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# **Memory Politics: Diasporas Retelling the Past**

**By Vicky Thoma**

## **Contents**

Abstract in German.....	page 2
Abstract in English.....	page 2
Introduction.....	page 3
Diaspora: A definition.....	page 6
History: India and Cyprus.....	page 14
Method: Discourse Analysis.....	page 18
Case Study One: Indian Diaspora Points of Reference in London.....	page 27
Case Study Two: Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference in London.....	page 42
Results.....	page 59
Collective Memory and Memory Politics.....	page 66
Memory Politics.....	page 78
Cultural Marxism.....	page 80
Silence and Amnesia.....	page 81
Critique.....	page 83
Conclusion.....	page 86
Bibliography.....	page 93

## **Abstract**

Die vorliegende Masterarbeit untersucht wie Diaspora Geschichte ererben, um die Spannung zwischen kollektivem Gedächtnis und Geschichte zu beleuchten. Die herangezogenen Fallstudien sind die der indischen und der griechisch-zyprischen Diaspora Gemeinden in London. Diese beiden Gruppen gehören zu ehemaligen Kolonien welche ihre Immigrationsgeschichte bis in die erste Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts zurück verfolgen können und wurden im Rahmen der Entkolonialisierung abgegrenzt. Von der indischen und griechisch-zyprischen Diaspora wurde erwartet sich hauptsächlich auf das kollektive Gedächtnis ihrer Vorfahren zu stützen, die als prägende Ereignisse Teil der Identität und der historischen Überlieferung des Heimatlandes der Vorfahren sind. Die Fallstudien behandeln Material von Bezugspunkten welche Teil des Diaspora-Bewusstseins sind. Die Materialien, die nach Verbreitung und Verfügbarkeit ausgewählt wurden, wurden einer Diskurs Analyse unterzogen. Die Materialien wurden nach historischen Erzählungen untersucht und die Sprache, welche benutzt wurde um einen historischen Diskurs herzustellen, wurde analysiert. Eine allgemeine Rhetorik der jeweiligen Gruppen offenbarte den jeweiligen Identitätsaufbau und die Mentalität der Gruppe. Die indische Diaspora verfügt nur über eine geringe historische Bildung über das Herkunftsland ihrer Vorfahren, hat jedoch einen Bezugspunkt für die Geschichte der Diaspora. Die griechisch-zyprische Diaspora entwickelte eine große Menge an Rhetorik über ein Ereignis, welches auf kollektiver Erinnerung beruht. Kollektiver Wissensverlust war in beiden Fallstudien präsent, wenn ein Ereignis mit konkurrierenden Erfahrungen verbunden war, welche das Potenzial hatten die Identität der Diaspora zu destabilisieren. Die griechisch-zyprische Diaspora nutzte das kollektive Gedächtnis als politisches Werkzeug, um den Versuch Zyperns sein abgegrenztes Territorium zurückzugewinnen, zu reflektieren. Die indische Diaspora hatte kein Motiv und kaum historische Erzählung.

## **Abstract**

This study examines how diasporas inherit history in order to shed light on the tension between collective memory and history. The case studies are the Indian and Greek Cypriot diaspora communities in London. These two groups belonged to former colonies that can trace their immigration patterns back to the first half to twentieth century and were demarcated as part of the decolonisation process. The Indian and Greek Cypriot diasporas were expected to rely more on collective memory from their respective demarcations, which are defining events that are part of the ancestral homeland's identity and historical narrative. The case studies gathered materials from points of reference

that were part of the diaspora consciousness. Discourse analysis was applied to the materials which were chosen by distribution and availability. The materials were searched for a historical narrative and the language used to elicit historical discourse was analysed. An overall rhetoric of each group revealed each group's identity construction and mentality. The Indian diaspora had little historical education about the ancestral homeland but had one reference point about the diaspora's history. The Greek Cypriot diaspora produced a vast amount of rhetoric about one event that was based on one collective memory. Collective amnesia was present in both case studies where an event had competing experiences that could potentially destabilise the diaspora's identity. Collective memory was used as a political tool by the Greek Cypriot diaspora to reflect Cyprus's attempt to recover its demarcated territory. The Indian diaspora had no motive and little historical narrative.

## **Introduction**

My inquiry is to find out how diaspora communities with migration background inherit historical education about the ancestral homeland. Relying on the paradigm that there is no identity without history and that the need for identity is especially strong among diaspora communities, discourse analysis is applied to deconstruct how history is retold among the diaspora and whether there is a collective memory or historical amnesia.

This is a comparative study based on two diaspora groups in London: the Indian and Greek Cypriot diasporas, respectively. These subject groups were chosen because both groups have strong migration links to the United Kingdom and are able to trace their early migration patterns back to their colonial past, meaning that today both groups are beyond their fourth generation in the UK, and because both groups have a traditional enemy as a result of the decolonisation process. How the enemy is portrayed in each diaspora's respective discourse is of special interest. The ancestral homeland's national identity is defined by its relationship to the traditional enemy.

London is one of the most multi-cultural cities in the world and England has many long settled diaspora groups. The Indian and Greek Cypriots diasporas in London are long settled as early as the post-war period, both are former colonies and both have established diaspora many institutions in the London metropolitan area. Both groups arrived as Commonwealth migrants throughout the 1950s, 60s and 70s, and as refugees (Indians arrived as refugees after Partition in 1947, and Cypriots arrived as refugees after the 1974 Turkish invasion of the island). It is difficult to avoid Indian or Greek Cypriot influence in London in food, on television, in music and the visual sight of religious

buildings. Greek Orthodox churches are elaborately decorated with gold: a gold iconostasis (wall of icons), gold-edged icons and enormous gold chandelier. Hindu mandirs are white and occupy large white marble spaces where brightly coloured statues of gods are on display with offerings of colourful flowers. Sikh gurdwaras are spacious interiors with blue rugs leading to a golden palki (the platform housing the Guru Granth Sahib) under an ornate canopy. These buildings are distinct and recognisable in London. These grand interiors have not been diluted by migrational movement or time.

India regularly captures the imagination of British audiences in the many, many television series and films set among the diaspora or during the British Raj. Curry is as one of Britain's national dishes and Greek food has also worked its way into British cuisine and on pub menus thanks to the Greek Cypriot diaspora. British Indians and British Greek Cypriots are visually prominent on television and in the city's landscape and make up part of the multi-ethnic patchwork that is modern British society. This thesis is the first to compare these two diaspora communities. The visibility of these communities in London is discussed in the case studies and the wealth of material available for analysis indicates how large and settled these communities are.

The materials used in the case studies are diaspora points of reference, which are materials produced by the diaspora for the diaspora. The materials are varied in each case study because the materials have been chosen based on their wide distribution and availability. This means that the diaspora points of reference are easily consumable: the materials reach a wide audience of the diaspora community in London and must be available in English for successive generations to engage with. The materials are then dissected for historical education which are further interrogated using discourse analysis to determine the historical narrative under scrutiny. What makes these two diasporas interesting to compare is how the respective ancestral homelands embrace or reject their multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious societies and this has transcended migration. British Indian diaspora points of reference are largely Pan-Asian and aimed at many ethnic and religious south-west Asian groups, whereas British Cypriot diaspora points of reference are separated as either Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot, not Pan-Cypriot.

Predictions are given to the contemporary context of current affairs in the Republic of Cyprus and the Republic of India, respectively. The Indian and Greek Cypriot diasporas are expected to rely more on collective memory to reflect the rhetoric in the respective ancestral homelands. The respec-

tive collective memories are anticipated to largely focus on Partition and the Turkish invasion, events which divide and define the national identity of the respective homelands and produced an enemy state. The case studies will not exclusively look for these two events but also for other histories, such as life in the colonial era, arts or society. Collective memory is social history and documents human experience. However, if one collective memory is relied upon solely as the only source of historical education about the ancestral homeland, to what extent does that inform or influence the audience? Consequently, collective amnesia among the Greek Cypriot diaspora and the presence of a latent bias towards the Turkish Cypriot and Turkish community is expected because the Cyprus divide is viewed as temporary and remains an ongoing dispute. A bias narrative is also expected from the Indian diaspora towards the Pakistani community because tensions between Pakistan and Indian remain high as a result of Partition.

The issue with accepting collective memory as the only acceptable voice of history is problematic. Strategically choosing what is and is not remembered is a form of memory politics. Collective memory shapes identities. The need for identity is strong in immigrant communities, where collective memories about the ancestral homeland become micro-histories that inform the group's identity. Identity is fragile in immigrant communities and history provides identity: it documents origins, actions and adopted culture. All of these explain a group's present state and answer the what, why, how and who questions about the group. History and collective memory necessitate identity. However, collective memory becomes problematic when collective amnesia begins to institutionalise elitism and tribalism. Hierarchies are created. Tribalism is becoming a buzz-word in today's discussions about group identity. Identity is an essential part of building society and connections, and history offers groups an identity. Tribalism results when the collective memory contains a rhetoric that instigates elitism, which eventually separates and ostracises outsiders. When this memory is less than neutral, it crosses over into collective amnesia. When a group collectively chooses to forget, it is worth asking whether there is a motive. Discourse analysis unravels how the message is transmitted and whether it is informative or persuasive. Collective memories are circulated using discourse. As with any immigrant community, the diaspora actively invites its community members through media and events. The diaspora creates outlets to assert its group identity which is based on history.

In diaspora life, memory is represented through cultural institutions such as newspapers, club associations, events, films and theatre. Alon Confino defines these as "*vehicles of memory*" and includes books, films, museums, commemorations and so on (Confino 1997, p1393). These are pro-

duced by the diaspora for successive generations to inherit. This study includes analysis of diaspora points of reference that vary between the two diaspora communities and have been selected according to popularity and distribution in English (meaning it can reach all generations). These points of reference are outlets for providing historical education and collective memory.

### **Diaspora: A Definition**

A diaspora is defined throughout this study as an ethnic minority community with immigration background, descending from a common ancestral homeland. The Indian and Greek Cypriot diasporas residing in London, United Kingdom, are the subject of this comparative case study. The Indian diaspora is subdivided into the Hindu and Sikh communities, respectively. This is because Indian as an ethnicity is further divided into different religious groups, such as Hindu, Sikh, Parsi and Christian, to name a few. Hindu and Sikh are the largest groups in Indian and the UK. Cyprus also has different ethnic groups and Greek is the largest while the other groups, namely Turkish, Maronite and Armenian, are much smaller in comparison. Both the Greek Cypriot and Indian diaspora communities settled three or more generations ago and are part of the social fabric of the United Kingdom.

The works of William Safran (1991, 1999, 2004, 2005) and Robin Cohen (1996, 1999, 1997, 2008) are the starting point for defining and identifying a diaspora. Safran and Cohen wrote extensively on the semantics and networks of diasporas and their work forms the basis of diaspora studies. Safran describes a diaspora network being characterised by establishing a network of institutions, such as religious buildings, schools and local newspapers, all designed to maintain the respective community's culture, resulting in a highly developed diaspora consciousness (Safran 1991, p85-86; p90). In terms of semantics, Safran and Cohen are referring to a collective group of first generation migrants who have the intention of returning, such as guest workers. This describes the pattern of migration, which means temporary movement across local or international borders. However, first generation immigrants who move across international borders permanently set up their communities identically to Safran's migrant diaspora. Safran and Cohen describe temporary migrant communities that possess a common identity, such as ethnolinguistic or religious and are geographically dispersed from the homeland. The same definition is applicable to an immigrant community who share the same place of origin and this common origin continues through ascending generations. As successive generations continue, the vocabulary changes: 'place of origin' becomes 'ancestral homeland' as the lineage moves further back. Diaspora studies are often punctuated with the term "host

country” and “ancestral homeland” due to the temporary nature of migration patterns. However, diaspora also includes groups with immigration background. For the reason of permanency, “host country” becomes “home country”. The home country of this investigation is the United Kingdom. The ancestral homelands are Cyprus and India respectively.

Modern British society is a patchwork of long-settled diaspora communities. Largely due to her colonial history, Britain has a long history of receiving immigrants. The 1950s saw waves of Commonwealth immigrants arriving in London from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. In response to Britain’s post-war economic boom, thousands immigrated on the cusp of Britain dismantling its overseas territories, triggering race riots in London throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962 and Enoch Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech in 1968. Today, the Indian and Greek Cypriot diasporas occupy a large and long-settled presence in London, both beyond the third generation. With their colonial links and overseas British passports, huge numbers of Indians and Greek Cypriots took the opportunity to immigrate to London during times of conflict and economic hardship.

Faiza Hirji (2009) extends the term diaspora to groups with immigration background. Hirji affirms that the second and third generation’s identities are shaped by a merging of immigration experiences, transitional belonging and nostalgia, thus connecting the descending generations to the first generation. In a study conducted in 2009, Hirji emphasises the central role of the second and third generations to the debate on identity and memory. Challenging Safran and Cohen, Hirji argues that the definition of diaspora should accommodate the descending generations, thus extending the term to describe immigration patterns with permanent residency intentions. Hirji’s research is helpful for shedding light on how the second and third generations identify with the ancestral homeland and the different ways each generation negotiates identity construction. Their identity connection with the ancestral homeland and belonging to both the home country and ancestral homeland is what makes families with immigration background members of a diaspora.

At the time of writing this thesis, the last finalised UK census results were published in 2011. According to the 2011 census, Indian was the second largest ethnic group in the United Kingdom with 1.4 million people (2.5 percent) largely concentrated in West London, followed by Pakistani (2.0



percent)<sup>1</sup>. It is hard to determine refugee numbers as many arrived between 1947 after Partition and the 1970s during low economic strides. With the tendency for large families, the numbers of those with Indian and Pakistani heritage is expected to be among the highest in the UK. Indian identity is subdivided into several different religions. My case study only looks at the Hindu and Sikh communities as these are the largest religious groups within the Indian diaspora and are largely concentrated in North-West and West London<sup>2</sup>.

According to the Cypriot Embassy, there were roughly 200,000-250,000 ethnic Greek Cypriots in London in 2012 (Lambert 2012). The entire Cypriot diaspora includes Greek-, Turkish-, Maronite- and Armenian Cypriots. Greek Cypriots are the largest ethnic group both among the diaspora and in Cyprus. There are as many ethnic Cypriots living abroad as there are in Cyprus due to the high emigration Cyprus experienced from the late 1940s until the mid-1970s (Dawson 2009, p75). Cypriot immigration to Britain occurred in waves; economic problems in the 1930s pushed many Cypriots to resettle; hundreds arrived in London in the 1950s during the period of inter-communal violence on the island; and many arrived as refugees in the 1970s after the Turkish invasion. The Greek Cypriot community is largely settled in North London.

Despite Safran and Cohen's definition being for migrant groups rather than immigrant groups, their description of the characteristics of diaspora networks is still relevant and useful. The diaspora consciousness that Safran describes is still applicable to groups with immigration background. This diaspora consciousness that is channeled into the network of distinct institutions is connected to a homeland myth. Both migrants and immigrants cultivate a homeland myth, either to return or for nostalgia, but ultimately for identity. The homeland myth is what leads to recreating the homeland abroad and the result is Safran's description of what a diaspora community looks like. The external sight of a diaspora community can be a source of frustration for the native community who view this as a lack of integration. However, internally, it gives the diaspora a sense of safety, nostalgia and identity. These diaspora institutions channel strong connections to the homeland and are almost a recreation of the homeland from afar. Myria Georgiou attests geographical concentration, marriage within the group, the establishment of ethnic institutions including places of worship, schools

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<sup>1</sup> Ethnicity and National Identity in England and Wales: 2011, Office for National Statistics, released 11.12.2012 <http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity/articles/ethnicityandnationalidentityinenglandandwales/2012-12-11> (accessed 31.07.2018)

<sup>2</sup> *ibid* (the previous footnote relates to these statistics. In addition, places of worship are established predominantly in these areas to indicate that there is a sizeable community)

and media, and the extensive development of local economy shops, restaurants and businesses reflecting the local dimensions of the ethnic community (Georgiou 2001, p5). Yasemin Soysal describes diaspora as a past invented for the present (Soysal 2002, p2), meaning that the life left behind is recreated and fossilised in the present in the home country. This also means that as society in the ancestral homeland moves forward, the diaspora does not experience this new progress and instead recreates the last lived experience of the ancestral homeland, which is a more traditional lifestyle by contrast.

A walk around an ethnic minority neighbourhood confirms all the classic connections to the homeland that characterise diaspora communities. It is a microscopic reinvented homeland abroad. Local diaspora-run shops provide the community with products from the homeland, restaurants offer food from the homeland or a variation of it using ingredients in the new country, and even businesses catering to cultural traditions are all evidence of ethnic minority groups clustering together to form neighbourhoods. A diaspora community is physically recognisable and distinct. A common ancestral homeland is the defining point of the concept of diaspora identity. Whether this homeland is real or imagined, the homeland has been depicted as an authoritative source of value, identity and loyalty. As a result, diasporas have been defined descriptively with reference to that origin (Redclift 2017, p500). Scholars such as Safran and Cohen highlight how diasporas demonstrate strong links to the homeland through cultural institutions, which are referred to in this thesis as ‘diaspora points of reference’. These diaspora points of reference channel the diaspora consciousness described by Safran and are key to defining diaspora identity and conveying collective memory.

The Indian and Greek Cypriot diasporas have established Safran’s described diaspora networks and have many diaspora points of reference. There are a number of radio stations across England that cater to the British Indian and British Pakistani communities, such as London based Sunrise Radio, founded in 1989. Sunrise Radio sponsors diaspora events such as the London Mela, a Bhangra festival, and the Asian Lifestyle Show, an exhibition of British Asian lifestyle. There is also a BBC Asian Network channel and Eastern Eye, a newspaper aimed at Pan-British-Asians. There are numerous British Indian theatre groups, performing arts institutes, television shows, films, cultural events, shops and restaurants. Since 2003, Southall has played host to the annual Bhangra festival, London Mela. The Nehru Centre is part of the cultural program of the High Commission of India in the UK and actively promotes cultural events such as lectures, book launches, education and film screenings relating to the India and the British Indian diaspora.

The Indian Workers Association was established in London in the 1930s to protect the working rights of Indian migrants. In 1968, the first all-Asian British football club was set up. Diwali, the Hindu festival of lights, is one of the most recognisable religious celebrations around the UK from a non-native ethnic group. British Hindus are clustered in North West London within boroughs such as Harrow, Brent and Hounslow. One of Europe's largest Hindu mandirs sits in North-West London, the BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir Temple. At the time of building completion in 1995, it was the first and largest Hindu temple outside India. There are over fifty smaller mandirs across London and the outer boroughs.

British Sikhs predominate in Hillingdon, Hounslow and Ealing (Somerville 2010, p43-44), with the borough of Southall being the centre of the British Sikh community. Southall contains the largest Punjabi Sikh diaspora outside India, arriving in the early 1950s (Chaudhary 2018) and is home to the Sri Guru Singh Sabha Southall (SGSS), the largest gurdwara outside India, built in the 1950s. The oldest Sikh place of worship in London is the Central Gurdwara (Khalsa Jatha), established in 1908 in the borough of Kensington. There are over twenty gurdwaras in London and the outer boroughs. City Sikhs, an apolitical London based networking and educational organisation, claims to have over seven thousand members. As of 2018, there are thirteen Sikh schools in England that follow the national school curriculum alongside Sikh values.

The Greek Cypriot diaspora has well established cultural institutions in London. The oldest diaspora association is the Greek Cypriot Brotherhood, founded in London in 1934. As of 2018, in London there are round thirty-five Cypriot village associations, a British branch of AKEL (the Greek Cypriot communist party), and various associations for parents, students, women, working professionals and individual London suburbs. London is the headquarters of POMAK, the World Federation of Overseas Cypriots which includes the diaspora. The National Federation of Cypriots in the UK was established in 1974 and its website claims that the diaspora is around 300,000 people in the UK. The Union of Cypriots in England was set up in 1965 to promote unity and cultural understanding among the sub-ethnic groups. The Cypriot Community Centre in North London was established in 1979 by Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot organisations and is used today by all the Cypriot sub-ethnic groups<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> About, The Cypriot Centre, <https://cypriotcentre.com/about/> (accessed 31.07.2018)

Like the Asian community, the Greek Cypriot community has a London based radio station, London Greek Radio (LGR), which started in 1983 and broadcasts in Greek and English, and several newspapers. There are over twenty Greek Orthodox churches scattered throughout London. There are just as many Greek language schools running evening or weekend classes for diaspora children to learn Greek, traditional songs and dances. Events with a focus on Greek Cypriot culture are numerous, including an annual wine festival and an annual demonstration in central London against the Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus.

These diaspora networks reveal how the ancestral homeland is still the centre of diaspora life for descending generations. Martin Sökefeld describes generational links as continuous homeland relations that are frequently at the heart of the diaspora experience (Sökefeld 2006, p267). The emergence and maintenance of diaspora communities is dependent on continuously reconstructing the past ancestral homeland in the present. This experience sits between the old life in the ancestral homeland and contemporary life in the home country. We are left with an imagined transnational community (Redclift 2017, p504) that is not limited to one generation but filters down through successive generations. Shared group identity is paramount to the diaspora community and this is strongly facilitated by collective memory. Diaspora points of reference are produced by the diaspora for the diaspora to consume, such as newspapers or events. Relatable diaspora points of reference are key to shaping any generation in today's diaspora.

The diaspora experience is different for each generation. The third generation is understood to be fully integrated, while the second generation occupies an existence between immigrant background and belonging to the home country. Integration is often measured by language; Nancy Carnevale observed language shift between generations in her essay, 'Immigration and Language' (Carnevale 2011). She demonstrates this with the case of immigrants in the USA: members of the first generation use their native language exclusively with only rudimentary knowledge of English; the second generation is bilingual, using their parents native language at home although they usually never learn to read and write it, shifting more towards English by adulthood and communicating in English with their own children; the native language of the ancestral homeland is mostly lost by the third generation who speak English exclusively outside and in the home and with the second generation, although interest in the language may surface later in life as part of retracing heritage identity (Carnevale 2011, p483-484). While this measurement of integration demonstrates the generational

changes in the diaspora experience, what remains constant during this process are the references to the ancestral homeland and these diaspora points of reference begin to be produced in English in order to reach the fully-integrated third generation. For example, diaspora newspapers are no longer written entirely in the language of the ancestral homeland but in English to accommodate both the second generation who usually only learn to speak the language of the ancestral homeland but not read and write it, and the third generation onwards who are not bilingual.

Hirji and Carnevale assert that integration is complete by the third generation, who cannot be identified as too different from the home country. For example, a third generation British Indian or British Cypriot (a British born person of Indian or Cypriot ethnic descent) may well be closer in social and cultural tendencies to the ethnically British population and further away from the immigrant first generation. Alienation is felt less by the third generation, but there is still room to experience a feeling of not belonging because they do not speak the language of the ancestral homeland shared by the first and second generation but they are ethnically different to the home country and there is a sense of difference from the mainstream. However, these differences usually do not disturb their life in the home country. How the home country treats the third generation as members of a diaspora influences their identity. Studies have shown that although the third generation may identify the home country as their homeland, they are constantly made aware of their ethnic origins by outsiders (usually questions based on physical appearance, such as having black hair) despite being born, raised and educated in the home country and, as Hirji describes, a sense of exclusion is encapsulated in the question, "Where am I from?". It may strengthen their connection to the ancestral homeland; however, society in the ancestral homeland is somewhat alien to the third generation who have only experienced a fossilised image of the homeland preserved at the time of their grandparents' immigration. Life in the ancestral homeland today is likely to be very different from the collective memories of the first generation. It is important to note that despite this distance from the ancestral homeland for the third and fourth generations, they are still likely to participate in diaspora life because they are still members of the diaspora through shared identity.

The diaspora experience for any generation is a unique one that exists between belonging more to the home country and less to the ancestral homeland, but never entirely belonging to either whilst never being fully alienated from either. Diaspora life exists in different ways and the collective memory of the ancestral homeland is a ubiquitous factor to this existence. It is helpful to draw on the work of Alon Confino who connects collective social memory with cultural representations.

Confino describes memory as *an outcome of the relationship between a distinct representation of the past and the full spectrum of symbolic representations available in the given culture* (Confino 2007, p1391). This definition compliments Soysal's description of the concept of diaspora as a past invented for the present (Soysal 2000, p2). According to these two statements, diasporas are a piece of collective memory themselves: they carry with them the memory of a home at a certain time and recreate it while the ancestral homeland changes and updates. Remembering that diaspora life is different to contemporary life in the ancestral homeland, diaspora life is essentially a fossilised memory. As this investigation goes on to discuss discourse analysis and collective memory, Confino's work will be referenced again.

Collective memory pivots around history but there are blurred lines between history and representation, consequently leading into memory politics. This opens up an opportunity to explore how a historical narrative is inherited. This investigation aims to learn what the community does to historically inform the next generation. Whether diaspora historical education relies entirely on collective memory as the reference for history or encourages objective history is the subtext of this investigation. In order to find a rhetoric projected to the diaspora by the diaspora, the case studies analyse what the diaspora produces that reflect on its history, and these are called diaspora points of reference. Victoria Redclift (2017) notes how historical retelling and forgetting impact the mobilization and demobilization of diaspora ties. Claire Alexander opines that the performance of diaspora memory and the diaspora narration frequently includes silences, erasures and forgetting (Alexander 2012, p595). Despite these assertions, historical amnesia among diasporas has been relatively unexplored. Issues such as how to balance conflicting collective memories and how to interpret collective amnesia are part of the construction of memory politics and subsequently connected to identity construction. Redclift, Confino and Alexander's work will be elaborated further when discussing the results of the case studies.

Diasporas are responsible for defining their identity. Their transnational identity sits between the home country and the ancestral homeland. Both histories of the Republic of Cyprus and the Republic of India are part of Britain's post-colonial legacy: national identity in the respective ancestral homelands were sharply defined during independence struggles. However, a new history has emerged separate from the ancestral homeland: the migration experience is unique to the diaspora, separating their community from both the ancestral homeland and home country. As a result, an identity that is separate from the ancestral homeland is born out of the immigration experience.

Their identity is dependent on an aged version of the language spoken in the ancestral homeland, as the diaspora miss out on the language's modernisation. Traditional food will be slightly different to that in the ancestral homeland to accommodate unavailability of ingredients or cooking techniques that cannot be copied in the home country. Sharing fragments of history with both the ancestral homeland and the home country, and forging their own unique immigration history, diasporas are their own identity and their own piece of collective memory.

