

# 100 Years of Sociology in Colonial and Post-Colonial Cyprus: Mapping Public Sociology and Critical Thought of a Small Divided Island-Country

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## Abstract

*This paper charts 100 years of sociology in Cyprus, detailing the sources, the contributions and the potential for public sociology. The paper connects Cypriot sociology to the broader critical thought in global sociological debates and explores the development of sociological and social thought in Cyprus in a small post-colonial, divided country. It critiques explanations for its marginal position as an academic discipline in Cyprus. This paper challenges the prevailing view that Cypriot society is 'isolated', 'insular' and 'barren' when it comes to producing ideas, theories and sociology, including the effects of the Cyprus problem and the 'deficient modernisation thesis', best expounded by Caesar Mavratsas. It then provides the first taxonomy of the sources and themes on the evolution of Cypriot sociology before it focuses on current issues and developments. The paper argues that, despite this relative marginality at an institutional level, there is an abundance of sociological thinking outside, often against or beyond the outmoded policy and sociology, often used as apologetics for the establishment. Public sociology and critical sociology provide serious challenge to hegemonic knowledge regarding different issues such as the Cyprus problem, state formations, ethnic conflict/relations class, gender, sexuality and migration. The paper examines how the combination of these historical factors, together with the particular organisation of institutional and class power, shaped all aspects of social and cultural life, including the development of sociology as a discipline. The paper concludes on the potential for critical and public sociology derived from the magma of Cypriot society.*

**Keywords:** public sociology, critical sociology, policy sociology, colonialism, postcoloniality, divided society, Cyprus problem, social magma, social imaginaries<sup>2</sup>

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‘Women! It is high time that we, women push forward to overcome our enslaved self [...] but for this, we need a solid organisation, an organisation which will provide us with this power! Learn this and spread this everywhere, that we are unjustly treated and that we, by ourselves will achieve justice, united with the worker, under the same flag. [...] We must seek freedom of thought and political rights. In the beginning, they will try to look down on us, but this will achieve nothing, for we have consciousness of our power.[...] We will shout repeatedly from our newspaper until we build a Pancyprian organisation’.

Irene Demetriadou (possible pseudonym of Irene Solomonidou)<sup>3</sup>

*Ο κόσμος της τάξης των αφεντάδων,  
των αρχιερέων και θρήσκων σείεται συθέμελα από τη μεγάλη πάλη:  
Τριγύρω τους, κυκλώνας η εργατιά,  
τα φρένα και τα νεύρα τους ταράζει.  
Περνάει σαν εφιάλτης η νυχτιά  
κ’ η αυγή αινιγματική πικροχαράζει.*

Tefkros Anthias, *Purgatorium* 1931<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> This is my translation of excerpts from the revolutionary speech given to the Workers’ Association and entitled ‘The position of women in today’s society’. It was published under the pseudonym Irene P. Demetriadou in the newspaper *Chronos* on 14 April 1926. See I. Demetriadou, «Η θέση της γυναίκας στην σημερινή κοινωνία», *Χρόνος* (13.4.1926 & 14.4.1926). The quote is taken from Thekla Kyritsi, who believed that Demetriades was Clio Christodoulidou. [See Kyritsi, T. (2017) ‘Η συγκρότηση του γυναικείου εργατικού κινήματος στην Κύπρο, Promitheas (ed.) *Οι κρίσιμες 1940 και 1950: Διακοινοτικές και Ενδοκοινοτικές Σχέσεις στην Κύπρο*, Ινστιτούτο Ερευνών ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΑΣ, 221-243. However, later Thekla Kyritsi concluded that it was Irene Solomonidou [T. Kyritsi, ‘Women’s Activism and the Cypriot Left: AKEL and the Working Women’s Unions in the early 1940s’, in *The Cypriot Left Popular Movement: Legacies of the past*, ed. Y. Katsourides (London: Routledge, forthcoming, 2020). I have verified this with other scholars who tend to agree that Irene Michael Solomonidou was a teacher and one of the pioneers in the movement.

<sup>4</sup> A rough translation of Anthias’ poem is as follows:

The world of the order of the masters, the chief priests  
and the faithful is trembling from the great struggle:  
Their nerves are broken as the workers are encircling them  
Gone is the nightmare,  
the enigmatic dawn is before us.

For a sociological analysis of Tefkros Anthias work and political intervention, see N. Trimikliniotis Soci-

## Locating Cypriot Sociology in Global Sociology Debates

### *Global debates and Cyprus: then and now*

Irene Demetriadou's inspiring call from 1926 and the excerpt from Tefkros Anthias' poem 'Purgatorium' captures the confrontational spirit of those times. This was the kick-off of the 100-year history of struggles for social justice and equality, challenging the social order in this small divided country. The effort charts how this spirit has been a crucial driving force, traceable, despite its mutations over the years, to this day, in an era so different, to engender critical and public sociology.

At the outset, however, we must clarify the use of the terms 'sociology', 'social sciences', 'social thought' and 'critical/public sociology'. Sociology, in this article, is defined rather broadly as the scientific discipline which systematically studies society, social forces, social relations, bonds and social conflicts. Strictly speaking, *sociology* has been taught in Cypriot institutions as an *academic discipline* only since the 1980s, although the study produced by sociologists abroad has shaped the domain of today's sociology in the country.<sup>5</sup> Sociology is a distinct discipline, but it is closely related and is in an engaging exchange with other social and political sciences.<sup>6</sup> This article focuses on sociology, and in particular on *public* and *critical sociology*, which draw on and are enriched via the interaction with other related social sciences, humanities and arts, creatively synthesising these influences within a sociological paradigm. It is in this context that social thought and social criticism, which developed prior to the establishment of social sciences as academic disciplines in Cyprus, are *essential precursors* as crucial sources in the making of current sociology as a discipline.

Sociology in Cyprus drew on sociology (and social thought/theory in general) that developed abroad, but it was adapted, developed and anchored to become vital tool of knowledge, providing the analytical lenses to analyse Cypriot society. It is within these precursors that we find current sociological thinking. We can divide current sociology between what we think of as *policy sociology* and other types, such as *sociologies from the perspective of order and ordering*; on the other hand,

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ology of Defiance: The Cypriot intellectual Tefkros Anthias 1920-1948, in Sofokleous, A. (ed.) *Η Ζωή και το έργο Τεύκρου Ανθία* (Nicosia: Institute of Mass Media Communication, (2016) 136-155.

<sup>5</sup> The author's inability to read Turkish has deprived this article from appreciating the sociology produced in Turkish; it, however, has made use of translated works in English and Turkish.

<sup>6</sup> Such as anthropology, social psychology, geography, politics and law which are distinct scientific disciplines.

we find *critical* and *public sociologies*, which take their role and canon in critiquing, questioning and challenging social and political phenomena in societies.<sup>7</sup> It is the latter types of sociology, critical and public sociologies, that this article is primarily interested in, given that it is based on social critiques, and with the perspective for social emancipation and transformation, which are very much connected to activism, mobilisations and various artistic expressions.<sup>8</sup>

The focus is on the sociological themes proposed in the call for this special section. We can take the 100-year mark as the time that the first serious and radical social critiques emerged in Cyprus in the 1910s and 1920s: the world-historic events that shaped this dense period, characterised by turmoil, major wars, extreme violence and revolutions in the world and the region. The Balkan wars, peasant and worker revolts, World War I, the Armenian genocide, the October Revolution, the revolts in Egypt, the imperial expedition and war in Turkey, which led to the ‘Asia Minor catastrophe’ in the Greek national(ist) narrative and the ‘war of independence’ in the Kemalist national(ist) revolution narrative, influenced colonial Cyprus.

In the 1910s and 1920s, the first radical texts appeared and were circulated in cities near the ports, such as Limassol, and then to all urban centres. Labour centres, clubs, newspapers and journals were established to form the first radical spaces for the exchange of ideas about what is wrong with the world, the ‘social question’, the position of workers, women, exploited and oppressed colonial people, and what was to be done. The founding text, a century ago, provided a basic sociological analysis,<sup>9</sup> reflecting and reshaping the social divisions, polarisations and contestation, as well the development of those times.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See J. Blau and K.I. Smith (eds), *Public Sociologies Reader* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007).

<sup>8</sup> The study here only addresses a small sample rather than an exhaustive analysis of the sociological works in Cyprus, and only in the fields relevant to the call of this special section.

<sup>9</sup> See Persephone Papadopoulou’s journal, *Estiades*, in 1915, Clio Christodoulidou’s calls; Cypriot Marxist Leonidas Pavlides’ ‘The Social Issue’, published in the Greek journal *Noumas* in 1919. The most consistent critiques came from the Marxist circles in the 1920s and 1930s.

<sup>10</sup> These were premised on Marx/Engels’ *Communist Manifesto*; Panos Fasouliotis’ social critiques in the early 1920s; Charalambous Vatiliotis’ critical analyses on anticolonialism, communism, social revolution and the social question against the nationalist position of enosis as ‘a reactionary slogan’ and Tefkros Anthias massive work in newspapers, journals and political interventions on the life and problems of peasants and workers lives from the 1920s to the 1960s. See N. Trimikliniotis, ‘Sociology of Defiance: The Cypriot intellectual Tefkros Anthias 1920-1948’ [in Greek], A. Sofokleous (ed.), *Η Ζωή και το έργο Τεύκρου Ανθία* (Nicosia: Institute of Mass Media Communication IMME), 136-151 and C. Kyrris, ‘Οι πνευματικές αναζητήσεις της εποχής’, *Κυπριακά, 1878-1955, Διαλέξεις Λαϊκού Πανεπιστημίου* 2, [Cy-

Amongst the Turkish intellectual elites, the conflict between the ‘traditionalists’ and the ‘modernists’ brought about transformation within the community.<sup>11</sup> There were also crucial changes amongst the Greek Cypriot ruling class, as new economic groups, including major landowners, money-lenders and commercial traders, emerged in the cities. A new milieu of cosmopolitan, professional middle classes and intellectuals arose, of whom some were radicalised in London or Athens, some were nationalists, others were secularists, socialists and radicals. It was in this context that Greek translations of Durkheim’s works were serialised in Cypriot magazines.

Fast-forward 100 years later to ‘the global era’ of ‘Imperium Century XXI’,<sup>12</sup> we are again witnessing a world in turmoil. Making parallels is useful, but without, of course, assuming some circular notions of history or making simplistic assumptions, as the world today is so fundamentally different from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. There are certainly important lessons from such a historical contextual analysis, but the purpose of this paper is to understand the social context that gave rise to the basic sociological thinking in this country. The argument is that Cyprus is hardly in isolation, because critical social thinking developed precisely because of the country’s connections to world influences. It is *emphatically* not ‘100 years of solitude’, and this island’s ‘insularity’ must be rethought, as it was integrated in the capitalist world before the end of the Ottoman Empire, which has produced *100 years of sociology*. This notion can stretch further back; recent studies on Ottoman Cyprus illustrate that ‘insularity is neither a fixed spatial or geographical condition nor a state that simply oscillates between connectivity and isolation’: the historian Antonis Hadjikyriakou shows that there is a ‘respatialisation process “composed of three specific moments”: the 1770s, the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the 1830s with continuities opening the question of a non-Western European-driven “Age of Revolutions”’.<sup>13</sup>

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prus, 1878-1960] (Nicosia Municipality, 1985), 203-243. Also see Ioannou, G. ‘Agricultural collectives in Cyprus: focusing on a hybrid of the late colonial era’, *Epiterida*, (2006) Vol. 32, 449-476.

<sup>11</sup> See A. Nevzat, *Nationalism amongst the Turks of Cyprus: the first wave*, Oulu University Press (Oulu: Oulu, 2005).

<sup>12</sup> D. Kadir, ‘Imperium Century XXI’, in *Empires and World Literature*, (eds) P. Boitani and I. Montori (Milan: AlboVersorio, 2019).

<sup>13</sup> A. Hadjikyriacou, ‘The Respatialisation of Cypriot Insularity during the Age of Revolutions’, in *The French Revolution as a Moment of Respatialisation*, (2019, forthcoming).

