too, mainly in terms of their turn-taking, the length of turns, and type of questions asked but also self-repair and repetition.

The teacher-centred approach of teaching mainly via questioning the students in order to get the pre-determined answers (Q-A-Q sequences) indicates a line of departure from ordinary talk (Heritage, 1991). The turn-taking rules, in particular, the teacher selecting the next speaker (Sacks et al., 1974) are already established and respected in a classroom and empower the institution even if there is possibly some resistance in the form of refusal to provide an answer or ignoring the pre-determined classroom activity selected by the teacher.

I should like to extend the metaphor of '*in-betweeners*' to other aspects of these students' lives. The TC students are in-betweeners with regards to the power of school as the institution and their own resistance to this power. This resistance is an indication of their own positioning of themselves as 'in betweeners', between the hierarchy imposed by the institution in terms of age, power, experience, resources, freedom and their own struggle to find a new position (other than that of a teenage child) within that hierarchical structure and with some of the superiority apparently enjoyed by adults.

2. TC student attributes a role to religion

The students in School A considered themselves as 'less religious' than their Greek Cypriot counterparts, hence they made comparisons with the 'other Cypriot' component of the ethnic Cypriot identity. As a result, the TC students demonstrated their awareness of the two predominant religions in Cyprus and perceive themselves as Muslims but 'not as religious as' than their Greek counterparts (the implication is that they perceived themselves as 'less religious therefore better'). There was even a personal perception of northern Cyprus as the least religious

Muslim country in the world (Extract 6.2, p.185, Line 18). The emergence of religion as a topic of discussion is noteworthy because it is neither used nor implied in the prompt statements. The fact that one of the female students in School A refers to northern Cyprus as the least religious Muslim country in the world and that religion is considered as an obstacle to Cypriotness by another, may also imply that these students consider Orthodox Christianity as an obstacle to the notion of Cypriotness rather than Islam. Turkish Cypriots as a community have been secular especially since the arrival of **Kemalism** (a movement led by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk who introduced the secular system and modernised Turkey founding the Republic in 1923) in Turkey which was exported to Cyprus in the 1920s. Although the TC community itself is quite conservative in its attitude towards life and values – being mostly agricultural and traditional with a slow process of modernization - secular ideas have been and continue to be imported from the West primarily via education in Europe and America (UNDP Report, 2009). According to UNDP Report (2009), more than 90% of Cypriot youth (both Turkish and Greek Cypriot ethnic communities) believe in a *higher power*, and this result is compatible with their counterparts in Turkey and Greece. In contrast, this percentage is significantly lower in countries such as the UK (with approximately 30%). Yet the students in my study, interestingly, consider themselves as ‘less religious’ than both of Turkey and the Greek Cypriots.

TC students position themselves as *in-between* the Christian Orthodox Greek Cypriots whom they perceive as more religious and Muslim Turkish mainlanders whom they also consider as considerably more religious. This perception is frequently voiced in the local media as a characteristic of the TC people as a whole (Tuğyan, 01.10.2013, Yenidüzen newspaper <http://www.yeniduzen.com/Yazarlar/tumay-tugyan/bizim-andimiz-da-kaldirilsin/2014>). The students then are indexing the religious identity of TC society as a whole as *in-betweeners*.

3. TC student is gender-conscious

By gender conscious, I mean these young male and female students chose to use the provided discussion opportunities related to gender in order to explore gender conditioning, roles and expectations within a changing world in both of the schools. Constructing a binary structure through their talk, the students were conscious that girls and boys were not treated as equal to each other in their society (School A, Extract 5, p.172). This was especially shown by School A focus group whose leadership position was taken by a girl. The statement relating to gender was a priority statement in School A but not in School B. The underlying argument in the discussion of the focus group in School A was that girls are not treated as equal in the TC society, as seen in the data analysis (Extract 5, p.172). The leadership skills of one of the girls in School A played a key role for the choice of this statement. As the naturally emerging leader of the focus group this female student managed to impose her choice as a top priority sentence. The amount of laughter in the extract analysed (Extract 5, p.172) may indicate a mixture of feelings rather than simply laughing at a funny joke. It is possible that it is simply the reflection of the unease these young TC adolescents feel in terms of gender issues or talking about gender-related subjects publicly. Clearly, the focus group divided into two girls and boys in this sequence, forming their own groups in a binary system. . On the other hand, School B focus group was led by a male student and the statement relating to gender equality was not selected by the group. In the observed English lesson in School B, however, as already discussed in RQ 1 above, gender was made relevant by the teacher, and similarly to School A, a binary structure was created in the classroom context, heavily dominated by the teacher. The two groups were formed by the teacher (by siding up with the girls and hence creating an ‘in-group’ solidarity) as *we* and the boys as *they*. No reference to gender has been made relevant in this framework other than the normative

gender norms of girls and boys. The discussion remained within the conventional gender boundaries without challenging the gender stereotypes. It can then be assumed that these students enacted and/or perceived conventional gender identities at this moment of the lesson through an unsettled discussion about stereotypical gender roles which have been traditionally acquainted with males and females: football and hunting for the boys and diet and talking for the girls. What is also implied in the teacher's turn (Extract 2, p.149, Lines 21-23) is that she perceives sharing your personal problems with a friend to be a sign of weakness. Hence the girls are perceived to be weak because this is what they do and the boys are perceived to be strong but in reality are not, because they, too, share their problems.

This orientation to gender in both schools also indexes that these students are distinguishing themselves as two separate groups in relation to gender: female and male in this locally-created context. None of the participating students claimed to be against gender equality in the micro-setting of the focus group, or mentioned anything related to gay men or women. Nevertheless, the students may change and move between the categories in other settings, as more or less in favour of gender equality, less or more feminine/masculine, under different conditions of talk and depending on the locally constructed contexts and their interactants, since these subjects remain a taboo in the TC society to this day. The law penalising homosexuality has been amended as late as 2013 upon indirect pressure from the EU officials. The TC students are *in-betweeners* with regards to gender positioning and the traditional gender roles still existing in their society and that of a less traditional Western society.

4. Turkish Cypriots are conscious of their potential ethnical diversity: They have Turkish Cypriot and/or Turkish and/or Cypriot and/or European identities

The main differentiation between the two schools arose from the choice of language during ordinary everyday talk and their general orientation: English and Turkish as opposed to Turkish only and internationally (or British) oriented in comparison with the students' clear preference (could it be through obligation?) of localness with regards to further study. By this I mean that the students in the English-medium school might have aspirations to continue their further education and possibly professional lives in the UK as opposed to the students in the Turkish school that might not be able nor perhaps wish to go abroad and have plans to stay locally after their secondary education. Further research would be required to determine whether these preliminary emerging choices had any relationship to their English language proficiency, nationality, financial ability, and/ or peer/family/institutional preference and/ or pressure and also to what extent.

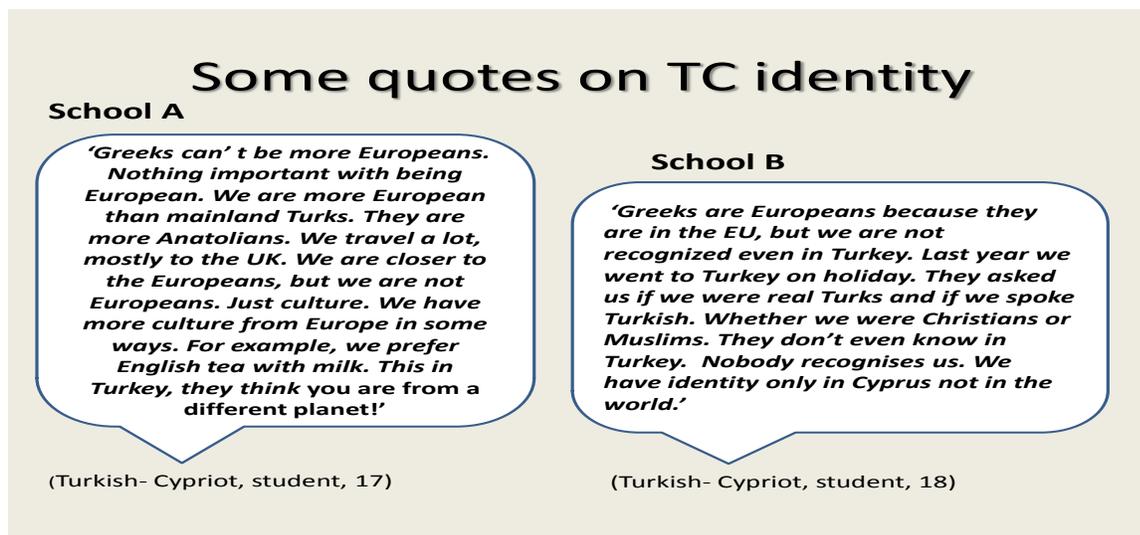


Figure 18 TC student quotations on own identity

The above quotations shed further light on their self-perception of TC and European identities discussed earlier. School A group considered that although Greek Cypriots might be in the European Union as a community (unlike themselves) they are not necessarily more European and Europeanness is not something to aim for since it offers nothing special. The group continued their comparison by positioning themselves above the Turkish on a spectrum of Europeanness and at times below the Greek Cypriots (although this was not the opinion expressed by each member). As an example of their association with Britishness, too, they imply that the TC people have similar food and drink habits as the British which is not even heard of by the Turkish. In this respect, the implication is that TC are more British in terms of culture (they drink tea with milk) and the Turkish mainlanders are simply Anatolians, i.e. not Europeans. The term British and European are understood to be used interchangeably which is an interesting aspect of their self-perception. Travelling to the UK (in School A) and to Turkey (School B) are made relevant in these two comments. These TC students also considered that the Greek Cypriots were racist, implying that they were not or they were less so:

‘Ours can’t be called racism. I am not really fond of them but I am not really racist like them the way they’re against us. Only old Turkish Cypriots ... they are really racist. Because of the war.’

Focus Group student School A

One of the male interviewees in school A, in response to the question on his nationality, in Extract 7, p.195, demonstrates a link to the UK right from the start. Details follow later in the extract. In Extract 8, p.199, one of the interviewed girls explains that she is half TC, half Turkish and has lived some of her childhood in Turkey. The point we can draw our attention to here is that the common reference in both cases is the TC identity. In the first case where a UK or EU nationality is an option, the student is more than willing to employ it. In the second case, where

there is an absence of the UK/EU nationality option, the next best thing is opted for, and that is the TC identity. Of course all these answers are context-dependent and might relate to many factors such as their academic choices in the future or orientations, and even their employability as UK/EU nationalities.

In School B. on the other hand, the interviewees described themselves with reference to Turkey or Cyprus depending on where they were born as well as in relation to their parents' nationalities. There again, we could sense the concealed hidden TC and Turkish groupings we mentioned earlier. One of the students wished to emphasise her Turkishness above all whereas another one interestingly declares to be 'born and raised' in Cyprus as if to distinguish herself from the settlers who have immigrated or continue to immigrate to the island. This might indicate that she has a self-perception of being an original/pure TC as opposed to those who adopt this nationality later.