The diaspora narrative of history in the ancestral homeland will likely stop at the point of migration. Diaspora identity is a fossilised memory of the lifestyle and events before immigration. An outline of the historical background of the case studies is necessary before examining how historical education is narrated.

### **History: India and Cyprus**

Modern day India and Cyprus are defined by border conflicts that resulted from the decolonisation process. Communal disturbances leading up to demarcation have polarised these respective societies ever since. The last census taken in India was in 2011 and resulted a population at just over 1.21 billion<sup>4</sup>. According to the 2011 census, the population of the Republic of Cyprus was just over 840, 000<sup>5</sup>.

The British Raj in India lasted from 1858 until 1947, and Cyprus was a British crown colony from 1922 until 1960, though it had been a protectorate from 1878 to 1914 and under military occupation between 1914 and 1922. Both colonies were strategically valuable to Britain: India for its huge population and mass geographical territory that offered economic advantages, and Cyprus replaced Suez as a strategic outpost at the corner of Europe, Africa and the Middle East. A combination of

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<sup>4</sup> Population classified by place of birth and sex in 2011, Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India <https://censusindia.gov.in/2011census/d-series/d-1.html> (accessed 31.07.2018)

<sup>5</sup> Census of the population 2011, main results, Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus [https://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/populationcondition\\_22main\\_en/populationcondition\\_22main\\_en?OpenForm&sub=2&sel=2](https://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/populationcondition_22main_en/populationcondition_22main_en?OpenForm&sub=2&sel=2) (accessed 31.07.2018)

rising nationalism and being economically drained by war forced Britain to respond to pressures to decolonise<sup>6</sup>.

The British Raj had been made up of a diverse collection of ethnic, linguistic, regional and religious groups that had co-existed for centuries. Calls for Indian independence can be traced back as far the mid-nineteenth century, followed by decades of uprisings and boycotts against British rule and demands for more rights. The 1919 Amritsar Massacre, where British authorities opened fire on hundreds of peaceful protestors against the arrest of independence leaders, pushed the issue of independence on the agenda in the British cabinet (Wolpert 2009, p4). Mohandas Gandhi launched the Quit India movement, demanding Britain relinquish control of India after the First World War with the goal of economic self sufficiency, reflected in the swadeshi movement. The Hindu-dominated Indian National Congress Party, led by Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, pushed forward. In response to fears of being underrepresented, the Muslim League, led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was established to protect Muslim interests by advocating a separate Muslim majority state and pressured British authorities to partition the subcontinent on religious terms. The official Pakistani narrative of Partition is the Two Nation Theory, an ideology articulated by Jinnah that postulated Hindus and Muslims could not live in the same state, the latter needing a separate Muslim homeland. The Congress and Muslim League urged supporters to protect themselves as fears and mistrust between religious groups escalated after the Second World War. Mass violence spread throughout the Indian subcontinent as clashes erupted between Hindus and Sikhs against Muslims. Religious affiliation penetrated society as the Indian independence movement pushed forward<sup>7</sup>.

The rationale for border placement was decided according to where the majority of Muslims resided. After almost three hundred years of rule, Britain left India and the subcontinent was demarcated into two states at the stroke of midnight between 14th and 15th August 1947: the Republic of

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<sup>6</sup> The financial burden of the Second World War left a debt of £3 billion and a reduction in its export industries (Clarke 2004, p253). Independence movements had begun in Commonwealth territories, particularly Egypt, Ireland, India and Sudan. Wartime Prime Minister Clement Attlee was sympathetic to independence movements and Harold Macmillan's premiership between 1957 and 1963, finalised the decolonisation process. In 1963, Britain was rocked by the Profumo Affair that began a new era of foreign policy concerns: espionage and the Soviet Union. This was a complete change from Commonwealth independence movements in the 1950s and signalled the end of the empire and a new threat: the Soviet Union.

<sup>7</sup> Different independence groups in the Indian Subcontinent were defined by religion. The goal of Hindu and Sikh groups was for an independent India but the goal for Muslim groups was for an independent Muslim state, separate from Hindus and Sikhs. Independence had lead to internal divisions. There was a small movement for an independent Sikh state, the Khalistan movement, discussed in the case studies.



India and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. At the time, the population of the Indian subcontinent was just under four million<sup>8</sup>. The 1961 UK census reports 31,350 London residents were born in India, Pakistan and Ceylon<sup>910</sup>.

Relations between India and Pakistan have never recovered and remain volatile. Both states still fight over borders and have fought three wars over the disputed Kashmiri border and a fourth war over East Pakistan that resulted in the creation of a new state, Bangladesh. The Wagah border ceremony has taken place every evening since 1959, when the gates between the Indo-Pakistani border close at dusk.

Partition was intended to be permanent, whereas the demarcation of Cyprus is treated as temporary with regular diplomatic talks to reunify the island. Like Partition, Cyprus was also demarcated with British assistance to appease the Muslim community. However, the historical context of events in Cyprus took a different turn. Cyprus' post-war history is framed by fragile Greco-Turkish relations, the tremors of destabilising events in Greece, and Cold War interests. Cyprus was part of the Ottoman Empire before becoming a British crown colony in 1922 when the Ottoman Empire finally dismantled after the First World War. Being the nearest Greek island to mainland Turkey, Cyprus was unable to break away and unify with Greece during the Greek War of Independence in 1821. Cyprus still retains Ottoman influence in its architecture, cuisine and language.

Pan-Hellenism arrived relatively late in Cyprus in the post-war period with calls for *enosis* (unity with Greece), while the Turkish Cypriot community responded by advocating *taksim* (partition) as self protection. The 1950s were the most tumultuous period of civil unrest with the Greek Cypriot community attacking the British embassy, British soldiers and British expats to rid of the foreign authority, and violent attacks on the Turkish Cypriot community on the issue of opposing mother-countries. Thousands from both communities migrated to Britain during this period as the island

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<sup>8</sup> 'Variation in Population since 1901', Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India [https://censusindia.gov.in/census\\_data\\_2001/india\\_at\\_glance/variation.aspx](https://censusindia.gov.in/census_data_2001/india_at_glance/variation.aspx) (accessed 01.08.2018)

<sup>9</sup> Residents born outside UK by country of birth [1961 Census], Office for National Statistics [https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/1961/SH03/view/507510819?rows=cob&cols=c\\_sex](https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/1961/SH03/view/507510819?rows=cob&cols=c_sex) (accessed 31.07.2018)

<sup>10</sup> This is microdata released from the 1961 census. The Census Act 1920 prohibits full disclosure of a census for one hundred years. The 1951 census is expected to be released in full in 2052 and the 1961 census is expected to be released in full in 2062. No census was conducted in 1941 due to the Second World War.

came close to civil war. Independence was negotiated between Britain, Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, and granted on 16th August 1960. At the time of independence, the population was seventy-seven percent Greek Cypriot and just over eighteen percent Turkish Cypriot (Catotychos 1998, p6)<sup>11</sup>.

Frequent clashes erupted between the Greek Cypriot majority and Turkish Cypriot minority that triggered a series of international crises in the early 1960s. As NATO members, Greece and Turkey sought help from the United States to assist with their communities on the island. Previously communist sympathising but now suspicious of American influence, the Greek Cypriot leader Archbishop Makarios declared a neutral stance, raising concern in Washington. Turkey gave frequent warnings to Cyprus, Greece and the United States that it would defend its Cypriot community if the violent clashes did not stop and if the new Republic of Cyprus continued to ignore its constitutional terms to have a set number Turkish Cypriots in governmental positions<sup>1213</sup>.

Turkey invaded Cyprus on 20th July 1974 in reaction to a military coup by the junta in Athens to unite the island with Greece. Thousands were displaced as population exchanges began to separate the two ethnic groups and thousands of people disappeared in the invasion. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus was created in 1983 but is only recognised by and is economically dependent on the Republic of Turkey. Cyprus joined the European Union in 2004, allowing it the power to veto Turkish entry to the EU. Diplomatic efforts to unify Cyprus have continued to fail as the Hellenic and Turkish flags are openly on display on the opposing sides of the island, suggesting the trouble-

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<sup>11</sup> See also: Population Census 1960, Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus [https://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/populationcondition\\_22main\\_keyfarchive\\_en/populationcondition\\_22main\\_keyfarchive\\_en?OpenForm&yr=19601B866503A26CC10198EAA881F19E955C&n=1960](https://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/populationcondition_22main_keyfarchive_en/populationcondition_22main_keyfarchive_en?OpenForm&yr=19601B866503A26CC10198EAA881F19E955C&n=1960) (accessed 31.07.2018). This census shows the total population of Cyprus in 1960 was 577,615. Ethnic Greeks numbered 442,521 and ethnic Turks totalled 104,350.

<sup>12</sup> The constitution can be read here: Republic of Cyprus Presidency [https://www.presidency.gov.cy/presidency/presidency.nsf/all/1003AEDD83EED9C7C225756F0023C6AD/\\$file/CY\\_Constitution.pdf?openelement](https://www.presidency.gov.cy/presidency/presidency.nsf/all/1003AEDD83EED9C7C225756F0023C6AD/$file/CY_Constitution.pdf?openelement) (accessed 29.07.2018)

<sup>13</sup> House of Representatives, 'Fifty Years of Cyprus Parliament: The Representatives of the People' (2010 Research, Studies and Publications Service House of Representatives, Government Printing Office) <http://www.parliament.cy/images/media/assetfile/VIVLIO%2050HRONA.pdf> (accessed 29.07.2018). This catalogue contains all house members between 1960 and 2010. There were strikingly few Turkish Cypriots in governmental positions.

some link to mother-countries has not dissipated. These solidified concepts of respective mother-countries and the resulting inter-communal violence, has left a legacy of foreign occupation<sup>14</sup>.

National identity in India, Pakistan, Cyprus and Northern Cyprus is influenced by the violence endured during the creation of state borders. These histories highlight the stark relationship between identity and borders, and provide an example of the deep and lasting impact of demarcation by colonial forces that has since polarised these societies. Consolidated by population exchanges, communities were defined by religious and language markers that were attached to political representation. These constructed rivalries that saw the respective Muslim communities voice fears of being marginalised and politically underrepresented whereby the response was to demand a separate state (Pakistani politicians promoted the Two Nation Theory while the Turkish Cypriot community demanded *taksim*). Since the demarcation of the Indian subcontinent and Cyprus, economic development has been uneven as their neighbouring Muslim state has fallen behind.

India and Cyprus are ethnically diverse with one majority, and both refugee crises are the result of conflict with another ethnic group that engineered new territorial borders. The Indian subcontinent and Cyprus have always been exposed to multiculturalism due to their multi-ethnic populations, suggesting their smooth adjustment to life in Britain post-independence and flourishing diaspora communities. These diasporas offer complex histories and this investigation applies discourse analysis to explore how history is communicated in the public sphere.

### **Method: Discourse Analysis**

Destroying or capturing an enemy or subordinate's archives, museums or historical monuments is a control strategy to destabilise identity by obliterating its foundations. Where there is no direct military conflict, diplomatic or cold wars can include revising history and presenting a new narrative in order to undermine an enemy or subordinate. When there is no enemy or subordinate, a nation selects its history and carefully crafts the words to project an image for its citizens and outsiders to consume. Language is an instrument or a weapon that is mobilised to transmit certain messages that aim to generate a particular response. Determining an objective from subjective historical narrative

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<sup>14</sup> The Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, whilst the former is an economically independent state, both function almost as satellite states of Greece and Turkey respectively. Both display their own Cypriot flags as well as the flags of their mother-country and promote links to the mother-country, viewing themselves as an extension of Greece or Turkey. The connections go beyond shared language to shared culture, cuisine, religion, arts and politics.

is key to identifying memory politics. The choice of words used to convey a message are the focus of this investigation. The choice of words has an impact that can either inform or influence. The power of language can reach entire communities and alter an audience's perspective. Winston Churchill's 'Their Finest Hour' speech<sup>15</sup> and George W Bush's 'Global War on Terror' speech<sup>16</sup> are both examples of the compelling influence of words in order to convey power, victory and bolster support. Language is used to motivate and rally a group, to radiate confidence and belief, to excite, inspire and uplift; it can also attack, undermine and manipulate, or it can simply inform. Where there is no language, silence conveys a message, too. The tool used to decode messages is discourse analysis, applied in the case studies of this thesis.

The case studies investigate historical education in diaspora communities and attempt to determine whether a disseminated historical narrative is history or collective memory. The language used will highlight whether the goal of the message is to inform or influence. Central to research involving the transmission of rhetoric and narrative is discourse analysis. The material chosen for analysis in these case studies were selected according to popularity and distribution. Regarding distribution, if the data is widely disseminated and easily accessible, its message reaches a wider audience and is often considered to be common-knowledge. The social and historical context within which the data was produced is also taken into consideration.

Anticipated results specific to each group are: collective forgetting among the Greek Cypriot diaspora and a latent bias towards the Turkish Cypriot and Turkish communities, contrasted against a neutral narrative within the Indian diaspora with little or no bias towards the Pakistani community. Collective memory is communicated through cultural institutions such as newspapers, club associations, events, films and theatre; all of these are made by the diaspora for the diaspora community to consume. These cultural institutions serve as both diaspora points of reference and memory plugs, offering data to analyse. These materials being analysed (the data) equate to bodies of knowledge that convey a message, or discourse. These case studies seek to answer whether the diaspora encourage history learning with history or by using collective memory. An essential criterion is the relevance of the materials to the topic: impact and consumption. Popularity and distribution were

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<sup>15</sup> For Churchill's speech, see: 'Their Finest Hour', International Churchill Society. <https://winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/1940-the-finest-hour/their-finest-hour/> (accessed 10.05.2019)

<sup>16</sup> For Bush's speech, see: 'The Global War on Terrorism: The First 100 Days', US Department of State Archive <https://2001-2009.state.gov/s/ct/rls/wh/6947.htm> (accessed 10.05.2019)

the factors for material selection and the choice of materials therefore vary between the case studies. Margaret Wetherall, a scholar on discourse analysis, offers that there is no right way to perform discourse analysis because data is selected according to each case study (Wetherall et al. 2001, p6).

Discourse is similar to dialogue, where both produce messages outwardly but the role of the audience differs: a dialogue is a two-way conversation where the audience actively participates, whereas a discourse is a monologue with a passive audience. Discourse analysis is highly relevant to this thesis as it is often applicable to projects seeking to analyse press reaction, media coverage or social interactions and is used to identify ideology, patterns of social behaviour and how identity is represented. Discourse analysis is applied as a tool to analyse data for messages. Whilst discourse analysis treats texts as data, it is not specifically limited to text and language but is extended to behaviour and practices. Discourse is not only language as a linguistic application but also abstract messages transmitted by social behaviour such as traditions, dance, rituals and the arts. That is to say, discourse includes all communicative action and meaningful behaviour and is inclusive of all media that creates meaning such as photography, clothing, architecture and dance (Johnston 2018, p2). The study of discourse is a type of critical linguistics applied to social sciences.

The works of Michel Foucault lay the foundations for discourse analysis that support this thesis<sup>17</sup>. Foucault's approach postulates that discourse is historically framed and is a reflection of power relations. As a result, the discourse becomes a reality and the sub-effect is that it engineers discipline and eventually hierarchies. This is closely related to the concept of Cultural Marxism that attempts to explain how ideology penetrates and organises society. Discourse produces knowledge and meaning, and the effect is that discourse morphs into socially accepted facts as a result of this collective understanding. The same interpretation is applicable to how collective memory becomes confused as the only history. Many scholars agree that discourse is socially constructed (Foucault [1980], Burke [1945], Wodak [2001], Laclau et al. [1985]), as is collective memory. Messages indicate how groups are socially represented by others or how they choose to represent themselves. Discourse is a social construction of reality (Paltridge 2006, p9), meaning that we perceive the world around us according to the social and cultural cues provided by messages (discourse). Messages passively feed us knowledge. The discourse could be texts or rituals, such as dance. We understand the world according to the messages we receive. Discourse analysis aims to identify a

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<sup>17</sup> see Michel Foucault, 'The Archeology of Power' (1969, Pantheon Books). 'Power / Knowledge' (1980, Pantheon Books) 'The Politics of Truth' (1997, Semiotext(e)) and 'Power' (2002, Penguin)

common narrative, which is a necessary tool for this thesis. It analyses systems of representation, such as written texts, spoken language and anything produced that contains meaningful language to convey a message. Collective memory is essentially a discourse; memory is socially gathered by a group to transmit a common narrative.

As a tool, discourse analysis is applied to the subject matter case studies in order to decode disseminated messages. Discourse analysis cannot determine public opinion as this would be classified as dialogue due to the audience actively engaging. Instead, it offers content analysis. It is a reflection of what an authority intends for the public to consume, how arguments are constructed and how rhetoric is communicated. Sources must be framed within their social and historical context in order to understand why the message was produced and its intention. These messages could be a response to an event or relate to a broader debate at the time of being produced. To whom the source was disseminated is key to understanding why it was produced. The readability of the source ensures it reaches a wide audience or that it is limited to a select few, and a source's readability is based on its accessibility, language and use of specific vocabulary, such as industry jargon known to insiders.

Critically interpreting language requires close attention to the grammar and word choice. The passive voice in any form is used to reveal the end result but conceals the source of the action or information and is often used when quotes are lifted out of their original context. In the media, passive reporting verbs emphasise the claim or report. Statements such as "it has been claimed that..." are hearsay reports, with the focus on what is said and not who said it and when. This type of writing style avoids providing a source and this detail suggests that it is unlikely that there is one or that the information is out of context. These statements aim to provoke and are attention-grabbing or 'click bait'. These aim to shock with the supposed report but eschew attention away from not providing proof. Other passive grammar structures indirectly shift or hide responsibility by not using personal pronouns. Using the passive voice for historical education hides the source and context, two necessary points for historical education. It leaves room to assume that there is no source but the authors wants us to believe that there is. References support arguments, giving claims more validity.

While the passive voice avoids personal pronouns to create indirect accusations and distance, by contrast, using personal pronouns personalises the discourse to connect with the audience. Personal pronouns such as 'we' and 'they' identify protagonists and antagonists and foster a connection with

the audience. In a historical narrative, personal pronouns tell the audience that the discourse is about them and that it is for them. It motivates collective feelings and promotes pride or victimisation. Victim language empowers the user or produces sympathy for the subject of the discourse. In written text, key words are in titles, headlines and opening paragraphs in order to catch reader attention. In speeches, power words are at the beginning, end and scattered throughout the middle before pauses to allow the audience to absorb the language. Personal pronouns mean the discourse identifies with the consumer and brings the audience closer. Additionally, personal pronouns promote tribalism by directing the audience to categorise groups as socially desirable or undesirable. Inflammatory adjectives inform us of who or what is good and bad. Adjectives and adverbs influence judgement, particularly good and bad, and these can be further heightened with the use of metaphors, proverbs or idioms that make desired associations. These do not leave room for the audience to decide how to interpret something; the discourse has subliminally told the audience how to interpret and categorise the topic. The use of personal pronouns and positive and negative adjectives and adverbs disclose relationships.

Discourse is designed to influence. Imperatives tell the audience what to do, such as “look at...” or “notice how...”. Modal verbs, such as ‘should’, ‘want’ and ‘could’, prompt urgency. The discourse producer uses modal verbs to give the audience urgent instructions or to prompt change. Evidential phrases such as ‘of course’ and ‘obviously’ imply common knowledge. Images that are attached to texts support statements or shape meaning. Questions need to be asked as to what emotions the images elicit and what parallels are drawn from the imagery.

By applying discourse analysis, texts can be decoded to reveal beliefs and ideologies. These subliminal messages are an attempt to subordinate or empower. The discourse producer is the authority. The connection between knowledge and power is omnipresent. Discourse conveys representations of power. This neatly circles back to Alon Confino’s work<sup>18</sup>, which applies Foucauldian discourse analysis to memory studies. As a study method, discourse analysis deconstructs the purpose of the language used and uncovers a common narrative that conveys societal values, therefore revealing group mentality. Historians regularly employ discourse analysis to evaluate sources in order to understand why the source was produced and what the desired impact is. The consumer is encouraged to critically ask what the creator of the message wants the audience to think and know. Every dis-

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<sup>18</sup> Alon Confino, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method’ (1997), *The American Historical Review*, Volume 102, Number 5, p1386-1403, December 1997.

course has a purpose. Sources can vary: an official government poster, an article published in a community newspaper or even ritualistic behaviour. The range where we can apply discourse analysis is not limited to official or social construction. The social world is shaped by historically accrued knowledge and discourse is how that knowledge is transmitted to society (Taylor 2013, p10). Discourse analysis deconstructs the deliberate choice of words or actions used in the transmission.

Discourse influences our ideas, how we talk about subject matters and regulates how we behave. Any type of language produced to convey a message is worth questioning: brochures, advertisements (including adverts for events), government documents, websites, books, newspapers and documentaries; these are examples of representations of language that want to convey a message. Messages are socially circulated. The aim is to spread knowledge. Discourse analysis looks at how the message is delivered and its meaning. The subtext of the message is uncovered. Attention is given not only to what is said but to how it is said. Without this type of critical approach to language, we are unaware of how ideology and persuasion are conveyed to an audience. The discourse provider demonstrates power by being an authoritative on the message being delivered but also by having the ability to persuade an audience into like-mindedness. Ideological associations and power hierarchies are revealed through discourse, and inequality is measured by conveying power and hierarchies.

The relationship between power and knowledge was explored by Foucault (1969), although Nietzsche's earlier work also touched on discourse as a source of defining power relations<sup>1920</sup>. Foucauldian discourse analysis relies on critiquing the way we look at history and the way we retrieve the history of how a specific discourse is formulated. This unravels how power flows into society using language or broader messages. Foucault invites us to question how we make sense of systems of representations, referring to our thoughts that are informed by a disseminated discourse. Contextualising language is what separates discourse analysis from linguistics and reveals social practices and power dynamics. Discourse analysis seeks to understand the impact of these representations and the choice of language used to achieve emotions and feelings such as trust or doubt. Consumers

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<sup>19</sup> Michel Foucault, 'Nietzsche, Freud, Marx' in *Dits & Écrits* (1994), Vol. I, no. 46, p564-579, Gallimard. English translation 'Michel Foucault, Aesthetics, Methods and Epistemology. The Essential Works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984', Vol. 2. James D. Faubion (Ed.), Trans. Robert Hurley et al. New Press, Paris, 1998, p269-278.

<sup>20</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, 'On the Genealogy of Morality: A Polemic' (1998, Hackett Publishing Company)



are often persuaded by messages without having experience of it. This is similar to Levy and Sznajder's "cosmopolitan memory" where not everyone has a direct link to the memory but carries the memory<sup>21</sup>. Foucauldian discourse analysis largely addresses societal power relations that underline the messages being portrayed. The sub-context of my investigation will also inquire as to whether collective memory, should it be found, institutes power relations. This brings us back to Confino's work on cultural representations and channels through to elitism and tribalism<sup>22</sup>.

Foucault takes a contextual approach to analysing discourse, proposing that discourse analysis ought to be historically situated. For Foucault, meanings, definitions and audience shift over periods of time (Powers 2001, p12). Important questions rise such as what the text is about and why it is there. Context helps to determine why something was produced and released to the public to passively consume. Often, discourse about a particular historical event is released close to its anniversary, such as airing tv programmes and publishing books to coincide with trigger dates. By placing the discourse within a timeframe, we understand why it was intended to be consumed at that time. Discourse placement is strategic and arises out of an existing situation (Johnstone 2013, p76), ergo it can be considered a reaction to a situation.

Strategically crafted, timed and placed discourse is a careful construction of choosing how to present oneself and information. Some narratives are isolated to the past and some are ongoing. Discourse analysis is not simply linguistics but the study of language's effect (Johnstone 2018, p1-2) and the impact on its consumers. Language is used to generate action and emotion such as urgency, refrain, sympathy, strength, pride, admiration or disgust. Behaviour, such as rituals and traditions, is used to show resilience and uniqueness. Rituals and traditions are often displays of identity, separating one group from another by performing a particular behaviour that has been performed for centuries, an indicator of cultural resilience by maintaining a behaviour, despite time passing, foreign occupation and migration. Postage stamps also carry a discourse: these small squares show a picture chosen by the nation to represent itself domestically and abroad. Stamp col-

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<sup>21</sup> Daniel Levy and Natan Sznajder, 'Memory Unbound: The Holocaust and the Formation of Cosmopolitan Memory' (2002) *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 5, p87-106.

<sup>22</sup> Alon Confino, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method' (1997), *The American Historical Review*, Volume 102, Number 5, p1386-1403, December 1997.

lections tell the history of a nation<sup>23</sup>. The staying-power of tradition and rituals carries weight as well as the purpose for their invention. For example, a traditional dance was created to show victory after winning a war (showing success), in addition to it being performed after colonialism (resilience) and to separate that group from a neighbouring country (uniqueness). All these are a display of control: the group who perform the dance control the messages of success, resilience and uniqueness being sent out to represent themselves. This is discourse as symbolism. Discourse as language, such as texts, looks at grammar and words being used. For example, the imperative voice gives instructions and adjectives inform us of whether the noun that follows is to be viewed as good or bad. We are studying language in use and its influence and human meaning-making (Wetherall et al. 2001, p3).

Power relations within society are revealed not just through language but also through purpose: what people say and who gave their narrative authority. Discourse reflects societal power relations at that time. Taking a Foucauldian approach, meanings and power reactions are not static but depend on context and as a result, meanings change. Discourse analysis is the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used, and how identities and views of the world are constructed through discourse (Paltridge 2006, p2). Cartoons depicting undesirable immigrant groups as physically unattractive and mentally backwards are usually constricted to a time period: they reflect public opinion at that time when there was an influx of that particular immigrant group. The producer of the discourse (the cartoon) are economically above the group depicted in the cartoon and able to ostracise with negative discourse. The theoretical cartoon highlights control<sup>24</sup>. Ten years later, the same cartoon would cause controversy as a racial insult to a group that are considered neither unattractive nor backwards, but hard-working and integrated. At the time of publication, the cartoon was considered funny and accurate but now the same cartoon is racist and the producer may face punishment. This is an example of the importance of context and how meanings change.

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<sup>23</sup> Old stamp collections are essentially tiny pictures of how a nation wished to represent itself in a small, colourful square. Images include events such as hosting the Olympics, commemorative days and leaders such as dictators and monarchy.