In today's world of crisis, insecurity and despair, when scholars are contemplating whether 'democracy is dying', and international surveys suggest that there is a 'global ascendance of autocracy',<sup>14</sup> one cannot but examine the role of sociology and social sciences in general as vital tools to read the world and the dangers, as well as to potentially transcend these painful times. It is in this context that public and critical sociology becomes much more urgent. This debate is hardly new: Michael Burawoy's call for a 'public sociology' becomes more compelling. He argued that we are witnessing 'a counter-movement, its own counter-utopia, a sociology that involves dialogue with publics rather than peers, whose truth is measured by consensus rather than correspondence to the world'.<sup>15</sup> Burawoy called for a 'public sociology' *contra* 'policy sociology' and initiated a series of debates in many countries regarding the potential and meaning of public sociology in the era of global crisis.<sup>16</sup> Burawoy's request is part of a long tradition of sociology borne out of claims for social justice and equality: Feagin urged sociologists to examine 'the big social questions of this century, including the issues of economic exploitation, social oppression, and the looming environmental crises'.<sup>17</sup> This followed Immanuel Wallerstein's call for a radical opening 'from sociology to historical social science' to be 'developed into a re-unified, historical social science on a truly global scale'.<sup>18</sup>

These crucial debates at the global level must be related to Cyprus. We must locate Cypriot sociology (and other social sciences) within these global debates, but also chart the origins, the developments, the potential and new directions. Despite the fact that there is a richness of social critiques and critical knowledge as a sociology of movements going back more than a century, Cyprus does not have academic

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<sup>14</sup> Y. Mounk and R S. Foa, 'The End of the Democratic Century, Autocracy's Global Ascendance', *Foreign Affairs* (16 April 2018), available at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-04-16/end-democratic-century>.

<sup>15</sup> M. Burawoy, 'Introduction: A Public Sociology for Human Rights', in *Public Sociologies Reader*, (eds.) J. Blau and K. I. Smith, Rowman and Littlefield, (Lanham, MD, 2006). His inspiration for 'public sociology' came after visiting South Africa in 1990 and witnessing the praxis of progressive South African sociologists opposing apartheid.

<sup>16</sup> M. Burawoy, 'Presidential address: For public sociology', *The British Journal of Sociology*, (2005) Vol. 56, No. 2. For a review of the debate on public sociology, see N. Trimikliniotis, 'Public Sociology, Social Justice and Struggles in the era of austerity-and-crises', *International Social Work* (2018).

<sup>17</sup> J. Feagin, 'Social Justice and Sociology: Agendas for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century', *American Sociological Review*, (2001) Vol. 66.

<sup>18</sup> I. Wallerstein, 'From sociology to historical social science: prospects and obstacles', Presidential Address to the XIVth World Congress of Sociology, Montreal, *British Journal of Sociology*, (2000) Vol. 51, No. 1.

traditions at the institutional level that go back that long. This is a contradiction that lies at the heart of the discipline in Cyprus. There is still no study or textbook mapping sociology in Cyprus.

The explanations readily provided often relate to factors such as it is a small country and it only acquired independence from the British in 1960. Other reasons are that all social sciences, as with everything else, are permeated with the 'Cyprus problem', which divides the country, and until the 1980s, Cyprus had no university operating. These explanations are partial and inadequate.

The argument put forward in this paper is that, despite the above, there is plenty of sociology around, which has never been acknowledged. The jury is still out as to whether we can speak of Cypriot sociological schools, derived from the conjuncture of global, regional and local factors and the dialectic of social/geopolitics, with the exception perhaps of the Cypriot strands which primarily address identity issues. In any case, sociology has long transcended national or ethnic boundaries, but location and rooting still matters, as it provides perspectives from specific vantage points. We can see that trends derive from different traditions, and they have always been connected to and have co-existed with global or regional tendencies, although not necessarily peacefully with or in recognition of each other.

Sociology as an academic discipline in Cyprus has a very a recent history: in the whole of Cyprus there are over 4,500 academics and over 140,000 students,<sup>19</sup> providing a promising potential for dialogue across the barbed wire.<sup>20</sup> Sociology does not enjoy a good social standing in Cypriot society, and its low esteem is not

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<sup>19</sup> The Republic of Cyprus hosts eight universities, a number of franchised courses from foreign universities, a number of colleges and higher education institutes, whilst the break-away territory of the unrecognised 'TRNC' has 21 universities. In tertiary education, there are 45,000 students in the government-controlled Southern part of the country, and over 100,000 students in the northern part. This is a massive number for a country with just over one million inhabitants. The fact that the country is divided and tertiary education has been used in the Cold War between the two sides has prohibited academics and students from both communities from collaborating. Some notable exceptions defy the barbed wire, chauvinism and the Cold War games, with 4,500 academics and over 140,000 students exhibiting the potential for intercommunal cooperation overcoming the division; however, there are structural, institutional/political barriers pertaining to how the Cyprus problem has been entrenched within tertiary education, as well as capitalistic competition between private institutions. These factors have prevented the realisation of critical thought and activism that could serve as a radical force of change in the divided country. G. Ioannou and S. Sonan, *Inter-Communal Contact and Exchange in Cyprus' Higher Education Institutions: Their Potential to Build Trust and Cooperation*, Report, Peace Research Institute Oslo, (Oslo2019).

<sup>20</sup> This is suggested by Australian Cypriot academic Michael S. Michael, who was instrumental in

unconnected to the country's economy, which is based on tourism, financial services and land development.<sup>21</sup> The workforce is highly trained in technical professions and skills, dominated by business and finance graduates, bankers, lawyers and accountants. In secondary schools, sociology is offered only as an elective, taught by philologists. In fact, philologists, trained in Greece and Cyprus in Greek language, literature, history and some philosophy, but not in sociology, stubbornly oppose any sociologists entering Greek Cypriot secondary schools. In Greece, on the other hand, sociologists have long been teaching in secondary schools.

A number of younger sociologists work locally as researchers, for the government or have to work abroad. A few dozen sociologists are employed in tertiary education, particularly teaching sociology of education in pedagogical studies and sociology for social workers, and in media departments. With the exception of psychology, sociology (and social sciences in general) is not a discipline that is a first choice of study in Cyprus. Noteworthy is that the Cyprus Ministry of Education has been holding a conference and publishing the subsequent volume for the past 50 years entitled, *Letters and Arts in Cyprus*,<sup>22</sup> but excludes humanities and social sciences. In the recently established Academy of Cyprus, no sociologist was appointed. Social sciences do not enjoy much prominence in the public life.<sup>23</sup> The technocratic/technical professions generate kudos and enhance people status, as they are well rewarded and have to do with trade and commerce. An old Cypriot expression says 'Sell (trade) or resell, or leave Cyprus',<sup>24</sup> denoting that other than trade and commerce there is nothing else to do in Cyprus.<sup>25</sup>

Sociology in Cyprus is a product of its history. The first modern 'social' critiques came from the press and political movements of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the early

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establishing the now defunct Cyprus Academic Forum, which aimed to establish bicommunal dialogue and collaboration in academia. See Ioannou and Sonan, *Inter-Communal Contact*.

<sup>21</sup> Modules were taught at some private colleges of further education, such as at Frederick College of Technology in 1980. It was taught extensively at Intercollege from 1980, but never at BA level, as there was little interest; between 2004-2008, late Professor Peter Loizos ran the MA in Sociology, recognised by the Ministry of Education. Currently, the only undergraduate degree in sociology is offered by the (State) University of Cyprus.

<sup>22</sup> Ministry of Education, *Γράμματα και Τέχνες στη Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία [Letters and Arts in Cyprus]*, 2010.

<sup>23</sup> See Y. Papadakis Y. 'Social Science Research on Cyprus: Emphases, Silences, Omissions', paper presented at the conference 'Interpreting the Past, Present and Future of Cyprus', LSE and the University of Cyprus, Nicosia, 17 May 2016.

<sup>24</sup> The actual wording in the Greek Cypriot dialect is 'Πράττε ή μετάπραττε, ή που την Κύπρον φύε'.

<sup>25</sup> N. Peristianis and G. Tsangaras, *Η Ανατομία μιας Μεταμόρφωσης, Η Κύπρος μετά το 1974'* (Nic-



19<sup>th</sup> century, socialists, communists and feminists, as well as more conservative secular and nationalist analyses, affected the field. Influences and sources were imported from the UK, Egypt, Greece and Turkey, and in the late 1980s and 1990s, the actual professional ‘practice’ through social work<sup>26</sup> and the major social/political influence of the Cypriot diaspora intellectuals were the sources of professional/academic sociology.<sup>27</sup>

General consensus holds that Cyprus’ small size and recent independence explain the many social evils, law, policy and administrative inadequacies. These factors do matter, of course, but they do not account for the fact that insightful sociological thinking has not shaped policy: it is a question of balancing political and social forces in Cypriot society. The size of the country is a relevant consideration; the question of ‘scale’ has been used and abused in different ways, to ridicule, deny or justify claims to nationhood/ Statehood or the operation of ‘small battalion’ States.<sup>28</sup> Yet small States have a significant role to play in the world and their study contributes to understanding global and regional issues related to social formations and the State system. Small States are not mere pawns in the international relations game ‘in a world structured around a narrow definition of State interests.’<sup>29</sup>

Today, sociological studies about Cyprus are found in international journals and publications. However, the most focused work available can be found in English in this journal, published since 1989. There has been an impressive growth in sociological work, particularly since the 1990s, with some edited volumes in Greek and English;<sup>30</sup> however, sociology is but a component, rather subsumed within social

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osia Intercollege Press, 1995), was one of the first collective multidisciplinary texts in Greek, which examines the development of post-1974 Cypriot society.

<sup>26</sup> V. Ioakimides, V. and Trimikliniotis, N. ‘Social Work and the Cyprus problem: The challenges of reconciliation in de facto divided and crisis-ridden society’, In Duffy, J., Campbell, J. and Tosone, C. (eds.), *International Perspectives on Social Work and Political Conflict*, Routledge, (London, 2019).

<sup>27</sup> The 1990s however was the period where Thatcherism and neoliberal education policies across the world imposed closure or slimming down of many sociology departments. The neoliberalisation, privatisation and massification of education transformed the context of tertiary education; it was in this conjuncture that Cyprus expanded tertiary education and established academic sociology.

<sup>28</sup> T. Nairn, *Faces of Nationalism: Janus Revisited* Verso, (London, 1997), on the significance of ‘Small Battalions’ in the globalisation era.

<sup>29</sup> C. Ingebritsen, ‘Norm entrepreneurs: Scandinavia’s role in world politics’, *Cooperation and Conflict*, (2002), Vol. 37, No. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Peristianis and Tsangaras, *‘H Avatoμία and Mavratsas’*, Y. Papadakis, N. Peristianis, and G. Welz (eds.), *‘Divided Cyprus, Modernity, History and an Island in Conflict’* Indiana University Press, (Indianapolis IN2006).

and political sciences, even though prominent authors, intellectual leaders and editors during these times were often sociologists and anthropologists.<sup>31</sup> From the 1970s until today, the Cypriot diaspora developed important and innovative critical perspectives in sociology.<sup>32</sup> It is no coincidence that first they were academics working in universities and research institutes and they had the necessary concern as well as the distance to produce social criticism that allowed social sciences to advance to where they are today. Within Cyprus, the field was heavily male-dominated;<sup>33</sup> however, since the 2000s, the vast majority of graduates in social sciences are women who have been developing some of the most interesting and innovative work.

### **Sociology, the ‘Deficient Modernisation Thesis’ of a Small Postcolonial Society**

A long-standing sociological debate in colonial or postcolonial territories is the question of ‘modernity’ and ‘tradition’. Whether these societies are labelled ‘underdeveloped’, ‘less developed’ or ‘developing’, or ‘third world countries’ underlies the peripheral or semi-peripheral position of these countries in Wallenstein’s world-system schema. The peripheral position of EU member States such as Ireland, Cyprus and Malta, as compared to the EU’s core, has become quite apparent with the recent crisis-and-austerity policies.<sup>34</sup> Anthony Giddens,<sup>35</sup> excited by the force of globalisation as a means of ‘de-traditionalisation’, implies that, in ‘small societies’ like Malta, entangled between tradition and modernity, globalisation would eventually prevail leading to the country’s modernisation.<sup>36</sup> Over two decades later,

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<sup>31</sup> Prominent sociologists included Michael Attalides, Nicos Peristianis, Caesar Mavratsas, Stathis Mavros, Andreas Panayiotou, and well known Cypriot anthropologists include Peter Loizos, Caesar Mavratsas, Yiannis Papadakis, Vassos Argyrou, etc.