5. TC students as leaders and followers

In both focus groups, one member, a girl in the English School and a boy in the Turkish school took the lead, which emerged when they were selecting their top priority sentences. Despite holding an attitude of acceptance or resistance towards power relations existing in the classroom, the students formed their internal power system, where the strongest interactants could impose his or her choices on their groups as in Berrin in the School A focus group and Erkut in the School B focus group. The remaining participating students, that is to say the majority, were *in-betweeners* with regards to the power relations. By this I mean that they enacted subordinate or follower identities in a lesson with respect to the hierarchy imposed upon them. They followed the rules such as sitting in a particular order, following the turn-taking procedures of the lesson

set by the institution, answering the majority of the questions asked by the teacher, or playing the game of being a student or laughing as demonstrated in RQ1. In the focus groups, on the other hand, although they were all exposed to equal conditions in terms of turns, choices and discussion time, again, they chose to enact either the leadership role or the leader's supporter role. They perceive themselves and enact identities in terms of a dominant/strong character: either as the leader or the follower/supporter of that particular leader, as discussed in RQ 1. The TC students may be incorporating a leadership role in a peer group interaction but return to a subordinate role when in a classroom or in a different locally created context.

The students are therefore *in-betweeners* in terms of how they perceive and enact roles within existing and imposed (school) and temporary and self-created (group) hierarchical roles.

6.5 Conclusion: Turkish Cypriot students are the 'in-betweeners'

The TC students who participated in this study are *in-betweeners* in terms of their ethnicity: Turkish and Turkish Cypriot, Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot, Turkish and European; they are in-between East and West and the societal values, in between the traditions of the East and the modernity of the West. The TC students are in-between the languages they use (or want to/need to use): English and Turkish, standard Turkish and the TC dialect, they are *in-betweeners* in terms of their country: North and South, the unrecognised 'TRNC' and the official Republic of Cyprus which is a member of the EU. As young adolescents they are *in-betweeners* in terms of their age: they are in-between the age of being perceived as adolescent or an adult. In terms of religion the TC students in the first decade of the second millennium are in-between religions too: although Muslims, Turkish Cypriots are considered 'not religious enough' by current Turkish authorities. At the same time, they are certainly perceived as 'the other' from

the viewpoint of the Orthodox Christian Greek Cypriot community and reciprocally, they treat the Greek Cypriots as ‘the other’. With regards to their European identity too they are ‘present but absent’ members of the European Union of 27 countries. They are personally EU citizens but not as a society. They are peripheral, since the TC community is reserved two seats at the Council but cannot, for political reasons, occupy those seats and are therefore not officially represented. The TC society in northern Cyprus is allocated various types of support by the EU, through an EU support office based in Nicosia but will they ever acquire full membership, as any peripheral member would aspire to have or will they remain in between occident and orient as their mainland Turkey? A number of issues need to be addressed on this subject such as: where to place the Turkish Cypriots who are considered to be ‘Europeans’ individually but not as a community within this parent community; whether they are marginal, peripheral or purely non-members. The possible answers to these questions and the resulting ideological associations will shape how and to what extent these TC students perceive and enact their identities.

The constructs and insights gathered so far contain many contradictions but it is only in this context and by considering and exploring the background that we can hope to understand what constitutes a sense of ‘identity’ for young TC language learners and users. Fifty years after the foundation of the Republic of Cyprus, after so many political and cultural changes that the TC went through, it is interesting to see how the young people in Cyprus perceive themselves, how they enact their identities and what is their investment in the languages, in particular the English language.

Today they perceive and/or enact themselves as *in-betweeners*, in-between identities and general concepts. But, above all, they are students in a school and perceive/ enact this identity to its full capacity in this study. Everything else is secondary. Like their studentship, other components and

orientations of their identities are transitory: their directions in life, their choices, their perception or enactment of their identities and their investment in the English language.

6.6 Complexities and challenges of methods used

The methods required for investigating identity positions and language are complex, given a social -constructionist approach to identity and sociocultural theories of learning (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004); Norton and McKinney, 2011). Methods that scholars use in identity approaches therefore often draw on critical ethnography, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and feminist poststructuralist theory (Norton, 2011). Identity research often depends on three methodological understandings, according to Norton and McKinney, (2011).

First, most reject the view that any research can claim to be objective or unbiased. Post-structural researchers must be *reflexive* about their own experiences, recognizing that their perspective on that which they are observing or analyzing is not the only one, and that their conclusions will inevitably be '*situated*' (Norton and McKinney, 2011) and partial. This is not meant to say that qualitative research is lacking in effectiveness; but it is to recognize that all research is situated, and that the researchers and their tools are integral to the progress and ethical conduct of a research project (Kramsch and Whiteside, 2007). On this issue, Ramanathan (2005: 15) noted, for example, 'Questions and issues of what are 'present' and 'absent' clearly inspire what are 'visible' and 'invisible' in literacy events and practices and are determined, to a large extent, by the researcher's lens'.

A second common understanding with respect to method is the '*structure and agency*' issue. According to Norton (2011), identity researchers must consider not only how structural conditions and social practices situate individuals, but also how individuals struggle to place

themselves in the contexts in which they find themselves. For example, identity researchers must examine identity categories like class, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, age and other structural issues that might be associated with inequalities within the research setting. However, they also need to ensure that they leave space for the actions, decisions and investments of human agents making their own choices. Holland et al. (1998:5) elegantly put this as follows:

‘Human agency may be frail, especially among those with little power, but it happens daily and mundanely, and it deserves our attention’.

Methods for examining identity in schools thus need to pay close attention to how the students are placed by common social practices, but also how they place themselves by engaging in these practices in novel and creative ways.

A third and related understanding is that the methods that identity researchers use must look for a better understanding of how *political and economic issues* interact with construction of identity (Cummins 2000); (Fairclough, 2001); (Pennycook, 2007); (Janks, 2010). Such researchers often draw on Foucault's (1980) insights about the relationship between knowledge and power, and the subtle and complex ways in which power circulates in society. Foucault's conceptualization of power as discursively produced and reproduced is of special interest to researchers on identity as they also investigate particular contexts and how they can privilege or stigmatize interactants. Pennycook (2007: 39) noted that Foucault brings a constant doubt towards popular concepts and modes of thought. Taken-for-granted categories such as traditional gender roles, language, class, race, ethnicity or hierarchical or power positions must be understood as emerging, shifting and

produced in a particular context or environment, rather than having some pre-determined and fixed status.

This approach encourages identity researchers to reject grand theories and methods, and to come to understand the particularity of the individuals, contexts and the processes of social construction of identity they wish to examine. Qualitative methodology in research on identity has important challenges, as recognized by social scientists such as Hammersley (1992) and Gao (2007). From their research on task-based language learning in urban settings in the UK, Leung, Harris & Rampton (2004) pointed out that qualitative researchers often have difficulty presenting their data completely and in all their raw ambiguity. The study conducted by Leung, Harris & Rampton (2004) demonstrate the complexities of conducting research on identity in classrooms. The method was to collect naturally-occurring data with the use of video and audio recordings, supplemented by field notes, similar to this PhD project. Their data did not support the conceptual framework in which the researchers were working with some data being inexplicable. Another problem Leung, Harris & Rampton (2004) encountered is how to decide which data were relevant, and the amount of data to be analysed. They suggested that rather than '*smoothing the messiness*', qualitative researchers should pay attention to data that do not fit their chosen conceptual framework. In so doing, they suggested, researchers can acknowledge the complexities of research participants' experiences and can also advance theory-building. The point made here is that the conceptual framework (possible course of action) selected for research on TC student identity should not determine the data selected for the study. On the contrary, the data which do not fit and is complex could be more relevant for the study and hence need to be examined.

Wagner (2004) indicated an interest in the method of conversation analysis of L2 conversations to support an understanding of learning as empowerment of social participation and also indicated to how analysis of naturally occurring talk would enhance our understanding of identity. While there are several identity-focused analyses of L2 classroom talk such as Harklau (2000); Duff (2002); Pomerantz (2008); Talmy (2008), analyses of talk outside the classroom such as focus group discussions and interviews are less common, and should provide very useful data to enhance our insight of TC student identity.

In conclusion, we can argue that language learning TC students' identities are always multiple and in process, and that learners often have different investments in the language practices of their classrooms, communities and institutions. Research on identity and language helps us to understand and contribute to language practices and environments which can have an influence on social construction of identity. TC adolescent identity construction, in the light of recent political changes in Cyprus, is a broad issue in a sensitive context, and I hardly propose to settle it in a research study. I do want to show, however, that the overall PhD research may have something of importance to add to identity related debates on or outside the island, though it will not resolve them.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis has explored TC students' identity construction and the interplay between identity and language, with reference to the context of English language learning. It has also explored whether there is any connection between the emerging constructed identities and the unrecognized political status of northern Cyprus on the periphery of Europe.

The research pays particular attention to TC students at the transitional age of 17-18 years in two schools in northern Cyprus, observed and interviewed in the years 2009-2010. This period corresponds to only six to seven years after the period of the Annan Plan in 2004 which proposed a possible participation of the whole of Cyprus to the EU after a solution to the Cyprus problem.

The issue addressed by the referendum of this Plan was in fact whether the Cypriots (both Turkish and Greek in separate referenda) would accept to live under one roof, that of the Cyprus Republic, which would be a member of the EU as a whole, and made up of two constituent entities, the Turkish Cypriot State and the Greek Cypriot State, both with recognisably different linguistic, religious and ethnic identities from each other, but with a common and existing history of Cypriot culture and identity nevertheless. The aim of the newly-founded republic would naturally be to maximize sameness and minimize differences between the two communities for their peaceful co-existence. Refusal of the Plan would continue the de facto division of the island and the Cypriots would live separately as two purely un-linked entities: one as a recognized EU member state and the other as an internationally unrecognized or non-existent state. The Plan was accepted by the Turkish Cypriots and refused by the Greek Cypriots and was hence considered as refused overall. Alas, the differences between the northern and southern parts of the island continue to be highlighted and experienced by the Cypriots in their everyday lives.

Some of these differences, in addition to the ones mentioned above, can be said to be their relationship with the outside world, the socio-economic status, the infra-structure, or the education system, which could all possibly have an impact on TC students' lives and construction of identities. The differences from the Greek Cypriot community can possibly be maximized as a result of this separation. The research explored how TC students' identities are constructed and the ways in which they emerge through speech in their everyday lives at school, in the aftermath of the UN Plan, the referendum and the failed efforts to reunify the island.

This study showed how the TC students in these classrooms sought the meaning(s) of the world in which they lived and studied. These meanings were socially negotiated and formed through interaction with others in their groups. They were varied and multiple, and my objective in this ethno-methodological case study has been to look for the complexity of views and meanings rather than narrowing them into a few categories or ideas.