<sup>24</sup> Cartoons showing the Irish as thieves or physically ugly were frequent in Victorian newspapers. For examples of anti-Irish sentiment in the media including cartoons, see: Michael De Nie, 'The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882' (2004, University of Wisconsin Press).

Discourse analysis generates claims that have the power to oppress or empower groups of people who are the subject of the discourse in a specific context (Powers 2001, p1). If widely consumed, messages carry weight. Oscillating between a focus on structure and a focus on action (Wodak et al. 2001, p124), discourse analysis asks what it is (the type of discourse) and why it is there (its intention and context). Messages have the power to make people act and feel. Texts and interpretations of those texts are shaped by the world and they shape the world (Johnstone 2013, p9). Norman Fairclough (2013) also states that discourse demonstrates social practice and social hierarchy. Whether or not the direct message of the discourse is factually accurate, the subtext carries more impact.

Whilst academics, such as historians or discourse analysts, are trained to critically approach discourse, the target audience, without such training, passively consumes discourse and is susceptible to persuasion. The general public is more likely to be persuaded by rhetoric rather than take a critical approach. In memory studies, discourse analysis is concerned with the effect and impact of the message being communicated. Discourses are ideas as well as ways of talking that influence and are influenced by these ideas (Johnstone 2018, p3) and are considered socially acceptable. Discourses are conventional ways of talking that perpetuate systems of ideology, sets of beliefs about how the world works and what is natural (*ibid* p33). What is most striking about discourse is how it is easily socially accepted, making it highly persuasive.

Barbara Johnstone (2013, p10) also notes that while it is fair to say that the world is shaped by what is said, silence also conveys a message of what is not being said. This is where discourse reflects collective amnesia just as much as it underscores collective memory. As Johnstone points out, we are left with a generic opinion which consequently obviates individual responsibility of meaning (*ibid*). In the same way, distributing collective memory also shapes group mentality. Stephanie Taylor (2013) asserts that discourse analysis is an essential tool to investigate identity from large categories such as national or gender identities, to narrower categories like illnesses or creative work (Taylor 2013, p55). Identifying as a member of a group means sharing the group's opinion which shapes how the group view themselves or others and becomes a mentality. Narratives will always reinforce or challenge known assumptions. There are no accidental discourses but there are strategic choices and meanings. Rhetorical tools are used to strengthen the validity and urgency of a discourse. Language is carefully crafted to suggest statements should be treated as fact and common knowledge, or the opposite: a hidden secret being exposed. By exploring the wider context of language being used and seeking to uncover power relations and identity politics, the case studies of

this thesis take a Foucauldian approach to critical discourse analysis. These case studies seek to identify a historical discourse and remain alert to collective memory and collective amnesia. As well as language analysis, the data selected needs to be put into social and historical context in order to facilitate determining the intention of the text.

Discourse analysis is used to make sense of the complexities behind arguments and perspectives rather than a generalised claim about a society or group (Taylor 2013, p56), thus allowing the root of a mentality to be seen. Theoretical issues around identity are exposed under the microscope of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis illustrates that there are several truths according to who and what are consumed. Being outside the ancestral homeland, the diaspora are the custodians of sharing historical education about their heritage in order to create an identity for a community that somewhat half-way belongs to two places. Without history, there is no identity and therefore no group; shared history is what unites diaspora communities.

### **Case Study One: Indian Diaspora Points of Reference in London**

Curry is a favourite dish in English cuisine and black tea is the most popular hot beverage. Both of these were introduced to Britain through its colonial occupation of the British Raj. Brick Lane in East London is lined with curry houses. London regularly hosts Indian street festivals, bhangra events and Diwali<sup>25</sup>, welcoming visitors outside the diaspora. The Indian diaspora calls itself Pan-Asian and includes all South Asian religious, ethnic and language groups. India diaspora radio stations and newspapers appeal to all groups. This case study demonstrates the extent of British Indian culture and the London diaspora. Links to all sources used in the case studies can be found in the footnotes and bibliography.

### **Places of Worship**

Religion offers diasporas a sense of identity, belonging and community, and places of worship often provide an opportunity for social gatherings as well as worship. Newsletters sometimes contain historical accounts and encourage collective identity through membership to the religious group. The Sikh diaspora has around twenty-two gurdwaras around London but two in particular stand out: the Sri Guru Singh Sabha in Southall is the largest gurdwara outside India and the Central Gurdwara,

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<sup>25</sup> Diwali in London <https://www.diwaliinlondon.com/> (accessed 18.08.2021)

Khalsa Jatha, is the oldest in London, established in 1908 and relocated to its current site in 1968<sup>26</sup>. Neither teach history, only religion, music and language. A major centre for Hindu worship in London is the BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir, built in 1995. The temple has a permanent exhibition about the founding, spread and values of Hinduism<sup>27</sup>. This is religious history. India has a shared history with Britain for recruiting soldiers to fight in both World Wars. Remembrance Day (also known as Armistice Day and held at 11am on the Sunday closest to 11th November) is commemorated throughout the United Kingdom and Commonwealth countries to remember the soldiers in all former territories who contributed to the British war effort. The yearly ceremony at Whitehall includes representatives from former overseas territories, including India and Pakistan. 2018 marked the one-hundredth anniversary since the first Remembrance Day. In November 2018, the BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir temple held a remembrance programme to honour Indian soldiers who took part in World War One<sup>28</sup>. Remembering the war observes the tragedy and gratitude paid to the war effort. To coincide with Interfaith Week, representatives from different religions were invited to the remembrance ceremony. The Cypriot High Commissioner, Euripides L Evriviades, also Chair of the Commonwealth Board of Governors, was present to make a speech but this was not mentioned in Greek Cypriot diaspora media. Cyprus was also part of the Commonwealth Empire and contributed to the war effort but Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference do not comment on Remembrance Day. The only reference to historical education were the statistics of the number of Indian soldiers who took part and were awarded. Remembrance Day is a unique opportunity for diaspora communities to embrace both a shared history with the home land that is connected to an experience that occurred in the ancestral homeland (soldiers were recruited while in the territories, not after immigration). The event was on the BAPS mandir website and mentioned in one article in Eastern Eye newspaper in November 2018 but was not mentioned in other Indian diaspora points of reference. Neither diaspora has ever mentioned past Remembrance Days or the war effort of the ancestral homeland. This is an opportunity for shared history. There is silence from both diaspora communities about Remembrance Day.

## **The Arts**

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<sup>26</sup> Khalsa Jatha <http://khalsajatha.com/> (accessed 02.08.2018)

<sup>27</sup> I visited the temple on 8th August 2018 and toured the exhibition and entire temple area.

<sup>28</sup> 'Interfaith Remembrance Marking Armistice Centenary', Baps Shri Swaminarayan Mandir London, 16.11.2018 <https://londonmandir.baps.org/2018/11/interfaith-remembrance-marking-armistice-centenary/> (accessed 12.12.2018)

Non-Indian British audiences are familiar with India and its British history. Britain's fascination with life for British expats in the British Raj is continues: the school curriculum includes stories by Ruth Praver Jhabvala and Rudyard Kipling and there are regularly television series and films dramatising expat life in 1930s India. Contemporary travel and cooking programs frequently show India and its cuisine. All of these are created by non-Indian producers for a non-Indian audience. The focus is on the exoticism that enthralled expats. The Indian diaspora is just as active in creating, but instead focuses on the Indian experience. Because of Britain's fascination with India, it is difficult for diaspora points of reference to stay within the remits of the diaspora and tend to reach a wider audience. The standout piece of literature from the Indian diaspora is the award winning novel 'Midnight's Children' (1981) by Salman Rushdie. Set against the backdrop of India's transition from colonialism to independence, the book's success marked Rushdie as one of the greatest diaspora authors of the twentieth century. This post-colonial novel is an example of a meta-narrative structure that presents a collective memory in fictional format. Readership goes much further than the Indian diaspora. It has been adapted for theatre by the Royal Shakespeare Company and was dramatised by BBC Radio Four in 2017 to mark the seventieth anniversary of independence<sup>2930</sup>. Migration and its impact on one's changing character is a theme woven throughout the story, demonstrated by the issues of home and belonging. Historical backdrops include the Amritsar Massacre, Partition and the Indira Gandhi administration. Creative writing is a form of art that aims to provoke. The experiences of the characters are inspired by real events. An ethnic connection makes the audience think about the past and prompts interest. London has two Indian theatre companies, Tara and Tamasha. Tara was set up in 1977 by Jatinder Verma<sup>31</sup>. It has staged several plays that recount historical events: 'Vilayat' ('England Your England') (1981), 'Jhansi' (1980), 'Inkalaab', 1919 (1980), 'Sapno Kay Ruup' (1982) and 'Ancestral Voices' (1983). Established later in 1989 by Sudha Bhuchar and Kristine Landon-Smith, Tamasha has also dramatised migration stories. Its early productions were historic plays: 'Untouchable' (1989), 'Women of the Dust' (1992) and 'House of the Sun' (1991) and 'A Tainted Dawn' (1997). Both theatres now focus on more contemporary themes that affect the diaspora in England.

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<sup>29</sup> Royal Shakespeare Company Performances, *Midnight's Children* <https://collections.shakespeare.org.uk/search/rsc-performances/mic200301> (accessed 06.08.2018)

<sup>30</sup> 'Midnight's Children', BBC Radio 4 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0909rfb/episodes/guide> (accessed 06.08.2018)

<sup>31</sup> About, Tara Theatre <https://taratheatre.com/about/our-story/> (accessed 06.08.2018)

Fictionalising human interactions against historical events leaves room for events to be moulded to fit a story. The reader must be trusted to separate fiction from fact and to be aware that fact can inspire fiction. Creative writing is a theoretical micro-story set against the backdrop of a historical event. The novel 'Gone With the Wind' (1936) is a good example of a piece of creative writing that offers an imaginative interpretation of a micro-history. Fiction cannot be taken as historical education and neither is it possible to gather one narrative or message from all these novels and plays, but these stories are produced in order to provoke interest in the historical backdrop they are set against and to suggest that stories were possible in the circumstances. Although the mentioned arts were not produced exclusively for the diaspora, these are thinking prompts that leave room for the audience to consider enquiring into the past.

## **Media**

London based Sunrise Radio was founded in 1989. Sunrise Radio sponsors events such as the London Mela and the Asian Lifestyle Show. It was one of the first Asian radio stations in the UK and remains one of the most popular. Another diaspora radio station is BBC Asian Network London. Both radio stations target the young diaspora, however, neither produce history programmes.

There are frequently British-made documentaries about India during its colonial era and most of these are centred around the experiences of British expats living in hill stations such as Shimla. Recording original experience puts memory in the public sphere. The seventieth anniversary of Indian independence sparked a trend bringing Partition into public discussion in the UK in summer 2017. The BBC broadcast a season of Partition related documentaries that confronted Partition's human impact and raised questions as to why colonialism and the decolonisation process are not taught in UK schools. This prompted journalists and prominent British Asians in the public eye to reflect upon Partition and Britain's imperial history in the public consciousness. The trigger date is a yearly opportunity to ignite interest but has been largely ignored in the UK before and after the seventieth anniversary of Partition.

In August 2017, to mark the seventieth anniversary of Indian independence, the BBC aired several documentaries as part of its Partition Season, including a dramatised radio version of 'Midnight's

Children'<sup>32</sup>. As part of the Partition Season, the BBC broadcast a two-part documentary series, 'My Family, Partition and Me: India 1947', following members of the British Asian diaspora as they trace their family history and migration story as a result of Partition<sup>33</sup>. Although this was produced by the BBC and is therefore intended not just for the Indian diaspora to consume, much like 'Midnight's Children', it relies heavily on the members of the diaspora who took part. It shows personal accounts combined with archive research. Several other documentaries in this season also contain first hand accounts of Partition in an attempt for the investigator to piece together what happened. The advertising description for each programme emphasises how obscure Partition's history is with language to claim it features previously unheard voices from this *hidden history*. Indeed, it is a sensitive topic and the approach is not aggressive but rather a steady descent into understanding what people experienced, which is collective memory. The common emotions verbalised by those interviewed were fear and sadness. The use of the word 'hidden' in prompting the series indicates obscurity and that the information is not common knowledge. These assumptions were asserted by influential British Asians who publicly criticised the UK after the series was aired for not teaching colonialism and decolonisation<sup>34</sup>. The series opened up a discussion, although short-lived, about history and the school curriculum. This issue of silence was not only in the British school curriculum but also revealed to be among the diaspora.

The documentaries and those willing to give personal testimonies revealed that the many diaspora members after Partition's refugee generation were unaware of their predecessors experiences as it is too sensitive to discuss in the domestic sphere. These accounts did not show anger or grudges towards an enemy, nor is the enemy politicised (consider that these are produced and monitored by the BBC, not the diaspora) but what translates is empathy for the survivor's experience and how the survivor has to rebuild with the loss of relatives, homes and businesses. Moving forward is at the centre of the experience. The documentaries are inclusive of all religious groups affected by Partition. This allows for multiple memories that are contextualised to the event. The subtext here is that all groups suffered: the history of Partition cannot be reduced to simply one victorious side and one

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<sup>32</sup> 'Midnight's Children', BBC Radio 4 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0909rfb/episodes/guide> (accessed 06.08.2018)

<sup>33</sup> 'My Family, Partition and Me', BBC <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0916qmx> (accessed 06.08.2018)

<sup>34</sup> Kavita Puri, 'Break the Silence on Partition and British Colonial History – Before It's Too Late', The Guardian 31.07.2017 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jul/31/break-silence-partition-british-colonial-history-south-asian> (accessed 14.05.2018)



victim. In actuality, there is one collective memory across multiple groups who were divided by the event. By allowing multiple memories from different groups, an objective understanding of the past is allowed. The response from the well-known British Asians was not just from one diaspora group but from all those affected, namely India, Pakistan and Bangladesh (East Pakistan at the time of Partition). What is missing from the documentary is Britain's role in Partition and the internal political divisions that led to the creation of two enemy states. The documentaries were, however, collective memory and a step towards opening the discussion about Partition as a single event. These documentaries are a joint-effort by the diaspora and the BBC.

## Newspapers

More attention will be paid to titles and sub-title paragraphs for discourse analysis as these are what attract reader attention more than reading the whole article. Selecting articles used two methods: firstly browsing through archive pages looking for titles related to history and secondly searching the archives using specific keywords that relate to history (Partition, Pakistan, history, learn, massacre, genocide, British Raj, colonial). These keywords return results related to history and also about education, such as the word 'learn'. The same two methods were used in both case studies with different keywords. Eastern Eye is a newspaper aimed at Pan-British-Asians with articles are written in English to cover the whole diaspora, including all generations and ethnicities from the Asian Subcontinent<sup>35</sup>. An article by Laura Codling on Dr Yasmin Khan's research into migrant family history discusses how to carry out family research and observes that history books do not include family histories:

*Dr Yasmin Khan, an expert in Asian history from Oxford University, consulted passenger lists of ships to shed light on their stories. She told Eastern Eye the accounts she found were not ones detailed in history books.*<sup>36</sup>

The sub-title paragraph of an article promotes a BBC series about retracing migration history. The spotlight is on the last clause that suggests history books omit information. This alone can easily be misinterpreted out of context. History books do not include personal accounts and tend to frame events within a wider political and economic context outside social history. Passenger experiences require more micro-research, which Dr Khan does carry out, while Codling's subtext appears more

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<sup>35</sup> This includes Tamil, Bangladesh, Punjabi, Hindi, Pakistani, Kashmiri, Gujarati and Sindhi.

<sup>36</sup> Laura Codling, 'New BBC2 Series Will Reveal Migrant Family Histories', Eastern Eye, 08.08.2018 <https://www.eastereye.biz/new-bbc2-series-will-reveal-migrant-family-histories/> (accessed 08.12.2018)

concerned that these are not recounted in history books. The subtext delivers the message that history books are unreliable but this is only for retracing specific family history.

In 2018 Eastern Eye featured an article to coincide with Remembrance Day and challenged the propensity that Indians be divided by religion, a legacy of Partition:

*As the nation marks the centenary of the end of the First World War, historian Dr Kusoom Vadgama has expressed concern that the Indian soldiers are being split up according to religion – Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus. She has a point when she asserts: “They did not fight as Muslims or Sikhs or Hindus. They fought as Indian soldiers.”*<sup>37</sup>

The publication date of this article coincides with the Remembrance Day event held at the BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir during Interfaith Week. Although no instructive modals verbs or imperatives used here, instructions are indirectly offered to the reader where the writer affirms and supports Dr Vadgama’s statement (*She has a point when she asserts...*). The meaning here is that the historian is correct and the writer of the article is able to support the historian’s claim. The BAPS website about the same event lists the number of Indian soldiers who took part but does not divide soldiers into religious groups<sup>38</sup>. In Roy’s sub-title paragraph above, the use of Indian as an adjective as inclusive indirectly addresses the contemporary social divide of the former British Raj into religious categories that have been used since Partition, and its direct statement affirms how the historian wants us to view these social groups. This is linked to identity and implies that when discussing history prior to independence, religious differences ought to be removed as it is post-independence language and the language needs to be contextually appropriate. Simultaneously, there is an implication for shared history by being inclusive of all groups in the same experience.

In another article by Laura Codling in Eastern Eye, the article’s title implies story telling:

*Kololo Hill: Telling the Tale of Asian Expulsion From Uganda.*

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<sup>37</sup> Amit Roy, ‘Memories of War’, Eastern Eye, 01.11.2018 <https://www.easterneye.biz/memories-of-war/> (accessed 13.12.2018 )

<sup>38</sup> ‘Interfaith Remembrance Marking Armistice Centenary’, Baps Shri Swaminarayan Mandir London, 16.11.2018 <https://londonmandir.baps.org/2018/11/interfaith-remembrance-marking-armistice-centenary/> (accessed 12.12.2018)

*A new book exploring the expulsion of Uganda Asians in the 1970s was inspired by the “terrifying” prospect of being forced to leave your home country for another, its author revealed.*<sup>39</sup>

Describing the book as ‘exploring’ implies that it is researched and informative. The article goes on to say that the author did carry out research for the book but it is in fact a fictionalised novel. The book’s author, Codling writes, uses collective memory and historical research to create a fictionalised account of diaspora life under Idi Amin and fleeing to the UK after Amin’s declaration to expel Indian guest workers in August 1972. Essentially, it is a diaspora’s second diaspora experience. It is not mentioned how this research was carried out. In August 1972, Idi Amin announced Uganda’s Asian community had ninety-days to leave the country (Leopold 2020, p230). Idi Amin’s rule was notoriously violent and the book’s author states she ‘understood’ life was very brutal at that time, using the adjective ‘terrible’ several times. Similarly to the Partition accounts in the BBC documentaries, the book’s author is quoted as saying of her Indian-Ugandan family, “*They had to leave their homes, businesses, friends and family and start again with nothing. I found the idea terrifying*”<sup>40</sup>. Negative word groups are used throughout the interview such as negative adjectives (terrible, terrified, devastated), nouns (depression, brutality, violence) and verbs (flee, leave, accuse). The clusters of negative word associations have an impact. The article does not directly recount events or give examples but intent is to frame the period within negative emotions that are communicated to the reader.

In contrast to negative word groups, there is a separate article in Eastern Eye about the history of Bollywood that contains many positive word groups (remarkable, extraordinary, captivated, power, entertaining, blockbuster, aspiring)<sup>41</sup>. Bollywood is a major aspect of Indian identity and is easily recognised around the world. The association of positive language with such a huge and well-known industry generates feelings of pride and success. Eastern Eye has several articles promoting the introducing colonialism to the English school curriculum<sup>42</sup>. These articles do not use emotion

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<sup>39</sup> Laura Codling, ‘Kololo Hill: Telling the Tale of Asian Expulsion from Uganda’, Eastern Eye, 24.02.2021 <https://www.easterneye.biz/kololo-hill-telling-the-tale-of-asian-expulsion-from-uganda/> (accessed 03.03.2021)

<sup>40</sup> *ibid*

<sup>41</sup> Assad Nazir, ‘How India’s First Talkie Alam Ara Gave Birth to the Bollywood Musical’, Eastern Eye 03.03.2021 <https://www.easterneye.biz/how-indias-first-talkie-alam-ara-gave-birth-to-the-bollywood-musical/> (accessed 03.03.2021)

<sup>42</sup> ‘Schools Could Be More Thorough Teaching Britain’s Colonial Past, Minister Admits’, Eastern Eye 02.03.2021 <https://www.easterneye.biz/schools-could-be-more-thorough-teaching-britains-colonial-past-minister-admits/> (accessed 03.03.2021)

language or positive and negative word groups. These also advocate that the feminist movement and black history should also be taught in schools, making the issue more than just diaspora issue. The articles present the case in favour of teaching colonialism in schools, what the present school curriculum already includes and that Caroline Nokes, Minister for Immigration from January 2018 to July 2019, advocates teaching colonial history. There are other articles about Asian contributions to the UK that feature quotes from British historians and politicians who are not members of the diaspora<sup>4344</sup>. Their statements support the articles' case and offers balance. There are quotes from members of the diaspora with their memories that are relevant to the article's topic and these aid to illustrate that the article's irreverence. The same issue (teaching colonial history) is not addressed in any Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference.

Des Pardes is another British-Asian newspaper. Based in London since in 1965, Des Pardes is the most widely read Punjabi newspaper in the UK. Its website states that the Punjabi community is the largest ethnic group in the UK, with Des Pardes read by more than eighty percent<sup>45</sup>. The Des Pardes website does not allow for articles to be read online, only in print. With the spread and accessibility of online media, buying print has declined in recent years. For research, no outlets selling Des Pardes were found and neither could contact details to ask about history articles. Des Pardes could not be used in this case study. Limited online readability and that several of the website's pages are written in Punjabi suggests readership is limited to a bilingual diaspora (statistically the first and second generation) and print copies are sold in outlets known to the diaspora.

The London based newspaper, Asian Voice, established in 1972<sup>46</sup>, features a regular history column by Dr Hari Desai, an Indian journalist and researcher. Dr Desai's articles use secondary sources to recount history and inform readers, with a particular focus on historiography:

*The history textbooks in Pakistan are rather bias towards Hindus and there is an effort to rewrite the history.*<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Amit Roy, 'Why Statues Should Fall - Or Not', Eastern Eye 18.06.2020 <https://www.easterneye.biz/why-statues-should-fall-or-not/> (accessed 20.06.20)

<sup>44</sup> Sarwar Alam, 'India, Britain Mark Colonial Massacre Centenary', Eastern Eye 13.04.2019 <https://www.easterneye.biz/india-britain-mark-colonial-massacre-centenary/> (accessed 20.06.2020)

<sup>45</sup> About, Des Pardes [https://despardesweekly.co.uk/?page\\_id=92](https://despardesweekly.co.uk/?page_id=92) (accessed 05.06.2018)

<sup>46</sup> About us, Asian Voice <https://www.asian-voice.com/About/ABPL> (accessed 05.06.2018)

<sup>47</sup> Dr Hari Desai, 'Pakistan in Search of 5000 Year History', Asian Voice 05.02.2018 <https://www.asian-voice.com/Opinion/Columnists/Pakistan-in-search-of-5000-year-history> (accessed 03.12.2018)

Desai regularly challenges historiography. The noun 'bias' is made less accusative by being quantified with the adverb 'rather' to indicate a small amount, giving a diplomatic approach to an accusative claim (bias). It is well-known that Pakistani historians and school texts books have been widely criticised both domestically and internationally for being biased<sup>48</sup>. The statement confirms what is already known but the writer softens the claim with the adverb 'rather'. The use of the passive voice in the second clause places emphasis on the action (rewriting history), and who does it is either unimportant or obvious from the first clause. Desai asks for shared responsibility:

*Even today, the Congress is being abused from public platforms as one responsible for the Partition without bothering to understand that the first Prime Minister Nehru was not the only person responsible for Partition of India and the abuses are targeting Patel and the Mahatma as well.*<sup>49</sup>

The main takeaway from this sentence, however, is that blame should not entirely sit with Nehru and that others' roles have been ignored. To refer to a lack of action as 'without bothering' is informal language that indicates personal opinion and is persuasive language. Desai's other articles contained no personal language and this example above is the one exception. Questioning the Congress's understanding does not carry solid evidence. To claim that the Congress did not bother to understand something is vague. It would have been fairer to state that the Congress did not acknowledge something as this can indicate either being uninformed or choosing to omit what is known because it is destabilising. A state of not bothering is synonymous with laziness. Desai does not state what these abuses are nor are clear examples given, which suggests these abuses are common-knowledge to the reader and that the article is for an informed reader. To claim the Congress is lazy is not the same as stating the Congress strategically ignored something. Essentially, Desai dubs the entire Congress too lazy to fact-check. The subtext of Desai's statement is that silence leaves room for a bias. The statement does inform the argument that there is silence surrounding the narrative of Partition, which echoes the BBC's documentaries about Partition's 'hidden history'<sup>50</sup>. Having already seen collective amnesia as a trauma response and silence as a political tool, Desai's main message is a call to re-evaluate how history is framed. Silence is a theme surrounding Partition at a social and political level.

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<sup>48</sup> See Khurshheed Kamal Aziz, 'The Murder of History: A Critique of History Textbooks used in Pakistan' (2004, Vanguard) and Yvette Rosser, 'Islamization of Pakistani Social Studies Textbooks' (2003, Routledge)

<sup>49</sup> Dr Hari Desai, 'Sardar Patel: A Champion of Hindu-Muslim Unity', Asian Voice 03.12.2018 <https://www.asian-voice.com/Opinion/Columnists/Hari-Desai/Sardar-Patel-A-Champion-of-Hindu-Muslim-Unity> (accessed 03.12.2018)

<sup>50</sup> '70 Years On: Partition Stories', BBC <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p05b5fdg> (accessed 03.12.2018)

Desai's column does not include photos which allows the reader to simply absorb the information without the influence of imagery. Asian Voice's editorial page has many thank you letters written to Desai from readers<sup>51</sup>. Printing positive feedback sends the message to readers that Desai's articles are deemed positive and acceptable by the community. Critics are either none or not published. Desai's articles contain references to secondary sources, showing the information was researched. The purpose of Desai's articles are to inform. The very few instances of persuasion are to encourage readers to take a critical approach to a historical narrative and to research independently. Neither Eastern Eye nor Asian Voice appear to have an influential political alignment<sup>52</sup>.