<sup>32</sup> Important work was produced by social anthropologists such as Peter Loizos: ‘The Greek Gift: Politics in a Cypriot Village’ St Martin’s Press, (London,1975) and ‘Unofficial Views: Cyprus: Society and Politics’, *Intercollege Press*, (Nicosia 2001). See Papadakis et al., ‘Divided Cyprus’, in which various scholars, including sociologists, evaluate the state of knowledge in Cypriot society, with a focus on Anthropology. This was based on a conference in honour of Peter Loizos.

<sup>33</sup> Sociologists Elengo Rangou and Eleni Nikita were exceptions. I would like to thank Stathis Mavros for this information.

<sup>34</sup> Malta has managed to escape the worst of the recent crisis, most probably because of the tightly regulated and controlled financial and banking system.

<sup>35</sup> In the preface to the first sociological inquiry of Maltese society, R. G. Sultana and G. Baldacchino, ‘*Maltese Society: A Sociological Inquiry*’, *Mireva Publications*, (Msida, 1994).

<sup>36</sup> A. Giddens, ‘Forward’, in Sultana and Baldacchino, *Maltese Society*.

Baldacchino spoke of the naiveté and claiming that globalisation has come to the Maltese islands. He offers instead a contextual Mediterranean reading, draws on Braudel, and compares Maltese islands to Sicily in order to appreciate the transformations of society to speak of Malta as ‘a cosmopolitan hub’.<sup>37</sup> This is precisely what this article is claiming about Cyprus: *Cyprus is hardly isolated*. Rather, it is at the centre of cosmopolitan crossings and this is reflected in social sciences and debates: small States can and do speak back and not just about scale or vulnerability.<sup>38</sup>

The modernisation arguments over Cyprus are very similar to those pertaining to the Maltese islands, save for the Cyprus problem, which is often seen as an additional ‘burden’ that prevents it from modernising.<sup>39</sup> Sociologists have often spoken of a ‘modernisation deficiency’ regarding ‘civil society’s underdevelopment’.<sup>40</sup> There are problematic assumptions about the notion of civil society. It is often idealised as expressing the free will of society contra the authoritarian State. Others demonise civil society because ‘the public’ is racist and xenophobic. It is problematic to think that civil society operates somehow autonomously from the State or is uncorrupted by State processes. Also, misleading is the idealisation of civil society as an unqualified ‘good’ that is ‘democratic’, ‘free’ and ‘innocent’.

Two institutions have been at the centre of much of the debate: the State and political parties. Recently, the church’s role as a conservative force or the private business sector’s role in reproducing corruption, nepotism and the economics of ‘selling citizenship’ have attracted research attention. Political parties are consid-

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<sup>37</sup> G. Baldacchino, ‘Prologue’, in *Sociology of the Maltese Islands*, (eds.) M. Briguglio and M. Brown, Miller, (Luqa, Malta, 2018), 6.

<sup>38</sup> G. Baldacchino, ‘Small Island States: Vulnerable, Resilient, Doggedly Perseverant or Cleverly Opportunistic?’, *Études caribéennes* [En ligne], 27-28 | Avril-Août 2014, mis en ligne le 14 août 2014, available at <https://doi.org/10.4000/etudescaribeennes.6984>, Baldacchino, G. (2018). ‘Mainstreaming the study of small states and territories’, *Small States & Territories*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 3-16, Baldacchino, G. (2016). ‘Prologue’. In Briguglio, M. and Brown, M. (eds), *Mille, Sociology of the Maltese Islands*. Luqa, Malta, 4-10.

<sup>39</sup> Attalides was amongst the first sociologists who made this case: See M. Attalides, ‘Factors that shaped society’ (pp. 215-235), in *Κυπριακή ζωή και Κοινωνία: Λίγο πριν την ανεξαρτησία μέχρι και το 1984*, Nicosia Municipality, (Nicosia, 2006), (in Greek), ‘Για τον Πολιτικό μας Πολιτισμό’ [On our Political Culture], *Περιπέτειες Ιδεών*, (21 May 2006) Vol. 1, *Πολίτης*, (in Greek), *Κύπρος: Κοινωνία, Κράτος και Διεθνές Περιβάλλον*’ *Papazisis*, (Athens, 2009), (in Greek), Caesar Mavratsas became one of the most known proponents of this approach speaking of the economic ethos of Greek-Cypriots, see C. Mavratsas, ‘The Greek and Greek-Cypriot Economic Ethos: A Sociocultural Analysis’, *The Cyprus Review* (1992), Vol. 4, No. 2, 7-43.

<sup>40</sup> As well as social anthropologists, psychologists, political scientists and historians.

ered to be between the 'State' and 'civil society'. When in power they are part of the State, whereas in opposition, they can be seen as part of civil society or as 'seeking power'.<sup>41</sup> The very binary logic of *State versus civil society* has to be questioned. In some perspective, parties are treated as either 'pillars of democracy' in the pluralist democratic order or with suspicion as clientelist instruments of 'demagogues' and 'corrupt politicians'. Liberal perspectives can be naive or can become part of elite theory. The reality is more complex; clientelism must be located within the capitalist relations rather than perceiving them as 'deviating' from the model of 'rational capitalistic relations and/or derived from pre-capitalistic relations: this is apparent in the experience of neoliberal policies of the last 40 years across the globe. Privatisation and marketisation have proved to be hardly rational and efficient use of resources; rather they are beneficial for sectional class interests at the expense of the economy, society and the environment. Rather than generalising about clientelism in Cyprus, we must locate the specific political, economic and social interests which are benefiting at 'others' expense' and read them in context. The question of how the migration issue is framed within the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot political systems (i.e., party, civil society and State) is a good example of the problematic readings of the above assumptions.

There has been an interesting debate about the inherent inability of the Greek Cypriot political system and party structure to engage in a meaningful dialogue over issues relating to what Floya Anthias referred to as the 'ethnos axis'.<sup>42</sup> For instance, they are unable to talk about the role and treatment of the 'others' in society, such as migrants, ethnic communities and minorities, homosexuals, and prisoners, while they debate the Cyprus problem and its solution. This was chiefly manifested in 2004 in the lack of a genuinely public dialogue other than the monologues over content of the UN's plan for a solution: As I argued in an article published in the *Cyprus Review*, 'an electrified atmosphere prevailed and the hysterical mood did not permit any sober dialogue'. The "debate" over the Annan plan was "more akin to a hysterical outcry than a reasoned dialectical argumentation".<sup>43</sup> This was interpret-

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<sup>41</sup> G. Charalambous and C. Christophorou (eds.) *'Party-society relations in the Republic of Cyprus'*, Routledge, (London, 2017).

<sup>42</sup> F. Anthias, 'Rethinking Social Divisions: Some Notes towards a Theoretical Framework', *The Sociological Review*, (1998) Vol 46, No. 3 F. Anthias and N. Yuval-Davis, 'Racialised Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-racist struggle' Routledge, (London, 1989).

<sup>43</sup> Trimikliniotis, N., 'A Communist's Post-modern Power Dilemma: One Step Back, Two Steps Forward, "Soft No" and "Hard Choices"', *The Cyprus Review*, (2006), Vol. 18, No. 1, 37-86, p. 42.

ed as a 'pathology' of the political system that tends to treat differences of opinion regarding a solution to the Cyprus issue as 'national treachery', as it symbolises 'a wound in the national body'. Avoiding the danger of 'pathologising' a social formation, we may interpret this as a crisis of the political system when it approaches some notional 'limits'. The feverish tone in the debates over the plan at the time was evidence of a mono-communal political system in crisis.<sup>44</sup>

The system closure can thus be understood as the system's self-preservation and the democratic process itself malfunctioning, because the Republic of Cyprus cannot cope with a radical transformation of its historical 'nation-State dialectic' inherent in *all* national States.<sup>45</sup> However, these observations are hardly confined to the 'national question', as a range of issues are generally thought about and framed along the 'ethnos axis' of society. There are efforts to read Greek Cypriot society in different ways, such as a Hegelian-Foucauldian reading, as an 'austere Cypriot enclosure'.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, other social scientists refer to the 'sickliness of Greek Cypriot political thought' that ideologically entraps politics in a conventional and cyclical perception of the political problem.<sup>47</sup> If combined with the notion of 'the dialectic of intolerance',<sup>48</sup> there is a powerful critique of the hegemonic system of political thought and praxis within and beyond political parties in Cyprus. In that sense, Greek Cypriot society appeared unable to properly debate the UN plan in 2004, which amounted to an implicit challenge to the legitimacy of the claims made by the power mechanisms in Greek Cypriot society. If the plan had been approved, it would have radically transformed society, which queried, if not challenged head on, some basic norms that consider some aspects of social life as 'problematic' and 'deviant'. The system survives by suppressing questioning, concealing any potential

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<sup>44</sup> C. Pericleous, 'The Cyprus Referendum, A Divided Island and the Challenge of the Annan Plan', I. B. Tauris, (London, 2009).

<sup>45</sup> N. Trimikliniotis, 'The Role of State Processes in the Production solution of 'Ethnic' and 'National' Conflict: The Case of Cyprus' (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Social Sciences, University of Greenwich, 2000).; N. Trimikliniotis, 'Η διαλεκτική του έθνους-κράτους και το καθεστώς εξαίρεσης, Συνταγματικές και το Κοινωνιολογικές Μελέτες, Savvalas, (Athens,, 2010), (in Greek).

<sup>46</sup> L. Philippou, 'Ο Αυστηρός Κυπριακός Εγκλεισμός', *Greek Political Science Review*, (November 2005), Vol. 26, (in Greek).

<sup>47</sup> See P. Kitromilides, 'Κυπριακές Πολιτικές στάσεις και επίλυση του κυπριακού', *Σύγχρονα Θέματα*, (July 1998 – March 1999), Vol. 68-69-70, (in Greek)

<sup>48</sup> P. Kitromilides, 'The Dialectic of Intolerance', in *Small States in the Modern World: Conditions for their Survival*, revised edn, (eds.) P. Worsley and P. Kitromilides, New Cyprus Association and Cyprus Geographical Association, (Nicosia, 1979).

for reflexivity, recycling clichés without reappraisal, dogmatic thinking and spouting meaningless sound bites.<sup>49</sup>

Therefore, we can learn how to read any proposed plan to resolve the Cyprus problem. There are active factors, such as imperial forces that have their own interests in mind in maintaining the de facto partition or in resolving the Cyprus problem. Forces within Cyprus who benefit from the de facto partition also become entrenched politically, economically and socially.<sup>50</sup> The way the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot public spheres are structured also distort with the Greek Cypriot media playing a very negative role. During the debate over the UN plan in 2004, instead of it being presented as the product of a long process of negotiation and compromise between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots (and others), the dominant view in the Greek Cypriot and Greek media presented it as an ‘alien aborted product’<sup>51</sup> or ‘an unworkable freak monster’ which would impose a Nazi-inspired

<sup>49</sup> Philippou, ‘Ο Αυστηρός Κυπριακός Εγκλεισμός’, 70, (in Greek).

<sup>50</sup> N. Trimikliniotis, ‘A Communist’s Post-modern Power Dilemma: One Step Back, Two Steps Forward, “Soft No” and “Hard Choices”’, *The Cyprus Review*, (2006), Vol. 18, No. 1; N. Trimikliniotis, *Η Διαλεκτική του Έθνους-Κράτους* (in Greek); N. Trimikliniotis, ‘The Cyprus problem and imperial games in the hydrocarbon era: From a place of arms to an energy player?’, in *Beyond A Divided Cyprus: A State and Society in Transformation*, (eds.) N. Trimikliniotis and U. Bozkurt, Macmillan Palgrave, (New York, NY, 2012), N. Trimikliniotis, ‘The national question, partition and geopolitics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: the Cyprus problem, the social question and the politics of reconciliation’, *Global Discourse*, (2018), Vol. 18, No. 2/; G. Ioannou, *Ο Ντενκτάς στο νότο: η κανονικοποίηση της διχοτόμησης στην ελληνοκυπριακή πλευρά*, *Psifedes*, (Athens, 2019).