Students' own perceptions and enactments of their identities were focal points in this study. I have learnt from my study that as members of TC society, TC students need to find their way within the challenges arising from the rapid changes in their country, while attempting to narrow the gap between Cypriot traditions and Western culture resulting from the more slowly changing values of their society – the so-called cultural lag (Cyprus Human Development Report, 2009). These students realise they are facing critical transformations as the TC people move from a traditional to a modern society, which increasingly embraces Western standards, types of behaviour or even plurilingualism and/or the simultaneous use of languages such as English and Turkish. These changes, movements, plurilingual communication and education opportunities continue to bring up issues of identity for both the TC students and the TC society as a whole.

The young Turkish Cypriots in both the English-medium and the Turkish-medium schools have been directly affected by this transitional situation in Cyprus. They have all grown up in an isolated or embargoed state of affairs as a result of the non-recognition of the administration in the north, the '*Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus*'. These embargoes have had and continue to have several repercussions on their lives, and have created 'psychological deadlocks' as a result, as Yaşın (November, 2008) argues. As relative newcomers to the EU (only as individuals but not as a community or as an administration), TC students have been incorporating a European element into their spectrum of identities. They are Europeans without being Europeans and they remain on the periphery of Europe as peripheral members of a community of practice (Wenger, 1998). They have multiple identities; they are multicultural and plurilingual (Byram and Beacco, 2007) and they invest in a second (English) language, which they name 'the international language'. Yet, despite meeting the requirements set for an international status or being considered as European, one question that still remains unanswered is: when and if the Turkish Cypriots (and hence these students themselves) will be considered to be full rather than part-time or peripheral members of the EU, the community of practice, if ever. Clearly, this straightforward question has no straightforward answer and this 'in-between' situation has potential influence on students' self-perception and enactment of their own identities in northern Cyprus in general and on their European identities in particular.

In examining the articulation of the TC students' identity I adopted the Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) sameness theory of identity. While constructing their identities, these TC students minimized differences and maximized similarities within their own groups but also with the Greek Cypriots as 'the other'. Some of the key insights gathered from the study are summarised below.

Firstly, gender identities as boys and girls were unquestioned in all the situations observed. This orientation to gender and its grouping of ‘girls versus boys’ also indexed that these students distinguished themselves as two separate groups making an assumption within the structure of their interactions that there was a binary classification of gender. This demonstrated that the gender differences were maximized and similarities were almost insignificant. There was inferred shared knowledge of gender characteristics and the students perceived gender identities as traditionally set and accepted by the society. Boys speak and behave like this and girls speak and behave like that. This perspective was also observed to be shared by the teacher as the authority in the classroom. Although gender identity was seen as traditionally framed, the girls’ orientation to gender demonstrated their liberty to express their views on gender equality without any apparent social, cultural, linguistic restrictions. Indeed the girls even challenged the boys and the boys’ orientation to gender equality during particular moments of their interaction. TC students enacted and/or perceived stereotypical gender identities and maximised differences between boys and girls. However, they also demonstrated an ongoing conflict about the gender equality which may mirror the whole of the TC society. ‘If it’s equal, it will be equal’, one of the female focus group members stated. This probably indexed her desire to see gender equality in practice rather than just as a theory in her community. The girls hence seemed to resent existing differences between traditional gender identities experienced in the TC society.

Secondly, linguistically, the students formed social groups which were plurilingual (with at least English and Turkish), invested in the English language and used code-switching or they were simply monolingual, speaking only Turkish. In the former, bilingual or plurilingual group, the students could be defined as either perfectly bilingual (English and Turkish) or mother-tongue English speakers, whereas in the later, monolingual group (Turkish), their investment in the

English language was mainly a second language. Their investment as the learners was their commitment to learning English as L2, which was related to the social identities they constructed for themselves as English language learners (Ellis, 1997). These students might have been seeking to acquire the social, financial or cultural resources they hope English language is able to offer. The bilingual English and Turkish speaking group, on the contrary, probably considered that those resources were already achieved and hence their plurilingual identity could be used as a means to challenge the existing boundaries of their local context and to embrace Western culture and lifestyles.

The *linguistic awareness* of the plurilingual group, on the other hand, seemed to be linked to their *cultural awareness* (Byram, 2012). These students might have been orienting to a British culture and style of living and education through the development of their linguistic and intercultural competences. Alternative conceptualisations of the world hence became possible (Byram, 2012) for these students through the use of the English language or code-switching between mainly English and occasionally Turkish. By enacting their bilingualism in favour of the English language, as was the case in most of the data collected from the English-medium School A, the students might have been showing resistance to traditional TC society, still in a transitional stage towards the ‘desired’ modernization. In the rapidly changing world of technology which they can easily reach and master, and through the use of the language of their choice (English), they might have been possibly aiming to reduce the difference between modernity and tradition which they might have found far too slow for their liking. Hence they were aiming to create a world of their own, on their own, by the means accessible to them (their plurilingualism), where the students set the values themselves rather than have these values imposed by their society, family or the school. They could achieve this ‘new world’ with new

values through the language that they could use (almost) as a native speaker, at no cost and no penalty.

Thirdly, the students' ethnic identities were observed to be emerging as multiple, overlapping and changing. Either they perceived themselves as Turkish, Turkish Cypriot, Cypriot or European. Whatever identity was selected at a particular moment of the interaction and in a particular context, they maximised similarities with the selected identity and also maximised differences with the opposite or the 'other group (s)' to reinforce their selected identity of that particular moment. A good example to demonstrate this was the TC student who said she was 'just like the Europeans' (she probably meant English!), said 'she drinks tea with milk' (stating similarity with Europeans and appropriating Europeaness); whereas in Turkey 'they would think you are from a different planet' (maximizing difference with Turkish but enhancing similarity with Europeans). Another student underlined his Cypriotness maximising similarities between both the Turkish and the Greek Cypriots by saying, 'we are Europeans like the Greek Cypriots we used to live together peacefully' and a third student said 'We do not want to be Europeans like the Greeks, there is nothing special about being a European' (minimising similarity both with Greek Cypriot and European identities).

I feel that the official identity constructed in the 1974–2003 period (after the division of the island and until the UN proposed the Annan Plan) might have ignored samenesses and highlighted the differences between the Turkish Cypriot/Turks and the Greek Cypriots/Greeks by producing 'a sharp antagonistic relationship' between the two communities through official educational policies (Erhürman, 2010:286) which clearly set out an 'us' and 'them' bipolarization. This type of identity construction filtered through the generations and emerged in the talk of our TC students almost six to seven years later, within particular moments of their interaction, such as when they were discussing past events or whether TC and Greek Cypriots

could live together. The change of the former 'us and them' attitude with the change of government in 2003 highlighted Turkish Cypriot similarities with Greek Cypriots and hence a resemblance of EU identities and their common life in the EU. This constitutes an example of how the principle of sameness and difference can also be used by authorities and how the principle could work around samenesses or differences according to the priorities of evolving political ideologies and objectives.

Overall today the TC students enact and perceive themselves as '*in-betweeners*' with multiple identities, but, above all, they are students in a secondary school. The TC students in this study acted as students in traditionally allocated subordinate positions in their classrooms. Indeed this was the case in the majority of the classrooms observed as discussed above. Their answers in the interactions were mostly one-word answers which could possibly index asymmetrical power relations in the classroom context. The TC students were enacting identities as students who were subordinate members in these classrooms, obeying orders of the knowledgeable superiors and answering when they were asked to. This identity enactment possibly fits in with what secondary students usually would do anywhere in the world. They attend, listen, walk, talk, respect hierarchy (or are expected to), respect/have an attitude towards school, teachers, hold appropriate relationships with peers, teachers and administration; they use school as a social, educational, cultural, linguistic space, or as space imposed upon them; they wear uniform, react to bells, have breaks, all in an official framework designed by the educational authorities of northern Cyprus. This is their lives. Everything else is secondary. They are learners in subordinate positions but they may choose to learn or refuse to learn. This particular learner identity of these TC students was expected to come to an end at the end of the school year since they were in their final year. Like their positioning as students and subordinate class members,

other components and orientations of their identities are transitory: their directions in life, their choices, their perception or enactment of their identities and their investment in the English language could all be changing.

In summary, the TC students are in-between geographically, culturally, politically and historically: between Europe, Turkey and Cyprus. They are in-between languages and ethnicities: Turkish, Turkish Cypriot, English, Greek; they are in between nationalities: Turkish, Turkish Cypriot, Cypriot, European; they are in between adulthood and childhood, dependence and freedom, past and future, modernity and tradition, 'TRNC' and the Republic of Cyprus, us and them, north and south, occident and orient, conflict and peace, love and hate, suffering of the past and present and hope for the future. The in-between identity positions are volatile, shaping up and emerging according to the context of the interaction and the interactants themselves.

It is possible to imagine a time in the future when the island of Cyprus and its inhabitants, the TC and the Greek Cypriot identities would be relatively more under the influence of love and beauty of Aphrodite than the in-between situation in which they find themselves today; a time when all perceived and enacted student identities can co-exist without deadlocks referred to by Yaşın (2008) in the Introduction Chapter.

7.1 Limitations and challenges

There are several limitations to this research because of the complexities and challenges of methods used and the concept of identity itself.

First of all, it is difficult to study identity, especially in a conflict situation, as it is not easy to talk about the traumatic events and circumstances that might shape students' identity, This could be

either because it seems remote and unrelated to their everyday lives or that their families might have suffered as a result of the Cyprus problem, from, for example, a loss of a family member. It can also be difficult for them to talk about their identities in relation to the EU because of the problematic and undefined political position on the periphery of the EU which might seem too complex or even irrational. One of the other difficulties of researching identity is that when respondents think and talk about their thoughts on their identities, they re-construct their versions of their perceptions and enactment; their identity is not fixed and stable waiting to be explored as deposited in their minds. This situation makes this research problematic, as the respondents' identities are constantly constructed, negotiated and emerging, making it impossible to reach fixed conclusions regarding their identities.