### **Groups and associations**

Indian diaspora points of reference largely emphasise upholding traditions. The Hindu Cultural Centre in North London, founded in 1974, offers the diaspora classes in arts and culture<sup>53</sup>. The Nehru Centre is part of the cultural program of the High Commission of India in the United Kingdom and actively promotes cultural events such as lectures, book launches, education and film screenings relating to the Indian and the British Indian diaspora<sup>54</sup>. The Hindu Forum also focuses on promoting culture and religion<sup>55</sup>. Emphasis is on rituals without historical context. This indicates identity is viewed as performance and what the group does rather than what the group did.

For immigration history, the Indian Workers' Association, Southall, (IWA) provides a comprehensive account of the growth of the diaspora community in Southall<sup>56</sup>. The IWA was established in London in the 1930s to protect the working rights of Indian immigrants. In 2016, the IWA launched a film, exhibition and booklet to document its own history, titled 'Sixty Years of Struggle and

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<sup>51</sup> For one example, see: 'Back to Roots', Editorial letters, Asian Voice 20.12.2016 <https://www.asian-voice.com/Opinion/Editorial/Letters/Back-to-Roots> (accessed 17.12.2018)

<sup>52</sup> The British Greek Cypriot newspapers do state they are directly affiliated with political parties. Such statements are not present in Eastern Eye or Asian Voice.

<sup>53</sup> A Survey of Hindu Buildings in England Project Number 7078, Prepared for Historic England by Professor Emma Tomalin and Dr Jasjit Singh The Centre for Religion and Public Life, University of Leeds, June 2018, page 234 <https://research.historicengland.org.uk/redirect.aspx?id=7920%7CReport%202%20%E2%80%93%20A%20Survey%20of%20Hindu%20Buildings%20in%20England> (accessed 09.09.2018)

<sup>54</sup> The Nehru Centre <https://www.nehrucentre.org.uk/> (accessed 09.09.2018)

<sup>55</sup> The Hindu Forum <http://www.hfb.org.uk/> (accessed 09.09.2018)

<sup>56</sup> Indian Workers Association, Southall <https://iwasouthall.org.uk/> (accessed 09.09.2018)

Achievement'. The film features interviews with migrants who arrived in the 1950s and 60s and describes the discrimination they faced<sup>57</sup>. The IWA was a tool to connect the community for support and to inform themselves about their rights. Other interviews are available to listen to on their website and are around sixty minutes long. The downloadable booklet details the IWA's struggles from 1956 until 2016<sup>58</sup>. Issues included discrimination in areas of housing, employment and trade unions. The project largely focused on how issues were tackled. As part of their achievements, the IWA organised campaigns against poor working conditions and low wages for immigrants and to end virginity testing for women from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh at UK airports, and the political impact of the racially motivated murders of Gurdip Chaggar in 1974 and Blair Peach in 1979. The IWA is undeniably progressive. It focuses on achievements and why these were necessary. From the diaspora perspective, the IWA demonstrates how much a community can achieve, how to mobilise a community and organise changes and why these changes were needed. The project archives collective memory and presents it as a lesson in how to make public changes. It does not use hateful language to describe the discrimination faced or the murderers of Chaggar and Peach, nor does it use negative adjectives to describe the areas that needed changing<sup>59</sup>. These situations were presented factually, as were the changes. The project is an artefact of the diaspora itself, not of the homeland; it is diaspora history. The IWA sought to gather common issues that faced the group and solve these. The interviews are collective memory for having a recurring theme of discrimination and how the IWA tackled issues. This collective memory is part of social history for its impact on the political-economic status of a social group. The exhibition's delivery is highly informative. This can also be used by other diaspora communities as an example of how to collect grievances and achieve positive changes.

City Sikhs is an apolitical London based networking and educational organisation that claims to have over seven thousand members<sup>60</sup>. It focuses on career development and networking. Due to its business orientation, it rarely looks back at history. However, two articles appeared that link the past to the present and offer lessons in moving forward. In December 2017, London Mayor Sadiq Khan

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<sup>57</sup> '60 Years of Indian Workers Association: Legacy and Contribution' (film) <https://iwasouthall.org.uk/film.html> (accessed 09.09.2018)

<sup>58</sup> '60 Years of Indian Workers Association: 60 Years of Struggles and Achievements 1956-2016' (booklet), <https://iwasouthall.org.uk/images/iwa-booklet.pdf> (accessed 09.09.2018)

<sup>59</sup> *ibid*

<sup>60</sup> About Us, City Sikhs <https://www.citysikhs.com/about-us-faqs/> (accessed 10.09.2018)

visited Jallianwala Bagh, the sight of the Amritsar Massacre, with Jasvir Singh, chairperson of City Sikhs. Traditional enemies (Sadiq Khan is of Pakistani heritage), the event was reported by City Sikhs in a factual tone that did not draw on past rivalries or simplify the occurrence of a Muslim meeting a Sikh at a site of massacre<sup>61</sup>. In a 2014 article from City Sikhs, the relevance of Gandhi in today's political climate and the controversy of a Parliamentary rejection of a statue of Gandhi, focused on what is there to be learned without Sikh interests:

*There are many leaders who have had a blemished history and yet are honoured on the streets and squares of Britain. By removing those statues, we would be dishonouring our covenant with the past and whitewashing history. Instead, such statues should serve to remind us of the dichotomy of greatness and human frailty.*

*As British Asians, we owe much to Gandhi for his strong diplomacy, which helped many of our grandparents and great-grandparents to get the freedom they deserved and subsequently to come to Britain and settle here. We are British because of the sacrifices of people such as Gandhi as well as the revolutionaries who used other means to seek freedom from the Empire.*<sup>62</sup>

The many personal pronouns (“we would be dishonouring our covenant”; “our grandparents”; “remind us”; “we are British”) personalises the article, creates a relationship with the audience and simultaneously links the audience to the home country (“here”). The last sentence connects the diaspora to other diaspora groups who were also once part of the Empire, widening the connected audience. The argument is balanced and informative. It presents the case not just for a Gandhi statue but for statues of figures who have both a positive and negative legacy. The writer allows for ‘*the dichotomy of greatness and human frailty*’, giving space for historical figures to be both hero and villain because that is the human experience, and also urges us not to ‘*whitewash*’ negatives as these also serve as a reminder that of the complexity of human life and avoids labelling people or events as entirely good or entirely bad. The writer encourages all histories to be pulled together. Statues of leaders are a Rorschach test: the hero and villain cast is dependent on perspective and context, and neither can be fully handed over to one person. This approach places the symbolism of Gandhi and commemoration in historical context. The text also challenges the attempt to be politically correct by revising history to make it fit better into today's standards. By doing so, as the article states, what

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<sup>61</sup> ‘Mayor of London and Chair of City Sikhs Sisits Harmandir Sahib and Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar’, City Sikhs 12.12.2017 <http://www.citysikhs.org.uk/2017/12/mayor-of-london-sadiq-khan-city-sikhs-jasvir-singh-amritsar/> (accessed 13.12.2018)

<sup>62</sup> ‘The Relevance of Gandhi in the 21st Century’, City Sikhs 15.08.2014 <http://www.citysikhs.org.uk/2014/08/the-relevance-of-gandhi-in-the-21st-century/> (accessed 11.12.2018)



the artefact represented at that time (its context) is lost, history is lost and so are the lessons learnt from it. The rest of the article urges Britain to be confident to have a statue of an adversary located close to a statesman like Churchill. This is challenging but delivered in the interest of wider historical relevance to Britain as a whole. It is less about appeasing the Indian community and more about simply honouring history and allowing history to be read and accepting that meanings (of actors, in this case) are not static. This falls very much in line with Foucault's approach to discourse and history<sup>63</sup>. As with Desai's articles, there is a recurring theme of how to approach history and an encouragement to accept all perspectives. Like the IWA exhibition, this article is not aimed specifically at the diaspora but can be consumed by readers outside the diaspora. That it appeared on the City Sikhs website means it will likely only be read by British-Sikh members, but the argument is well balanced and presents a fair case that it can be read outside its intended audience without discursive statements that only the diaspora can put into context.

### **Schools**

As of 2018, there are thirteen Sikh schools in England that follow the national school curriculum alongside Sikh values. The Guru Nanak Sikh Academy offers contemporary Indian history at sixth form level, which is optional for students who wish to continue their education to university level<sup>64</sup>. A-Level History at one school is not enough to be a diaspora point of reference as consumption numbers are low but it is worth mentioning because it is the only type of official education to be found in a diaspora context. This A-Level covers Indian nationalism and independence campaigns from 1914 until 1948<sup>65</sup>. It aims to trace how Partition came about using sources and narratives. However, this is only limited to a small number of students who attend the school and choose to study A-Level History. To a wider extent, it cannot represent the diaspora.

### **The Sikh Pogrom**

While the London Declaration on the Punjab Independence Referendum in August 2018 gained only brief attention in media outlets in India, it was difficult to find among British-based diaspora

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<sup>63</sup> Foucault argued that meanings, definitions and audience shift over time (Powers 2001, p12)

<sup>64</sup> History Curriculum, Guru Nanak Academy <https://www.gurunaksikhacademy.co.uk/attachments/download.asp?file=348&type=doc> (accessed 11.09.2018)

<sup>65</sup> History Curriculum, Key Stage 5, Guru Nanak Academy, page 2 <https://www.gurunaksikhacademy.co.uk/attachments/download.asp?file=1098&type=pdf> (accessed 11.09.2018)

points of reference<sup>66</sup>. Asian Voice had a handful of short reports on the current activities of the Khalistan movement but historical context was lacking<sup>67</sup>. Calls for a separate Sikh state date back to the turn of the twentieth century (Kinnvall 2007, p106). Divide and conquer became an easy tactic for British imperialists, creating community borders between Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims in the Indian subcontinent. But the Khalistan movement is not as well documented as Jinnah's Two Nation Theory that proposed a separate Muslim homeland<sup>68</sup>. Sikhs for Justice is a US based NGO that campaigns to bring awareness and justice to the 1984 Sikh genocide that resulted from Indira Gandhi's assassination by her Sikh bodyguards<sup>69</sup>. As recent as 1984, religious divisions again drew clear discriminatory borders in the subcontinent. Sikhs Online is an online news site that launched in 2008 with an office in London that is targeted towards the Sikh diaspora<sup>70</sup>. Of the Khalistan movement, the site states the following:

*The Indian Government has already exhibited its anti-Sikh attitude by depriving the Sikhs of the fundamental rights through false propaganda of declaring the Khalistan proponents as extremists, murderers and traitors. It has been quite successful in concealing the facts from the world through its use of political power. To achieve this aim, there is censorship and ban on the entry of foreign correspondents and newspaper editors in Punjab since 1984. If any organization or individual reported anything concerning the miserable plight and the annihilation of the Sikhs, it/he incurred the wrath of the government which struck like a thunderbolt.*<sup>71</sup>

This paragraph is able to support its claims with examples (denying entry to foreign correspondents). The thunderbolt metaphor at the end is open to the reader's imagination as it provides no solid example of punishment. The rest of the article contains references from secondary sources. The language is direct and there are some emotive adjectives (miserable). It is written not to inform in a neutral tone but to accuse with direct language. The Khalistan movement appears to have declined in recent years, likely undermined by further claims of terrorism links (links to terrorism

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<sup>66</sup> Prasun Sonwalkar, 'UK Rejects India's Request To Ban Sikh Separatist Event in London', Hindustan Times 05.08.2018 <https://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/theresa-may-govt-rejects-india-s-request-to-ban-sikh-separatist-event-in-london/story-qQvW2SY2C92M0maHSTBLFK.html> (accessed 01.09.2018)

<sup>67</sup> Khalistan search on Asian Voice website <https://www.asian-voice.com/search?q=Khalistan+> (accessed 01.09.2018)

<sup>68</sup> Information about the Khalistan movement was difficult to find for this thesis.

<sup>69</sup> 'Demand for Justice', Sikhs For Justice <https://www.referendum2020.org/issues> (accessed 01.09.2018)

<sup>70</sup> About Us, Sikhs Online <http://www.sikhsonline.co.uk/about-us/> (accessed 02.09.2018)

<sup>71</sup> 'Why Not Khalistan?' Sikhs Online 21.11.2015 <http://www.sikhsonline.co.uk/why-not-khalistan/> (accessed 15.12.2018)

groups have dampened Pakistan's international relations and this could have hampered the Sikh community to pursue their cause). Nonetheless, it does reveal that there is an identity topic that is rarely approached. There was no mention of Khalistan in Desai's history column in Asian Voice. There is much silence around the Khalistan movement and the 1985 pogrom and this may be because these are too recent and still too sensitive to approach.

### **Case Study Two: Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference in London**

The Cyprus Wine Festival<sup>72</sup> is celebrated in Cyprus and London every year. Halloumi has become a staple food in the UK. Hubs of Greek restaurants and bakeries can be found in North London. The Greek Cypriot diaspora is vocal about the ongoing divide dispute with Turkey and hosted yearly demonstrations against Turkish occupation. The two main Cypriot ethnic groups, Greek and Turkish, are very much separate communities and do not inter-mix or share diaspora media. Links to all sources used in the case studies can be found in the footnotes and bibliography.

### **Motto**

The image of a bloody outline of the island of Cyprus with an accompanying motto *den xehno* (do not forget) is omnipresent among Greek Cypriot diaspora institutions and diaspora points of reference<sup>73</sup>. This image with its accompanying slogan is regularly printed in newspapers or on stickers placed in Cypriot-owned shop windows in community neighbourhoods. In the years after the Turkish occupation, the slogan *den xehno* has come to conceptualise the Greek Cypriot narrative, both abroad and in Cyprus<sup>74</sup>. The motto operates within a framework of the suffering and hardships of the largest and most actively politically represented Cypriot community, namely the Greek Cypriots. Michalinos Zembylas best describes the scope of *den xehno*:

*The most prominent themes of the Den Xehno campaign focused on the remembrance of the Turkish invasion, the thousands of refugees, the missing persons, the enclaved Greek-Cypriots living in the*

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<sup>72</sup> Cyprus Wine Festival <https://cypriotwinefestival.com/> (accessed 18.08.2021)

<sup>73</sup> Stickers of the motto appear in Greek Cypriot owned shop windows, restaurant windows and in the corner of websites. Where these came from and who printed the stickers is unknown but these are visually present in Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference.

<sup>74</sup> The translation of the motto into English is: do not forget. In the private sphere, Greek Cypriots are encouraged to remember their heritage and its destruction, to pass on memories of the the lost northern villages, the old way of life and to retain the Cypriot dialect that is still spoken among the diaspora (Cypriot speaks Modern Greek, which is spoken in Greece, while the Greek Cypriot diaspora speaks Cypriot ['kypraikia'] with a sense of pride and identity.

*occupied areas in the north, the violation of human rights, and the destruction of the ancient Greek archaeological places and orthodox churches.* (Zembylas 2016, p19)

The imperative voice signals a command and indicates urgency. The command to not forget refers to the 1974 Turkish invasion by the image of a half bloody Cyprus and promotes remembering the suffering of Greek Cypriots as a result of the occupation, remembering the occupied villages, the old way of life and remembering one's roots and heritage. The northern half of the island's silhouette is dripping with red blood. The colour stands out and the dripping image indicates physical pain, suffering and victimisation. The image of the island is not simply divided with red and white but the red parting drips into the south, the occupied area<sup>75</sup>. The dripping image and its colour is polysemantic: the drops could be seen as tears (to signal sadness) and the colour red connects with blood (conveying physical pain). The south is white which is synonymous with innocence and purity (Cyprus is yellow on its national flag to symbolise its red soil). It also indirectly reminds the diaspora that the known occupier is the cause of the sadness and pain: the occupier is violent. The image contains emotional triggers and creates emotional attachment. John Burke claims that the *den xehno* symbol operates within Pierre Nora's definition of *lieux de memoire* by providing a ritualised framework for the construct of historical memories associated with occupied areas (Burke 2017, p125-126). The motto and its image is distributed among the diaspora and used as the symbol for the majority of diaspora points of references used in this case study, such as newspapers and organisations. This motto, with its imperative command and tragic imagery and the motto's frequent visibility, quickly informs this case study that the act of the divide, clearly referenced by the imagery of a half bloody Cyprus, is still remembered.

## **Radio**

London Greek Radio (LGR) was set up in 1983 and broadcasts in Greek and English to cover the whole diaspora<sup>76</sup>. In a phone interview for this case study, LGR disc-jockey Vasilis Panayi, who used to present history programmes, said that he would like to start these again in the future and went on to emphasise the importance of featuring different opinions in such programmes and en-

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<sup>75</sup> To view the image: <https://cordelia.typepad.com/.a/6a00d8345269c569e20192ac19d14e970d-pi> [accessed 12.09.2018]

<sup>76</sup> About Us, London Greek Radio <http://www.lgr.co.uk/about-lgr/> (accessed 12.09.2018)

couraging listeners to form their own opinion<sup>77</sup>. Vasilis expressed concern with balancing competing narratives from groups such as Lobby for Cyprus and AKEL and concluded that politics, not people, should shape our understanding of history. As of Spring 2021, LGR does not broadcast history shows<sup>78</sup>. The history programmes that Vasilis used to give were in English to reach the whole diaspora but were broadcast in the middle of a weekday, which could have meant that diaspora members at work were not able to listen.

## Newspapers

The Greek speaking diaspora has two newspapers: Parikiaki and Eleftheria<sup>79</sup>. Articles were chosen for analysis with two methods: firstly browsing through archive pages looking for titles related to history and secondly searching the archives using specific keywords that relate to history (history, Turkey, invasion, EOKA, enosis, colonial). These keywords concern areas of Cypriot history. The same two methods were used in both case studies with different keywords. As July coincides with the anniversary of the Turkish invasion and an annual demonstration in central London against Turkish occupation, diaspora newspapers around July and August offer more articles about the Cyprus divide and the events of 1974<sup>80</sup>.

Parikiaki is a weekly Greek language newspaper that has been distributed in London since 1974<sup>81</sup>. In the last few years it began featuring an English section to broaden its readership to the English speaking generations of the diaspora and features articles on Cypriot culture, traditions and history. The Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference appear to mirror strong links to current affairs in the Republic of Cyprus. Backed by AKEL, the Cyprus Communist party and the only Cypriot party to promote bi-communal relations, Parikiaki regularly publishes letters and press releases from AKEL

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<sup>77</sup> I telephoned the LGR studio on +442083463345 12th September 2018 and spoke to Vasilis Panayi. I remembered listening to his history programmes many years ago and asked if he still does this. Vasilis said that although he no longer does history programmes, he would like to do these again in the future because it is important that listeners form their own opinion rather than what is taught by elders. Vasilis also discussed the aggressive stance of Lobby for Cyprus, how anti-Turkish sentiment is unhelpful to the cause of reunification and that it is important to learn what caused the occupation. Vasilis grew up in Cyprus and remembers the old way of life and when the Turkish and Greek communities had better relations.

<sup>78</sup> See LGR schedule page: <http://www.lgr.co.uk/schedule/#> (accessed 04.04.2021)

<sup>79</sup> See: Parikiaki online: <https://www.parikiaki.com/> and: Eleftheria Greek Newspaper online: <http://www.eleftheria.co.uk/> (both accessed 13.09.2018). These can also be bought in Greek Cypriot bakeries and cafes in North London.

<sup>80</sup> The keyword search showed that the majority of articles containing any of the keywords were frequently published in July and August. These months coincide with the invasion date.

<sup>81</sup> About, Parikiaki <https://www.parikiaki.com/about/> (accessed 13.09.2018)

that are highly critical of the current governing centre-right Democratic Rally in Cyprus, denouncing actions of the Cypriot president and the role of EOKA B in the Turkish invasion<sup>82</sup>. AKEL is notorious for arguing against the Cypriot master narrative version of history by allowing all the role and experience of all communities to be brought together. Articles produced by AKEL in Parikiaki often present balanced arguments, without emotive language and tend to argue from an evidential standpoint, making these persuasive to push for adjudicating responsibility on both sides<sup>83</sup>. True to AKEL's stance in Cyprus, the British branch of AKEL delivers a critical account of Greece's role and that of the majority Greek Cypriot community in the cause of the Turkish invasion. These articles from AKEL convey politicised opinions, going against the acceptable Greek Cypriot narrative (that Turkey invaded unprovoked, to be explored further in this case study) and includes the interests of the Turkish Cypriot community. Some of AKEL's recent features concerning history include the following:

*Without the treacherous activity of the Greek junta, Grivas and armed underground EOKA B organization, the foreign forces could not have fulfilled their [CIA and NATO] plans for the dissolution of the Republic of Cyprus and the handover of half of Cyprus to Turkey. This is the historical truth that cannot be obscured or deleted....<sup>84</sup>*

The adjective 'treacherous' can be viewed in two ways: it correctly describes the accompanying noun's activities (the Greek junta) and it also provides the reader with the feelings to perceive the accompanying noun (a traitor). The last sentence from this extract informs the reader with the imperative how to process the supporting evidence by stating the impossibility of denying the previous statement. Here is another connection to treachery with the noun 'treason':

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<sup>82</sup> On its website, the National Federation of Cypriots claims that Parikiaki was set up by members of AKEL: <https://cypriotfederation.org.uk/parikiaki/> (accessed 13.09.2018). Note the Den Xehno motto in the top left corner of the National Federation of Cypriots website. In the 'About' page of the Parikiaki website, it is not mentioned who set up the newspaper. The AKEL party website states that it promotes community between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot groups: 'Pioneers of the first Struggle', Akel, <https://akel.org.cy/announcement/%ce%bf%ce%b9-%ce%b1%cf%80%ce%b1%cf%81%cf%87%ce%ad%cf%82-%ce%ba%ce%b1%ce%b9-%ce%bf%ce%b9-%cf%80%cf%81%cf%8e%cf%84%ce%bf%ce%b9-%ce%b1%ce%b3%cf%8e%ce%bd%ce%b5%cf%82/?lang=en> (accessed 13.09.2018)

<sup>83</sup> AKEL does not blame or use anti-Turkish sentiment.

<sup>84</sup> 'AKEL C. C. Declaration on Turkish Invasion of Cyprus Anniversary', The Central Committee of AKEL, Parikiaki 20.07.2017 <http://www.parikiaki.com/2017/07/akel-c-c-declaration-on-turkish-invasion-of-cyprus-anniversary/> (accessed 12.12.2018)

*The aim of the treason committed [by the Junta and EOKA B], through the attempt to overthrow and assassinate Makarios, was the dissolution of the Republic of Cyprus, resulting in the Turkish invasion.*<sup>85</sup>

Both of these articles were published in July 2017 to coincide with the anniversary of the Turkish invasion. More examples of Parikiaki publishing AKEL articles critical of the historical narrative:

*The President yet again refuses to denounce EOKA B role in the coup and destruction of Cyprus.*<sup>86</sup>

The adverbial time phrase ‘yet again’ reminds the reader that the action is repetitive. The noun ‘destruction’ is subjective to the Greek Cypriot experience: ‘division’ would have been a neutral alternative.

*DISY party has always tried to distort history and pardon and exonerate EOKA B and its leader of the grave responsibilities it has for the Turkish invasion and occupation.*<sup>87</sup>

To ‘distort history’ is a direct critique but informs the diaspora that history is taught from a warped narrative. This is more direct than Desai’s ‘rather bias’ observation of Pakistani text books. The statement is direct and to the point. It invites the reader to question what is already known. Using the adjective ‘grave’ to describe responsibilities adds emphasis and depth to the extent of EOKA B’s responsibilities, implying very much responsibility.

*On the anniversary of the coup d’état, instead of the remnants of EOKA B feeling ashamed and hiding away, from the podium of the House of Representatives unfortunately they also attempted to deliver lessons on patriotism. A disgraceful act!*<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> ‘AKEL C. C. Declaration on Turkish Invasion of Cyprus Anniversary’, The Central Committee of AKEL, Parikiaki 20.07.2017 <http://www.parikiaki.com/2017/07/akel-c-c-declaration-on-turkish-invasion-of-cyprus-anniversary/> (accessed 12.12.2018)

<sup>86</sup> Stefanos Stephanou, ‘The President Yet Again Refuses to Denounce EOKA B Role in the Coup and Destruction of Cyprus’, AKEL C. C. Press Office, Parikiaki 19.07.2017 <http://www.parikiaki.com/2017/07/the-president-yet-again-refuses-to-denounce-eoka-b-role-in-the-coup-and-destruction-of-cyprus/> (accessed 11.12.2018)

<sup>87</sup> ‘Anastasiades - DISY Government Continue Attempts to Distort History and Pardon Grivas and EOKA B’, Parikiaki 27.01.2016 <http://www.parikiaki.com/2016/01/anastasiades-disy-government-continue-attempts-to-distort-history-and-pardon-grivas-and-eoka-b/> (accessed 12.12.2018)

<sup>88</sup> ‘Nazi Elam in Cyprus to Deliver Lessons on Patriotism - Disgraceful!’, Parikiaki 16.07.2018 <http://www.parikiaki.com/2018/07/nazi-elam-in-cyprus-to-deliver-lessons-on-patriotism-disgraceful/> (accessed 13.12.2018)

This whole statement conveys anger and disappointment and offers a correction on how to feel. The adjective ‘disgraceful’ is emotional and carries weight: it conveys disappointment at how a trigger date is remembered. Commanding that EOKA B supporters and those observing the anniversary as a positive should be ‘feeling ashamed and hiding away’ is an instruction on how to feel. Describing the patriotism that comes out of the anniversary date as ‘an attempt’ means an aim to achieve something that is not wholly successful. The whole statement conveys urgency and provides an example of what is at the crux of AKEL articles: to highlight discrepancies in the master narrative and fill those gaps. In the interest of political alliance, these articles serve as artefacts of AKEL’s manifesto thereby providing the community with a prism of stratagem that operates in direct contrast with the Lobby for Cyprus standpoint, to be analysed shortly. Whilst the aim is to be presented as to inform, it is largely to challenge the existing historical narrative surrounding one event.

Parikiaki has printed several other articles that are not from AKEL but comment on Cypriot history, as follows:

*Subsequently, 1974 also had a profound effect on Greek Cypriot nationalism as it truly became the ‘tombstone’ for énosis.*<sup>89</sup>

The end of the enosis movement (unity with Greece) described here with a death metaphor.