<sup>51</sup> The plan was often referred to as “έκτρωμα” (ektroma), i.e. an aborted freak. The term was and continues to be extensively used by many of those who were against the Annan Plan and/or are opposed to a bizonal, bicomunal federation as a solution of the Cyprus problem in the Greek-Cypriot and Greek media. Many articles of this kind were published in the newspapers *Simerini*, *Machi* and *Phileletheros* in Cyprus, see Christophorou, C., Sahin, S., & Pavlou, S., (2010). *Media Narratives, Politics and the Cyprus Problem*. Nicosia: PRIO; Avraamidou, M., (2017) ‘Exploring GreekCypriot media representations of national identities in ethnically divided Cyprus: The case of the 2002/2004 Annan plan negotiations’. *National Identities*, 5, 1–23. The media tycoon Costis Hadjicostis, founder and owner of the DIAS group owning Sigma TV, the newspaper *Simerini*, and Radio Proto, in his editorial for the anniversary the 2004 referendum, entitled “The great and salvaging No” (“Το μέγα και σωτήριο OXI”, *Simerini* 24.4.2014) repeated the very same term by referring to the Annan plan as an ‘aborted freak’: to his mind Cypriot Hellenism was thankful for being saved by the self-survival instinct of the Greeks of Cyprus. The quote in Greek reads as follows: “Το ένστικτο αυτοσυντήρησης και επιβίωσης και μια υψηλή αίσθηση αξιοπρέπειας και σεβασμού της ιστορίας αυτού του τόπου οδήγησαν τη συντριπτική πλειοψηφία των Ελλήνων της Κύπρου να απορρίψουν το έκτρωμα Ανάν, που θα παρέδιδε την Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία ατάνδρη στους σχεδιασμούς της κατοχικής Τουρκία”, available at <https://simerini.signalive.com/article/2014/4/24/to-mega-kai-soterio-okhi/>, accessed 10.11.2019). The same term is repeated Savvas Iakovides, who was up to recently the editor in chief of *Simerini*, («Εξ αδηρίτου ανάγκης», από

apartheid regime.<sup>52</sup> In this climate no one was prepared to take responsibility or ‘ownership’ of the plan<sup>53</sup> – hence subsequent UN plans would stress that the initiative is ‘Cypriot-led and Cypriot-owned’. The editorial of the newspaper *Simerini* (22 February 2004) alleged that the UN plan foresaw an ‘apartheid State’ which would be a ‘prison’ within which the Greek-Cypriot community would suffer great human rights violations, just like the black South Africans during the apartheid era.<sup>54</sup> The context was such that “during the Annan Plan referenda, all GreekCypriot TV stations opposed the plan as most of the daily newspapers did, with those promoting a ‘No’ response, representing it as a threat to the nation and the State”.<sup>55</sup>

These matters, however, are much broader and were present well before the appearance of the UN plan, and the media continue, to this day, to demonise any proposed strategy for a solution.<sup>56</sup>

Some scholars have argued that there is an ‘inherent absence of critical thought’ in Cyprus. Kitromilides underlined that the legacy of colonialism was the ideological framework of political life, which was characterised by an absence of serious dissent that would challenge the dominant social and political life of Cyprus, resulting in a weakening of social critique.<sup>57</sup> Other political scientists castigated the undemo-

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τον Μακάριο μέχρι τον Αναστασιάδη”, *Simerini* 14.1.2014, <https://www.signalive.com/opinions/savvas-iakovidis/81> (accessed 10 November 2019).

<sup>52</sup> There are hundred such references in the anti-Annan discourses; some references are the following: for instance, Professor Panayiotis Iphaiastos (2002) “Κυπριακό: Τερατογένεση αντί ένταξης και λύσης;”, *Ta Nea*, (2002), 13.11. available at <https://www.tanea.gr/2002/11/13/opinions/gnwmi-kypriako-teratogenesi-anti-entaksis-kai-lysis> (accessed 9 November.2019). For an analysis of the media over the Annan plan referendum, see Christophorou, C., Sahin, S., & Pavlou, S., ‘Media Narratives, Politics and the Cyprus Problem’, PRIO (Nicosia, 2010); Avraamidou, M. ‘Exploring GreekCypriot media representations of national identities in ethnically divided Cyprus: The case of the 2002/2004 Annan plan negotiations’. *National Identities*, (2017),5, 1–23

<sup>53</sup> T. Hadjidemetriou, ‘The Referendum of 24 April 2004 and the Solution to the Cyprus Problem’, *Papazisis*, (Athens,2006); Pericleous, ‘The Cyprus Referendum’.

<sup>54</sup> Avraamidou, M., ‘Exploring GreekCypriot media representations of national identities in ethnically divided Cyprus: The case of the 2002/2004 Annan plan negotiations’. *National Identities*, (2017).5, 1–23.

<sup>55</sup> Avraamidou, M and Psaltis, C., ‘Blocking the solution: Social representations of threats and (non) dialogue with alternative representations in GreekCypriot newspapers during peace negotiations’, *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, (23 May 2019), p. 3.

<sup>56</sup> M. Avramidou and C. Psaltis, ‘Blocking the solution: Social representations of threats and (non)dialogue with alternative representations in Greek-Cypriot newspapers during peace negotiations’, *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, (23 May 2019); Ioannou, *Ο Ντενκτάς στο νότο*.

<sup>57</sup> P. Kitromilides, ‘From Coexistence to Confrontation: The Dynamics of Ethnic Conflict in Cyprus’ in *Cyprus Review*, (ed.) M. Attalides (Nicosia: Jus Cypri, 1977), Kitromilides, ‘The Dialectic’; P. Kitro-

cratic elements and the deficiencies in observing the constitution,<sup>58</sup> whilst Mavratsas attributed ‘the atrophy of civil society’ and ‘clientelist corporatism’ to be the key characteristics of Greek Cypriot society. Attalides makes similar observations.<sup>59</sup>

Whilst there is considerable validity in the above critiques, the general thrust of their common premise, i.e. *the deficient modernisation thesis*, does not properly capture and fully appreciate the complexity of Cypriot society. Society appears as if it were a large homogeneous space, which is somehow ‘weak’ or ‘unable to produce critical thinking’. Gramsci’s contribution to the study of civil society provides a different approach to the dominant Western approaches.<sup>60</sup> We find a number of social critiques from the 1990s. Christodoulou (1992), who is not a sociologist but an economist, coined the term ‘the Cyprus economic miracle’ and argued that this was never reached as a result of structural and institutional inadequacies and socio-political gaps.<sup>61</sup> Anthropologist Argyrou presents a different take over tradition and modernity, drawing on his reading of what he refers to as ‘the symbolic class struggle of the Cypriot wedding’, where there is a ‘dominance of Eurocentric ideology’.<sup>62</sup> This kind of uncritical Eurocentrism stifles critical thinking and engagement, which can only be reversed once a critical postcolonial reading is introduced and practiced.<sup>63</sup>

Sociologist Andreas Panayiotou presents one of the most comprehensive studies on the role of the ‘Left’ within civil society, and sketches out an alternative view of understanding the complexity and nuances of civil society, modernisation and the

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milides, ‘Το ιδεολογικό πλαίσιο της πολιτικής ζωής στην Κύπρο’, in Κύπρος – Ιστορία, προβλήματα και αγώνες του λαού της [Cyprus- History, problems and struggles of its’people], (eds.) G. Tenekidis and Y. Kranidiotis, *Estia*, (Athens 982).

<sup>58</sup> L. Ierodiakonou, *Τεθλασμένη πορεία* (Nicosia, 2003).

<sup>59</sup> C. Mavratsas, *Εθνική Ομοφυχνία και Πολιτική Ομοφωνία Katari*, (Athens: 2003); M. Attalides, ‘Για τον Πολιτικό μας Πολιτισμό’.

<sup>60</sup> A. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Lawrence and Wishart (London, 1972).

<sup>61</sup> D. Christodoulou, ‘Inside the Cyprus Economic Miracle: The Labours of an Embattled Mini- Economy’, *University of Minnesota Press*, (Minneapolis, MN, 1992), D. Christodoulou, ‘Where the Cyprus Economic Miracle never reached: structural and institutional inadequacies and socio-political gaps’, *Intercollege Press*, (Nicosia, 1995). A number of critiques are found in the edited collective volume produced by Peristianis and Tsangaras, *Η Ανατομία μιας Μεταμόρφωσης*.

<sup>62</sup> As argued by asocial anthropologist V. Argyrou, ‘Tradition and Modernity, The Symbolic Class Struggle of the Cypriot Wedding’, *Cambridge University Press*, (Cambridge, 1996).

<sup>63</sup> V. Argyrou, ‘Postscript: Reflections on an Anthropology of Cyprus’, in *Divided Cyprus*, (eds.) Papadakis et al.



development of Cypriot/Greek Cypriot political culture.<sup>64</sup> To properly appreciate Cypriot civil society, one has to grasp the process of Cyprus' transformation from a colony to a postcolonial State, which was structured and internalised by global and regional conflicts and deep contestation for hegemony between the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot political forces. This is why there are 'distortions' from what is 'the ideal' model of an 'autonomous' public sphere, and this is very much part of Cypriot civil society.

The financial crisis hit Cyprus in 2012, but was really felt with the so-called haircut imposed in 2013 and the austerity that followed, and these events brought the above debates to an abrupt halt. This was a watershed moment, as it became apparent that the certainty of the 'long march' of the kind of modernisation and 'em-bourgeoisement' that benefited economic growth and improvement of living standards of the many middle classes and sections of the working class came to an end. In this context, a number of critically-minded social theorists turned to 'economic sociology' and critical sociology, social movements, neo-Marxism and other critical schools. The debates radically shifted, as society was subjected to the austerity package contained in the memorandum of understanding, which the conservative government agreed with the troika. Most 'modernisers' became ardent supporters of neoliberal management as the best opportunity for modernising the State, the economy and society. This was despite the wave of critical scholars, including a new milieu of younger and more radical scholars who challenged the assumptions, the ideological frames, strategies and policies adhered to, as different forms of struggle were born across Europe, including Cyprus.<sup>65</sup>

Right-wing and nationalist responses to the crisis were a prime force in mobilising protests against Demetris Christofias' left-wing government in 2011 and 2012, holding the government responsible for the banking crisis after a tragic munitions accident killed a number of people and almost destroyed a power plant.<sup>66</sup> The Left

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<sup>64</sup> A. Panayiotou, 'Island Radicals: The Emergence and Consolidation of the Cyprus Left' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, (Santa Cruz, 1999).

<sup>65</sup> B. Karatsioli, 'Cyprus in Europe: (In)-dependence and In-debtedness', *The Cyprus Review*, (2014), Vol. 26, No. 1. This special issue, edited by social anthropologist Karatsioli contains an excellent collection of papers of this new trend.

<sup>66</sup> A. Panayiotou, 'Η πρώτη κυπριακή αριστερή προεδρία, (2008 – 2013)', *Κοινωνιολογικά* (2014), available at <http://koinoniologyika.blogspot.com/2014/05/2008-2013.html> .

G. Charalambous and G. Ioannou, 'No bridge over troubled waters: the Cypriot Left heading the government: 2008-2013', *Capital and Class*, (2015) Vol. 39, No. 2, G. Charalambous and G. Ioannou,

lost the next two elections. However, matters have drastically changed since then. The first event was the 'haircut' of deposits in 2013, then the austerity policies and then, in 2018, the decision by the newly re-elected conservative government to privatise the Cyprus Cooperative Bank has changed the mood in Cypriot society. There is economic growth, but this is based on low wages, an increase in precarious employment, social deprivation and sky-rocketing property prices. This is a recovery with increasing inequality and social upheavals.

Social and political forces and situations are transforming social and political divisions. Whether this also empowers the forces for peace and reunification to challenge the ethnic divisions remains an open question. This change also drew from the effort to grasp the debt and destruction in Greece, Southern and peripheral Europe. The debates on the Global South turned to Southern Europe and the periphery. The important rethinking of Marx's primitive accumulation and the Marxist notions of combined/uneven development, together with theories from Antonio Gramsci and from Poulantzas on 'authoritarian statism' are useful and innovative ways of addressing the Agamben's 'state of exception' in the economy.<sup>67</sup> Given that there was a ten-year span since the Turkish Cypriot crisis, 'identities have changed considerably and are susceptible to take different directions'.<sup>68</sup> It is noteworthy that there is a new impetus amongst Turkish Cypriot sociological scholarship, even though academic sociology is not very strong in Turkish Cypriot tertiary education.<sup>69</sup> We are witnessing the emergence of alternative formulations to 'the deficient

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'Party-society linkages and contentious acts: Cyprus in a comparative South European perspective', *Mobilization: an International Quarterly*, (2017) Vol. 22:1; Ioannou, *Ο Ντενκτάς στο νότο*.