Secondly, the methods used for investigating TC identity positions and language are complex and can be a challenge given the social-constructionist approach to analysing emerging TC identities and can be considered as having limitations on its total objectivity (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Norton and McKinney 2011). As Norton and McKinney (2011) put it, social constructionist research such as this one must acknowledge that the perspective on what the researcher is observing or analyzing is not the only one, and that their conclusions will inevitably be biased. I also needed to consider how the TC students situate themselves socially in the school context (Norton, 2011) and how they are placed by common group action and talk by engaging in such talk and action in their personal ways. This complexity inevitably created a challenge for defining the TC students' identities as simultaneously created within the group interaction and within the student's own talk. Thirdly, evaluating how political factors related to the TC context interact with language learning and how they enable or limit students' enactment and perception (Cummins, 2000); Fairclough (2001); Pennycook (2007); Janks (2010) is a long-term process

that cannot be summarised simply as an experiment, an historical account or a single case study of two schools in northern Cyprus. As a research strategy, however, the distinguishing characteristic of the case study used in my research is that it attempts to examine a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly fixed (Yin 1981). This case study research hence brings us closer to an understanding of a complex issue such as identity through detailed contextual analysis of TC students' situations and conditions and the relationship between the two. Lastly, it is essential to consider the position of the researcher in an educational setting such as this one. It is undoubtedly a challenge to investigate places where researchers work or know as insiders. It can be argued that the researcher who shares a particular characteristic, for example gender, language, ethnicity or culture with the researched is an insider. In contrast, a researcher who does not share any of these characteristics is an outsider. According to this definition I was an 'insider'. However, the boundaries between the two are both 'permeable' (Merton, 1972, p. 37) and 'highly unstable' (Mullings, 1999, p. 338), with the result that we are all 'multiple insiders and outsiders' (Deutsch, 1981, p. 174), moving 'back and forth across different boundaries' (Griffith, 1998, p. 368), 'as situations involving different values arise, different statuses are activated and the lines of separation shift' (Merton, 1972, p. 28). In this study, for example, I engaged in as an insider at School A, in the sense that I was well-known to most of the teachers and the director (but not necessarily the students themselves) for a number of years before my investigation began, and had freely expressed my intentions on the research topic. By contrast, at School B, my research was of a much less familiar nature because neither my informants nor any of the teachers had known me previously, and I had deliberately chosen not to discuss in any context anything related to my research topic. However, speaking the language (and the TC dialect), having the

TC ethnic background, and being personally involved in the history and experience of the construction of identity matters which are addressed in the thesis are more likely to make me an insider than an outsider at both institutions. During the data collection and data analysis stages I was on a continuum with varying degrees of relationships with students at various moments, places and topics of discussion during the research. I considered myself neither as an insider nor as an outsider. This can explain the tentative nature of some of my comments, such as the use of ‘may’, ‘does not seem’ or ‘appears to ignore’ on P.229. It seems that there is no clear-cut line between insiderness and outsidership and should not be conceived as an either-or duality. Rather, the more we conceive of them as points on a continuum, the more we are likely to benefit from their potential strengths in all contexts (Mercer, 2007).

In conclusion, we can argue that the identities of TC students in the two secondary schools selected in this study are always multiple and in process, and that learners often have different investments in the language practices of their classrooms, communities and institutions. As Norton (1997) stated, every time language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information, they are also constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Research on identity and language, therefore, can help us to understand and contribute to the social world in which we live.

TC adolescent identity construction, in the light of recent political changes in Cyprus, is naturally a broad and sensitive issue, and I hardly propose to settle it in a research study. This research represents a starting point for future research exploring TC identity; it would be very useful to compare and examine samenesses and differences between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot identity of the same age groups in both parts of the island. A range of possibilities for future research is also opened up in this study, not only as regards the Cypriots, but also within

the EU and for thinking and researching the identity construction and language at transitional periods in other divided societies.

Figure 19

References

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1	Project timing
Appendix 2	Director/Teacher interviews School A
Appendix 3	Director/Teacher interviews School B
Appendix 4	Pilot Study
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Appendix 1: Project Timing

Project Process/Stage and Location	February - May 2010
Day 1 Meeting with officials in Girne American College (G.A.C)	February 2010
Day 2 Meeting with officials in Anafartalar Lisesi (A.L)	March 2010
Day 3 Teacher meetings at G.A.C	March 2010
Day 4 Teacher meetings at A.L	March 2010
Day 5 Observation -1 of the pre-selected group (video-recorded) at G.A.C	March 2010
Day 6 Observation -1 of the pre-selected group (video-recorded) at A.L	March 2010
Day 6/7 Student and staff interviews (audio-recorded) at G.A.C	March 2010
Day 7/8 Student and staff interviews (audio-recorded) at A.L	March 2010

<p><u>Day 9</u></p> <p>Observation/shadowing - 2 of the same group (diary keeping) G.A.C</p>	<p>March 2010</p>
<p><u>Day 10</u></p> <p>Observation/shadowing - 2 of the same group (diary keeping) A.L</p>	<p>March 2010</p>
<p><u>Day 11</u></p> <p>Audio-recorded focus group over lunch break at G.A.C</p>	<p>April 2010</p>
<p><u>Day 12</u></p> <p>Audio-recorded focus group over lunch break at A.L.</p>	<p>April 2010</p>

Appendix 2: **Template for Director/Teacher Meetings**

Name:
Subject s/he teaches:
How long s/he has been in this school:
How long s/he has been a teacher:
Comments on the class to be observed:
Student suggestions for interviews and focus groups with reasons:
1.

School A: Director and teacher interviews at School A

I interviewed the vice-director and both the English and Geography teachers in this English-medium school in order to ask for a general input on the school and the final year students in general. The vice-director, a Turkish Cypriot who was born and educated in the UK, provided me with some background information. She had been working in this school for six years, as a teacher at first and as the vice-director for the last four years.

When interviewed the English teacher who had been teaching at this school for five years, another Turkish Cypriot who was educated and lived in the UK, informed me that the class to be observed was an IGCSE/IELTS class in which Years 11 and 12 were mixed but streamed according to their proficiency in the English language in the two years. Consequently, an IELTS course book and other IELTS exam materials were to be used in the lesson. She stressed that there was a mixture of confidences and abilities despite the streaming. She categorized the students as the girls who don't want to speak and others who

are fluent and dominant (Tatiana in particular). The teacher's summarizing comment was that *'the students give themselves roles and imprison themselves in these boxes.'* She further expanded that she was referring to the introvert and extrovert roles her students had in her lessons.

The Geography teacher, a British teacher from the UK, who had been teaching at this school for three years, underlined the fact that some of his students chose Geography because they thought it was an easy option. He was content with the very good rapport he had with them. He, too, was preparing them for the IGCSE exam, although only four out of 18 (approximately 22%) would be able to sit the exam. He stressed that absenteeism was quite common and unsurprising, and pointed to the fact that because some of these students are from very privileged backgrounds they feel that they don't need to work at school. He finally emphasised: *'They respect the teacher, though'*.

Appendix 3

School B: Director and teacher interviews at School B

First of all I interviewed the director of the school. This was followed by the interviews of both the English and Geography teachers. The main aim was to ask for their input on the school and the final year students in general. The director, who had studied in the middle and high school at this school, provided me with some very useful background information. I was informed that he had been working in this school for 18 years, as a teacher at first and as the director for the last eight years.

An interesting observation noted by the director was that in the English-medium state school in their town, the ratio of nationalities is reverse. The state college he referred to provides an English-medium education and applies an entrance exam once a year. There are four of those schools in northern Cyprus, one in each of the major towns. No tuition fee is applied. Their main mission is to prepare their students to universities in Turkey but mainly in the English speaking countries, such as the UK. In other words, Turkish Cypriot families would prefer to send their children to an English-medium state school, as opposed to Turkish-medium state school. The number of teachers at the Turkish-medium school, according to the Director is 80, 60 (75%) of whom are Turkish Cypriots, the remainder being from Turkey. '*We won in teacher numbers*' (*Hocalarda yendik*), he added, jokingly. The irony that was implied, as I understood it, was that Turkish Cypriots were a minority in student numbers but the authority and the majority in the school was held by the Turkish Cypriot administration and teachers. Turkish teachers were described as quiet and as people who get on with their work. Whether or not this was a comparison with Turkish Cypriot teachers (was it being implied that they are loud and often on strike?), remains unclear. The Turkish teachers' backgrounds were put into three categories: those who are on a two-year contract; those who live in Cyprus and those whose spouses are in the Turkish army. In contrast, no such classification was referred to for the Turkish Cypriot teachers, who, to a large extent, are state school teachers with a full time status. This is also a comparison between professionally secure and permanent teachers as opposed to part-time teachers with temporary status.

Concerning the final year students, the director's observation was that, by the time the Turkish students (from Turkey) finish school, 40% accept and adopt Turkish Cypriotness, by which I mean accepting and feeling Turkish Cypriot identity; but 60% carry the Turkish Republic identity and perspective with respect to daily issues. The director therefore made the Turkish Cypriot and Turkish identities relevant, as separate identities. '*This is not always very overtly done*', he added. '*Students mix very well*'. He also said that the Turkish Cypriot children in this school are kids from poor families. The economic situation of the Turkish children's families was described as disastrous: 500 out of 550 families being workers (or immigrant workers), with irregular and low salaries, with many children, and sometimes without a legal status in Cyprus.

As both teachers of the Turkish-medium public school told me in separate interviews prior to the observation, discussion and interview sessions with the students, the main concern of these students from average to poor backgrounds is employment, or rather, their fear of remaining unemployed even if they complete their further studies. The English teacher summarized their attitude as: '*What will happen even if I study?*' (*Okuyacam da n'olacak?*)

This statement bears a number of connotations according to the two teachers, who, during their interviews, commented that the future plans of these students change on a daily basis, that they have no

ideals or much hope for the future. The most striking comment was made by the Geography teacher who stated that:

'the students are adversely affected by the 'relaxed' atmosphere that reigns in society, the social erosion and the system based on who you know rather than what you know'.

Appendix 4: Pilot Study

Timescale of the pilot study: 2 - 15 January 2008

- Day 1: Observation/recording of an L2 contexts, an English lesson with the selected class.
Lesson duration: 40 minutes
- Day 2: Observation/recording of a non-L2 context, a Sociology lesson with the same class, using English as the medium.
Lesson duration: 40 minutes
- Day 2: Lunch break: Observation/recording of the focus group on school ground.
Duration: 30 -40 minutes
- Days 3 and 4: Interviews with the selected members of the focus group outside school ground, in a comfortable office adjacent to the students' school. .
Duration: 15-20 minutes each.

The timescale was followed as planned and proved efficient.

Interviewee	Bislan	Hasan	Murat	Eliz	Güzide	Tanya
Origin	Turkish boy (of Circassian origin)	Turkish - Cypriot boy	Turkish - Cypriot boy	Turkish - Cypriot girl 17 years 5 months	Turkish - Cypriot girl 16 years 8 months	Turkish - Cypriot girl 17 years 10 months
Age	17 years 5 months	17 years 10 months	17 years 6 months			
Birth Place	USA	UK	Cyprus	UK	UK	UK
Lived in Cyprus	Since 2004	Since 2007	Since 2007	Since she was born	Since she was 18 months' old	Since 2004

Table I *Members of the Pilot Study Focus Group*

Focus group discussions and interview notes (Pilot Study)

The insights and data on 'identities' produced by the interaction between participants of the focus group were collected from the discussion around the following six contentious statements on the personal, social, ethnic, and national aspects of adolescent identities.

Some key quotations that emerged from this Focus Group discussion are highlighted below:

1. Teenagers are neither children nor adults.

*'You're expected to behave like an adult but you're restricted like a child...
Adults are patronizing you...
They don't trust you...
It's the age you start driving, drinking. You still have childhood feelings...
Being a teenager is like a ride back and forth, like a gondola.'*

- The Focus Group seemed to agree that teenagers feel they are both children **and** adults and that they are treated as it suits the adults.