*Innocent men murdered by EOKA movement.*<sup>90</sup>

EOKA fighters are national heroes in Cyprus for their role in independence from British rule. In Cyprus, EOKA is remembered as being an independence group<sup>91</sup>. The British labeled EOKA a terrorist organisation<sup>92</sup>. Both are deserving for their goal and their tactics. The title of this article is shocking in a Greek Cypriot context, where the EOKA movement is largely praised but receives

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<sup>89</sup> Dr Michalis Michael, ‘A Look at the Turkish Invasion of Cyprus in 1974 and its Impact on the Greek Cypriot Psyche’, Parikiaki 28.11.2016 <http://www.parikiaki.com/2016/11/looks-at-the-turkish-of-invasion-of-cyprus-in-1974-and-its-impact-on-the-greek-cypriot-psyche/> (accessed 12.12.2018)

<sup>90</sup> ‘Innocent Men Murdered by EOKA Movement’, Cyprus Mail, Parikiaki 16.12.2012 <http://www.parikiaki.com/2012/12/innocent-men-murdered-by-eoka-movement/> (accessed 17.12.2018)

<sup>91</sup> There are several museums and monuments throughout Cyprus to honour EOKA fighters: Heroes of the EOKA Liberation Struggle 1955-50 (Community Council of Pelendri, Archiepiskopou Makariou C' 70, 4878, Pelendri, Limassol, Cyprus), the Struggle Museum (Democratias 24760, Omodos 4760, Paphos, Cyprus), Achironas EOKA Monument and Museum (E309, Liopetri, Larnaca, Cyprus), the National Struggle (EOKA) Museum, (Archbishop Kyprianou Square, Odos Agiou Ioannou, Nicosia, Cyprus) and the EOKA Museum (Sotira, Famagusta, Cyprus)

<sup>92</sup> ‘Terrorism in Cyprus, later Cyprus - EOKA’s Campaign of Terror’. The National Archives Website, FCO 141/3500, Records of Former Colonial Administrations: Migrated Archives, Cyprus, 1956-57 <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C13490973> (accessed 13.12.2018)



much criticism from AKEL. The article goes on to describe who EOKA murdered and how, using personal accounts by family members of the deceased.

*As a military dictatorship was established in Greece in 1967, relations between Cyprus and Greece became very strained. The junta was meddling with internal politics in Cyprus, much to the dismay of the late President Makarios. The situation culminated on 15 July 1974 when the Athens regime instigated a coup by Greek army officers in Cyprus, seeking to achieve 'enosis' – or union with Greece...Turkey used this and the military coup as a pretext to invade and impose its partitionist designs on Cyprus. On July 20, 1974 claiming to act under article 4 of the Treaty of Guarantee, the Turkish armed forces launched a full-scale invasion against Cyprus.*<sup>93</sup>

This is a chronological account of events that lead up to the invasion. The information is factual and informative.

In 2016, Parikiaki published an article from the Cyprus Weekly journalist George Koumoullis, reprimanding Cypriot patriotism towards EOKA B:

*Completely ignoring the Turkish Cypriots and their fears, EOKA, on the one hand, strengthened the nationalism of the Turkish Cypriots and the radicalisation of their leadership and, on the other hand, gave Britain's ruling Conservative Party the excuse to resort to divide and rule and play the partition card.*<sup>94</sup>

This one sentence alone conveys the impact, causes and consequences of a historical event. The delivery is informative, the argument is balanced and emotion is omitted. George Koumoullis, the author of the last article, is a UK-based economist and social scientist who regularly writes for the Cyprus Mail which is based in Cyprus, but his articles are also published in Parikiaki for the diaspora. Koumoullis's essays are often balanced arguments with supporting evidence and examples that point to history as a chronology of cause and effect.

Lobby for Cyprus features heavily in the second Greek language diaspora newspaper that began being distributed in London in 1998, Eleftheria<sup>95</sup>. It also offers an English section, though this tends

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<sup>93</sup> 'Cypriots Wake Up to the Sound of Sirens Marking the 44th Anniversary Since the Turkish invasion', Parikiaki 20.07.2018 <http://www.parikiaki.com/2018/07/cypriots-wake-up-to-the-sound-of-sirens-marking-the-44th-anniversary-since-the-turkish-invasion/> (accessed 12.12.2018)

<sup>94</sup> George Koumoullis, 'The EOKA Struggle: What Was It All For?' Parikiaki 04.04.2016 <http://www.parikiaki.com/2016/04/the-eoka-struggle-what-was-it-all-for/> (accessed 18.06.2018)

<sup>95</sup> About, Eleftheria <http://www.eleftheria.co.uk/aboutus.aspx> (accessed 14.12.2018)

to only focus on current affairs. Eleftheria describes itself as a Greek newspaper and has more coverage about Greece compared to Parikiaki, calling itself a Cypriot newspaper. Eleftheria also promotes Lobby for Cyprus and Theatro Technis, both of which seldom appear in Parikiaki. Throughout 2008, Eleftheria regularly published a '365 Great Stories from History' series in its English section<sup>96</sup>. Such histories included deaths of Byzantine emperors, Greek singers and poets, and events in Cyprus throughout the last century. This offers historical education about the Hellenic world, which includes both Greece and Cyprus. In July 2008, as part of the history series, Eleftheria released an article about the causes of the Turkish invasion. Though it does not answer the question as to why Turkey invaded and occasionally conveys bias indirectly, it is mostly written in an impartial tone: *Some suggest that the Turkish community was sabotaging the Cypriot settlement...In the summer of 1971, tension built up between the two Cypriot communities, and incidents became more numerous...*<sup>97</sup>

These tensions and incidents are not elaborated further and leaves ambiguity. The use of the passive reporting verb ('some suggest') shifts who makes the claim and focuses on the end result (the Turkish community sabotaged the Cypriot settlement) and it should also be noted in the same sentence that it does not use the terms Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot: this indicates that Cypriots are only Greek and the Turkish community are outsiders and foreign in Cyprus. This small detail separates the two communities and makes one a foreigner on the island and the other the owner of the island not needing the ethnic group identifier (Greek Cypriot). In the same article, the events of Bloody Christmas in 1963 are reduced to: *"By the end of 1963, intercommunal violence had broken out once again"*<sup>98</sup>. By not clearly stating what violence had broken out and who attacked who, responsibility is thwarted. The events are whitewashed. One could argue this is amnesia: blocking out the negative past.

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<sup>96</sup> See Eleftheria archives for 2008: <http://www.eleftheria.co.uk/archives.aspx> (accessed 14.12.2018)

<sup>97</sup> '365 Great Stories from History: 15th July 1974- The Beginning of Cyprus' Suffering', Eleftheria, 10.07.2008, p18 <http://www.eleftheria.co.uk/pdf/922016105258ELEFThERIA10072008.pdf> (accessed 12.12.2018)

<sup>98</sup> *ibid*

In December 2018, an article appeared in Eleftheria about the Turkish Cypriot bathtub massacre in Kumsal that occurred during Bloody Christmas<sup>99</sup>. The article claims that Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash used the murders as propaganda by mis-claiming that the family were murdered by a Greek Cypriot mob when the family were really murdered by their Turkish Cypriot father. The article directly states that the murders happened but responsibility is passed to the Turkish Cypriot community:

*Eleftheria today and FOR THE RECORD restores the truth about one of the worst Turkish lies and propaganda against the Greeks of Cyprus: that of the so called "bathtub" massacre by the G/Cs. This is of utmost necessity for the immediate information of our community, those who do not know the facts, but primarily for our young generation born here who do not know and have to face every so often the aggressive and offensive Turkish misleading posts on social media. The massacre occurred. But it was never executed by the Greeks of Cyprus. That that poor family was executed by their own father and husband. Turkish Cypriot leader Raouf [sic] Denktash and Ankara, used it against the Greeks of Cyprus as part of their distorted facts, part of their Turkish misleading propaganda against the Greeks of Cyprus.*<sup>100</sup>

This piece is incredibly interesting and needs to be broken down to be analysed. To ‘restore the truth’ is a very big claim and the article has no evidence, no references and nowhere does it state where its truth comes from (or what the non-truth is). ‘So-called’<sup>101</sup> is mocking and is used for a contested title. It mocks the event for being described as a bathtub-massacre, although photos show the dead bodies of one family in a bathtub. Bathtub is an appropriate adjective and massacre is an appropriate noun often used when whole families are murdered. If something is ‘so-called’ it means it is pretending to be that or it does not deserve its name. The article mocks the name of the event but the name does fit when considering an accompanying photo of a mother and children blooded in a bathtub. However, ‘so-called’ is in fact better suited to the writer’s claim that these are the ‘worst

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<sup>99</sup> Bloody Christmas was a series of violent inter-communal clashes in December 1963 in Cyprus. Both sides allege its community was massacred. See: Andrew Borowiec, ‘Cyprus: A troubled Island’ p55-56 (2000, Greenwood Publishing Group). It is difficult to gauge exactly what the Bathtub Massacre is because Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot sources hold the other side responsible. A mother and her children were found massacred in the bathtub of the family home. The bloody photograph circulates Cypriot media on both sides of the divide. Turkish Cypriot media claim the family were massacred by Greek Cypriots and Greek Cypriots claim the Turkish Cypriot father murdered his family. See: Rebecca Bryant, ‘Displacement in Cyprus: Consequences of Civil and Military Strife. Report 2: Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community’ (2012, Peace Institute Oslo).

<sup>100</sup> ‘Turkish Lies and Propaganda: The So-Called "Bathtub Massacre" and the Truth’, Eleftheria 13.12.2018, p20 [http://www.eleftheria.co.uk/pdf/1213201834032Eleftheria\\_958.pdf](http://www.eleftheria.co.uk/pdf/1213201834032Eleftheria_958.pdf) (accessed 13.12.2018)

<sup>101</sup> *ibid*

*lies*<sup>102</sup> - this is so-called because only Eleftheria says it is the worst lie and there is no evidence that it is a lie. Dispensing information about the event being of the '*utmost necessity*'<sup>103</sup> is exaggerated urgency when the same article goes on to say that the new generation do not know about the event. Collective personal determiners like '*our community..our younger generation*'<sup>104</sup> serve to connect to the reader and create unity and build trust with the reader. The writer directly says the younger generation have to face online attacks from Turkish social media but does not provide any examples of what platforms and what claims were made. There is sympathy for the deceased ('*that poor family*'<sup>105</sup>) however, it could be manipulation to appear to offer an amount of fairness and sympathy to the Turkish Cypriot community, almost mocking again. The article ascribes to a confession in a book published in 2004 by Greek Cypriot, Costas Yennaris, titled 'From the East: Conflict and Partition in Cyprus'<sup>106</sup>. Why this article appeared in Eleftheria is unclear, given that Denktash died in 2012 and there are no outside articles or secondary sources about such a claim. The identity of the murderer remains highly contested between the two communities and it remains unlikely to come to a definite conclusion. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has a Museum of Barbarism in Nicosia to present their community as the victims of genocidal Greek Cypriot attacks. Information about the museum is very vague but it is located in the Kumsal district<sup>107</sup>. There are several visitor reviews about the museum on tourist review websites that claim the museum is in the house of the infamous bathtub massacre. The name and location suggest the museum strategically highlights the Greek Cypriot community as barbarous and murderous.

Diaspora newspapers must be taken in the context of their political standpoint when being used as sources of information. This means placing the message within the context of its publication. Without awareness of Cypriot political attitudes and their roots in Cypriot society, receiving these history

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<sup>102</sup> *ibid*

<sup>103</sup> *ibid*

<sup>104</sup> *ibid*

<sup>105</sup> *ibid*

<sup>106</sup> See Costas Yennaris, 'From the East: Conflict and Partition in Cyprus' (2003, Elliot and Thompson)

<sup>107</sup> As with most museums in Cyprus, there is no museum website or exact address. There are some travel websites where visitors have contributed photos, information and reviews. See: Trip Advisor [https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Attraction\\_Review-g190383-d5814160-Reviews-The\\_Museum\\_of\\_Barbarism-Nicosia\\_Nicosia\\_District.html](https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Attraction_Review-g190383-d5814160-Reviews-The_Museum_of_Barbarism-Nicosia_Nicosia_District.html) (accessed 12.02.2019) and Lonely Planet <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/cyprus/north-cyprus/lefkosa-north-nicosia/attractions/museum-of-barbarism/a/poi-sig/1435171/358805> (accessed 12.02.2019)

articles could be confusing and viewed as contradictory. Parikiaki's AKEL articles confront and challenge the standard victim narrative, balances the Turkish Cypriot experience and offers context and details behind past events, while Eleftheria offers nothing on the Turkish Cypriot experience and is quick to shift blame and simplify events. Self reflection is also required, which is prompted by AKEL's articles. Both newspapers are highly charged and for different reasons: AKEL wants to persuade the diaspora to take a balanced approach to history and to consider the Turkish Cypriot experience, whereas Eleftheria dismisses or overrides it completely.

### **Groups and organisations**

Due the reference to Greece in its name, the Hellenic Centre was almost overlooked for this case study. The centre holds events, such as music performances, exhibitions and lectures, relating to Greece and Cyprus. There were few related to history and these were about the Greek War of Independence<sup>108</sup>. The events about Cyprus were cultural, such as art and music<sup>109</sup>.

Eleftheria's coverage of Lobby for Cyprus and Theatro Technis suggests an association. Lobby For Cyprus claims to be a non-political human rights NGO that promotes the withdrawal of Turkish forces and the unity of the island. The website focuses on the invasion itself as an isolated event and the aftermath<sup>110</sup>. Having combed through its articles, the website's only references to any causes leading up to the invasion are that there was inter-communal violence between the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot communities and a coup in Greece in 1974<sup>111</sup>, though this is ambiguous and does not offer a connection, much like the articles in Eleftheria that also reduced the events to just inter-communal violence. The website appears aggressively anti-Turkish and uses emotive language and superlatives ('worst human rights violations'<sup>112</sup>). The website frequently describes the current '*eth-*

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<sup>108</sup> Celebrating 1821, the Hellenic Centre <https://helleniccentre.org/events-culture/celebrating-1821/> (accessed 03.01.2019)

<sup>109</sup> These include photography book releases, painting exhibitions and the history of Cyprus cinema.

<sup>110</sup> See the Lobby for Cyprus homepage: <https://lobbyforcyprus.wordpress.com/> (accessed 03.01.2019)

<sup>111</sup> See the timeline, particularly the 1960s and 1970s: <https://lobbyforcyprus.wordpress.com/cyprus-timeline/> (accessed 03.01.2019)

<sup>112</sup> 'The Right To Truth: Gross Human Rights Violations and the Dignity of Victims', Lobby for Cyprus 30.03.2018, <https://lobbyforcyprus.wordpress.com/2018/03/30/right-to-truth-dignity/> (accessed 06.01.2019)

*nic cleansing*<sup>113</sup> of Greek Cypriots by Turkey and provides a timeline of Turkish attacks on Cyprus<sup>114</sup>. The website is tenacious in its victim narrative. It does not mention the attempts to eradicate Turkish Cypriot culture during the enosis movement. This is a reductive approach to history and displays a lack of shared responsibility. It fails to answer the question as to why events happened. No sources are referenced. There is a page of quotes from a report on the invasion in The Times<sup>115</sup> and The Sun<sup>116</sup>, a British tabloid newspaper, from Greek Cypriot witnesses and these are harrowing accounts with equally tragic photos to amplify sympathy for the Greek Cypriot cause. There are several Lobby for Cyprus articles firing slander towards Turkey, such as questioning Turkey's capacity to host the World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul in 2016<sup>117</sup>. There is an increasing amount of persuasive blog posts that tap into the sympathetic elements of the local diaspora population. Some of the articles are as follows:

*On 15 July 1974 the military junta then ruling Greece carried out a short-lived coup to overthrow the democratically elected government of Cyprus. On 20 July 1974, Turkey, using the coup as a pretext, launched a massive military invasion, purportedly to restore constitutional order.*<sup>118</sup>

*Turkey attacked the virtually undefended island state of Cyprus, spuriously claiming it did so in order to restore constitutional order, following a short-lived coup by the military junta then ruling Greece. Ankara's far fetched deceptions to excuse its acts have long since been debunked. Turkey*

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<sup>113</sup> 'ethnic cleansing' can be found throughout many articles on the Lobby for Cyprus website. The most recent article where it appears most frequently is: '47 Years of Turkish Occupation in Cyprus', Lobby for Cyprus 20.07.2021 <https://lobbyforcyprus.wordpress.com/2021/07/20/47-years-turkish-occupation/> (accessed 22.07.2021)

<sup>114</sup> See the timeline: <https://lobbyforcyprus.wordpress.com/cyprus-timeline/> (accessed 03.01.2019)

<sup>115</sup> 'The Terrible Secrets of the Turkish Invasion of Cyprus', Lobby for Cyprus 14.08.2017 <https://lobbyforcyprus.wordpress.com/2017/08/14/the-terrible-secrets-of-the-turkish-invasion-of-cyprus/> (accessed 06.01.2019)

<sup>116</sup> 'August 1974: Shock Reports From Cyprus on the Turkish Invaders', Lobby for Cyprus 14.08.2018 <https://lobbyforcyprus.wordpress.com/2018/08/14/august-1974-shock-report-from-cyprus-on-the-turkish-invaders/> (accessed 06.01.2019)

<sup>117</sup> 'Turkey: Hardly an Ideal Host For Humanitarian Summit', Lobby for Cyprus 23.05.2016 <https://lobbyforcyprus.wordpress.com/2016/05/23/turkey-hardly-an-ideal-host-for-humanitarian-conference/> (accessed 06.01.2019)

<sup>118</sup> 'Turkish Invasion and Occupation', Lobby for Cyprus <https://lobbyforcyprus.wordpress.com/turkish-invasion-and-occupation/> (accessed 12.12.2018)

*used the coup as a pretext to seize vast swathes of the island, ethnically cleansing 200,000 indigenous Greek Cypriots in a blatant land grab.*<sup>119</sup>

*Turkey had already captured part of Cyprus in its initial invasion on 20 July 1974. It used the flimsy pretext that it was “restoring constitutional order” following a short-lived coup to overthrow President Makarios by the US-backed junta which was then ruling Greece.*<sup>120</sup>

*On 20 July 1974, Ankara exploited the coup to cloak its initial invasion of the Republic of Cyprus under the fictitious claim that it was conducting an operation to ‘restore constitutional order’.*<sup>121</sup>

Context is not given for the four above titles. The context for the constitutional order was the original Cypriot constitution after independence that required Cypriots of all ethnic groups receive the same rights. Going against the constitution, the Turkish Cypriot community was marginalised politically and physically attacked by EOKA fighters (this is the inter-communal violence in the 1950s and 1960s that has been mentioned in other articles)<sup>122</sup>. The Republic of Turkey gave several warnings to Cyprus before 1974 to stop marginalising and physically attacking the Turkish community and Turkey sought support from the United Kingdom and United States. The warnings were ignored. Turkey still claims that the invasion was to protect the Turkish Cypriot community who were not receiving their share of what was stated in the post-independent constitution. To claim it as ‘fictions’ would have to mean that either the constitution did not exist (it specified an exact number of Turkish Cypriot government representation in government positions must be adhered to) or that the Turkish Cypriot community were not politically marginalised (the list of politicians in government in the newly independent Cypriot Republic would reveal that the Turkish Cypriot community were hugely underrepresented despite the terms of the constitution that set out how much representation the community should have) and that the inter-communal violence did not happen. By repeating the

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<sup>119</sup> ‘41 Years of Turkish Occupation in Cyprus’, Lobby for Cyprus 22.07.2015 <https://lobbyforcyprus.wordpress.com/2015/07/22/41-years-of-turkish-occupation-in-cyprus/> (accessed 12.12.2018)

<sup>120</sup> ‘Atilla Two: The Second Turkish Invasion of Cyprus’, Lobby for Cyprus 17.08.2015 <https://lobbyforcyprus.wordpress.com/2015/08/17/atilla-two-the-second-turkish-invasion-of-cyprus/> (accessed 08.12.2018)

<sup>121</sup> ‘1974: The Bloodshed Caused by the Turkish Invasions of Cyprus’, Lobby for Cyprus 20.07.2018 <https://lobbyforcyprus.wordpress.com/2018/07/20/1974-bloodshed-of-turkish-invasions-of-cyprus/> (accessed 12.12.2018)

<sup>122</sup> A keyword search of the website for ‘EOKA’ results in two articles with little information: <https://lobbyforcyprus.wordpress.com/?s=eoka> (accessed 06.02.2019)

same claim in four different pages on the website, it reinforces the belief that is stated. There are further claims:

*1950s*

*State of emergency declared in Cyprus.*

*Turkish Cypriot leadership declares aim of taksim (partition) of the island.*

*Outbreak of violence between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.<sup>123</sup>*

The order of how this is presented implies that the Turkish Cypriot community first announced taksim (partition), unprovoked, and this action by the Turkish Cypriot community is what made violence breakout between the two communities.

From this collection of material from Lobby for Cyprus, a lot can be understood: emotive language, negative adjectives and hostile verbs. The articles and headlines use a lot of subjective and accusatory language that there is no room for the reader to make their own decision. It is highly persuasive but without foundation. Lobby for Cyprus claims to be non-political. Its language is as provocative of stirring a conviction as the AKEL articles in Parikiaki. However, its intentions are the complete opposite of AKEL. The goal of AKEL's articles was to share blame, share responsibility, accept all communities' collective memories and to promote a historical narrative that includes all memories, including that of the Turkish Cypriot community. Lobby for Cyprus's goal is to shift blame to one community and forget events. For this research, Lobby for Cyprus were emailed to ask what sources were used in their articles but an answer was not received. From the Lobby for Cyprus articles, the diaspora learn that their ancestors were peaceful and the homeland was the subject of violence and ethnic cleansing by an outside force. Blame is ever present. Lobby for Cyprus events are often hosted by Theatro Technis, founded by the diaspora in the late 1957<sup>124</sup>. Every year, the theatre hosts 'Cyprus Week' to coincide with the anniversary of the invasion, focusing on events remembering the lost village communities. It has a largely Greek Cypriot focus.

The National Federation of Cypriots uses the umbrella term 'Cypriot' and aims to preserve Cypriot identity and culture, but it does not actively represent any of Cyprus's sub-ethnic groups such as

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<sup>123</sup> See the timeline: <https://lobbyforcyprus.wordpress.com/cyprus-timeline/> (accessed 03.01.2019)

<sup>124</sup> About Us, Theatro Technis [theatrotechnis.com/aboutus](http://theatrotechnis.com/aboutus) (accessed 12.12.2018)



Turkish Cypriot, Maronite Cypriot and Armenian Cypriot<sup>125</sup>. Its website reports on economic matters affecting Cyprus and Turkey and makes few historical references, such as this one:

*Sadly, Turkey has proven time and again that it cannot refrain from interfering in Cyprus' affairs.*<sup>126</sup>

While the rest of the sentence is fair, the opening adverb ('*sadly*') is subjective and persuasive. The Federation promotes national days in Cyprus and Greece, marginalising the Turkish Cypriot community and the other sub-ethnic groups of Cyprus. The website claims to have close relationships with the Greek, Jewish, Egyptian, Armenian and Kurdish communities. Its daughter association for young Cypriots aged twenty-two to thirty is NEPOMAK<sup>127</sup>. It offers summer programmes in Cyprus for diaspora members to take courses at the University of Cyprus to learn about Cypriot culture, heritage and history. The website states that the history course covers Cyprus from antiquity until its succession into the European Union in 2004, including British colonial rule, EOKA, independence, inter-communal conflicts, the Greek junta coup and the Turkish invasion. What direction this takes is unclear and more specific information from the university was unable to be obtained. The National Federation of Cypriots were contacted for this thesis to ask what it does to teach history. The Federation replied that it does promote history but no elaboration was offered to further questions. The National Federation is heavily focused on raising awareness for the Cyprus issue in the British Parliament and supports all UK governments in its bid to bring the issue to attention.

Each year on the anniversary of the invasion, the Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus issues a small booklet about the Turkish invasion called 'Cyprus: Still Occupied, Still Divided'<sup>128</sup>. This updated leaflet provides information about diplomatic efforts towards the Cyprus issue. It focuses on the Greek Cypriot diaspora and the consequences of the invasion and EU relations. It is available to download from the NEPOMAK website and is available to pick up at diaspora association headquarters. Raising awareness of the ongoing occupation is omnipresent among the

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<sup>125</sup> Our Aims, National Federation of Cypriots <https://cypriotfederation.org.uk/our-aims/> (accessed 12.12.2018)

<sup>126</sup> 'Cyprus Briefing: Turkey Sends Warships To Cyprus' Exclusive Economic Zone', National Federation of Cypriots in the UK 24.02.2018 <https://cypriotfederation.org.uk/news/cyprusbriefingeez/> (accessed 12.12.2018)

<sup>127</sup> About, NEPOMAK <https://nepomak.org/about/> (accessed 03.03.2019)

<sup>128</sup> 'Cyprus: Still Occupied, Still Divided', Published by the Press and Information Office, Republic of Cyprus, P.I.O 73/2018 - 12.000 <https://nepomak.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/PIO-leaflet-2018.pdf> (accessed 03.03.2019)

Greek Cypriot diaspora, as highlighted by the *den xehno* motto, but it appears that only Parikiaki confronts the causes that lead up to the event. Parikiaki is the only diaspora point of reference able to provide an answer as to why Turkey invaded.

King's College London holds a Greek Diaspora Archive, set up in 1991 and curated by Dr Maria Roussou, that focuses on Greek and Greek Cypriot diasporas around the world and emphasises the loss of identity after inter-marriage<sup>129</sup>. It omits Turkish Cypriots and fuses Hellenic and Cypriot identity as one. It traces the history of the diaspora, much like the Indian Workers Association<sup>130</sup>. The IWA included all Indian sub-groups and their achievements, unlike the Greek Diaspora Archive. It could be argued that this ostracises the Turkish Cypriot community from Cypriot history and further promotes the issue of different motherlands. Cyprus had the unique position of having two communities from both the former Ottoman and Hellenic lands but this type of marginalising deletes that uniqueness. Their achievements were none to be mentioned by the archives but rather this offers social history with little impact or contribution to the host or home country. It offers photographs and interviews of first hand accounts of the immigration journey and experience. Those who were interviewed also provide details about their villages in Cyprus, such as the main industries and exports. This archive is excellent for tracing individual family history.