<sup>67</sup> G. Agamben, 'State of Exception', *University of Chicago Press*, (Chicago,IL2005); Schmitt, C., 'Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty', *Chicago University Press*, (Chicago IL, 2005).; Trimikliniotis, 'Η Διαλεκτική' and N. Trimikliniotis, 'The Proliferation of the Cypriot States of Exception: The Erosion of Fundamental Rights as Collateral Damage of the Cyprus Problem', *The Cyprus Review*, (2018), Vol. 30, No. 2.

<sup>68</sup> Critical perspectives on the effect of the crisis in Cyprus include the following: G. Ioannou and G. Charalambous, 'The social and political impact of the Cyprus economic crisis: 2010-2017' Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, (Berlin,2017), G. Ioannou, 'Social activism and the city: cultural sociology and radical politics in 21st Century Cyprus', in this issue; G. Charalambous, 'Political Culture and Behaviour in the Republic of Cyprus during the Crisis', PRIO Cyprus Centre, (Oslo,2014); Karatsioli, 'Cyprus in Europe'; Ioannou, *Ο Ντενκτάς στο νότο*.

<sup>69</sup> Some of the known sociologists include Ulus Baker, Niyazi Berkes, Kudret Akay, Muharrem Faiz, and Huseyin Gursan. However, currently active sociologists are Bahar Taşeli and Aysenur Talat. Eren Durzun has produced important historical sociological work, but focusing on Turkey.

modernisation thesis', which provide insights into the social, economic and political practices of corruption, nepotism and clientelism in Cyprus.

### **Sources of Cypriot Sociology**

Given that there is no previous study of Cypriot Sociology, or social sciences for that matter, and that the first university in Cyprus was established in the 1990s, we are obliged to search for the sources and genealogy of Cypriot sociology from a broader perspective of social thought and debates in Cyprus. Of course, there have been many social and political theorists, sociologists, and anthropologists who have been able to contribute to debates over Cypriot society well before that. Particularly important and with much influence have been diasporic social and political scientists, who were amongst the first to write critical articles on Cyprus from the late 1960s and especially in the late 1970s.

We can identify four broader categories of sources of sociology in Cyprus:

1. **British Colonial sociology:** This was part of a knowledge system in the UK administration and spread particularly with social work training.
2. **Nationalist sociology and social thinking:** These were imported from Greece and Turkey, mainly for primary and secondary education, media and intellectual life, and is connected to the two nationalisms. There are different strands, waves and tendencies, but here are hegemonic schools connected to apologetics of Greek and Turkish nationalism in Cyprus.
3. **The sociology of public intellectuals and social reformers:** This was developed as autonomous strands of thinking, primarily outside academia. This includes various socialists, Marxists, feminists and other radicals, and liberation sociology. By and large, Cypriot sociology belongs to this tradition, even though there are also some more conservative trends, which may have started as critical sociologies and have eventually identified with the status quo and the State, or mainstream, in both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.
4. **Managerial sociology and apologetics for power versus critical/public sociology for social justice:** These are two current sociology trends in Cyprus.

The first two emerged in the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but the establishment of sociology as an academic discipline in Cyprus is only in its third decade. The current sociology categories, which is further subdivided into two, only began

in the last decade, although draws on aspects of the three other sociologies, as well as global influences.

The basic argument of this paper is that a closer observation of scholarship and public debates in Cyprus reveals that there is a great deal of sociological knowledge around us as an underlying historical-social knowledge, occasionally explicitly recognised. However, this knowledge takes the form of implicit assumptions and knowledge-in-practice that informs the administration, politics and policy rather than what is explicitly acknowledged. During Ottoman times, Cyprus was a place of exile for dissidents; during the early part of British rule, UK colonialists thought Cyprus was of ‘no use’ except to be used as a pawn.<sup>70</sup> Then again, exile, desert or wilderness can, and does often inspire thinking, rethinking and theorising. Later on, however, by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Cyprus was hardly an isolated island in ‘the middle of nowhere’. The Eastern Mediterranean was a pivotal cultural crossroads, close to major global events, and this ‘barren land’ and ‘backwardness’, depicted in the imperial photographic gaze of Thompson in the *National Geographic*,<sup>71</sup> was to become a cosmopolitan hub in the declining British empire.<sup>72</sup> In fact, there is a lot more sociology around, even in Cypriot intellectual life, which can be fascinating in informing the broader perspective. The Middle East, North Africa, and the connections throughout the Mediterranean are major sources of influence, as ideas, people and news travelled, well before the advent of digital times to reach the shores of Cyprus and to encounter and engage in the transformation of the country.

During the colonial period, we have the start of the British colonial ascendancy. This is where we can locate the establishment of *modern political conflict*, i.e. the establishment of the politics of socialism, liberalism and nationalism in Cyprus. The reference to ‘Colonial sociology’ is self-evident for any scholar of the history of the British Empire. Administering India was perhaps the most difficult for the

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<sup>70</sup> A. Varnava, “‘Cyprus is No Use to Anybody’: The Pawn 1878-1915”, in *Britain in Cyprus, Colonialism and Post-colonialism 1878-2006*, (eds.) H. Faustmann and N. Peristianis (Mannheim and Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 2006), 35-60.

<sup>71</sup> M. Hadjimichael, ‘Revisiting Thomson – The Colonial Eye and Cyprus’, in *Britain and Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism 1878-2006*.

<sup>72</sup> The overall historical context was brilliantly presented by Daphnos Economou, ‘The first career of the Communist Party of Cyprus’, during the panel ‘The past and future lives of Cypriot communism’ at the 1st Historical Materialism Athens Conference, *Rethinking Crisis, Resistance and Strategy*, 2 - 5 May 2019, Panteion University of Social and Political Science. See R. Katsiaounis, ‘Social and Political Change in Cyprus, 1878-1924’, *Epeteris*, (1995), Vol. 21, 223-251.

British, with the 'ethnic', cast and religious factors. Rappas speaks of a process that maintained and generated 'the Colonial State's sociology and ethnography' as well as its 'Barthesian ideology'.<sup>73</sup>

Social thought in public debates, however, has a long history in Cyprus. If we are to locate the precursors of 'public sociology', 'critical sociology' and 'sociology for social justice', as framed today, we must locate the sources of these from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Even though church-supported, intellectual educators and other traditional intellectuals were hegemonic amongst the Greek Cypriot elites, who could read and write at the time, ideas and critiques from various sources about political and social transformation began to circulate amongst the population. Soon after the British took over Cyprus in 1878, social and political demands were made in the press. Social reform demands were premised on social thought, connected to the critiques that emerged from the sociology underpinning socialist ideas.<sup>74</sup>

We can locate critical thinking in newspapers and books from those days.<sup>75</sup> Sociological ideas were circulating in different forms at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Socialist thinking contained a critical analysis of the class system in society. The communist manifesto was translated into Greek and Turkish, whilst critiques had been circulating across the world in the form of 'the social question'. By the early 1900s, the 'social question' was in vogue amongst socialists.<sup>76</sup> World War I and the October revolution were events that influenced social thinking and the spread of socialist ideas in Cyprus. Greek Cypriot socialists and other social reformers were increasingly writing about 'the social problem'.<sup>77</sup>

A new militant group of Greek nationalists, most of whom were Freemasons, had arrived on the scene who were influenced by the French revolution and spoke in anti-colonial terms. This paved the way for new militant ideas to emerge: the

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<sup>73</sup> A. Rappas, 'Cyprus in the 1930s: British Colonial Rule and the Roots of the Cyprus Conflict' I.B. Tauris, (London,2014), 12.

<sup>74</sup> R. Katsiaounis, 'Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century', Cyprus Research Centre, (Nicosia1996).

<sup>75</sup> For instance, one pioneer was a young legal and social scholar who studied in Athens and Paris, Ioannis Kipiades, who published critiques of aristocracy and the newly established penal code, which essentially was copied from the penal code imposed in India, see A. Sophocleous (ed.) Ιωάννης Β. Κηπίδης, Λογοτέχνης και Δημοσιογράφος, Mass Media Institute, Intercollege Press, (2000).

<sup>76</sup> In 2008, Skliros, a Greek socialist from Egypt, published his book *Our Social Problem*.

<sup>77</sup> Leonidas Pavlides, published the series 'The Social Problem' in the Greek journal *Noumas*, whilst the young Tefkros Anthias, who would become the leading Cypriot communist intellectual and poet from the late 1920s, would publish his first social critiques inspired by the October revolution.

social question was introduced anti-colonialist claims, as a result of the influence of socialist circles from Europe and Egypt which challenged the ‘ancien regime’ as a social system. Katsiaounis noted that ‘the structure of hegemonic relations in Cypriot society was crumbling and being replaced by a new one, with highly disruptive consequences for the political order.’<sup>78</sup> The radical break where the issue of women’s rights was located as a key component in the social revolution occurred in the 1920s; the revolutionary spirit of Irene Demetriadou illustrates this.<sup>79</sup> Persephone Papadopoulou, a prominent Greek teacher, was a significant intellectual figure, radical thinker and leading feminist, to whom female education owes a great deal. She founded *Estiades*,<sup>80</sup> the first women’s newspaper in Cyprus, which she edited after 1915, taking on the preconceived prejudices and mentalities of her era. Let us not forget that Cyprus had produced one of the leading precursors to Greek feminism, Sappho Leontias (1882-1900), who left Cyprus to work in Greece.<sup>81</sup> Prior to the advent of the radical women in the labour and communist movement of the 1920s, Greek Cypriot women intellectuals were forced to appeal to the national cause and were subjected to ethno-religious conservatism to legitimise their claims to women’s rights: the educator Polyxeni Loizias is a key figure here.<sup>82</sup>

The next 20 years accelerated this process. Limassol gave birth to a new powerful labour movement, socialism and Cypriot communism.<sup>83</sup> Radical intellectuals turned to socialism, particularly after the October revolution. Limassol became the

<sup>78</sup> Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics*, 219-220.

<sup>79</sup> Speech made shortly after the first Congress of the Communist Party of Cyprus by C. Christodoulidou, ‘Η θέση της γυναίκας στην σημερινή κοινωνία’. See T. Kyritsi ‘Η συγκρότηση του γυναικείου’.

<sup>80</sup> For Excerpts from *Estiades* see A. Sophocleous, *Ιστορία του Κυπριακού τύπου*, Volume C, 1900-1915, Part B, at pp. 1137-1179, Mass Media Institute, (Nicosia,2003).

<sup>81</sup> D. Tzanaki, *Women and Nationalism in the Making of Modern Greece*, *Palgrave Macmillan*, (Basingstoke,2009).

<sup>82</sup> T. Pylarinos and Y. Paraskeva-Hadjicosta, ‘Εισαγωγή’, in *Πολυξένης Λοιζιάδος, Τα Έργα [Polyxeni Loizias, Collected Works]*, (eds.) T. Pylarinos and Y. Paraskeva-Hadjicosta, Cyprus Research Centre, (Nicosia, 2011). As Kyritsi illustrates, the first Greek Cypriot feminists, drawing on the works of other Greek women educators from Athens, Istanbul and Ismir, attempted to legitimise women’s equal rights via appeal to nationalism, citizenship and belonging to the nation. See T. Kyritsi, ‘Engendering Nationalism in Modern Cyprus: The First Women’s Organizations’, in *Cypriot Nationalisms in Context: History, Identity and Politics*, (eds.) T. Kyritsi and N. Christofis, Palgrave, (Basingstoke,2018). Collecting, publishing and having conferences on the brilliant works of Papadopoulou and Leontias is a necessity. However, the real break with radical women only came with the radical and communist women in the labour movement of the 1920s-1940s, See Kyritsi, ‘Η συγκρότηση του γυναικείου’.

<sup>83</sup> Panayiotou, ‘Island Radicals’, 80.

centre for such ideas. In the early to mid-1920s,<sup>84</sup> communists were the most radical anti-colonialists. Their own sociological frame was based on a class alternative to capitalism and national oppression. The publications of communists, socialists and other radicals was premised on a Marxist sociological analysis. This was a major project to educate the working class from the 1930s to 1980s via the popular movement, the *morphotikoi syllogoi* (μορφωτικοί συλλόγοι), which established left-wing associations in every urban neighbourhood and village, as the task was to educate the masses. Hence, portraits of Lenin, Marx or Che were hung in coffee-shops as symbols accompanying this political-education project.<sup>85</sup> These were spaces where the *kafenes* (καφενές) were more than casual meeting places for men (and, for the Left, this included women), but they were part of a popular public sphere for debating and organising. The Right was not passive either; they produced their equivalent *kafenedes* for nationalist and right-wing purposes of their parties, clubs, schools and the church, which was mostly aligned with the Right.<sup>86</sup>

In this transitional time, cities produced a growing milieu of intelligentsias, artists and professionals, and sociology was one of their interests. Emile Durkheim's sociological thinking was translated into Greek, and by 1921, excerpts from Durkheim's sociological method were serialised in Cypriot newspapers.<sup>87</sup> Sociology was important in the 1930s and 1940s, and it is remarkable that Archbishop Makarios studied it.<sup>88</sup> In fact, sociology influenced the archbishop, who became the Republic's first president until his death in 1977.