2. Girls in our society are equal to boys

*'They probably should be equal to boys in every society, but they are not. But there are things more acceptable for boys than for girls.
In Cyprus boys are allowed to do much more things than girls, going out for example.
In our society, in north Cyprus girls have a lot of advantages, like a free drink in the clubs...
But that is sexist! You are not an object!
Women have less responsibility 'you don't have to be the man of the house'.*

- The Focus Group discussed ways in which they thought girls and boys were not treated as equal to each other in their society.

3. Young people can be divided into cool and uncool.

*'Girls are cool...
Boys are cool...'*

- It was observed that the discussion generated by this statement was relatively short and the Group was not highly motivated.

4. Having immigrants is good for our economy.

*Immigrants go to where the money is, like the Turkish Cypriots who go to the Greek side.
English people come here for the hot weather and there's a lot of retired people.
But now there's a lot of Jews building hotels and casinos here as well.*

- It was observed that the students categorised various groups of immigrants and reasons for immigration such as Turkish immigrants in north Cyprus, Turkish Cypriots working

in the south, retired British people seeking better weather conditions, Jewish people investing in north Cyprus.

5. One day, North and South Cyprus should be united.

'No it shouldn't because we said yes and they keep wanting more and more. They want Girne and Lefkoşa (Kyrenia, Nicosia). Our granddads died for our freedom. If we unite Turkish people will be a minority. But eventually Turks and Greeks could get together and there will be just Cypriots. I really like this idea. Us the Turkish Cypriots we are not religious but the Greeks are. We are the least religious Muslim country in the world. There was a time when there were many mixed villages. Like my grandmother speaks Greek fluently. But there is too much history, plus religion. Plus we said yes in the referendum and the whole world is acting as if there was no referendum. And the whole world is helping the Greek side more.'

6. Turkish Cypriots are not real Europeans

'We are not in the EU so what is it to be a European? Greeks are in the EU so they are Europeans. We are European 'cause we are in the area, kind of thing. We are in between Middle East and Europe so we are Europeans. I think we should be Europeans if the Greeks can be Europeans. We can lose our independence and identity in Europe.'

- One obvious outcome of this discussion was the fact that these particular students were very motivated by the last two statements and although there were two distinctly opposite perspectives within the Focus Group they were very respectful of each other's point of view. The conflicting views were:

5. a. *North and South should be united and we can all be Cypriots.*

5. b. *North and South should never be united because this would be a danger to our existence and freedom.*

6. a. *We are Europeans because we live in this particular geographical space and we are Europeans if the Greeks are.*

6. b. *We are not in the EU so we are not Europeans but we are western and modern.*

One of the main advantages of the semi-structured, face-to-face interviews was the fact that the questions could be responsive to the interviewees and adapted as necessary. Questions 1, 2 and 3 were not necessarily related to the research question of the pilot study but served more as a warming up exercise. They could be reduced to one such question for the PhD project. The other questions concerning the use of English, code-switching, role and status in class and social groups relate to personal, social, linguistic identities and were significant and relevant in generating data for the research question.

Key points observed and/or raised by the interviews are listed as follows:

- All six interviews were conducted in English in a very natural manner. There was very little code-switching between Turkish and English.
- The students interviewed were all very comfortable with using English in class as well as outside the school context. Both English and Turkish are simultaneously used by these students at home with parents and family, as they feel it is necessary and/or appropriate. Some indicated that they paid particular attention to speaking Turkish with their grandparents so as not to upset them.

Tanya: *My grandparents lived opposite us and had very big Turkish Cypriot influence on me.*

Eliz: *I speak Turkish with my Turkish friends and grandparents and when shopping. We are Turkish at the end of the day, and I live in Cyprus.*

Güzide: *I speak to my grandparents in Turkish out of respect. Because being old fashioned they are patriotic. It's a cultural thing.*

- There are 'Turkish' and 'English' groups at the school as two social groups (students' naming). The 'Turkish' group consists of students whose Turkish is better than their English (mainly Turkish Cypriots born and educated in Cyprus) and the 'English' group consists of students whose English is better than their Turkish (mainly British children and Turkish Cypriots born and/or educated in the UK). There seems to be a third group of students who are 'friends with everyone'.

Here are some comments relating to the social groups:

Bislan: *Throughout all the years there is a kind of division between Turkish and English speaking students. I am in the middle. Sometimes it is harsh. Younger it seems like a joke, innocent, when you are older it starts getting serious. Usually racism- not as much as white-black. This is a Turkish country. Turks dislike some foreigners. They see them maybe as a threat to themselves. The Turkish Cypriots feel the foreigners act as if they own the country. There is a lot of background to it.*

Eliz: *English people make a group and the Cypriots who don't speak much English make a group. This is a general thing. There's the bilingual people they are friends with everyone, like me. These two groups don't talk to each other. Last year there was a fight between Turkish speaking Cypriots and English speaking Cypriots, They accused the others of not being Turkish. They were all boys. Two big groups. Nearly fought but the teachers stopped it. There was rivalry, conflict between the two groups. They were last year students. This year no problem.*

Tanya: *At this stage we have gone past the stage of being friends based on materialism. I am selective. I am not in a social group. I have a lot of acquaintances with everyone, I can relate to everyone.*

Güzide: *There's the bilingual people they are friends with everyone, like me.*

- Five out of the six interviewees were Turkish Cypriots born either in Cyprus or the UK, and all five indicated that they would prefer to continue their higher education in the UK. The remaining

one interviewee, a boy of Turkish origin has made arrangements to continue his further education in the USA. He had lived in the USA with his family for 13 years prior to coming to Cyprus.

- An interesting self-perception of the adolescents' religious identity was observed: The student from Turkey described himself as *'Muslim who goes to prayers on special days'*.

The remaining five Turkish Cypriots' self- perception was as follows:

1 Turkish Cypriot boy described himself as *'Muslim'*.

1 Turkish Cypriot girl described himself as *'Muslim with a question mark'*.

1 Turkish Cypriot girl described herself as *'no religion'*.

2 Turkish Cypriots (a boy and a girl) described themselves as *'atheists'*.

- The responses to the last two questions used during the interviews which aimed at providing an insight to the degree of identification with Turkish Cypriot and with European identities is summarized in the **Table II** below:

Interviewee	Bislan (m)	Hasan (m)	Murat (m)	Eliz(f)	Güzide (f)	Tanya(f)
Self - perception of Turkish Cypriot Identity	Described himself primarily as 'American-Turkish'	Described himself as 'Little bit Turkish Cypriot'	Described himself as 'Little bit Turkish Cypriot'	Described herself as 'Quite Turkish Cypriot'	Described herself as 'Just Turkish Cypriot.'	Described herself as 'Quite Turkish Cypriot'
Self - perception of European Identity	Described himself primarily as 'American-Turkish'	Described himself as 'Quite European'	Described himself as 'Very European'	Described 'Very European'	Güzide argued that 'European does not describe her in any way	Described himself as 'Quite European'

<p>Additional Comments or Observations</p>	<p>Bislan’s card choices indicated that his perception of TC and European identities were secondary to his American – Turkish identity</p>	<p>Hasan’s card choices indicated that his self perception of TC identity was weaker than his European identity.</p>	<p>Murat’s card choices indicated that his self perception of his TC identity was weaker than his European identity.</p>	<p>Eliz’s card choices indicated that her self perception of her TC identity was weaker than her European identity.</p>	<p>Güzide perceives herself as just Turkish Cypriot and thinks that the Turkish .Cypriots are modern and westernized but not Europeans.</p>	<p>Tanya thinks that her parents and schooling made her more European. She perceives herself more European in certain moods: her way of dress, her interests such as art, literature, theatre are more European. When she is irritated she feels more TC.</p>
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Table II *Self Perception of Turkish Cypriot and European identity*

Appendix 5: Semi-structured observation schedule (Template)

Diary/Field Notes

School: _____ Class: _____

Teacher: _____ No. of students present: _____

Date of observation: _____ Time of observation: from _____ to _____

Class activity:

Organization of the lesson:

Students' use of L1, English and code-switching during tasks:

Students' use of L1, English and code-switching to answer teacher questions:

Students' use of L1, English and code-switching during pair work:

Students' use of L1, English and code-switching during classroom interaction

Students' use of L1, English and code-switching during a new teaching activity:

Students' use of L1, English and code-switching during group work:

On-task behaviour:

Verbal: working/discussing in groups in pairs, answering questions, speaking, listening...

Non-verbal: reading, writing, doing exercises, answering questions in writing ...

Off-task behaviour:

Non-verbal behaviour: yawning, looking around, fidgeting, doodling...

Verbal behaviour: whispering, gossiping, off-task talk

Appendix 6: Extract of field notes

30 October, 2010

REPORT ON TRANSCRIPTION AND DATA GATHERING

In both Anafartalar Lisesi and Girne American College lesson observations, focus group discussions and interviews were either audio or video recorded and/or notes were taken within a time framework of around four weeks: 15 April to 15 May 2010.

1. AL

1. a. Observation notes of the English lesson

Observation 1

- **School:** Anafartalar Lisesi
- **Year:** 12
- **Group:** Foreign Language Group
- **Age:** 18 - Foreign Language Group
- **Date:** Monday 3rd May 2010.
- **Time:** 10- 10.40 (40 minute lesson)
- **Teacher:** Ms.Selcan Metay
- **Lesson:** English class 11 hours per week out of 35 weekly lesson hours.
- **No. of students:** 8 **No. of boys:** 1 **No. of girls:** 7 **Missing:** 4 (3 boys). Teacher tries to contact missing students with her own mobile. She convinces 1 boy to join the class.
- **Seating:** Behind desks joined up at the front of the class
- **Official language of the lesson:** English
- **Class:** Dusty with broken chairs and desks at the back of the room. With a small cursus at the front for the teacher. There is a blackboard.
- 4 students from divorced parents, 2 girls from strict Turkish families (according to the teacher).
- **Objective of the lesson:** Discussion topic: Why is it important to have friends?

10.00 Teacher clearly has a good rapport with the students. She immediately introduces the subject to the class: Why/Is it important to have friends?

Imren (girl): You need people to share things.

Mehmet (boy): This is my destiny.

Aylin (girl): If you laugh together you can be friends.

10.10 The teacher: Discuss with the student sitting next to you.

The teacher comes to me and says in Turkish: ‘They are not acting as normal, because of the camera.’

10.15 Teacher gives out a handout and goes through the instructions on the handout in Turkish. Mehmet asks ‘meraklı?’ teacher translates into English ‘curious!’

10.20 Students call out similarities and differences between the 2 pictures on the handout. They use ‘are/seem to be friendly/happy...’

The teacher explains that the latter part consists of adjectives such as friendly, happy.

Mehmet: Chatting is a verb and we can’t use it here...

Teacher: Of course you can!!!

Teacher switches into Turkish then into English.

Mehmet dominates the answers.