### **Trigger dates**

Symbolic dates are controversial in Cypriot history for their conflicting meaning. The 20th July is the anniversary of the invasion - a day of mourning for the ethnic Greek Cypriot community and a day of liberation for the ethnic Turkish Cypriot community. Bloody Christmas is not discussed among the Greek Cypriot community but is remembered as a dark time for Turkish Cypriots. The symbolism of dates remains a contentious issue in Cyprus for peace talks. From 1975 until 2016, the National Federation of Cypriots organised an annual rally in London against the Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus on the anniversary of the invasion<sup>131</sup>. Announcements for the demonstra-

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<sup>129</sup> Greek Diaspora Archive, King's College London <https://kingscollections.org/catalogues/kclca/collection/g/greek-diaspora-archive/> (accessed 11.01.2019)

<sup>130</sup> Catalogue of the Greek Diaspora Archive at King's College London available here: [https://kingscollections.org/media/arc\\_cat/pdf/020139/KCL.KingsCollections.Catalogue.KCLCA.20139.pdf](https://kingscollections.org/media/arc_cat/pdf/020139/KCL.KingsCollections.Catalogue.KCLCA.20139.pdf) (accessed 11.01.2019)

<sup>131</sup> I telephoned the Federation on +442084459999 on 12th September 2018 to ask if rallies are still active and was informed that due to the increasing threat of terrorism in Europe, rallies had been replaced with 'action days' (picketing outside the prime minister's residence with a small crowd)

tion were advertised in Parikiaki, Eleftheria, on London Greek Radio and at Greek schools where groups of students performed traditional dances and sang folk songs<sup>132</sup>. Demonstrations have been cancelled since 2017 due to the increased terrorism threat in London and replaced by 'Action Days' in the Houses of Parliament to raise awareness for the occupation of northern Cyprus<sup>133</sup>. The anniversary of the invasion is mentioned every year on London Greek Radio<sup>134</sup>. The diaspora are reminded of the anniversary and what the date means for ethnic Greek Cypriots. The Indian diaspora do not perform anything on the anniversary of Partition. Remembering the date links back to the *den xehno* motto of not forgetting the event.

### Language schools

Greek schools were set up for diaspora children to learn Greek language as well as culture, such as traditional dancing, songs and important festivals. These are not state or full-time schools like the Sikh schools mentioned in the first case study. Greek schools are optional evening or weekend classes similar to private extra-curricular activities. The Greek Parents Association was set up in 1952 and covers the London and Greater London area<sup>135</sup>. In her study about left-wing supporters in the diaspora, Evi Chatzipanagiotidou (2012) claims that Greek language schools encourage racism and fanaticism by teaching nationalist history. Upon contacting the Greek Parents Association by telephone, the Association said that UK Greek schools follow the same curriculum as the Cyprus government (the one that AKEL is against), that language, culture and traditions are taught and the only history aspect is observing important dates in Greece and Cyprus as the two countries are the same<sup>136</sup>. When asked whether history is linked to forming identity, the speaker at the Association replied that Greece and Cyprus are the same country but that there is no time to teach history, and the call ended. The purpose of these schools is language, not history. Language teaching is their priority and identity is further taught with dances, folk songs and observing national days.

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<sup>132</sup> These adverts appear in the weeks running up to the anniversary and are covered as advertising space. I attended Greek School as a child and took part in the dancing and singing folk songs whilst wearing a t-shirt bearing the Den Xehno motto.

<sup>133</sup> These 'Action Days' include picketing outside the prime minister's residence at 10 Downing Street for reunification of Cyprus and the return of the occupied villages. The Federation also urges the diaspora to petition their local MP for the cause (see: <https://cypriotfederation.org.uk/jointheappgforcyprus/> [accessed 03.03.2019])

<sup>134</sup> The date is mentioned live on air and the 'Community' page of the website features an annual article about the event: <http://www.lgr.co.uk/category/news/community/> (accessed 04.03.2019)

<sup>135</sup> Greek Parents Association <https://www.greekparentsassociation.co.uk/> (accessed 03.03.2019)

<sup>136</sup> I telephoned the Greek Parents Association on 13th September 2018 on +442088891872. The speaker said she preferred to not give me her name.

## Results

Results compare how the two diasporas case studies deal with their history. Similarities between the two diasporas include shared experiences being former Commonwealth territories and the division of the ancestral homeland after independence, but the two diasporas also have different interests today and this affects how each diaspora circulates its history. The Greek Cypriot diaspora is motivated to reunify the ancestral homeland and the Turkish invasion occupies its media, whereas the Indian diaspora focuses on celebrating its culture and contributions<sup>137</sup>. Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference are highly politicised and one collective memory of the invasion as a singular event is very prominent. What is produced is an influential discourse that circulates one collective memory repeatedly and a wider historical context is not given. Indian diaspora points of reference debate politics with the goal to inform the audience. Several collective memories are balanced next to facts and context.

The diaspora points of reference used in the case studies highlight how diaspora consciousness manifests and demonstrates how these particular diasporas mobilise community through shared experience. The case studies intended to focus on textual discourse. However, discourse analysis can also be applied to performance. Although not a direct producer of historical education, diaspora places of worship mobilize the diaspora and play a vital role in diaspora consciousness and identity performance. Diaspora places of worship provide migration studies with a model of diaspora consciousness and their social resilience. These are an example of how cultural institutions transcend, survive and thrive. Statistically, religious attendance and belief is low in urban areas. However, these case studies about communities in the London metropolitan area show that although religious attendance and belief among the native population may be low, it remains high for diaspora communities in urban areas. For example, the yearly Diwali festival in London attracts crowds of thousands people. Not only does this transcend borders, it is also intergenerational. This type of identity performance is inherited.

Places of worship not native to the home country are an indication of the size of any diaspora, and both diasporas of this case study have a sizeable number of places of worship. These are costly constructions, indicating settlement intention and diaspora size. Places of worship are an expression of

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<sup>137</sup> Watch: '60 Years of Indian Workers Association: Legacy and Contribution' (film) <https://iwasouthall.org.uk/film.html> (accessed 09.09.2018) ‘

collective identity. These institutions do not offer any historical education about the ancestral homeland and their focus is on maintaining beliefs and performing rituals. Religion is a symbol of collective identity. This is a type of performative discourse: it demonstrates resilience. Religion is an identity marker that can be lost during movement (resettlement) or occupation by a foreign power. Religious performance shows social resilience and is therefore an extension of collective defiance. Hinduism, Sikhism and Orthodoxy date back centuries. Both diasporas have upheld their religious identity through foreign occupation and resettlement. These are displays of performative cultural conventions. Of performance and gender roles, Judith Butler (1990) claims that gender performance is free of the discourse of analysis and language. The same logic is applicable to religious performance outside the ancestral homeland. Performance brings a culture into existence through acts. The longevity of these cultural performances communicates resilience. These are not isolated to the past: they are not finished events or occurrences. Rather, these are continuous performances of old rituals. The English language plays a minimal role in religious practices, unlike diaspora newspapers and radio stations where English is largely used. It is in the language of the ancestral homeland that religious rituals are performed and beliefs communicated. Two elements simultaneously demonstrate staying-power: language and religion. These were not a type of historical education the investigation had been seeking but from a broader perspective, the historical origins of religion and language prove that these survive and are not isolated to the past. By sustaining these through time, resettlement and foreign occupation, it shows value for what was founded in the past that identifies the group. It answers the question of how diasporas inherit the history of the ancestral homeland: they continue to perform their identity markers and value these performances. This extends the life of religions and languages. These languages and religions have been displaced from their place of origin but they remain unchanged. By not thrusting this into the past, these acts that were founded hundreds of years ago demonstrate resilience and defiance. Only the Baps Shri Swaminarayan mandir had an exhibition about the history of the religion<sup>138</sup> and held events that were not related to religion but drew the Hindu community<sup>139</sup>. Neither the Greek Orthodox churches nor the Sikh gurdwaras were open for visitors outside the religion to tour the buildings like the Baps Shri Swaminarayan mandir and had no exhibition about the history of the religion or non-religious events.

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<sup>138</sup> 'Exhibition: Understanding Hinduism', Baps Shri Swaminarayan Mandir London <https://london-mandir.baps.org/the-mandir/exhibition-understanding-hinduism/> (accessed 12.12.2018)

<sup>139</sup> News and Events, Baps Shri Swaminarayan Mandir London <https://londonmandir.baps.org/news/> (accessed 12.12.2018)

Diaspora places of worship communicate historical education as an abstract discourse. By continuing to collectively performance the same acts and rituals outside the original settlement, history is being performed. Identity is defined by group belonging and participating. Resilience and defiance can also be preserved through creative means; what is noticeable about the Indian diaspora is how personal experiences and collective memory inspire fiction in the form of novels, plays and films. While meta-narratives are prominent in the Indian diaspora, these were not present in the Greek Cypriot diaspora. Story telling was not a tool to express the Greek Cypriot experience. This could be because the trauma and politics of the invasion are ongoing. Elif Shafak's most recent novel, 'The Island of Missing Trees' (2021), is about the Greek and Turkish Cypriot diaspora in London. However, Shafak is a Turkish national and not a member of the Greek Cypriot diaspora in London. For these reasons, her novel cannot be included in the case study.

Creatively expressing a story that the diaspora can relate to, preserves collective memory. A story is popular among the diaspora if it is recognisable to the group who have an experience of it. Not only does this preserve collective memory, it is also accessible outside the diaspora. Meta-narrative such as literature present collective memory and give space for conflicting voices to be heard. Michael Rothberg (2009) and Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984, 1989) both advocated the use of meta-narratives in order to create space for competing memories. This creates a dialogue rather than one discourse. The consistent aspect communicated through creative writing is that the backdrop with which the story is set against reflects historical events that occurred in the ancestral homeland. The story, which is the impact of the backdrop and events on the characters, is a fictionalised account of a theoretical micro-history. The characters's reactions and dialogues occur because of the context, which is the historical backdrop. The backdrop is the historical narrative, not the theoretical story. Meta-narratives invite us to build an imagined picture of what life was like during the story's setting.

Paul Ricoeur (2003) cites that memory is between forgetting and imagination. Ricoeur's statement leaves room for fiction. Imagination is both inspired by and can have an impact on collective memory. It fills in the gaps and breathes life into what is already known. Literature communicates through symbols. Imagination provides symbolism that is linked to collective memory. But fiction also has the propensity to distort the public construction of reality. Jeffrey Barash (2012) warns to distinguish between imagination and memory. By channelling collective memory creatively, a story is told to an audience that can collectively relate, and it is also accessible outside the diaspora. Its content is relatable to the diaspora audience because it was created within the diaspora from a fa-

miliar collective memory. The backdrop is the historical narrative that shapes the collective memory of the community. Elif Shafak (2010) opines that stereotypes are formed from meta-narratives. Indeed, fiction can reflect bias and impartiality. The characters are not authentic providers of oral history but are imagined, possible actors. Archives are where authentic accounts framed within a specific context are found.

Both case studies had an archive about the diaspora's journey. Oral testimonies were collected about the migration experience and framed within historical context to shape economic-socio-political histories that link the United Kingdom to India and Cyprus respectively. The migration experience is unique to the diaspora and gives the diaspora their own unique history that is separate from the ancestral homeland and the home country while still tethering to both. The Indian Workers' Association had a thoroughly documented and archived account of the migration experience and diaspora contribution to the community in the home country<sup>140</sup>. Challenges, solutions and oral accounts are concisely presented. The IWA's purpose is about collectively investing in the future. Like the IWA, the Greek Diaspora Archive at King's College London also offers migration history, separate from the ancestral homeland and home country<sup>141</sup>. Its presentation is different, however, in that the reader must specifically search for a family name or village. Similarly, the archive contained a collection of oral testimonies of micro-histories and the socio-economic patterns that impacted migration from Cyprus to the United Kingdom. Presented informatively for the purpose of documenting and informing, these two archives contain different micro-histories and give the diaspora a place in history.

Although the Greek Diaspora Archive serves the Greek Cypriot diaspora, it was not created by the diaspora and is for all pan-Greek speaking communities. The archive was set up by Hellenic scholars at King's College London and nothing was mentioned about the archive in Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference. While it is available in English to be consumed by successive generations, it is unclear how well-known the archive is and how many members of the diaspora use its resources, though clearly many diaspora families contributed to the archive. The Greek Diaspora Archive is more for tracing individual family history, whereas the IWA is aimed at the whole diaspora community and is easy for those outside the diaspora to consume. The IWA's exhibition and artefacts were

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<sup>140</sup> Indian Workers Association <https://iwasouthall.org.uk/> (accessed 09.9.2018)

<sup>141</sup> Greek Diaspora Archive, King's College London <https://kingscollections.org/catalogues/kclca/collection/g/greek-diaspora-archive/> (accessed 11.01.2019)

much easier to access through the website: the presentation was clear and information, photos and interviews were easy to access and clearly organised. Archives have the goal to inform. The IWA website was highly informative, providing much information about the diaspora's origins, growth and contribution. The Greek Diaspora Archives was not created by the diaspora and is useful for tracing individual family history but not for information about the diaspora as a whole community.

Newspapers in the case studies revealed much about diaspora identity. Indian diaspora identity focuses on what they are as British Indians and blending the two cultures. Greek Cypriot diaspora identity focuses on what has been done to them. Newspapers are a reliable source for retrieving diaspora historical narrative, making them a good starting point to find diaspora identity. However, the amount and quality of historical education offered through newspaper is questionable. The Indian diaspora did not have much but the quality was good. The Greek Cypriot diaspora was abundant in texts about the group's historical narrative but the problem lies in the quality. Discourse analysis allows for texts to be decoded to reveal ideology. Texts contain a message that allows a collective understanding to spread. Dr Hari Desai's history articles in Asian Voice deliver historical education and encourage readers to refer to secondary sources and negotiate competing narratives rather than overlook or contest them<sup>142</sup>. Desai's history articles were informative and provided historiography, readily offering competing narratives and demonstrating how to use both into one history and encouraging readers to question the existing narrative. The quality was good but the quantity was lacking. Several articles in Eastern Eye imply that secondary sources are not always correct but readers are prompted to make an informed judgement using more than one source<sup>143</sup>. These articles encourage readers to think critically and to assess sources. By applying discourse analysis to the texts, the material can overall be determined as informative rather than attempting to influence readers. The problem is that there are not enough history articles. In contrast, the Greek Cypriot community is preoccupied with looking back, albeit only at July 1974. There is a sense of being stuck in time loop in that the wider context of events causing the invasion was reductive. Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference lack context, making the narrative ahistorical and with the aim to influence readers, much less to inform. The purpose is to raise awareness for an ongoing issue and keep it ongoing. By keeping the issue ongoing, return of the occupied territory remains on the agenda. If the discussion stops and reminders of July 1974 stop, the division is accepted and the

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<sup>142</sup> See: Dr Hari Desai, 'Pakistan in Search of 5000 Year History', Asian Voice 05.02.2018 <https://www.asian-voice.com/Opinion/Columnists/Pakistan-in-search-of-5000-year-history> (accessed 03.12.2018)

<sup>143</sup> *ibid*



hope of reunification is lost. Reminders of the horrors of the Greek Cypriot experience of July 1974 and the collective memory of the event encourages sympathy from outsiders, mobilises the community to seek justice and builds support for the Greek Cypriot cause. The Indian diaspora newspapers celebrate its cultural highlights and accept that its history is in the past; Partition and colonialism are not major discussions.

The '*den xehno*' motto is symbolic of the Greek Cypriot diaspora's historical narrative because it is limited to July 1974. A diaspora having a motto and an accompanying symbol is an extension of the need to keep a particular issue ongoing. The motto is polysemantic: the drips look like tears, symbolic of sadness, and the colour is blood, indicating physical pain. Without revealing the identity, the perpetrator is already shown to be brutish. Red is also a colour used often in Turkish nationalism and not used in Hellenic or Cypriot nationalism, which tends to favour white, yellow and blue. From this second case study, history for the Greek Cypriot diaspora begins and ends in July 1974. The causes that lead up to the island's demarcation, thereby placing the event within its historical context of the Cold War, are only occasionally considered by Parikiaki but without references to any secondary sources as supporting evidence and not offered in much detail<sup>144</sup>. This indicates that the stated information should be assumed to be common knowledge that the group has chosen to ignore. There are no accounts about life under British rule or the Ottoman period and only a handful of Hellenic achievements were featured in articles in Eleftheria. Parikiaki and Eleftheria reveal two competing reflections on the past but neither are fulfilling historical education by only informing on the experience of one ethnic group. Discourse analysis revealed much emotional language circulates in these newspapers and the underlying effect is that the language influences the reader. One collective memory is conveyed, that of the Greek Cypriots. Due to these newspapers and websites such as Lobby for Cyprus and the National Federation of Cypriots referencing the past with abundant emotive language but without supporting evidence, the Greek Cypriot diaspora relies on collective memory. The message regarding the island's demarcation is accusatory but only AKEL are able to provide a brief outline that shows other actors were involved. Several books, articles and journals criticise Cyprus' memory politics and Greek Cypriot society's tendency to forget certain aspects of its history, challenging the Greek Cypriot victim narrative (see Papadakis and Bryant 2012; Doudaki and Carpentier 2018; Burke 2017; Bryant 2004; Chatzipanagiotidou 2012).

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<sup>144</sup> 'Cyprus: AKEL On the Anniversary of the Fascist Coup of the Greek Junta and EOKA B', Parikiaki 17.07.2017 <http://www.parikiaki.com/2017/07/cyprus-akel-on-the-anniversary-of-the-fascist-coup-of-the-greek-junta-and-eoka-b/> (accessed 07.12.2018)

Observing diaspora's juxtaposition of lacking of historical context but having many attachments to the ancestral homeland, Victoria Redclift confirmed an ahistorical past reinvented in the home country (Redclift 2017, p2). Redclift goes on to describe how this ahistorical past is used in history retelling and forgetting to mobilise and demobilise the diaspora. Redclift's observation of an ahistorical diaspora consciousness compliments Claire Alexander's view that diaspora memory and historical narrative frequently includes silences, erasures and forgetting (Alexander 2012, p595). The diaspora consciousness is ahistorical because of these silences, erasures and forgetting.

Indian diaspora points of reference tend to work towards being linear; that is to say, going forward in one direction, whereas Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference circle in an echo-chamber of the island's divide in July 1974. It is important to place this narrative within its wider context of current affairs: there is a political agenda because the divide is seen as temporary and the dispute for the return of the occupied area is ongoing. Alon Confino's (2017) work found connections between collective social memory and contemporary cultural representations. These connections are seen in the Greek Cypriot diaspora. Confino's work states that memory is the product of the relationship between representation of the past and the full spectrum of symbolic representations available in the given culture (Confino 2007, p1391). The given culture is the way the group views itself, meaning its identity. This identity is constructed according to what is chosen to be remembered from the past to define the present. The Greek Cypriot victim narrative is used today by the Republic of Cyprus and the diaspora to advocate return of the occupied northern territory and damage Turkey's international reputation. A single collective memory in the Indian diaspora could not be found but there were fragments of memories in meta-narratives, though these are not collective memories that represent the community. Unlike Partition, July 1974 is not a finalised event and this explains the Greek Cypriot diaspora's focus on July 1974. If the divide is treated as a finished past event, it becomes acceptable, but the northern occupation has never been accepted by the Republic of Cyprus and is not legally recognised around the world or by the United Nations. Despite critiques about this July 1974 echo-chamber, the dispute for the illegal occupation shapes Cypriot politics both in the republic and among the diaspora. For that reason, the historical narrative must be framed within a contemporary narrative. Cypriots around the world have an agenda: to restore the occupied part of the island and thwart Turkish ambitions by damaging its international reputation. Their collective memory is politicised and has to be ahistorical in order to achieve its goal. Tense Indian-Pakistani

relations, such as nuclear weapons and the Kashmir conflict, were not in Indian diaspora points of reference for historical purposes and only mentioned as current affair news<sup>145</sup>.

The Indian diaspora made a small attempt to contextualise the history of the ancestral homeland. However, the IWA archives were impressive. The Greek Cypriot diaspora's narrative of July 1974 is constant but ahistorical because the island's demarcation is not framed within any context. The Cold War, Greco-Turkish relations and Western influence in the eastern Mediterranean shaped events in Cyprus. By omitting this context and therefore ignoring the causes leading up to the invasion, the narrative only focuses on the Greek Cypriot collective memory of the invasion itself, without any context and without the Turkish Cypriot collective memory of life in Cyprus before, during and after the invasion. Taking a discourse analysis approach to the case studies allowed the differences between history and collective memory to emerge, as well as the value of context. Discourse analysis has been a highly useful tool to dissect the historical narrative and subsequently highlight identity construction. Despite the critique about relying on collective memory and upholding an ahistorical narrative, collective memory ought not to be dismissed as invaluable. In fact, collective memory is highly useful to spotlight a group's identity and explain the origins of group mentality, once it has been recognised as collective memory and not history. The 'collective' aspect of memory is social history. The theoretical makeup of collective memory is important to discuss in order to highlight how and why collective memory becomes more dominant over history, to elaborate on its collective mobilisation and to understand why memory is politicised.

### **Collective Memory and Memory Politics**

The two case studies of this thesis look at how history is retold and determine if historical enquiry relies on collective memory. Two issues arise: how to discern collective memory and history, and why collective memory is there. Identity that is constructed out of one collective memory is susceptible to being ahistorical. This one collective memory has a purpose but when it is the only historical narrative and has no context, it is 'memory politics'. Memory politics institute elitism and tribalism. Collective memory is purposefully constructed by the diaspora. This memory is inherited by successive generations and is assumed to be the only historical narrative. Questioning the narrative and the collective memory demobilises and ostracises individuals from the group. It is socially ac-

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<sup>145</sup> See: 'Kashmir An Unfinished Agenda of Partition: Pak Army Chief', Asian Voice 10.06.2015 <https://www.asian-voice.com/News/International/Kashmir-an-unfinished-agenda-of-partition-Pak-army-chief> (accessed 28.10.2018)

ceptable to follow the narrative. Having a common term to refer to (such as Partition or Turkish invasion) enables memories to be created after leaving the homeland, whether it be a forced or voluntarily departure. Significant dates have a different meaning: a date can be a tragedy or a victory. For example, the creation of Pakistan can be viewed as the creation of a rival state or the creation of a Muslim homeland; the Turkish invasion of Cyprus can be viewed as the defence of the Turkish Cypriot community or the violent demarcation of a country by an outside force. The group chooses what is worth remembering and what is not. The synchronicity of multiple memories sometimes has political interests: more often than not, to divide. By presenting one collective memory, other groups are marginalised and overlooked. Relying on one collective memory to provide us with a full scope of history is unreliable.

This investigation into how diasporas's inherit history pivots around collective memory and collective amnesia that culminate in memory politics. History and memory are binary approaches to the past and this duality is at the crux of this study: negotiating memory and history. The dangerous propensity towards a socially palatable interpretation of the past leads successive generations to inherit a narrative based on collective memory and this shapes identity politics. Amnesia is the accumulative effect of failing to contextualise memories. Maurice Halbwachs (1992) first delivered the concept of collective memory as a memory that, although determined by individuals, is socially framed. Memory is constructed by a group for that group's identity. Group identity is bound by memories that serve to create a specific relationship between the past and present.

Collective memory is by no means inaccurate or factually incorrect. On the contrary, collective memory is social history and social experiences are varied. Collective memory is a collective human experience of something that happened. However, social groups are susceptible to a collective echo-chamber, namely a collective memory that circulates narratives and representations that are categorised as positive and negative, or victim and perpetrator. Discourse analysis enquires what the message being transmitted is. Discourse analysis is how we recognise whether the message aims to inform or influence our perspective of history. Collective memory is informative; it provides us with social history that documents human experience. When a historical narrative is built on one collective memory, it strays from being informative: the discourse of the historical narrative that is one collective memory aims to influence more than it does to inform. A historical narrative can also become a political tool: the case studies showed that the Greek Cypriot diaspora relies on collective memory and politicises its historical narrative. There is a political agenda in the present time: the

island's division is temporary and unaccepted. The Indian diaspora demonstrates silence in that the historical narrative of the ancestral homeland is not a frequently discussed topic. There is no political agenda and therefore, no purpose to circulate a political narrative. The Indian diaspora's archives at the IWA frame the diaspora's position in Britain and highlight the diaspora's unique immigration collective memory. The IWA archives are social history by balancing collective memory with history.

History recalls the human experience but the human experience is diverse. There is not one memory; collective memory is built on multiple memories with a common framework. It is a collection of voices with a common narrative. Memory and society are interlinked. Pierre Nora (1989) opined that the nation state is the memory frame; William Hirst and David Manie (1996) sought the family, and Jan Assmann and Paul Ricœur (2006) viewed memory as generational. Borrowing fragments from these memory concepts brings us closer to a contemporary interpretation similar to Thomas Lacroix and Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2013) who explored contemporary refugee memory.

Halbwachs (1992) attests that individuals are able to localise and recall memories through membership to a particular social group. This hypothesis is extendable to diaspora communities. For Halbwachs, memories exist in relation to society around us. In other words, our memories precipitate according to our social surroundings. These memories are socially acceptable and enable group belonging. Jan Assmann (1995) and Michael Rothberg (2009) opine that memory is history with an identity marker. Shared memory confirms group membership or belonging. In multicultural societies, there can be struggles for groups to form identities, particularly diaspora identity separate from the host or home country. Collective memories become merit for group formation and identity construction. The successive generations have no experience of events that are part of the given collective memories but they perform traditions and ceremonies from a fossilised time in the ancestral homeland. Transmitting these acts is also part of the collective memories of group belonging. Collective memory is primarily group memory, meaning it is conveyed out of likemindedness. Likemindedness begins the slow decent into tribalism.

Immigration raises two questions: how to teach history to migrant societies who do not share the same historical frame as the host nation and how to create memories if people move. Immigration leads to different interpretations of good and bad that manifest as who or what is celebrated or demonised. Daniel Levy and Natan Szneider (2002) sought to address the issue of collective memory

in times of globalisation and transnationalism. Levy and Snzeider's "cosmopolitan memory" proposes a form of memory that transcends ethnic and national boundaries and asks if one can remember an event they have no direct link to. Their essay addresses collective memories in the age of globalization and asks whether globalization dissolves collective memory. Diasporas neither fully connect with the home country nor the ancestral homeland, instead balancing somewhere between the two. Their collective memories belong to a mythical place in another time. Peggy Levitt (2004) observes that transnational migration means belonging to more than one society and that diasporas possess ties and roots to more than one place. The collective memories of diasporas are likely to differ from those in the homeland because the home country does not create their history, leaving the onus of representing memories on the diaspora community abroad. This presents a tangled issue here of the relevance of learning history and heritage about the ancestral homeland and the home country. Both histories are valuable as the diaspora has connections to both but these are loose connections that mean always being slightly outside both identities. For this reason, it seems only natural that the diaspora lean towards collective memory as one source of history. This confusion between collective memory and history is inherited but may not be recognised as a confusion, perhaps purposefully or accidentally. Due to the tribal nature of group belonging, it is socially unacceptable for members to question the group's beliefs or mentality. Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference revealed very much discourse surrounding the island's invasion as an isolated event. The Indian Worker's Association's exhibition, 'Sixty Years of Struggle and Achievement', provided an example of how to frame collective memory within its context and illustrate its use towards showing development and achievement.