Turkish Cypriots also do not have a long tradition of sociology. To this day, sociology is not in vogue, nor is there a sociological text of reference. However, since Turkey became a republic, sociology has been a crucial discipline. Kemalist ideas

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<sup>84</sup> The most well-known leader and intellectual of the movement was Panos Fasouliotis, who was ousted, as radical circles did not want to emulate the British Labour party.

<sup>85</sup> A. Panayiotou, 'Lenin in the Coffee-shop: The Communist Alternative and Forms of Non-Western Modernity', *Postcolonial Studies*, (2006), Vol. 9, No. 3, and N. Philippou, 'Coffee-House Embellishments' *University of Nicosia Press*, (Nicosia, 2007).

<sup>86</sup> C. Kyrris, 'Οι πνευματικές αναζητήσεις της εποχής' [The spiritual pursuits of the time], *Κυπριακά*, 1878-1955, *Διαλέξεις Λαϊκού Πανεπιστημίου* 2, [Cyprus; History; British rule, 1878-1960]. Nicosia Municipality, 203-243 and Kyrris, C.P. (1985). *History of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Nicocles.

<sup>87</sup> In the monthly journal *Νέα Εποχή*, *Επιστήμη και Λογοτεχνία* [New Epoch], Vol.1, No.1 (1 July 1921) – Vol.1, No. 4 (1 November 1921).

<sup>88</sup> In 1946, after spending World War II studying theology and law at the University of Athens, he was ordained a priest and awarded a scholarship by the World Council of Churches to do further theological study in the US.

about modernisation, secularism and development were the bases for the establishment and spread of Turkish Cypriot nationalism in the 1940s and 1950s. Sociologist Gokalp was considered the ‘best intellectual formulator of the Turkish Republic’ and the ‘grand master of Turkish nationalism’.<sup>89</sup> According to Berkes, Durkheim was a reference in forging ‘Turkism’, the authoritarian Kemalism of the Turkish Republic. Before Berkes left Cyprus for Istanbul as a teenager, British Cyprus was a truly cosmopolitan country.<sup>90</sup> It was ‘the unique social and political context of Cyprus’ that was crucial in planting ‘the seeds of his open-mindedness’ as the product of a long history of ‘peaceful coexistence’.<sup>91</sup>

## The Foundations of Today’s Sociology in Cyprus from the 1960s

### *From Pre-1974 to Post-1974 Sociology*

Pre-1974, sociological literature on Cyprus is extremely limited. The political, social and economic situation was volatile, and by 1963, ethnic hostilities had begun. The few works written at the time mostly reflected the ‘official’ positions of the two communities: Greek Cypriot literature stressed the notion that the colonialists denied the majority Greek Cypriots’ right to self-determination, the rigidity of the 1960 constitution and the over-representation of Turkish Cypriots in the Republic under the Zurich-London accord. Historiography mirrored the nationalist perceptions of history by both communities.<sup>92</sup> There were of course some notable exceptions. The Turkish Cypriot literature similarly reflected their official line that Turkish Cypriots were oppressed by the Greek Cypriots, who wanted *Enosis*, and that only via *Taksim* can the Cyprus Problem be ‘resolved’.

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<sup>89</sup> T. S. Nefes, ‘Ziya Gökalp’s adaptation of Emile Durkheim’s sociology in his formulation of the modern Turkish nation’, *International Sociology*, (2013), Vol. 28, No. 3; T. S. Nefes, ‘The Sociological Foundations of Turkish Nationalism’, *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, (2017) Vol. 20, No. 1, 15

<sup>90</sup> F. Ahmad, ‘Forward’, in *State and Intellectuals in Turkey, the Life and Times of Niyazi Berkes 1908-1988*, (ed.) S. Dinçşahin, Lexington Books, (Lanham, MD., 2015), ix.

<sup>91</sup> S. Dincşahin, ‘Berkes State and Intellectuals in Turkey’, 3. Dincşahin underlined that various heterogeneous groups coexisted in Cyprus. Berkes father was a non-practicing Muslim follower of the Bektasi order, married to a devout Muslim of the Sufi order of the Mevlevi order. The intellectual environment was shaped by the fact that Cyprus had been ‘in a place where Sultans banished “disgraced officials” and “dangerous radicals”’.

<sup>92</sup> Y. Papadakis, ‘History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Schoolbooks on the ‘History of Cyprus’, PRIO Report, (Oslo, February 2008); C. Psaltis, M. Carretero and S. CehajicClancy (eds.), ‘History Education and Conflict Transformation: Social Psychological Theories, History Teaching and reconciliation’, *Palgrave Macmillan*. (Cham, Switzerland, 2017).



The precursors of sociology in Cyprus were the generations of historians, writers, philologists, and public intellectuals.<sup>93</sup> They were divided into different political and ideological camps, and there was no systematic sociology as such, except for those who had a social critique of society. From the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, which intensified in the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there was an emergence of intellectuals who were influenced by socialism, Marxism and anti-colonialism. They were opposed to the establishment intellectuals, who were connected to the administration, lawyers, and, among Greek Cypriots, they were in the higher ranks of the church. Post-independence, the first 'professional' sociologists were gathered around Ioannis Peristiany, who was brought to Cyprus after the Greek junta ascended to power in 1967, to establish the Cyprus Social Research Centre as part of the Cyprus Scientific Research Centre.<sup>94</sup> This was developed in late 1960s and early 1970s, and their publications continued until the early 1980s. They produced some of the first institutional and professional studies that focused on rural transformation, urbanisation and industrialisation.<sup>95</sup> They were not very critical; sociologically, they used interesting empirical data that is still important; however, they were theoretically weak and uncritical, and they generally adopted functionalist perspectives.

### ***The Post-War, De Facto Partition Period 1974-2003: The Importance of Diasporic Intellectuals***

From 1974 until 2003 was the period for dealing with the casualties and devastation of the war, the de facto partitioning of the country and the setting up of two separate regimes of professionals and social scientists behind barbed wire. Prior to the establishment of tertiary education in Cyprus in the late 1980s and 1990s, we can confidently claim that the crucial role in the establishment of Cypriot sociology and political science was played by diasporic scholars and intellectuals, particularly since the 1960s and 1970s. There is a long tradition where Cypriot intellectuals and

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<sup>93</sup> Apart from Ioannis Peristiany, historians Costas Kyrris, Theodoros Papadopoulos (the founder of Cyprological/ Cypriot studies, whose work spans over 50 years of scholarly), George Georghallides and Katia Hadjidemetriou play crucial roles. See Georghallides, G.S., (1985). *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis*. Cyprus Research Centre and Georghallides, G.S., *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus 1918-1926*, *Zavallis Press*, (Nicosia., 1979). Marxist historians include Costas Grekos and Rolandos Katsiaounis, who were trained as a sociologist before pursuing his work on late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century labour, society and politics.

<sup>94</sup> Personal communication with the author. Similarly Nicos Peristianis has also pointed to the same direction.

<sup>95</sup> It included Kyriacos Markides, Michael Attalides, Eleni Nikita, Erengo Rangou.

social scientists that work abroad but maintain close interaction with developments in Cyprus.<sup>96</sup>

The tragic events of 1974, the coup and the invasion were a watershed moment: one can talk of rupture in history and a paradigm shift in the Kuhnian sense.<sup>97</sup> It was a catastrophe for Greek Cypriots, and the old so-called national aspirations were discredited. Greece, the ‘mother-country’, was seen as having contributed to the disaster. Greek Cypriot scholars, who immediately wrote after 1974 until the early 1980s, were particularly critical of the role of NATO, UK policies and British colonialism. In this period of intense rethinking, it was thought that Cyprus had only one option, which was to find the way for the two communities to co-exist without foreign interference.<sup>98</sup> Their approach was to assert Cypriot independence from Western dependency, promote reconciliation between the two communities and link Cyprus to the Non-Aligned Movement, in line with the postcolonial and ‘Third Worldist’ tradition.<sup>99</sup> These insightful works provided the basis for reconsidering Cypriot society. Some emphasised internal dynamics, without ignoring the

<sup>96</sup> To mention only a few: John Peristiany; Peter Loizos (anthropology) (1960s-2000); Stan Kyriakides, Kyriacos Markides, Paschalis Kitromilides, Adamantia Pollis (1970s), I. Salih (1970s-), Floya Anthias/ Ron Ayres (1980s-), Djelal Kadir (1990s-) Ari Sitas (late 1990s-), John Solomos (1990s-). Some key sociologists are discussed further below.

<sup>97</sup> T. Kuhn ‘The Structure of Scientific Revolutions’, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, *University of Chicago Press*, (Chicago IL, 1970), available at [https://projektintegracija.pravo.hr/\\_download/repository/Kuhn\\_Structure\\_of\\_Scientific\\_Revolutions.pdf](https://projektintegracija.pravo.hr/_download/repository/Kuhn_Structure_of_Scientific_Revolutions.pdf).

<sup>98</sup> The New Cyprus Association was such a crucial organisation; a central figure was the late Joseph Bayadas. In the 1980s and 1990s, there were a number of journals that appeared in Nicosia (*Εντός των Τειχών*, *Εξ υπαρχής*) and Limassol (*Το Τρένο*). A key intellectual and publisher was the late Costis Ahtiotis.

<sup>99</sup> Important are the works of Attalides, *Cyprus Review*; Kitromilides, ‘From Coexistence’ (1977), ‘The Dialectic’ (1979), ‘The Ideological Framework of Political Life in Cyprus’ (1982), ‘The Hellenic State as National Centre’ (1983), K. C. Markides, ‘The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic’ *Yale University Press*, (London, 1977); H. I. Salih, ‘Cyprus, the Impact of Diverse Nationalism on a State’, *University of Alabama Press*, (Tuscaloosa, AL, , 1978), A. Pollis, ‘Colonialism and Neo-colonialism: Determinants of Ethnic Conflict in Cyprus’, in *Small States in the Modern World: Conditions for their Survival*, revised edn, (eds.) P. Worsley and P. Kitromilides, New Cyprus Association and Cyprus Geographical Association, (Nicosia, 1977), A. Pollis, ‘The Role of Foreign Powers in Structuring Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict in Cyprus’, in *Cyprus and Its People, Nation, Identity, and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1995-1997*, (ed.) V. Calotychos, Westview Press, (Oxford, 1979); F. Anthias and R. Ayres, ‘National Liberation and the Struggle for Socialism – The Case of Cyprus’, *Capital and Class*, (1978), Vol. 1 F. Anthias and R. Ayres, ‘Ethnicity and Class in Cyprus’, *Race and Class*, (1983) Vol. 25, No. 1; F. Anthias, ‘Cyprus’, in *Politics, Security and Development in Small States*, (eds.) C. Clark and T. Payne, *Allen and Unwin* (London,, 1987), 184-200.

international factors, whereas others scrutinised the role of nationalism, identity and ethnic conflict in Cyprus.

Some Turkish Cypriots reached similar conclusions;<sup>100</sup> however, it must be noted that, given that Turkish Cypriots had suffered between 1963 and 1974, in the immediate aftermath of 1974, there was little critical Turkish Cypriot scholarship against the invading Turkish army and the partition. That came later in the 1980s and 1990s, when issues relating to class, identity and culture became issues of resistance,<sup>101</sup> which produced fewer historical works with some sociological insights,<sup>102</sup> but more on literature and postcoloniality.<sup>103</sup>

As for the question of class, very few texts dealt with the subject, particularly on the role of class in the Cyprus conflict. The article by Anthias and Ayres is by far the most important critical work.<sup>104</sup> Other attempts to provide class analysis in the examination of relations of capital and labour;<sup>105</sup> but much of the published work remains rather sketchy, sociologically under-theorised and more speculative than empirically backed.<sup>106</sup>

The most important social historian of Cyprus, Rolandos Katsiaounis,<sup>107</sup> trained as a sociologist before turning to history, and produced the basis of a long Cypriot historical sociology from the early British colonial period to independence. From a historical perspective, Katsiaounis (1996) wrote one of the best works on class in Cyprus politics during the 19<sup>th</sup> century; George Hill, who had access to the Co-

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<sup>100</sup> H. I. Salih, Cyprus.