10.25 Teacher tries to involve quieter students into the discussion by encouraging them personally and this works. Teacher warns the students: ‘We have 10 minutes.’

Teacher gives advice on friendship: ‘Play the 3 monkeys.’ Turkan, a quiet girl sitting at the back row, doesn’t want to speak. She says: ‘I don’t have a best friend’.

The students discuss how subjects for discussion between girls and boys vary. They agree that girls choose: personal problems, fashion, boys...

Boys choose: football, sports..... but also personal problems.

The teacher leads the discussion and provokes the answers.

10.30 Teacher gives out homework: Write a short essay on your best friend. She gives them a deadline.

10.35 She takes attendance by reading their student numbers at the end of the lesson. Students have numbers such as 1535, 3539....

10.40 The class is dismissed.

Notes:

1. This was a mixed class of students in terms of ability, gender and language skills.
2. The majority of the transaction which took place during this lesson was in English.
3. Mehmet (who was the only boy present in this class) was the most active student during this lesson.
4. The girls could be divided into two groups: actively present and timidly quiet.
5. The majority of the students were from Turkey, approximately 62%. (5 out of 8).
6. Out of the students who spoke in class and participated to discussions, the Turkish Cypriots had the most fluent reading ability in English and the accent.
7. The students had a good rapport with the teacher both during and after the lesson.

1. b. Observation of the Geography lesson (in Turkish)

The final year students at Anafartalar Lisesi are divided into several sections as Science, Turkish Literature, Foreign Language or Maths. They are preparing for the university entrance examination held centrally by the Turkish Higher Education Council in Turkey. Alternatively they can also apply for places at the local universities in northern Cyprus. Consequently their timetable and lessons are set according to these exams and their exam format. It must also be underlined that in this final year, students have the possibility to join a lesson even if they are from any of the other sections mentioned above. Hence the Geography lesson was a mixture of the students from the English lesson that I observed and some other students from different sections. The situation was similar at the Girne American College for different reasons (these will be discussed in the GAC section).

Observation 2

- **School:** Anafartalar Lisesi
- **Year:** 12
- **Group:** Foreign Language Group and some other students
- **Age:** 18
- **Date:** Monday 3rd May 2010.
- **Time:** 12.25 – 13.05 (40 minute lesson)
- **Teacher:** Mr.Cemil Celia
- **Lesson:** Geography class
- **No. of students:** 14 **No. of boys:** 3 **No. of girls:** 11 **Missing:** 4
- **Seating:** in pairs behind desks.
- **Official language of the lesson:** Turkish
- **Objective of the lesson:** Natural resources and their strategic importance

12.25 The class is rather untidy with a couple of broken chairs and desks at the back of the room.

The three boys of the class are sitting at the back of the room. The students have come from another classroom where they had another lesson. Settling in and attendance takes 5 minutes.

12.30 Teacher gives general information and facts to the class on natural resources in the world, in the Turkish language. Students have books.

‘Canada, Sweden and Norway are rich in forests and they use this resource. Example, IKEA. Arabs have the most important resource in the world but they are so xx they can’t use it and they live under very poor conditions.’(Students laugh)

Students talk to each other and giggle.

“Africa is another example.”

Teacher speaks at the front of the class, standing and facing the students.

2 girls are discussing something amongst themselves.

1 other girl asks a question relating to the end of year exam. From her accent, we can understand that she is from Turkey. Teacher gives short answer.

12.40 Teacher: Someone read the Russian Federation.

A Turkish Cypriot girl volunteers to read aloud. (We know this from her accent).

Teacher gives explanations at various intervals (roughly every minute).

12.45 Teacher: “Tchernobyl means what?” Then continues ‘it exploded’. Students nod and approve.

Another girl is asked to continue reading. All the others follow the passage from their books. This lasts about 5 minutes. She is reading smoothly and fluently. So she goes on and on. The teacher lets her read and stays at the front of the class.

There are no visuals, no maps on the board at this stage. The only material used is the students’ book.

12.55 Teacher re-starts about the natural resources and gives South Africa as another example. He elicits the country through reference to 2010 World Cup.

‘Despite gold and diamond reserves the country is very poor. The diamonds are in Holland’.

Some students make notes; some just listen; some talk to each other.

Teacher elicits some other responses from students.

The same student carries on with reading aloud. From time to time the teacher says ‘underline this part’, ‘and this’.

By now some students are not following the lesson.

The teacher is sitting on the teacher’s desk at the front of the class.

13.00 5 minutes before the end of the lesson:

The teacher goes to the board and draws the map of Saudi Arabia.

He walks through to the back of the class for the first time.

13.05 A girl student asks about a question and the answer given by the book which she does not understand. The teacher tries to explain with a drawing on the board. The class seems puzzled and not convinced by the answer. The bell rings. They get up and go.

Notes:

1. This was a mixed class of students in terms of ability, gender and language skills.
2. The three boys did not participate to this class physically or academically.
3. They were only whispering to each other.
4. The girls asked all the questions.
5. The girls did all the reading aloud.
6. There was no interaction between the boys and the teacher.
7. All transaction which took place was in Turkish.
8. There was no reference to the English language neither to any students own identity issue during this Geography lesson.
9. The majority of the students were from Turkey. Around 80%. (11 out of 14).
10. Out of the students who read aloud, the Turkish Cypriot had the most fluent reading ability and the English accent.

Appendix 7: Focus Groups

Members of the focus group (Template)

Interviewees	1	2	3	4	5	6
Origin						
Age						
Birth Place						
Lived in Cyprus Since..						

Focus Group Prompt Statements

Please choose only three of the following statements you most connect with, and three you least connect with.

1. Teenagers are neither children nor adults.
2. Girls in our society are equal to boys.
3. Having immigrants is good for our economy.
4. One day, North and South Cyprus should be united.
5. Turkish Cypriots are not real Europeans.
6. I am a Cypriot, I am a Turk, I am unlucky.
7. According to the Constitution of Cyprus there are two mother-tongues in Cyprus.
8. In Cyprus the Greek / English language is as important as the Turkish language.
9. English is an important language for me.
10. I listen to and enjoy English music.
11. Even if I don't understand a lot, I listen to and enjoy English music.
12. In Cyprus there are two ethnic identities: Turkish and Greek
13. I sometimes go to the Greek side.
14. I want to learn English/Greek.
15. Turkish / Greek/ Europeans are kind and sincere.
16. My teachers / my school / my family / my community have helped me develop as a person.
17. I enjoy being at school / in Cyprus.
18. I am proud of being a Turkish Cypriot / speaking English.
19. I think learning English will help me find a good job / live a better life / feel more European.
20. There is erosion in the Turkish Cypriot identity.
21. We are in minority in our own country.
22. Turkish Cypriots are not racist.

CHART 1 SCHOOL A
MEMBERS OF THE FOCUS GROUP

interviewees	interviewee 1	interviewee 2	interviewee 3	interviewee 4	interviewee 5	interviewee 6
	Beliz	Yağmur	Berrin	Cem	Yücem	Burak (withdrew)
Origin	TRNC Mum: Turkey Dad: TRNC	TRNC	Mum: from TRNC Dad: from Egypt	Mum: TRNC/UK Dad: TRNC	Mum and dad: TRNC/UK	TRNC
Age	17	17	17	17	17	
Birth Place	STANBUL, TURKEY	NICOSIA, CYPRUS	LONDON, UK	KYRENIA, CYPRUS	MANCHESTER, UK	
Lived in Cyprus Since..	SHE WAS 5. BEFORE THAT SHE LIVED IN STANBUL	SHE WAS BORN	SHE WAS BORN	HE WAS BORN	SINCE A YEAR AGO	

CHART 2 SCHOOL A
SELF PERCEPTION OF TURKISH CYPRIOT AND EUROPEAN IDENTITY

interviewees	interviewee	interviewee	interviewee	interviewee	interviewee	interviewee
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	BELIZ	YAGMUR	BERRIN	CEM	YUCEM	Abs.
Self perception of Turkish Cypriot identity Scale: 1-5	4	5	5	3	3	
Self perception of European identity Scale: 1-5	4	3	4	1	4	
Additional Comments or Observations						

CHART 1

SCHOOL B

MEMBERS OF THE FOCUS GROUP

interviewees	interviewee 1	interviewee 2	interviewee 3	interviewee 4	interviewee 5	interviewee 6
	ERKUT	AYLIN	MREN 1	MREN 2	MEHMET	SEVILAY
Origin	TURKISH CYPRIOT	TURKISH	TURKISH CYPRIOT	BULGARIAN TURKISH	TURKISH CYPRIOT	TURKISH CYPRIOT
Age	17	17	17/18	17	17	17
Birth Place	CYPRUS	GAZIANTEP, TURKEY	CYPRUS	BULGARIA	KYRENIA, CYPRUS	KYRENIA, CYPRUS
Lived in Cyprus Since..	Since he was born. Went to the UK in the summers	Since she was 2 years' old	Since she was born.	Since she was 4 years' old.	Since he was born	Abs.

CHART 2 SCHOOL B

SELF PERCEPTION OF TURKISH CYPRIOT AND EUROPEAN IDENTITY

Interviewees	Interviewee 1	Interviewee 2	Interviewee 3	Interviewee 4	Interviewee 5	Interviewee 6
	ERKUT	AYLIN	MREN 1	MREN 2	MEHMET	SEVILAY
Self perception of Turkish Cypriot identity Scale: 1-5	5	1	4	2	5	5
Self perception of European identity Scale: 1-5	3	2	3	5	4	3
Additional Comments or Observations						

Appendix 8: Contemporary newspaper articles relating to TC Identity

Article 1 *'Identity Interpretation from Özersay'*

Author: Kudret Özersay

Havadis newspaper

Date: 2 May 2013



Article 2 *'Identity or No Identity: This country is 'ours' but who are 'we'?'*

Author: Mehmet Hasgüler

Kıbrıs newspaper

Date: 3 May 2010



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Article 3

'Cypriots, New Cypriots and Cypriotness beyond nation'

Author: Cemal Mert

Yenidüzen Newspaper

Date: 12 July, 2010





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Article 4 *'Do not Respect my Identity'*

Author: Mehmet Yaşın Taraf Newspaper Date: 24 June 2010





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Article 5 *'The Politics of Being Recognised and Turkish Cypriots'*

agazine Date: 19.07.2010





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Article 6 *'Living separately is not the only way to protect ourselves or our identity'*

Author: *Tümay Tuğyan*

Yenidüzen newspaper

Date: *12 May 2010*



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Appendix 9 Interview Questions drawn from the pilot study

1. Did you contribute to the lessons? Why?
2. Are you a speaker/listener/active/passive member of the class?
How do you see your role in the class? Why?
3. Are there any groups in the class/in the school?
4. How does the class/the school divide into groups?
5. Which social group(s) do you belong to and wouldn't want to belong to in the class/in the school?
6. Did you switch from English to Turkish (or from the Turkish Cypriot dialect to Turkish Mainland dialect and why?
7. How comfortable do you feel with using English in class?
8. Do you think speaking English makes you more European/more global/offers you better Chances of higher education/ a better job?
9. Do you want to learn English? For what?
10. What motivates you to learn English?