Beyond asking whether memories are accurate interpretations of the past to shape an entire narrative, an underlying issue here is the role that history plays in society. Alongside history being an identity tracker, it is a tool to forge the future. Writing for the New York Times in 1986, Judith Miller observed:

*"...most West Europeans would agree that knowledge of the past is essential if there is to be genuine reconciliation among former enemies in a society, and if future catastrophes are to be avoided"*<sup>146</sup>.

In other words, history is a learning opportunity. Miller was observing Western European attitudes towards the memory of the Holocaust. The Holocaust has become a reference point for genocide

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<sup>146</sup> Judith Miller, 'Erasing the Past: Europe's Amnesia about the Holocaust', The New York Times 16.06.1986 <https://www.nytimes.com/1986/11/16/magazine/erasing-the-past-europe-s-amnesia-about-the-holocaust.html> (accessed 01.08.2018)

and contemporary collective memory. History is thus an anthology of past models for human behaviour. By bridging the gap between the past and the future, contemporary society is able to be structured. Jonathan Friedman (1992) comments that history offers *“the aspiration to comprehend where we have come from and where we are going...constructing the past is an act of self-identification”* (p856). Diasporas are suspended between the history of the ancestral homeland and the contemporary geo-political and economic context of the home country. In the case of transnationalism, the diaspora community is responsible for representing their own past and this strengthens their identity. Fundamentally, history facilitates existentialism. When a particular history is ignored, a warped identity is created.

Partition and the Turkish invasion shape diaspora self-image and the next generation inherit the memories. The case studies showed that the Indian diaspora were relatively silent on Partition and the Greek Cypriot diaspora were very vocal about the Turkish invasion. Collective memory is loud and collective amnesia is silent. Whether loud or silent, a collective reaction to events is inherited. Diaspora memory is on the edge of cosmopolitan memory owing to its spatial distance. Jeffrey Olick argues that the process of remembering does not involve the reappearance or reproduction of an experience in its original form but the cobbling together of a new memory (Olick 1997, p340). This type of cobbling together yields a more accurate understanding of the memory process and bridges the gap between diaspora collective memory and cosmopolitan memory. The ancestral homeland cannot trace or preserve the life histories of those who immigrate. That means that the immigrating first generation become the custodians of history. Diaspora collective memory, like identity, floats somewhere between the home country and ancestral homeland: it is a transnational memory.

Every society sets up images of the past that reflect its society and culture, including sub-groups such as diasporas where spatial distance strengthens the desire to preserve cultural performance. Diaspora places of worship are an example of cultural performance that has survived time. Cultural performance are an expression of social norms that determine group belonging. Alon Confino (1997) proposes connections between cultural history and memory studies, articulating that collective memory is an exploration of a shared identity that unites a social group. Confino takes the notion of memory as the way in which people construct a sense of the past and highlights its importance to successive generations (Confino 1997, p1386). Confino investigates the role of the past in

society, why certain memories are forgotten or conserved, how memory is constructed and its relationship to power, which introduces the issue of memory politics:

*“The ‘politics of memory’ has emerged as a leading theme in the growing body of literature about memory. Memory is viewed here as a subjective experience of a social group that essentially sustains a relationship of power. Simply stated, it is who wants whom to remember what and why”.* (ibid p1393).

Memory, like discourse, is an exercise of power. Memory’s discourse is decides who or what is good and bad and what is remembered and forgotten. It creates elitism that produces tribalism. Memory selectivity influences group identity and shapes bias. Successive diaspora generations are unlikely to be aware the collective memory they have inherited is a construction of memory selectivity and amnesia. Amnesia occurs when the official narrative is reconstructed by removing what is destabilising to the representations of identity. Forgetting and memorialising are attached to politicising. Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn (1989) ask why we need to remember the past if memories are strategically shaped, but their work goes on to offer a resolution:

*“The precise terms and definitions are less important [...] than the working principle that whenever memory is invoked we should be asking ourselves: by whom, where, in which context, against what?”* (ibid p2).

The answer to these questions are discourse analysis and context. There is a need to look behind the narrative and discover the strategically conveyed subtext and within what timeframe it was produced. Despite strategic amnesia, collective memory offers an insight into group mentality: collective memory reveals how a group views itself and how the group wants to be seen by outsiders. Collective memory should not be dismissed simply because it is subjective; rather, it is still a highly valuable starting point for tracing identity construction.

Memory selectivity and its tension with history sheds light on how a society sees itself and how its identity is shaped in relation to the enemy (“the other”). Memory selectivity puts society’s identity politics up for analysis and reveals mentality. Confino seeks connections between memory, culture, politics and social experiences, eventually determining that deliberate forgetting is the key to binding these concepts together. Diaspora historical narratives are porous when relying on one single collective memory but indicate a transparent mentality. Confino explores the role of mentality in how societies approach the past (Confino 1997, p1389). Collective memory is essentially an analysis of collective mentality: a narrative that is socially palatable. Collective memory is what mem-



bers of the diaspora want to hear and it is what influences how successive generations behave. The diaspora's mentality is demonstrated with religious attendance, and prejudices and celebrations are shaped by of collective memory. These are behaviours that are a product of group mentality.

Memory is a tool for storytelling and thus employs itself between truth and reality. In a talk by the writer Elif Shafak titled, 'The Politics of Fiction' (2010), Shafak addresses the dangers of living in like-minded communities, warning that like-mindedness translates as socially acceptable thinking that omits critique, analysis and negotiation<sup>147</sup>. A social group is trained to be like-minded. Shafak states that identity politics affect the way stories are circulated and are an attempt to label and divide. These stories could be fiction or collective memories. Either way, a collective echo-chamber does not allow for self-reflection and leaves no room for context but continues on an endless loop that dictates who is right, wrong, good and bad. Tribalism is the result. Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka (1995) observe that memory holds distinctions between those who belong and those who do not (Assmann et al. 1995, p130). One belongs to a group because one shares the group memory, or at least believes in its conviction. Hierarchies are created internally and externally. Elitism takes hold. Agenda lies behind collective mentality. With regards to my case studies, it is important to remember that the Greek Cypriot community has a contemporary agenda (the removal of Turkish occupation from the northern part of the island and thwarting Turkish ambitions in the international arena), thus employing a dominant discourse. The Indian community has no immediate agenda.

Reading through the histories of India and Cyprus reveals conflict as an agency of displacement, though this is not always the case as economic and social factors also contributed towards migration before conflict. In matters of conflict history, the problem of shifting responsibility arises. Lacroix and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh define exilic memory as a collectively shared representation of the traumatic conditions that led to the dispersion of the group from the homeland (Lacroix et al. 2013, p687). Screen memory, a phenomenon investigated by Sigmund Freud, may occur as a substitute for painful or disturbing memories by displacing these from the conscience. Miriam Hansen (1996) regards the American fascination with the Holocaust, an example of cosmopolitan memory, as a tool for providing a screen over other traumatic events, such as the treatment of African Americans. Screen memory offers comfort but does not confront or resolve problems. Screen memory is not a

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<sup>147</sup> Elif Shafak, 'The Politics of Fiction' Ted Talks, July 2010 [https://www.ted.com/talks/elif\\_shafak\\_the\\_politics\\_of\\_fiction#t-758847](https://www.ted.com/talks/elif_shafak_the_politics_of_fiction#t-758847) (accessed 02.11.2018)

conflict of memory but is a remapping of memory that redistributes memories and the emotions attached to them. This shows that amnesia is sometimes without political agenda.

Paul Connerton (1988) touches on collective amnesia as a political tool to manipulate the historical narrative. Peter Burke (1989) raises the issue of social amnesia by asking whose memory is it and whether it belongs to politicians, intellectuals or society. By determining who it belongs to, contextualising amnesia uncovers agency. Collective forgetting is often primarily used to avoid confronting a negative history for political or emotional reasons. In cases of conflict history, a perpetrating society may purposely forget. The diaspora groups of this case study have played both roles of perpetrator and victim in cases of genocide. The question is how these dual roles influence collective memory towards jingoism, chauvinism and victim mentality. Deborah Lipstadt (2017) challenged Holocaust denial and openly upheld that the historian is responsible for using facts and evidence to deliver history. However, collective memory ignores (or forgets) facts and evidence. What and who is chosen to be remembered and forgotten is derived from a political positioning towards 'others'; this political positioning also inscribes personal trajectories into a collective history, thereby informing a distinctive identity through the heroic dimension put forward by such narratives (Lacroix et al. 2013, p689).

Lacroix and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh carried out research into the politics of refugee and diaspora memory narratives, addressing forgetting and remembering. Their study found that memory narratives are increasingly selective and exclude events deemed inappropriate or potentially destabilising (Lacroix et al. 2013 p685). Lacroix and Fiddan-Qasmiyeh cite that beyond the creation of memory narratives, the issue of their circulation across generations is of pivotal importance (*ibid* p691). This is seen among Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference: the discourse circulates and reaches all generations. However, among the Indian diaspora, silence was intergenerational. There are dangers of accepting memory as history. Socially acceptable but factually doubtful (Galatariotou 2012, p242) reflects the emotional community and the homeland ties that underly memory politics. Catia Galatariotou's comment is in line with Redclift's observations that diaspora consciousness has strong ethnic ties but is ahistorical, and Claire Alexander's opinion that diaspora performance includes silences (Alexander 2012, p595). Politicising memory has an agenda. Recognising that memory is politicised requires discourse analysis to decode the memory's discourse. Collective memories contain emotions and are a subjective approach to history. These are subjective for a rea-

son. Collective memories are a reflection of group mentality. Latent bias is born out of memories of conflict and memories of an enemy.

For the third and fourth generations of a diaspora group, connection to the ancestral homeland becomes diluted, removing the emotional attachment, which leaves space to critique and evaluate history and memory. However, identity and group belonging is determined by accepting the group's narrative. Blurring the lines between memory and history leads to memory politics which subsequently leads to identity politics, and identity may not be up for debate in any generation of a diaspora. Michael Rothberg (2009) explores competing narratives and suggests that these can be intertwined rather than at odds. This is AKEL and Hard Desai's approach to forming a historical narrative<sup>148</sup>. Rothberg's study looks at the politics of commemoration by contrasting how the USA memorialises the Holocaust and condemns how Jews were treated by Germany against the lack of memorials in the US condemning the treatment of its own African-American citizens. Miriam Bratu Hansen (1996) observes that the American fascination with the Holocaust is a screen memory that covers other traumatic events, such as the treatment of African Americans. This prompts the question as to how to think about the relationship between different social groups' victimisation histories in a multicultural society. Rothberg attempts to make amends between competing memories and attests that we can accept these as multidirectional memories that are subject to ongoing cross-referencing and negotiation. The ancestral homelands of this case study, India and Cyprus, were multicultural before demarcation, and the home country, the United Kingdom, is multicultural. Rothberg asserts that there are struggles within multicultural societies, such as the United States, over recognition and collective identity.

How to make space for different voices is also addressed by Jean-Francois Lyotard. Lyotard (1984, 1989) proposes replacing large historiographies with local meta-narratives to highlight the multiplicity of narratives that contribute to our understanding of the human experience that is explored through history as an academic field. Meta-narratives play a role in collective memory and allow room for contesting multidirectional memories. Allowing different voices to converse in one dialogue, as Rothberg and Lyotard advocate, offers a much larger scope of human experience at one

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<sup>148</sup> See: Stefanos Stephanou, 'The President Yet Again Refuses to Denounce EOKA B Role in the Coup and Destruction of Cyprus', AKEL C. C. Press Office, Parikiaki 19.07.2017 <http://www.parikiaki.com/2017/07/the-president-yet-again-refuses-to-denounce-eoka-b-role-in-the-coup-and-destruction-of-cyprus/> (accessed 11.12.2018) and: Dr Hari Desai, 'Pakistan in Search of 5000 Year History', Asian Voice 05.02.2018 <https://www.asian-voice.com/Opinion/Columnists/Pakistan-in-search-of-5000-year-history> (accessed 03.12.2018)

single historical event and broadens context. Post-colonial literature presents the former territory with its problems and challenges as a result of decolonisation. Post-colonial literature is a memory plug and an expression of collective memory. This could be produced by the diaspora in the home country (likely to be the United Kingdom because its multicultural society of diasporas are a product of its colonial links) but these do not put the authority, the United Kingdom, in a positive light. Again, there is the issue of how to balance unwanted voices in multicultural societies. This contributes to the issue of teaching colonialism in the school curriculum. The United Kingdom is ethnically diverse and made up of diaspora groups whose migration patterns are colonial. They were born in overseas territories with British citizenship and resettled in the UK for economic reasons, the opportunity presented by possessing British citizenship or conflict as a result of British presence or decolonisation. This highlights a reverse amnesia: the home country's silence on its role abroad and why the country today is so ethnically diverse with permanently settled diaspora groups.

Referring back to the City Sikhs article (mentioned in the case study) that advocates a Ghandi statue in London, the article asks for competing histories to be put on display in one place. The writer diplomatically reminds readers that the human experience cannot be easily categorised and that states of leaders posses both good and bad qualities:

*We must be careful to ensure that historical figures are seen in context. Parliament Square, and in fact central London as a whole, is home to many statues of people whom we in the modern age may consider to be abhorrent in their views or behaviour.*

*For example, General Smuts's statue is in Parliament Square and yet he set the ground for modern apartheid in South Africa. Trafalgar Square is home to statues of General Napier and Lord Have-lock, both of whom led British troops in India and subdued Indians through violent and bloody means.*

*There are many leaders who have had a blemished history and yet are honoured on the streets and squares of Britain. By removing those statues, we would be dishonouring our covenant with the past and whitewashing history. Instead, such statues should serve to remind us of the dichotomy of greatness and human frailty.<sup>149</sup>*

This perfectly demonstrates competing histories in multicultural societies. It also shows the Sikh community's acceptance of its own history and that of the home country's, and integration. This is

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<sup>149</sup> 'The Relevance of Gandhi in the 21st Century', City Sikhs 15.08.2014 <http://www.citysikhs.org.uk/2014/08/the-relevance-of-gandhi-in-the-21st-century/> (accessed 11.12.2018)

an example of how historical representations are a Rorschach test: there are multiple meanings from different perspectives and in different contexts.

The issue of memory in a diaspora context is that it crosses borders and is relative to a specific socio-political context (Lacroix et al. 2013, p686). The memory politics that emerge from it are, as with most aspects of diaspora life, a fossilised bias. It is possible that the ancestral homeland has produced a contextualised historical narrative that is different to the diaspora memory, although that is not the focus of this study. Yasemin Soysal (2000) offers us a diaspora that invents a past for the present (p2). The “imagined communities” presented by Benedict Anderson (1983) are suggestive of diaspora consciousness being made from a distant ancestral homeland and fossilised memories of that place. According to Anderson, the nation exists only as mental images to sustain common identity. Following Anderson’s trajectory, it could be argued that diaspora consciousness is simply imagined. The diaspora creates a memory built on a fossilised bias from the ancestral homeland and continues to uphold this in the home country.

Because collective memory is linked to group mentality, it takes on a persuasive nature and departs from history, in which the historian’s role is to inform, not persuade. A societal group, such as a diaspora, is susceptible to an echo-chamber of collective memory. This often creates an environment where challenging the narrative threatens the group’s identity. The collective memory is socially acceptable. It is digestible. It does not repulse the group. The group likes the memory. The memories that were forgotten threaten that image. Elif Shafak (2010) opines that being in a like-minded community is what reasserts our stereotypes of outsiders, both connecting and dividing us<sup>150</sup>. Boundaries are drawn: it connects us with each other in group mentality and divides us from those outside the group. Subsequently, it also divides group members who do not follow the group mentality. Time has passed since the first generation resettled and the homeland has changed but the diaspora are spatially outside these changes. If there is amnesia, this is likely a latent bias inherited from the first generation who set the tone for the group’s memory, and this same memory was voiced and upheld by the second generation onwards. Amnesia inhibits confronting the past. Taking a discourse analysis approach to diaspora points of reference enables a differentiation of collective memory and historical education.

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<sup>150</sup> Elif Shafak, ‘The Politics of Fiction’ Ted Talks, July 2010 [https://www.ted.com/talks/elif\\_shafak\\_the\\_politics\\_of\\_fiction#t-758847](https://www.ted.com/talks/elif_shafak_the_politics_of_fiction#t-758847) (accessed 02.11.2018)

History takes all sources to give us an informed account of the past. History's goal is to inform about the human experience. Where collective memory is concerned, the group select what is remembered and forgotten. It is persuasive. This deliberate amnesia reveals agenda. It is vital to ask why a part of history is forgotten and why certain memories are upheld as truth. Collective memory reveals that the chosen history is moulded to fit a specific identity. How collective memory is presented is a multi-faceted, societal phenomenon that questions how we receive and interpret history, explored by Foucault<sup>151</sup>. The discourse of Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference demonstrated what Berthold Molden describes as “...*seemingly unquestionable assumptions dressed up as universal truths*” (Molden 2016, p133). These are generalisations that are drawn out of collective memory.

As Marc Bloch (1992) observed, younger generations in ancient rural societies were taught by their elders, correlating with transmitting memory and traditionalism in peasant societies. Connecting that to Lacroix and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh's research, collective memories of flight and homeland are transmitted when diasporas inherit this history and these memories from their forebears (2013 p688). Paul Connerton notes that studying acts of transfer make collective remembering possible (1989 p39). Halbwachs attested that we recall memories in correlation with the group's memory aids, suggesting that collective memory is a collection of influenced memories (Halbwachs 1992). We learn mentality from the previous generation. The younger generation inherit the memories and copy these as a group. Consider Elif Shafak's (2010) warning that like-minded communities are dangerous. Tribalism has become a buzzword in the last few years to describe how likemindedness ostracises and creates groups with an 'us and them' mentality.

It can be argued that it is not necessary to cultivate historical knowledge because of its potential to reopen old rivalries and wounds. However, inquiry into the past offers lessons. The Holocaust is an almost universal reference point for collective memory and the importance of lessons from history. The historian's role is to objectively identify what went wrong. Return to Deborah Lipstadt's warning that the historian's job is to report truth and fact, and this draws the line between collective memory and history<sup>152</sup>.

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<sup>151</sup> Michele Foucault, 'The Archaeology of Knowledge' (1969, Pantheon Books)

<sup>152</sup> Deborah Lipstadt, 'Behind the Lies of Holocaust Denial', Ted Talks, April 2017 [https://www.ted.com/talks/deborah\\_lipstadt\\_behind\\_the\\_lies\\_of\\_holocaust\\_denial#t-29529](https://www.ted.com/talks/deborah_lipstadt_behind_the_lies_of_holocaust_denial#t-29529) (accessed 12.11.2018)

## Memory Politics

History allows for the balancing of voices from the past in the frame of historical context. These voices are collective memory and the memories are selective. Collective memory is an example of the mutation of storytelling: it adapts and moulds to fit the current mentality. Collective memory and history are effectively the relationship between the present, the past and identity. Identity politics affect the way stories are circulated by attempting to label. Confino touched on these different interpretations of good and bad that manifest as who and / or what is demonised or celebrated in collective memory. These politicised interpretations of the past act as a political tool in the present. Confino pins memory studies to identity politics: who wants whom to remember what and why (Confino 1997, p1393). This approach takes memory for its political symbols and invites us to critique the representation of a traditional enemy within the collective memory, positing that the enemy is fixed in the collective memory, susceptible to symbolic isolation.

History as identity construction is vital for diaspora communities where there can be identity connection brought on by spatial distance from the ancestral homeland and not fully belonging to the home country. How diasporas retell their histories to the next generation is done largely in the private sphere but enters the public sphere when the group is considerably sizeable. The diaspora has the opportunity to narrate collective memory. Understanding why events happened is a lesson in how to move forward. There is no single south Asian memory and no single Cypriot memory. There are competing and conflicting memories belonging to different sub-groups. The collective memory depends on the social fabric of the group in question and the context at the time of needing a collective memory. By decoding these messages, the politics of commemoration are revealed. For example, the Greek Cypriot diaspora chooses to only remember July 1974 in order to encourage international support to pressure Turkey to return the occupied territory. The causes are ignored. What is important is what happened as a single event because it is the reversal of the outcome of this single event that is wanted. The causes leading up to this single event are not useful to the Greek Cypriot cause because it weakens the Greek Cypriot cause. The Greek Cypriot cause needs to ignore Bloody Sunday (the Greek Cypriot massacre of Turkish Cypriot villages) and not discuss inter-communal violence (this caused Turkey to give several warnings to Cyprus in the 1960s to making targeted attacks on the Turkish Cypriot community). This is an example of memory politics and the politics of commemoration.

Diaspora messages are transmitted through memory portals. Uncovering the political implications of memories highlights amnesia being used as a political tool. When this occurs, memory politics is at the forefront of collective memory. Collective memory is the socially acceptable narrative. Confino's work confronts collective memory as a political instrument (Confino 1997). Elif Shafak (2010) raises the issue of identity politics stemming from like-mindedness. Thomas Lacroix and Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2013) postulate that collective memory legitimates a social image of the community. History ought to leave space for competing narratives, or competing collective memories.

India and Cyprus are both part of Britain's post-colonial legacy. Shashi Tharoor's claim that Britain suffers from historical amnesia shifts responsibility to the former imperial authority to teach its own people about its colonial past (Tharoor 2018). The Indian and Greek Cypriot diasporas can equally accuse the home country of amnesia for failing to acknowledge its role in the demarcation of the two respective ancestral homelands. The Greek Cypriot diaspora needs British diplomatic support in its cause for the return of its Turkish occupied territory and strategically does not blame Greece or Britain for its role in the Turkish invasion. The Greek Cypriot cause concentrates entirely on one responsible enemy and one single event. Colonialism and decolonisation are not on the UK school curriculum<sup>153</sup>. Successive generations of the Greek Cypriot and Indian diasporas may not even be aware that Britain was responsible for the division of these respective ancestral homelands. History textbooks in UK schools overlook colonialism and violent independence struggles despite many large diaspora groups belonging to former Commonwealth territories<sup>154</sup>. The Runnymede Trust is a race equality think tank that began a pilot project in October 2016 to teach Partition in schools. The project was organised by Farah Elahi, a research and policy analyst at the Runnymede Trust. It reported positive results by encouraging students to think about empathy, conflict and difference<sup>155</sup>. The 2017 BBC Partition season revived calls for colonialism to be taught in schools but the issue

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<sup>153</sup> See: National Curriculum in England: History Programmes of Study, Department for Education, published 11.13.2013 <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-curriculum-in-england-history-programmes-of-study> (accessed 10.05.2021)

<sup>154</sup> See: Population of England and Wales. Office for National Statistics, released 01.08.2018 <https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/uk-population-by-ethnicity/national-and-regional-populations/population-of-england-and-wales/latest> (accessed 06.05.2021)

<sup>155</sup> Farah Elahi, 'Nations Divided: How To Teach The History of Partition', Runnymede, February 2017 <https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/Partition%20History%20Project%20Evaluation.pdf> (accessed 04.09.2019)



quietened after a few months<sup>156</sup>. Other diasporas have not come forward to demand an end to the silence on Britain's colonial history. Black history is slowly being introduced in schools and occasionally promoted by the BBC with documentaries<sup>157</sup>.

## **Cultural Marxism**

Discourse analysis demonstrates that if enough people say something in particular and with the right choice of words, it is believed to be true. Thomas Lacroix and Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2013) address the issue of collective memory in a diaspora context. Their research shows how narratives are used by elites to legitimise aims in the home countries or to redress injustices in their past (Lacroix et al. 2013, p686). Their work highlights the importance of transmitting memory across generations to strengthen diaspora consciousness. The Greek Cypriot diaspora provide a clear example of memory politics. Collective memory allows us to select our history. What we want history to be interferes with how we retell history. Observing the hegemony of memory politics, we cross over into Marxist theory, as Berthold Molden (2016) does:

*“Hegemony is built on prioritising some memories over others according to the specific power constellations of a given society.” (ibid p128)*

The memory becomes ideology, dressed up as culture. Cultural Marxism occurs when culture is structured by economic relations and ideology (Kellner 2013, p1). The memory, its discourse and its projecting ideology is a source of power to the author. The author gains from the memory, and the memory becomes ideology. Cultural Marxism can be seen when the dominate group attempts to normalise their ideology, which is their historical narrative. The ideology is their power and other's repression. The same effect occurs when there is collective silence. However, true to Marxism, the ideology is hidden; it is presented as the status-quo or as a socially acceptable collective memory. Fundamentally, it is group mentality. The subordinates (in this case, the subordinates in the diaspora are the next generation with no direct experience of the collective memory but share its collective identity) are not aware of the ideologies they are performing and engaging in. In Marxist theory,

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<sup>156</sup> The airing of the BBC's Partition documentaries in August 2017 triggered a surge in newspaper articles that month about why Partition and colonialism is not taught in schools. See: Thomas Hunt, 'Indian History Should Be Shoved Onto UK Curriculum for the Millions With Asian Ancestry', Daily Express 16.08.2017 <https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/841691/history-curriculum-indian-partition-newsnight-bbc-british-asians-teaching-empire> (accessed 02.09.2018). The topic slowly received less coverage by the autumn.

<sup>157</sup> See: The Black Curriculum <https://theblackcurriculum.com/about> (accessed 14.08.2021) and: 'Black and British: A Forgotten History', BBC Two <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b082x0h6> (accessed 14.08.2021)

this is known as a false consciousness (Eyerman 1981, p52). The group's mentality is normalised. This shapes identity, beliefs and thoughts but it is hidden because it is indirect. Discourse represents an alternative reality that is distorted to an extent and this discourse entails assumptions about what normal is.