<sup>101</sup> A. Mehmet Ali, N. Kizilyurek, H. Yucel and N. Yasin, 'Turkish-Cypriot Identity in Literature' *Fatal Publications*, (1989).

<sup>102</sup> N. Kizilyürek, 'The Turkish-Cypriot Upper Class and Question of Identity', in *Turkish-Cypriot Identity in Literature*, 20-32; N. Kizilyürek, *Κύπρος: Το Αδιέξοδο των Εθνικισμών*, Μαύρη Λίστα, (Athens, 1999), N. Kizilyürek, 'Οι Τουκοκύπριοι, η Τουρκία και το Κυπριακό', *Papazisis* (Athens, 2009), N. Kizilyürek, 'Μια Εποχή της Βίας, Το σκοτεινό 1958' [An Epoch of violence, The unknown 1958] *Heterotopia*, ( Nicosia, 2015); J. Stubbs and B. Taşeli, 'Newspapers, Nationalism And Empire', *Media History*, (2014) Vol. 20, No. 3.

<sup>103</sup> B. Kemal, A. Adil, A. Mehmet Ali, and M. Petrides (eds), 'Nicosia Beyond Barriers, Voices from a divided city', Saqi Books, (London, 2019).

<sup>104</sup> Anthias and Ayres, 'Ethnicity and Class in Cyprus'.

<sup>105</sup> See S. Kattos, 'State Capital and Labour in Cyprus', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, (Sydney, Australia, 1999).

<sup>106</sup> Constantinides, 'Review of of Recent Cypriot History, Social Structures, Institutions and ideology', (2011).

<sup>107</sup> Trimikliniotis, 'Η Διαλεκτική'; also see A. Varnava, 'Evaluating the work of Rolandos Katsiaounis: Labour, Society and anticolonialism in Cyprus, 1850-1950', in 'Cypriot Nationalisms in Context' (2018), 243-258.

lonial archives wrote about the earlier period of Cyprus up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first Marxist historian, Costas Grecos, had a class analysis,<sup>108</sup> and others similarly tried to link nationalism and class in Cyprus, but he ultimately provided speculative explanations rather than analytically and empirically backing his conclusions. Interest in studying class in Cyprus, particularly the working class, has been recently revived.

In the 1980s, Nicosia Municipality organised another sociological initiative, called the *Laiko Panepistimio* (Popular University), which was a series of open lectures on sociology up to 1984,<sup>109</sup> and a series of lessons on the historical sociology of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The next wave was in the 1990s, when the Cyprus Sociologists Association was established in 1994.

It is noteworthy that there are many brilliant insights of the scholars of the 1970s and 1980s that were somehow not properly taken up in the recent works. This is something that ought to be remedied; this very article attempts to address this, albeit schematically. Over the last years we have at least in part seen some references to these works.<sup>110</sup>

### **Key Themes and the Current State of Affairs: Towards Critical Sociology in a Divided Society**

Social sciences, in general, and sociology, in particular, are newcomers as autonomous academic disciplines in Cypriot society, as the first colleges appeared in Cyprus in the 1980s and the first university was established in the 1990s. In the Republic of Cyprus, there are now eight universities (three public and five private ones) and numerous research institutes. Sociology, as an academic subject, was taught in the 1980s and as an autonomous subject in the 1990s; social psychology

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<sup>108</sup> Grecos wrote the book *Cypriot History* (1991) for a broad readership, which certainly provides for a class perspective.

<sup>109</sup> The second round, under the heading 'the social and cultural context', included S. Mavros, 'Sociological theorisation of economic development in Cyprus', Attalides, 'Factors', and N. Peristianis, 'Sociological theorisation of religious life'. These lectures took place in 1984 and were transmitted by public radio; they were published in *Κυπριακή ζωή και Κοινωνία: Λίγο πριν την ανεξαρτησία μέχρι και το 1984* (Nicosia: Nicosia Municipality, 1993).

<sup>110</sup> Ioannou 2011, 2016β, 2019; Panayiotou, *Island Radicals*, A. Panayiotou, 'Συνοριακές Εμπειρίες: Ερμηνεύοντας τον πατριωτισμό της Κυπριακής Αριστεράς', in *Το Πορτοκαλί της Κύπρου*, (ed.) N. Trimikliniotis (Athens: Nisos, 2005), Panayiotou, 'Lenin in the Coffee-shop', 2012; Trimikliniotis, *Η Διαλεκτική*; Trimikliniotis and Bozkurt, *Beyond a Divided Cyprus*; Bozkurt and Trimikliniotis, 2014; Sakellaropoulos 2017, 2018. Sakellaropoulos, S. 'The Class Structure of Society in the Republic of Cyprus', 2017; Sakellaropoulos, S. *The Social Formation of Cyprus, 1191–2004*, 2017.

emerged as an autonomous teaching subject after 2005. Floya Anthias, a diasporic sociologist in London, pioneer in the study of race, ethnicity, gender and migration, illustrates how the Cypriot context generates some of the key issues she set out study.<sup>111</sup>

The 'Cypriotist' traditions, as an intellectual-political movement, is either censored or ridiculed as a viable respectable alternative to the Greek and Turkish colonialist project, which is 'normalised' in the dominant narratives in Cyprus. The undisputed 'lingua Franca' of finance, commerce, tourism and business is reserved for English. Sociologist Andreas Panayiotou, who has done the most to make the Cypriot moment as a theoretical vehicle for cultural-ideological resistance, placed it within its regional-geographical context, insisting that 'Cyprus is border society par excellence'. He has also legitimised the use of the Greek Cypriot idiom as a powerful local medium, which is scientifically and politically valid in theorising resistance and movements in the whole of the region. The intellectual debates around Cyprus have seen a revival of critical thinking that open up 'spaces' since 1974.<sup>112</sup>

Three developments can be identified in the literature of this period. First, there was focus on the 'internal' dimension of the Cyprus conflict and some social aspects of Cypriot society. Second, there has been an attempt at a more systematic, technical and academic approach rather than a political approach to the Cyprus problem, and hence some Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot writers have written scholarly works of both politico-legal and purely legal nature. Third, there has been a 'flood' of European-inspired literature.

### **Nationalism, Identity and the Cyprus Problem: Post-1974 Sociology**

The generation of scholars at the newly established colleges and universities in Cyprus focused on nationalism, identity and the Cyprus problem.<sup>113</sup> The interest in

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<sup>111</sup> Quoted in the interview, see M. Bryant Cheney, L. M. Montas, and J. W. Lincoln, 'Translocational Social Theory After "Community": An Interview with Floya Anthias', *disClosure*, (2016) Vol. 25.

<sup>112</sup> With an important influence within and beyond academia, two exceptional figures within the intellectual-activist tradition must be mentioned: Joseph Bayadas and Costis Ahniotis. Joseph Bayadas was the heart and soul of the 'New Cyprus Association', and was involved in much of the intellectual activity, wrote articles in newspapers and edited journals such as *Ex Yparhis* with Ahniotis. Ahniotis was an intellectual who comes from an international leftist Cypriot tradition and was involved in many Nicosia-based initiatives, groups and journals.

<sup>113</sup> These include Kizilyurek, 'The Turkish-Cypriot Upper Class', Y. Papadakis (1993), and Y. Papadakis, 'Enosis and Turkish Expansionism: Real Myths or Mythic Realities?', in *Cyprus and Its People, Nation, Identity, and experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1995-1997*, Westview Press (Ox-

nationalism and identity reflected the global and local contexts of the resurgence of ethnic-related phenomena. This literature appeared essentially in the late 1980s but peaked in the 1990s. The 1990s literature was not a 'rupture' in terms of the basic ideas and themes from the post-1974 period but there was no proper engagement with the critical works of the late 1970s and early 1980s. The themes and approaches shifted as they reflected or responded to the political, social, economic changes taking place.

One of the main innovations in the analysis of the Cyprus problem has been an increasing concern with its internal dynamics. Important studies have been written on nationalism, identity and ethnic conflict in Cyprus, including some on linking the Cyprus problem with social aspects of life in Cyprus. The issue of identity related to the study of nation and nationalism in Cyprus has been the subject in many texts.

Turkish Cypriots identity issues dominate and are crucial in the creation, persistence and resolution of the Cyprus problem. For the Turkish Cypriots in particular, the mood in the 1980s and 1990s was one of being overwhelmed by the mainland presence, which denied any space for Turkish Cypriot identity, as Turkish national hegemony took over and homogenised the 'TRNC'. This was a significant statement by Turkish Cypriot intellectuals, and the concerns were widespread if one looks at the other issues covered in Turkish Cypriot literature at the time, such as emigration of Turkish Cypriots, the role of settlers and unemployment.<sup>114</sup> The Greek Cypriot side wrote on identity, the rise of nationalism and culture.<sup>115</sup>

Within this trend, articles on 'conflict resolution', published in this journal, are an important feature.<sup>116</sup> External, international and class dimensions of the conflict

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ford., 1996); C. Mavratsas, 'Greek Cypriot Political Culture and the Prospect of European Union Membership: A Worst Case Scenario', *The Cyprus Review*, (1998), Vol. 10, No. 1; Calotychos (1998).

<sup>114</sup> The writings of Kizilyurek, 'The Turkish-Cypriot', 2009; 'The Turkish-Cypriot Upper Class and Question of Identity', 1990; Kizilyürek, N. Cyprus: The Stalemate of Nationalisms, 1999; express such concerns.

<sup>115</sup> Papadakis 1993; 'Enosis and Turkish Expansionism', 1998; Calotychos 1998; Mavratsas 1993; 'Cyprus, Greek America and Greece. Comparative Issues in Rationalisation, Embourgeoisement and the Modernisation of Consciousness'. *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, (1995), Vol. 10/11, 'Approaches to Nationalism: Basic Theoretical Considerations in the Study of the Greek-Cypriot Case and a Historical Overview', *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, (1996), Vol 22, No. 1, 'The Ideological Contest Between Greek-Cypriot Nationalism and Cypriotism 1974-1975: Politics, Social Memory and Identity', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, (1997), Vol 20, No. 4; *Εθνική Ομοψυχία*, (2003).

<sup>116</sup> Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis, M., 'Conflict resolution mechanisms: A comparative study of four socie-

were neglected in Cyprus at the time, reflecting the shift in sociology towards post-modernism and identity politics issues and away from militant politics, class issues, colonialism and imperialism; however, this radically changed in the post-millennium period.<sup>117</sup>

The post-1974 war period produced critical thinking on class, nations, small States and anti-imperialism.

The immediate aftermath of 1974, the first Cypriot critical scholars, who intervened in the debates in the 1970s and 1980s were from the diaspora to set the foundations for critical thinking. The State appointed and funded Cyprus Research Foundation was not really a place for autonomous critical thinking: it dealt with history; 'Cyprological studies', a kind of folk-centred studies; 'Laographia', devoid of politics or critical thinking; and language issues. The research was always careful not to criticise the official Government position. Critical thinking came from intellectuals of the Left and from the diaspora. Particularly in the immediate post-1974 period.<sup>118</sup>

### ***The New Critical Wave: Critiques of Nationalism, Postcolonialism, Gender and Identity***

The second wave emerged after the establishment of tertiary education institutions in Cyprus in the 1990s but also as result of Cypriot university scholars in the diaspora. First, we had some private colleges; then came the University of Cyprus and, since 2008, we also have a number of private universities. In the northern part of the country, the unrecognised 'TRNC' saw many private universities and lately

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ties', *The Cyprus Review*, (1989) Vol. 1 Spring, 67-92; Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis, M. και Trigeorgis, L., ('Cyprus an evolutionary approach to conflict resolution', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, (June, 1993) 2, vol. 37, 340-360. Also see Trimikliniotis, 'The Role of State Processes for extensive critical review of this literature'.