Contemporary issues: identity and self-categorisation:

11. What is your nationality?
12. Is there a 'Cypriot' identity?
13. Why do you think a Cypriot identity has (or hasn't formed)?
14. Are there any pure Cypriots? Who are they?
15. Are Turkish Cypriots European? Are they more/less European than the Greek Cypriots/Turkish mainlanders?

23. Saf [fact

24. DG temperature quite hot isn't it? that's good(.) all right(.) so(.) in the IELTS
when you're sitting the exam(.) you're going to have lots of texts(.)

Some areas for consideration:

Length of talk:

Teacher: 121 words the longest, on average: 20 – 30 words

Students: 18 words is the longest, on average: 1-7

Total teacher question turns 80

Code switching 5

Teacher approvals

Teacher repeats students' answers with grammatical corrections.

Teacher centred teaching

Considerable lack of interruptions during the lesson.

Teacher sets the scene, directs and plays. Students give answers that are expected of them.

Direct question using student's name

Interruptions by teacher

Interruptions by student

Gender discourse

Identity discourse

Social status

Social activity

Length of talk: by teacher considerably longer than by student

Use of the word sorry by the teacher: for clarifying? For responding to students' unexpected responses?

EXTRACT 2: AL English lesson

The teacher and the class are discussing an extract from the book on the importance of having friends. They are discussing pictures of friends and making sentences with a given pattern and vocabulary.

SM: teacher

Ss: a few students at a time

Sev: a girl student

Mehmet: a boy student

24. SM (.....)what about boy ? can you tell us what the boys talk about?=
25. Ss =football.

26. SM football(.) many kinds of sports(.) women don't talk about sports(.)
27. they are always talking that they are fat and that they are not doing
28. sport (.) ok so what else do they talk about(?) football any kind of
29. sports?=
30. Ss(girls) =girls...

31. SM girls?

32. Ss(girls) hunting:

33. SM hunting(.) yes we know someone who is always talking... with boys
34. talking... what else(?) what about problems(?) do you think boys share
35. their problems like girls?

36. Ss(girls) no:]

37. Sev [no they can't sh]are

38. SM [they can't share(?) I always had that impression as well(.) do
39. they(?) if they have a problem(.)do they go to their friends(?) who is your
40. best friend(?) a boy(..) come on] (the teacher turns towards Mehmet)

41. Meh [Kemal
42. SM Kemal(.) ok(.)do you go to Kemal and say Kemal I've got a very
43. personal problem(.) you talk to him about a problem?
44. Meh yes (he nods)
45. SM you do::: interesting (2) we all think that boys don't talk about it they
46. are always strong (.) but they are not(.) we know now(.) ok(.) ehmm (.) is
47. there anything else you want to say(?)

15-24 collaborative talk

19-21 adjacent pair (question – answer – preferred responses)

There is an asymmetrical distribution of questions in this extract (but also throughout the lesson). According to CA (Sacks/Schegloff/Drew and Heritage)

The teacher asks all the questions (institutional talk) in a classroom setting where there is a pre-established system of turn taking and allocated questions and answers. In this extract there are 8 questions and 6 1 word answers and 1 4 words answer.

Students orient to order in talk: e.g.: they are rarely violating the sequences (none in this extract)

Dominant format is questioning and this puts the teacher in a powerful position with regards to the students.

Observations:

1. Talk was practically all in Turkish as soon as the students felt the lesson was over.
2. Students were seated in two rows.
3. Teacher's comments were on average 20-30 words: longest being 130 words and shortest 1 word.
4. Students' comments were practically all 1 (sometimes 2-5 words long). Longest talk was: 17 words (once)
5. Girls' and boys' subjects of discussion were listed as: secrets, personal, friends – hunting, girls and football
6. No mention of any English exam or exam practice

Appendix 11 Interviews in students' mother tongue

The interviews in School A (Cem and Bel) were conducted in English as preferred by the interviewees.

Cem: a male student

FE: interviewer

1. **FE** did you contribute to the lessons?] (.) why?]
2. **Cem** [yes (.) [I'm interested in the subject(.) I had knowledge
3. on them (*speaks of the English and the Geography lessons*)
4. **FE** oh (.) did you switch from English to Turkish (.) or from the Turkish Cypriot dialect
5. to Turkish mainland dialect(.)? and wh]y?
6. **Cem** [I use English and I prefer it (.) sometimes I prefer
7. Turkish if it fits a daily issue=
8. **FE** =hmm (.) OK (.) how comfortable do you feel with using Eng [lish in class?
9. **Cem** [very comfortable (.) it is my
10. mother ton]gue
11. **FE** [OK (.) do you think speaking English makes you more European (.) more global (.)
12. or offer you better chances of higher education (.) a better job?
13. **Cem** no (.) it doesn't make me more European (.) I am a Turkish Cypriot (.) but more globalised (.) I
14. can communicate with everyone(.) and it definitely gives me a wider choice for my future (.)
15. **FE** I see (.) do you want to learn English?(.) for wh[at?
16. **Cem** [same thing
17. **FE** huhum (.) what motivates you to learn English?
18. **Cem** same thing =
19. **FE** = OK (.)what is your nationality?
20. **Cem** UK from my mum (.) who is a Turkish Cypriot (.) my dad is Turkish Cypriot (.) I will
21. get a TRNC identity card=
22. **FE** =oh (.) OK (.) do you think (.) there is a 'Cypriot' identity? =
23. **Cem** =yes?
24. **FE** OK (.) why do you think a Cypriot identity has (.) or hasn't formed?
25. **Cem** (*in Turkish*) we all advance in the same way (.) (*continues in English again*)
26. Finish school (.) get married (.) live close to your parents (.) work locally (.) or in the UK (.)
27. but do the same(.) all of this?

Bel: the female student**FE: the interviewer**

1. **FE** do you think speaking English makes you more European (.) more
2. global (.) or (.) offers you better chances of higher education (.) a better job?
3. **Bel** I want to study law (.) so I need English (.) it is for social and professional
4. reasons
5. **FE** OK (.)do you want to learn English? (.) for wh[at?
6. **Bel** to be more social (.) more global(2)
7. everybody speaks English?
8. **FE** yes (.) what motivates you to learn English?
9. **Bel** same as what I said before=
10. **FE** = OK then (.) what is your nationality?
11. **Bel** Turkish (.) my mum) and Turkish Cypriot (.) my dad (.) but I see myself as KKTC
12. (TRNC)
13. **FE** is there a 'Cypriot' identity? =
14. **Bel** = yes
15. **FE** why do you think a Cypriot identity has (.)or hasn't formed?
16. **Bel** I don't want to mix with the Turkish?
17. **FE** oh(.) OK (.) are there any pure Cypriots?(.) who are[they?
18. **Bel** [yes (.) usually the old
19. people (.) younger ones are not as pure
20. **FE** OK (.) are Turkish Cypriots European?(.) are they more or less European than
21. the Greek Cypriots (.) and the Turkish mainlanders?=
22. **Bel** = we are more European than the Turkish mainlanders (.) but we are not in
23. the EU (.) the Greeks are (.) they have McDonald's (.) we don't (.) the
24. mainlanders Turks sacrifice sheep in the middle of the street:::: there is
25. more stealing there (.) the Greeks are more European (.)

School B

Erk: the male student

FE: the interviewer

1. **FE** so::o (.) speaking English (.) this was one of the questions, (.)does it make you more
2. European (.) or more international? =
3. **Erk** =we can say European=
4. **FE** =does it make you more internation]al?
5. **Erk** [yes (.) because it's a more international language=
6. **FE** =because it's an international language (.) hmm(.) I see (.) do you think that speaking English
7. gives you better education and better work opportunities?=
8. **Erk** =of course (.) for a job (.) but at the same time because it's an international
9. language, (.) because it's the common language

1. Eee, ingilizce konuşmak sence, bu sorulardan da biriydi,
2. seni daha bir Avrupalı mı, dünyalı mı yapar İngilizce konuşmak?
3. Sayılabilir Avrupalı yapar denebilir.
4. Daha dünyalı mı yapar?
5. Evet, daha international language olduğu için
6. International language olduğu için yapar. Anladım. İngilizce konuşmak sence sana daha iyi eğitim ve daha iyi iş imkanları sağlar mı?
7. Tabii iş için ama aynı zamanda international language olduğu için herkesle ortak dil olduğu için

The remaining part of the interview:

1. Anladım. Sence Kıbrıslı diye bir kimlik var mıdır yani Cypriot? Böyle..
2. Olması lazım.
3. (smile) Var mıdır?
4. Şu an yoktur.
5. Niçin?
6. Kıbrıs için. Rumların ayrı Kıbrısların ayrı ama Avrupa Birliğine girdiğimiz
7. takdirde olması ? için çok iyi olur bence.
8. Rumlarla ayırınız diye yoktur?
9. Evet
10. Birleşirse olur diyorsun.
11. Evet
12. Birleşirse olur, yani Avrupa Birliğine gireriz. Iıı, ama sen Kıbrıslı kimliği

-
13. yoktur dedin. Peki neden Kıbrıslı kimliği yoktur? Ayrı olduğumuz için?
 14. Yani. Onlar Rum tarafı ayrı, ? Türkiyeye bağlı, Cypriot olamıyoruz 74'ten
 15. önce olduğumuz gibi.
 16. Tamam. Biz de Türkiyeye bağlıyız, Cypriot olamıyoruz dedin.
 17. Hı hı
 18. Anladım. Türk, Kıbrıslı Türkler sence Avrupalı mıdır?
 19. Değil bence.
 20. Değildir?
 21. Değil.
 22. Kıbrıslı Rumlar?
 23. Kıbrıslı Rumlar da değildir çünkü onlar da, aynı kökten gelirler onlarla.
 24. (smile) Peki. Kıbrıslı Türkler Rumlardan daha mı fazla daha mı az
 25. Avrupalıdır?
 26. Anlamadım?
 27. Kıbrıslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumlardan daha az Avrupalıdır?
 28. Kıbrıslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumlardan...
 29. Ama ikisi de değildir dedin heralde. O zaman ne o Avrupalıdır ne o
 30. Evet
 31. Neden?
 32. Çünkü, e onlar avrupa birliğine katılmış olabilirler ama onlardan ? 74'ten önce
 33. beraberdik
 34. Hı hıı
 35. Bu yüzden aynıyık yani ama yani Türkiyeden bizim gelenlerimiz olduğu için
 36. yurttan şeylerimiz
 37. Evet
 38. O yüzden biraz şeyimiz düştü, suç oranımız yükseldi, odur budur
 39. Evet
 40. Ve bunların önlem olarak Avrupa Birliğine girmeye isterik
 41. Bunun için de Avrupa Birliği isterik...
 42. Ve çok yararlı olacağını düşünüyorum ben,
 43. Anladım. Sence Kıbrıslı Türkler Türkiye'deki Türklerden daha fazla
 44. Avrupalıdır?
 45. Kıbrıslı Türkler
 46. Türkiye'deki Türklerden?
 47. Evet
 48. Neden?
 49. Çünkü onlar istese girebilirdi Avrupa Birliğine ama ellerinin tersiyle ittiler
 50. Avrupa Birliğini ama şu anda istedikleri halde giremiyorlar Avrupa Birliğine
 51. çünkü koşulları ve yani şey, yaşam şeyleri uygun değil, çok yanlış, her şey
 52. yanlış