By relying on collective memory without context, Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference revealed inequality and elitism. Indian diaspora points of reference were largely silent with a few exceptions of confronting this issue within their own historiography and prompting the diaspora to recognise and critically approach biases.

### **Silence and Amnesia**

Silence was present in both case studies. Silence is also present in the home country, the United Kingdom. While Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference only focused on July 1974 as a single event and ignored what caused Turkey to invade Cyprus's northern territory, as well as wider Cypriot history and international interests affected by the Cold War, Indian diaspora points of reference were relatively silent on the the Indian subcontinent before the British Raj, life during the colonial era for Indians, the independence movement, migration patterns and India post-independence. There is a nuance between silence and amnesia. The Indian Workers's Association provided a comprehensive archive and exhibition and Hari Desai's articles strongly urged readers to navigate the past objectively<sup>158</sup>: as helpful as these are, they are not enough.

Historical amnesia essentially covers reputation damage that potentially hinders political and diplomatic interests. This is why agency (purpose) needs to be explored through discourse analysis. With the absence of imperialism being taught as part of history on the national school curriculum in the United Kingdom, the brutality of the decolonisation process is also omitted. Indian politician and diplomat Shashi Tharoor lambasts British society for suffering from historical amnesia in his book, 'Inglorious Empire: What the British Did to India' (2018). Exposing colonial history has the potential to put Britain in a less than positive light but it is also an opportunity to illustrate any positives from British influence.

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<sup>158</sup> Dr Hari Desai, 'Pakistan in Search of 5000 Year History', Asian Voice 05.02.2018 <https://www.asian-voice.com/Opinion/Columnists/Pakistan-in-search-of-5000-year-history> (accessed 03.12.2018)

It appeared that the Hindu and Sikh diaspora contribution was largely forward looking and less concerned with history as one single event. Critically assessing the historiography is often prompted. The Hindu and Sikh communities produced diaspora points of references in the interest of retaining culture and educating the next generation on Hindu and Sikh religion, traditions, language and songs. Diaspora points of reference that referred to history tended to fall quieter on events after Partition, perhaps attributed to the fact that the first generation diaspora migrated as a result of Partition and it being a sensitive and traumatic event creates silence. However, the prejudices of Partition did not transcend beyond the Indian sub-continent. Silence on this part of history has been helpful to not create social borders. The silence does not divide. This is a helpful silence. The effect is the same as if the past had been confronted for lessons to be learnt: there is no hatred and no enemy. There is peace. Most Indian diaspora points of reference were inclusive of Pan-Asianism, which deters from the identity prejudices of Partition. This is benign amnesia. Writing for *The Guardian*, Kavita Puri (2017) asks why the diaspora's forbearers chose to remain relatively silent on their history, speculating that is it perhaps because the topic is too sensitivity too approach:

*But why would the older generation want to remember? They witnessed such atrocities, and they still carry the grief of losing the land of their birth. Many did not want to burden their children and grandchildren, who knew little of that time in a place far away. The silence is not unusual here [in Britain] or on the Indian subcontinent<sup>159</sup>.*

Silence is strategic, whether it is benign or politically motivated. It could be argued that amnesia is a type of unofficial revisionism. Who adjudicates what constitutes official history? Readers tend to assume that if a higher authority, such as newspaper, publishes it, then it must be true. It is the group's revisionism because it is produced by the community to dogmatise a particular representation that they have created. In its most extreme, this can run into deeper problems such as historical negationism (denial). Deborah Lipstadt (2017) talks about the responsibility of the historian to challenge denial and the importance of facts, emphasising the importance of asking for proof. However, in social communities that construct their ideology in the way Berthold Molden described by advocating "*seemingly unquestionable assumptions dressed up as universal truths*" (Molden 2016, p133), asking for proof means questioning the group's status-quo. It is not always easy for an insider to question the group. The rhetoric often creates a sense of inclusiveness by using personal pro-

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<sup>159</sup> Kavita Puri, 'Break the Silence on Partition and British Colonial History – Before It's Too Late', *The Guardian* 31.07.2017 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jul/31/break-silence-partition-british-colonial-history-south-asian> (accessed 14.05.2018)

nouns, such as 'us' and 'we'. The discourse produced by the group is carefully designed to appeal to the group.

Amnesia is not a new or isolated phenomenon (see Burke 1989; Molden 2010) and has two manifestations: social and historical. Social amnesia refers to collective forgetting that is accumulated through memories. Memory narratives are often characterised by selectivity. Lacroix and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh observe how memories serve to legitimize a socially tailored image of the community and in doing so, collective memories redraw the boundaries between sameness (similar to Elif Shafak's *likemindedness*) and otherness, between the self and the other, by both including or excluding and by establishing hierarchies between social groups (Lacroix et al. 2013, p685). Michael Rothberg offers multidirectional memory as a solution to competitive memories. Jeffrey Olick (1997) pointedly argues that collective memory plays an important role in politics and society (p333). Social amnesia is still a revealing part of history. Social amnesia colours our understanding of how groups view themselves and others and where their ambitions lie, and belongs within the sphere of identity politics.

## Critique

My case studies are porous: the visual aspect of the materials were not considered. The position of headlines, photographs and the position of the texts within newspapers and on websites was omitted. My investigation sought textual and linguistic discourse and almost overlooks behaviour and performance discourse. My results reveal that diaspora consciousness values the performance of old rituals. This is how history is communicated: it is performed and passed on to successive generations. It demonstrates membership to a group. Identity is behaviour and is found in performing these rituals.

Diasporas encourage retaining cultural performance, such as music, dance and food. This is discourse: resilience is communicated through performance. Diasporas are a piece of collective memory: diaspora consciousness is a fossilised life from the ancestral homeland that is now in the home country. The original investigation is perhaps too narrow because it sought historical education through textual and linguistic discourse. Diaspora consciousness performs life in the ancestral homeland at the time of departure. Diaspora life is much closer to the traditions of the ancestral homeland than society today in the ancestral homeland.

Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference focus on the collective memory of July 1974. Robert Bevan (2007) opines that this is likely because the event began the systematic destruction of Greek cultural identity:

*The Turks ethnically and culturally cleansed the north of the island [...] Thousands of Turkish peasants were brought from mainland Turkey to the new Turkish Republic of North Cyprus to take the place of displaced Greek Cypriots. Attacks on Greek material culture in the North were an early signal of Turkey's intention to remain in Cyprus permanently [...] In the Greek zone, by contrast, Islamic monuments have been safeguarded and even repaired [...] Following partition, all but a handful of northern Cyprus's 502 Greek Orthodox churches, some of Byzantine origin, were vandalized, looted, demolished or put to new uses including as mosques, stables, latrines stores and a cinema [...] Virtually all Greek place names have been replaced with Turkish. The destruction was methodical with secular Greek monuments, archaeological sites and also graveyards targeted. Icons, mosaics and other artefacts dating back to the sixth century have found their way onto the world art markets in large numbers. (Bevan 2007, p31)*

Bevan puts Greek Cypriot identity into context. The organised destruction of Hellenic cultural heritage makes Greek Cypriot identity fragile. An occupier destroys a group's identity by wiping out their culture and history. Greek Cypriot collective memory starts and ends in July 1974 but the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus physically lacks history before this time because its history and Hellenic culture was destroyed. Greek Cypriot identity faced an existential crisis. Evidence of Greek Cypriot history and existence in the north was destroyed. This is why the diaspora must promote their cultural performances and remember July 1974. This is another example of the importance of discourse and context, and how cultural performance is a sign of resilience. The group needs to perform their Greek culture, such as religious attendance and rituals, in order to retain their Hellenic identity. Cultural performance is almost overlooked in the case studies. One acts Greek in order to feel Greek in order to remember what was lost. The Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus was set up in 1981 and continues to work towards determining the fate of thousands of Greek Cypriots missing in the conflict and return their remains to the families for whom the legacy of July 1974 continues<sup>160</sup>. The further highlights the fragility of Greek Cypriot identity because the issue remains a present one and not a past event.

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<sup>160</sup> The Committee of Missing Persons in Cyprus, International Commission of Missing Persons <https://www.icmp.int/where-we-work/europe/cyprus/> (accessed 18.09.2019)

Indian diaspora points of reference emphasised culture, religion and the arts. Its culture continues to dazzle outside audiences with a plethora of films, television series and books set in India past and present. Its culture is recognisable. Indian identity is not fragile and has not faced an existential crisis, even during Partition and British rule. India's economic independence and royal dynasties were undermined by British rule, although this history has not been obscured. There is relative silence on a collective memory of Partition. There is a collective memory about life in Uganda and Indian expulsion from Uganda<sup>161</sup>. The Kashmir conflict is ongoing but this was not mentioned in any diaspora points of reference, perhaps because it is a by-product of Partition<sup>162</sup>. Partition, however, is the one area of Indian history that remains sensitive and relatively obscure.

Diaspora identity and history needs to be put into context of the experience of the ancestral homeland. This prompts the question as to whether it is possible to study diasporas as completely separate from the ancestral homeland. Diaspora consciousness is shaped by experiences in the ancestral homeland. However, there is silence. Of this silence, Kavita Puri writes in *The Guardian*:

*When fragments of stories were told, they remained in the private sphere. The public space was not one to discuss it: Britain has no memorial to the people that died, there are no museums to it. This part of British colonial history is not well-known. South Asian history – including partition – is not taught in the same way as black history in schools. It matters*<sup>163</sup>.

This suggests the responsibility to historically inform lies with the power responsible for the legacy of post-colonialism's dire impact: Britain. There is room for further investigation into historical education and collective memory in post-colonial societies in order to confront the power responsible for destruction, political corruption, social unrest, demographic instability or economic decline. Two solutions have risen out of underperforming post-colonial countries: 'slum tourism' and migration. Slum tourism is becoming a frequently used industry in several post-colonial African countries, where tourists are given tours of slum areas without historical context. Many slums, particularly Africa's largest, Kibera, on the outskirts of Nairobi, have British colonial origins but this information is left out of tours that only show tourists the present living conditions, not how or why

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<sup>161</sup> Laura Codling, 'Kololo Hill: Telling the Tale of Asian Expulsion from Uganda', *Eastern Eye*, 24.02.2021 <https://www.easterneye.biz/kololo-hill-telling-the-tale-of-asian-expulsion-from-uganda/> (accessed 03.03.2021)

<sup>162</sup> The Kashmir conflict is mentioned frequently by media outlets in India but not British Indian diaspora points of reference.

<sup>163</sup> Kavita Puri, 'Break the Silence on Partition and British Colonial History – Before It's Too Late', *The Guardian* 31.07.2017 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jul/31/break-silence-partition-british-colonial-history-south-asian> (accessed 14.05.2018)

the slums came into existence. Migration is also a way out for those in underperforming economies. However, as more and more people leave racial tensions begin to emerge in the host or home country. Poverty, corruption and poor economic performance, all reasons for leaving, are part of decolonisation's legacy, which the host or home country is often responsible for. The 2019-2020 Hong Kong protests cannot be understood without understanding Britain's role<sup>164</sup>. The Central African Republic is one of the most dangerous countries in the world and its political, economic and social frameworks are a by-product of French decolonisation<sup>165</sup>. There is need to teach post-colonialism in post-colonial societies and in countries like Britain and France. Post-colonial countries' collective amnesia is also Britain's historical amnesia. This realisation turned the investigation of diaspora historical education on its head with the proposal that post-colonialism become public debate and be introduced to the national school curriculum. As the debate on statues relating to colonialism continues in Britain, an academic on a museum board was refused reappointment by Members of Parliament in May 2021 after advocating for a decolonisation curriculum<sup>166</sup>. A culture debate continues and the undertones are ethnocentric.

## Conclusion

My inquiry set out to ask how two diaspora communities with migration background circulate history about the ancestral homeland and to determine whether this historical narrative relies on collective memory. The investigation is based on the paradigm that history is what moulds identity, and that diasporas have a stronger need for identity construction. A hypothesis was established before gathering materials for the case studies for discourse analysis. It was assumed that the diaspora narrative would reflect the rhetoric of the ancestral homeland and that both diasporas would likely rely on collective memory. The case studies revealed that even though the Indian diaspora in London produced little historical information, the little that is produced is of good quality for being informative. The Indian Worker's Association had an organised and easy to access archive that documented the diaspora's growth, challenges and achievements. This new identity has a history and is separate

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<sup>164</sup> From 1841 to 1997, Hong Kong was a British colony before being transferred to China in 1997 under a one country, two systems agreement. Overriding colonial legislature, China attempted to impose Chinese extradition laws that led to protests. Hong Kong wanted to retain its British legislature.

<sup>165</sup> See: Mads Brugger, 'The Ambassador' (documentary-film), Zentropa 2011, available to watch: <https://vimeo.com/157405874> (accessed 22.03.2021)

<sup>166</sup> Clea Skopeleti, 'Academic Who Backed Decolonising Curriculum Dropped From Museum Board', The Guardian 01.05.2021 <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2021/may/01/charles-dunstone-quits-as-museum-group-chair-amid-culture-war> (accessed 05.05.2021)

from the ancestral homeland. Several articles by Hari Desai in Asian Voice newspaper offer a narrative and challenge the present historical rhetoric used by the Republic of India and the Republic of Pakistan, highlighting a need to review the historiography. Hari Desai reminds readers that there are multiple experiences of Indian history, not just one rhetoric. The discourse from this case study demonstrates that an overall discourse is missing. There is largely silence. The history of the ancestral homeland is not discussed. There were very few history articles in Eastern Eye newspaper. One historical event does not define this diaspora. Religious affiliation and ritual performance appears to be the priority identity marker, not history, but there are no borders as these religious groups are united under a Pan-Asian cultural umbrella. It could be argued that despite the history of the ancestral homeland not being discussed widely, the Indian diaspora has instead created new and well-documented identity: a British Indian diaspora. The diaspora's origins and how the group set-up its institutions and integrated are all documented by the Indian Worker's Association. This exhibition is an excellent model for researching a diaspora experience and provides a contemporary follow-on from Robin Cohen and William Safran's work on diaspora consciousness.

Many Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference in London provide much content about the Turkish invasion of July 1974. The rhetoric begins and ends in July 1974, treating it as one single event. Parikiaki newspaper made a small number of attempts to frame the event within its historical context but this is not enough to challenge the diaspora's overall rhetoric that revealed a latent bias throughout its diaspora points of reference. The continuous lamenting of July 1974 is done using collective memory: emotional language is used and the event has no context or background, told from one Cypriot sub-group only and without context as to what triggered the invasion. The Greek Cypriot diaspora's historical discourse is a reflection of current affairs: the divide is seen as temporary and the Republic of Cyprus and the diaspora regularly call for Turkey to be held accountable and for the return of the occupied territory. The causes of the invasion are seldom addressed. There is silence about life in Cyprus before the invasion. There is only one memory: the Greek Cypriot experience of July 1974 and only in Cyprus, not how the diaspora in Britain experienced the event.

Both case studies revealed a degree of silence surrounding the ancestral homeland's defining demarcations and wider history. In terms of identity construction, the Indian diaspora are defined by belonging to a continent that is made up of different religious groups. Multiculturalism is embraced. The Greek Cypriot diaspora is defined by collective memory that perpetuates victimisation and innocence. Both respective identities includes silences. It could be speculated that the Indian



diaspora chooses to forget the tragedy of separating groups in order to not divide or encourage genocide again. Amnesia is part of the identity construction of diasporas and is strongly linked to politicising memory (see Lacroix and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2013; Redclift 2017; Olick 1999; Alexander 2012).

Elif Shafak (2010) emphasises the dangers of like-minded communities by comparing these to a circle or cluster. Shafak describes how if a social circle resembles ourself and there is no outside connection, a cultural ghetto is formed and there is a lack of empathy for 'the other'<sup>167</sup>. The Greek Cypriot diaspora case study is an example of how a single collective memory has become a rhetoric that forbids empathy for 'the other' (in this case, the Turkish Cypriot community) and removes responsibility from the self and passes blame to 'the other'. Only the Greek Cypriot communist party, AKEL, attempts to challenge this. An echo-chamber hinders competing memories and as a result, removes the opportunity to express empathy for 'the other'. The singular victimisation narrative is devoted entirely to the Greek Cypriot victims of the invasion and no other group before, during or after July 1974. The Greek Cypriot diaspora consciousness and discourse are ethnocentric and it was this ethnocentric mentality that caused the invasion. This is an example of how not confronting the past means mistakes are never learnt or corrected. Diaspora points of reference suggest that there is no other event, the event has no background, was unprovoked and that only Greek Cypriots suffered. Indian diaspora points of reference are not ethnocentric but point too very little history and suggest a weariness to look back at all. The overall theme of Hari Desai's articles are that the history of the Indian-subcontinent is complex and there are too many competing narratives to form one. Desai's articles cover a variety of history topics that include all regional, ethnic and religious groups of the Indian subcontinent. That there are so many different collective memories Confronting the past for the Indian diaspora could possibly open up old rivalries that are best forgotten, whereas confronting the past for the Greek Cypriot diaspora means learning what or who caused the invasion and provides lessons in how to encourage Turkey to leave the island, such as accepting responsibility and amending the aggression towards the Turkish Cypriot community. This also means reversing the victimisation identity and accepting the invasion as a form of punishment. The fear of complexity generates silence for both diasporas.

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<sup>167</sup> Elif Shafak, 'The Politics of Fiction' Ted Talks, July 2010 [https://www.ted.com/talks/elif\\_shafak\\_the\\_politics\\_of\\_fiction#t-758847](https://www.ted.com/talks/elif_shafak_the_politics_of_fiction#t-758847) (accessed 02.11.2018)

Diaspora identity construction is also at the heart of this investigation. Both the Indian and Greek Cypriot diasporas in London rely on cultural performance to demonstrate group identity, such as learning traditional folk dances and the language of the ancestral homeland, and religious involvement. These are old rituals and performing them communicates resilience: identity performance has survived time, foreign occupation and resettlement. My paradigm that history facilitates identity and that the need for identity is stronger in diaspora communities has been replaced with cultural performance. This is a type of indirect historical discourse: these rituals are old but survive. These are behaviours that have transcended borders. My case studies initially sought to use texts but in the collective silence found a discourse in cultural performance. One acts like a member of the group rather than talks about the group's past experience.

A latent bias is present in the discourse of Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference because the event is ongoing. Many Indian diaspora points of reference are Pan-Asian, particularly radio stations and newspapers. What emerges from Indian diaspora points of reference is an identity without borders, balancing between being both separated from and tethered to the ancestral homeland and the home country. A new identity is created: British Indian. In contrast, the Greek Cypriot diaspora is not Pan-Cypriot but Pan-Hellenic. There are two possibilities to define Cypriot: include all Cypriot ethnic groups (Turkish, Maronite, Armenian and Greek) or define Cypriot as part of the Hellenes, held back from unifying by British occupation and the Turkish division later. Greek Cypriot diaspora points of reference are distinctively Greek Cypriot; borders are drawn that reflect a bias. That this collective memory and the bias it produces is intergenerational and moves with migration compliments Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider's (2002) work that describes a 'cosmopolitan memory' where memory adjusts to globalisation and migration. This cosmopolitan memory is for those who define themselves by belonging to more than one place, such as diasporas.

In both case studies, the past has not been confronted. There is collective amnesia among diaspora groups with conflict history and the home country, the United Kingdom. Historical consciousness frequently overlooks negative histories. All historical narratives are political. Collective amnesia is part of that toolbox. Collective memory and amnesia mould history to fit an identity that subsequently reveals group mentality. The case studies are examples of how to separate history from collective memory. The language used in memory discourse is meticulously chosen to convey several meanings. The informative construction of neutral history offers context to statistics, explanations and actions. This thesis has explored history as a discourse. Wider questions emerge from this, such

as how history is represented in media and public spaces (such as museums and monuments), which was challenged by the Sikhs Online article in Indian diaspora case study. How 'the other' and the self are portrayed in museums is reflective of mentality. This narrative of who the winner and loser is influences the way audiences think.

Identity politics are projections of circulated collective memories. Generalisations about the self and others are made within the echo-chamber of collective memory. The result is that groups are created and labelled. This is how elitism is created. Alon Confino (1997) attempts to explain why some memories are remembered and others are forgotten in the case of memory politics. Confino links collective memory to culture and sites cultural outlets as expressions of memory. In the case studies, cultural outlets are diaspora points of reference. Elitism asks who or what is good or bad. The Greek Cypriot collective memory was politically motivated to present a particular identity of innocent victim in order to influence how the invasion is viewed on an international scale. Politicising memory represents something bigger: tribalism. With tribalism, the question becomes: who does our group like and dislike? When group belonging is defined by one singular collective memory that conveys a latent bias and lack of empathy and context, it is tribal in nature. Fundamentally, plurality threatens ahistorical collective memory and manifests intolerance.

In the face of collective amnesia, why history matters is often asked. History gives context to mentality; within history there are explanations for today's society, economy, government and demographic. History explains the present and predicts the future: history provides models of what was successful and what was not. There is a lot to be learnt from history. History traces the human experience. People influence economics, politics, the environment and demographics. If society had no record of its past, there would be no foundations from which to build a nation state and society would remain in a repetitive cycle and not progress. History is what hinders future mistakes. The past provides foundations. In history can a present identity be explained, shaped and prepared for the future. History highlights patterns. A report about the closure of history departments at two British universities appeared in *The Guardian* in May 2021, the same month an academic was refused reappointment to a museum board for promoting a decolonisation curriculum<sup>168</sup>. In the

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<sup>168</sup> Clea Skopeleti, 'Academic Who Backed Decolonising Curriculum Dropped From Museum Board', *The Guardian* 01.05.2021 <https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2021/may/01/charles-dunstone-quits-as-museum-group-chair-amid-culture-war> (accessed 05.05.2021)

article regarding the removal of history from two university programs, historian Richard J Evans is quoted as saying the following:

*“In the present day, where we are overwhelmed by floods of misinformation and conspiracy theories, it is more important than ever to have the skills to look critically at the evidence and to distinguish fact from fiction.”<sup>169</sup>*

This ties in with Deborah Lipstadt’s comments about the value of history for truth telling<sup>170</sup>. That is not to say that collective memory gives false narratives, but rather, memory is a singular voice and is not the only history. Both history and collective memory are necessary in order to understand the human experience and the world around us.

The Greek Cypriot case study shows that memory creates a relationship between the past and present. Memory refers to history and is a collection of many memories with a common theme referring to one past. Memory is incorporated into a central framework that influences how we think - our mentality. Collective memory should not be relied upon to form an understanding of one historical narrative but rather, memory’s role is to remind us of the human impact of history. Memory connects humans with history. Without memory, society is objectified. Competing memories that refer to one past highlight the importance of context. There is not one historical narrative. History sees Partition and the Turkish invasion and post-colonial events, but collective memory reveals the human experience and impact at a societal level. There is no nation state without society. History explains identity and memory explains mentality. Identity is how one sees oneself and mentality is how one views others.

Diasporas are their own historical and memory guardians. Further studies might address the question of how to teach history to immigrant societies, as well as post-colonial societies. Post-colonial societies are forever changed by an outside force, and immigrant societies do not share the same frames as the host nation or home country. Diaspora’s have no emotional attachment to the home country's collective memory or by extension, to national celebrations. They are outside the ancestral homeland's national celebrations. The collective memory of the first generation is outside the ancestral homeland's ability to contextualise the memory or allow other memories. The memory

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<sup>169</sup> Anna Fazackerley, ‘Studying History Should Not Be Only For The Elite, Say Academics’, The Guardian 01.05.2021 <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2021/may/01/studying-history-should-not-be-only-for-the-elite-say-academics> (accessed 01.05.2021)

<sup>170</sup> Deborah Lipstadt, ‘Behind the Lies of Holocaust Denial’, Ted Talks, April 2017 [https://www.ted.com/talks/deborah\\_lipstadt\\_behind\\_the\\_lies\\_of\\_holocaust\\_denial#t-29529](https://www.ted.com/talks/deborah_lipstadt_behind_the_lies_of_holocaust_denial#t-29529) (accessed 12.11.2018)

is allowed is untampered with. National identity is often defined by a country's relationship to the traditional enemy. By stating what the enemy is, a nation can define what it is not.

Diasporas are between being affected by the history of the home country and the diaspora community's collective memory of the ancestral homeland. The history of the ancestral homeland is taught in the ancestral homeland but does not reach the diaspora. The impact of both histories on successive diaspora generations is indirect and fragments of both histories attribute to their identity. Pieces of both histories explain diaspora public and private environments: the public environment is the home country and everyday experiences such as work or school, and the private environment is the domestic sphere that has ties to the ancestral homeland. The information collected from the case studies shows how diasporas circulate the history of the ancestral homeland and of the diaspora community itself. In addition to historical education, the materials used in the case studies were especially interesting to see how the diaspora's traditional enemy is portrayed in historical narratives. This is because the relationship to an enemy tends to define identity. The investigation anticipated collective memory in both diaspora communities and a latent bias towards an enemy.

My case studies analysed diaspora consciousness and have explored the circulation of memory narratives by the diaspora for the diaspora. What I found was a diaspora that rarely looks back and another that looks back to a single event only. Voices from Partition are slowly coming forward into a merging of diaspora and public consciousness. A single collective memory of the Turkish invasion of northern Cyprus is the only vocalised history in Greek Cypriot diaspora discourse with a goal to increase public awareness of the issue. How 'the other' (the traditional enemy) is represented in relation to the diaspora in question was very much present in the Greek Cypriot case study. Confronting a latent bias would re-shape identity, a daunting prospect that enters unfamiliar territory.

Both diasporas have the potential to offer nuanced histories that provide learning opportunities. Both are silent of these nuances that would present a challenging revision of their identity. The BBC's 2017 documentary series, 'My Family, Partition and Me: India 1947' confronted multiple memories<sup>171</sup>. These were not necessarily diaspora points of reference and are monitored by the BBC to be objective but members of the diaspora took part. It opened up the discussion of allowing the

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<sup>171</sup> Leo Burley, 'My Family, Partition and Me: India 1947' (film), presented by Anita Rani, Wall to Wall Media 2017. Streamed on BBC iPlayer: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episodes/b0916qmx/my-family-partition-and-me-india-1947> (accessed 01.02.2021)

plurality of memories in one history. This approach to history can be transferred to any history, from diaspora groups to decolonisation history. Allowing other voices gives space for responsibility and empathy, dismantles prejudice and fuels progress. Without the self-reflection that comes from confronting the past, we remain stuck in a cycle repeating behaviours and rhetorics that do not offer development.

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