-
53. Nelerdir yanlış?
 54. İnsanları çok şey, yanlış yapar
 55. Ne gibi?
 56. Ne gibi.... Suç oranı çok çok daha fazladır.
 57. Suçlar
 58. Her ülkede suç oranı fazladır ama yane suç değil yalnızca çok şey var ama çok
 59. karışık...
 60. Çok karışık... çok karışık... peki sen evde İngilizce konuşur musun hiç?
 61. Babamla arada bütün babam ? hiç Türkçe izlemez hep İngilizce izler.
 62. Türk televizyon, İngilizce seyreder?
 63. Arada babam benle İngilizce konuşur. Ben arada başkası yanımda olduğunda
 64. ben onunla İngilizce konuşurudum ama İngilizcem o kadar iyi değil.
 65. Anladım.
 66. Anlaşabilirlik ama babamla
 67. Anladım, anladım. Eeee sen mesela birle altı, birle altı arası, birle beş arası
 68. sana desem, kendini ne kadar Kıbrıslı Türk hissedem, ne dersin? Birle beş
 69. arası, bir en az ve beş en çoksa?
 70. Beş
 71. Beş. Eee, Avrupalı?
 72. Avrupalı olarak
 73. Birle beş arası
 74. Üç deyebilirim
 75. Üç deyebilir
 76. ?
 77. Avrupalı olmak önemli mi sence?
 78. Bence önemlidir.
 79. Önemlidir.
 80. Bir düzen gelecek ülkemize.
 81. Hı hı. Düzen gelecek dedin. Düzen gelecek... Evet.. Başka bir şey söylemek
 82. isterim bu konuda? Konuştuklarımız konusunda?
 83. Yok
 84. Yok? Çok teşekkür ederim. Sağol.

Imr: the female student**FE: the interviewer**

1. **FE** in your view (.) does speaking English make a person more European? (.) or more international?=
2. **Imr** =it does(.) in my view (.) because it is an international language (.) that is a common
3. language
4. **FE** uhuhh (.)? do you become a part of something (.) when you speak the common language?
5. do you become(.) a European] (.) for example?
6.
7. **Imr** [not like that really(.)how can I say it? I mean (.) if you speak
8. English that doesn't make you European]
9. **FE** [okay (.) hmhmm (.) but does it help?]
10. **Imr** [yes
11. **FE** hmm (.) okay(.)does it provide you with the prospect of having a better education in the future (.)
12. if you speak English? at the university? (2) or better prospects for a good job?
13. **Imr** yeah (.), that's definite (.)yes (.) I can say

1. Peki İngilizce konuşmak sence bir insanı daha bir Avrupalı mı yapar? Daha bir dünyalı mı yapar?
2. Evet bence yapar çünkü bir international bir dildir yani ortak bir
3. dildir
4. Uuuh? Ortak dili konuşunca sen de onların bir parçası mı olun? Sen de
5. biraz Avrupalı mı olun örneğin?
- 6.
7. Pek öyle değil de. Nasıl deyim buna? Yani bir yani İngilizce
8. konuşmakla Avrupalı olunmaz bence.
9. Tamam. Hı hı. Ama o da yardımcı olur?
10. Tabii olur.
11. Hmmm..Peki İngilizce konuşmak bilmek sana
12. daha iyi bir eğitim imkanı mı sunar ilerde? Üniversitede? Veya daha iyi bir iş imkanları mı sunabilir?
13. Evet, o kesin evet ona deyebilirim

Remaining part of the interview:

1. Yani nasıl olur bu?
2. Nasıl deyelim mesela benim düşüncem seneye üniversiteye başlayacağım ve
3. İngilizce öğretmenliği isterim. Ee ve ben o bölümden mezun olduğum zaman
4. sadece İngilizce öğretmenliği yapamasam bile benim sonuçta İngilizce
5. öğretmenliği birinci dildir yüksek seviyede bilen bir insan olduğum için her
6. alanda iş bulabileceğimi düşünürüm. Çünkü mutlaka en basit bir işe girsen
7. bile sorarlar hani İngilizcen var mı İngilizce bilir misin? Bir de diploma
8. olduğu zaman genelde
9. Daha yardımcı olur sana
10. Evet
11. Yani bu nedenlerden dolayı
12. Evet

-
13. Peki başka dil bilir misin ve öğrenmek ister misin? Veya öğrenir misin?
 14. Başka dil aslında Fransızca biraz çok az öğrenirim ama o da başlangıç
 15. Anladım
 16. Seviyesinde
 17. Devam etmeyi düşünür müsün?
 18. Hayır, sanmam zannetmiyorum.
 19. Anladım. Ee bu İngilizce öğrenmek için motive eden şeyler de biraz önce
 20. söylediklerin şeylerdir diyelim
 21. Hı hı..
 22. Tamam sen nerelisin? Yani doğma büyüme Girne’li?
 23. Evet doğma büyüme Girne.
 24. Girne’li. Anne baba?
 25. Onlar yoo. Annem Lefkoşa.
 26. Anne Lefkoşa.
 27. Babam Limasol.
 28. Yani Kıbrıs’lısın?
 29. Evet.
 30. Kıbrıs’lı diye bir kimlik var mıdır sence? Yani Kıbrıs’lı kimliği diye bir şey
 31. var mıdır?
 32. Kıbrıs’lı kimliği derken? Aslında Kıbrıs’lı kimliği var ama Kıbrıs’lı Türk
 33. kimliği yok bence. Öyle diyebilirim.
 34. Niçin?
 35. Benim düşüncem o. Eee bir Kıbrıs’lı dendiği zaman ablukada Avrupa’yı
 36. düşünecek olursak bence ilk akla gelen Güney Kıbrıs’ta yaşayanlar olur.
 37. Sonuçta Avrupa Birliğinde Avrupa devleti olduğu için ben şahsen bizim
 38. Kuzey Kıbrıs’lıların fazla bilinmediğini dünya tarafından fazla bilinmediğini
 39. düşünürüm.
 40. Peki içlerinde var mı Kıbrıs’lı kimliği Kıbrıslı Türk kimliği?
 41. Şimdi içlerinde bizim içimizde? Evet var.
 42. Var. Var. Yani Kıbrıs’lı kimliği yoktur dedin. Neden yoktur?
 43. Dünyada Kıbrıs’lı kimliği yok.
 44. Dünyada yok.
 45. Dünyada yok bence.
 46. Kıbrıs’ta var mı?
 47. Kıbrıs’ta Kuzey Kıbrıs’ta var
 48. Kuzey Kıbrıs’ta var. Nedir nasıl bir şeydir?
 49. Yani ben bir örnek verecek olursam şahsen ben Türkiye’ye tatile gittim iki
 50. sene önce Antalya’ya ve orda en azından Türkiye’de yaşayanların bizi bilmesi
 51. gerekir değil mi? Ordakiler bana dönüp de dedi işte Kıbrıs’lıyız dedik ve
 52. hangi dili kullanırsınız siz Hristiyan mısınız yoksa bunlar benim çok

-
53. acayibime gitti şahsen ve bu şeyden dolayı en basit Anavatanın bile
54. Anavatanda bile böyle insanlar var biz onun için yani tanınmayız dünyada.
55. Evet
56. Sence Kıbrs'lı Türkler Avrupalı mıdır? Yani Avrupalılık var mı bizde?
57. Aslında Avrupalılık
58. Ya Avrupalılık nedir diye düşündün mü hiç? Nedir yani moderin olmak mı,
59. yabancı dil bilmek mi, hayat yaşam tarzı mı?
60. Tabii eğitim seviyesinin yüksek olması lazım en azından Avrupalı olabilmek
61. için.
62. Hı hı.. e ..Bizim nasıldır?
63. Bizde yani şimdiki nesle bakarsak aslında çoğumuz üniversite okumaya
64. çalışırız. Ama eskilere bakacak olursak en az yani en fazla diyeyim lise
65. mezunuyuz. Yani pek yüksek okula giden yok. Herhalde dönemin şartlarına
66. göre. Gidemezlerdi falan filan.
67. Şimdi giderler mi?
68. Şimdi giderler mezunlar olurlar bu sefer işsizlik başladı. Eheh (smile)
69. İşsizlik var.
70. Evet işsizlik var
71. Evet.
72. Herhalde bizim üniversitenin içi fazla basittir? Çok mezun olduğuna göre
73. Sence biz Kıbrs'lı Türkler Kıbrs'lı Rum'lardan daha fazla Avrupalıyız yoksa
74. onlar bizden mi daha fazla Avrupalıdır?
75. Onlar bence daha fazla Avrupalı. Yaşam şartlarına göre.
76. Yaşam şartlarından dolayı?
77. Evet.
78. Nasıldır onların yaşam şartları?
79. Yani ben güneye de geçen bir insanım ve ordaki
80. Evet.
81. O çok moderndirler bir kere yani ..ları falan gayet modern. Bu konuda geri
82. kaldığımızı düşünürüm.
83. Biz geriyiz bu konuda?
84. Evet bu konuda geriyiz o moderin.
85. Evet.
86. Yaşam.
87. Peki Türkiye'deki Türk'lere göre nasıldır durumumuz? Daha iyi yerde miyiz
88. daha
89. Kıbrs'lı Türk'ler evet Türkiye'deki Türk'lere göre bence daha ileridedir. Bu
90. da nasıl diyelim ona
91. Ne açıdan?
92. Yani yaşam mesela.

-
93. Yaşam tarzı.
94. Orda yaşam tarzımız evet.
95. Ne yaparız biz ki onlar yapmaz mesela?
96. Biz yapıp onların yapmadığı...
97. Hangi yaşam tarzımız dedin mesela bir örnek verebilir misin?
98. Örnek verecek olursak biz aylık net gelir maaşlar onlara göre daha yüksektir
99. bence. Onlar çok zor şartlar altında çok az bir maaşa çalışırlar. Biz daha
100. rahatız bu konuda.
101. Hmmmm.. anladım. Peki sen üniversiteye gitmeyi düşünün. Türkiye’de mi?
102. Yok Near East’i düşünürüm.
103. Near East’i düşünün?
104. Evet.
105. Ne okumak isten?
106. İngilizce öğretmenliği (aynı anda) evet
107. Evet
108. Peki. Çok teşekkür ederim.
109. Tamam? Bir şey değil. Ben teşekkür ederim.
110. Bay bay
111. Bay bay