<sup>117</sup> For a critique see N. Trimikliniotis, 'The Cyprus problem and imperial games in the hydrocarbon era: From a place of arms to an energy player?', in *Beyond A Divided Cyprus*, 23-46; N. Trimikliniotis and U. Bozkurt, 'Introduction: Beyond A Divided Cyprus, A Society in a State of Transformation', in *Beyond A Divided Cyprus*, 1-22; N. Trimikliniotis and U. Bozkurt, 'Rethinking the postcolonial Cypriot statehood: the Cyprus problem, Class Struggle and Ethnic conflict', in *Beyond A Divided Cyprus*; N. Trimikliniotis, 'The national question, partition and geopolitics in the 21st century: the Cyprus problem, the social question and the politics of reconciliation', *Global Discourse*, (2018), Vol. 18, No. 2/3.

<sup>118</sup> From the UK, social anthropologist Peter Loizos, sociologists Floya Anthias and Ron Ayres, and Michael Attalides. From the US, sociologists Kyriacos Markides and political scientists Klearchos Kyriakides (1968) and H. I. Salih. From Greece, political scientist Paschalis Kitromilides. See Trimikliniotis, Η Διαλεκτική.

some outposts of Turkish universities, as well as some departments or franchised courses from the US and EU countries. These are not recognised by the Republic of Cyprus, making institutional collaboration impossible. From the 1990s onwards, scholars turned towards identity issues and critiques of nationalism.<sup>119</sup> Diasporic scholars continued to produce and influence many scholars via PhDs and in conferences. Four diasporic scholars (three sociologists) must be referred to:

- Floya Anthias. Her work on Cyprus and more broadly on the sociology of class, gender, culture, identity, migration and racism has played a formative role from the late 1970s to the 2000s. Anthias is one of the scholars involved in the debate on the Cyprus question, globalisation and politics and social matters in Cyprus. She was one of the first scholars to introduce gender issues in the study of nationalism in Cyprus.<sup>120</sup> However, she has produced pioneering work on the Cypriot diaspora in the UK, antiracism, migration and ‘racialised boundaries’, and has contributed analyses on global sociological debates on the interrelation between forms of social locations. Her work was at the cusp of intersectional thinking from her PhD dissertation, onwards.<sup>121</sup> Moreover, her recent critical intervention in the debate on ‘intersectionality’, offering instead the alternative of ‘translocational positionality’ in capturing these complex relations, is highly relevant to the Cypriot context.<sup>122</sup>
- John Solomos is an important diasporic sociologist working on race, ethnicity, culture, struggles and racism in the UK. He has also worked on race in Cyprus.<sup>123</sup>
- Ari Sitas, the Cypriot-born, South African sociologist and poet. Between 1998-2001, Sitas was instrumental in the first large scale empirical study examining racist tendencies amongst youth in Cyprus.<sup>124</sup> Sitas was formative

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<sup>119</sup> Caesar Mavratsas, Nicos Peristianis, George Tsangaras, Yiannis Papadakis, Vassos Argyrou, Bekir Azgin, and Andreas Panayiotou.

<sup>120</sup> F. Anthias, ‘Women and nationalism and Cyprus’, in *Woman-Nation-State*, (eds) N. Yuval-Davis, F. Anthias and J. Campling, Palgrave Macmillan, (Basingstoke, 1989).

<sup>121</sup> A. Anthias, ‘New hybridities, old concepts: the limits of “culture”’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, (2001) Vol. 24, No. 4.; F. Anthias, ‘Hierarchies of social location, class and intersectionality: Towards a translocational frame’, (2013), *International Sociology* Vol. 28, No. 1..

<sup>122</sup> F. Anthias, ‘Where do I belong? Narrating collective identity and translocational positionality’, *Ethnicities*, (2013) 2(4): 491–515.

<sup>123</sup> He was the scientific expert on one of the first studies of racism in Cyprus funded by the Cyprus Research Council. He edits one of the most important sociological journals, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

<sup>124</sup> K. Charakis (ed.), *Αντικοινωνική συμπεριφορά των νέων της Κύπρου – Ρατσιστικές τάσεις Απ.*



in the study of post-accession relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots and the prospects of reconciliation. This study was a *paradigm change* to become an essential reference point for future studies.<sup>125</sup> Important studies on the potential for reconciliation have followed, many of which are based on quantitative data,<sup>126</sup> and others on more qualitative data.<sup>127</sup> The other area which Sitas has been influential to Cypriot scholarship relates to his critical study on postcolonialism, deviance and globalisation, which brought to Cyprus a Global-Southern perspective and inspired new thinking about migration and mobility, informing and renewing radical thinking around the autonomy of migration.<sup>128</sup>

- Djelal Kadir, a comparative literature scholar of the Cypriot diaspora in the US, shared a platform with Ari Sitas to commemorate the UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity after the failed referendum.<sup>129</sup> Sitas proposed that

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*N. Sakkoulas Publishers* (Athens, 2005), available at [http://www.ellvm.org.cy/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Antikinoniki\\_personal.pdf](http://www.ellvm.org.cy/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Antikinoniki_personal.pdf), and K. Charakis and A. Sitas, 'Racist Tendencies Among Cypriot Youth 1999-2001', *The Cyprus Journal of Science and Technology*, (2004) No. 2.

<sup>125</sup> A. Sitas, N. Loizou and D. Latif, 'Prospects of Reconciliation, Co-Existence and Forgiveness in Cyprus – A Research Report'. PRIO, (Oslo, 2007); A. Sitas, A., 'Beyond Racism: The ethic of reconciliation and the Reality of reconciling', in Kadir, D. and Sitas, A., Culture, diversity and dialogue and development/Lectures by D. Kadir and A. Sitas, Faculty of Humanities, University of Cyprus (Nicosia, 2008) 43-52; A. Sitas, The Ethic of Reconciliation, *Madiba Press* (Durban South Africa., 2008); N. Trimikliniotis, 'Reconciliation and Social Action in Cyprus: Citizens' Inertia and the Protracted State of Limbo', *The Cyprus Review*, (2007), Vol. 19, No. 1; N. Trimikliniotis, 'For a Sociology of Conflict and Reconciliation: learning from comparing violent conflicts and reconciliation processes', *Current Sociology*, (March 2013), Vol. 61, No. 2; N. Trimikliniotis and C. Demetriou, 'Tolerance and Cultural Diversity Discourses in Cyprus' European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Italy (Florence,, 2012).

<sup>126</sup> Many works on reconciliation followed. Charis Psaltis' work used empirical data and Loizides has collaborated on a number of projects. See, N. Loizides, 'Designing Peace, Cyprus and Institutional Innovations in Divided Societies', *University of Pennsylvania Press*, (2015).

<sup>127</sup> Without any interest in claiming leadership or assuming to 'bring the truth' from outside, he insisted on joining forces, connecting and being part of a movement, lending a helping hand, sharing platforms and being an interlocutor with Cypriot scholars, artists, intellectuals and activists.

<sup>128</sup> N. Trimikliniotis, D. Parsanoglou, and V. Tsianos, 'Mobile commons, migrant Digitalities and the right to the city', Palgrave Macmillan, (Basingstoke, 2016).

<sup>129</sup> At the Faculty of Humanities, University of Cyprus on 21 May 2004; A. Sitas, 'Reconciliation and Transformation: Lessons from South Africa?', *The Cyprus Review*, (2007) Vol. 19, No. 1; D. Kadir, 'Truth and Reconciliation on Cyprus will be Possible, when ...', *The Cyprus Review*, (2007) Vol. 19, No. 1; D. Kadir, (2008). 'On the ethics of coexistence in diversity'. In Stephanides, S. (ed.), Culture, Diversity & Development Coexistence in Diversity, The UNESCO Lectures, 2004 (Nicosia: University of Cyprus), 29-42.

reconciliation was possible but it would take time and was contingent upon generating the necessary 'third space' for this to happen. Kadir, on the other hand, argued that even the term 'reconciliation' was corrupted. A whole new vocabulary, meaning and content was urgently need, but he did not see it happening.

### ***Third Critical Wave: Multiculturalism, Antiracism, Postcoloniality, Theorising State Formations***

The third wave has produced critiques on gender, migration, class, multiculturalism and postcolonial thinking and states of exception.<sup>130</sup> Today there are promising new critical sociologists who have opened up matters in fascinating new directions. Migration is a major challenge for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and a key to understanding the current disagreement in democratic politics in general. The transformations caused by the mobility of people necessitate the examination of migration as a powerful 'force of change and as a mass social movement' – a mass mobilisation of people. In this sense, migration is a constituent force in the reformulation of challenges, if not an erosion of sovereignty.

Another significant development pertains to institutional mechanisms and processes surrounding migration and asylum in the configuration of citizenship; in the context of small island-States this is of particular significance.<sup>131</sup> There are economic, political, cultural, technological and social factors expanding the scope and space of contestations and disagreement. Multiplicity, fragmentation and differentiation at all levels are the other side of the unification and oneness of globalisation.

Digital technologies and social media have broadened the opportunity for disagreement and contestation, by increasing the public sphere, which facilitates dis-

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<sup>130</sup> See C.M. Constantinou, 'On the Cypriot States of Exception', *International Political Sociology*, Vol. 2, (2008); N. Trimikliniotis, 'Exceptions, Soft Borders and Free Movement for Workers', in *Rethinking the Free Movement of Workers: The European Challenges Ahead*, eds P. Minderhoud and N. Trimikliniotis (Nijmegen: Wolf Legal Publishers, 2009); Trimikliniotis, *Η Διαλεκτική*; N. Trimikliniotis, 'Migration and Freedom of Movement of Workers: EU Law, Crisis and the Cypriot States of Exception', *Laws*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (2013); N. Trimikliniotis, 'The Proliferation of Cypriot States of Exception: The Erosion of Fundamental Rights as Collateral Damage of the Cyprus Problem', *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2018).

<sup>131</sup> See C. Mainwaring, 'Small States and Nonmaterial Power: Creating Crises and Shaping Migration Policies in Malta, Cyprus, and the European Union'. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 103-122 C. (2014) and C Mainwaring. C. 'Resisting distalisation? Malta and Cyprus' influence on EU migration and asylum policies.' *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 4, 38-66 (2012).

semination of ideas and is reshaping the debates in Europe and beyond. This is accelerating the creation of new dimensions and avenues for cultural, ideological and social networking that were unthought-of before. The looming crisis of liberal democracy and the rise of new forms of authoritarian politics, states of exception, emergency and derogation of rights are part of these processes. Dissension is far deeper than the mere 'lack of consensus'. It embodies the fundamental disagreement over what the central themes pertaining to immigration and asylum are. Whereas, as a rule, authorities tend to perceive migration as a policy management issue, migration is a much broader, complex societal issue, both a cause and effect of multiple transformations read from very different perspectives in society. It is a subject ingrained in the contestations, fragmentations and polarisations.<sup>132</sup>

### ***New Critical Directions: Social Movements, Precarity, Austerity-and-Crisis, Queer Theory, Gender and Political Ecology Sociology***

In post-millennial Cyprus, we are witnesses of fascinating new domains and new approaches to reading the world around us, combining social theory, social critique, art and praxis of resistance. Innovative critical studies have been developed, relating ethno-nationalism, colonialism,<sup>133</sup> partitionism, state-processes,<sup>134</sup> identity, reconciliation and ethnic relations in Cyprus.<sup>135</sup> There are important theorisation and empirical studies on social inequality and stratification concerning gender and ethnicity on both sides of the divide. We are witnessing brilliant studies in postcolonial critiques,<sup>136</sup> globalisation, Europeanisation and international relations. We also see the development of critiques of the notion of the public sphere in Cyprus and how the media is affected by 'Europeanisation'.<sup>137</sup> Studies drawing on a contextual approach to media discourses on the EU bring to light the paradox of an ethnocentric

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<sup>132</sup> N. Trimikliniotis, *Migration and Refugee Dissensus in Europe: Borders, Insecurity and Austerity*, Routledge (Abingdon, 2019).

<sup>133</sup> Kyritsi and Christofis, *Cypriot Nationalisms in Context*.

<sup>134</sup> See the devastating sociopolitical critique Ioannou, *Ο Ντεκτας στο Νοτο*.

<sup>135</sup> The works of Neophytos Loizides and Charis Psaltis are crucial here.

<sup>136</sup> Y. Papadakis, 'Post Colonial Studies', (2006), Vol. 9, No. 3 C.M. Constantinou guest edited *The Cyprus Review*, (2010). Vol. 22, No. 2. His other crucial work is 'On the Cypriot States of Exception', Constantinou, C. (2007) "Aporias of Identity: Bicomunalism, Hybridity and the 'Cyprus Problem'", *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 42, No. 3, pp. 247-270; Constantinou, C. M., *States of Political Discourse: Words, Regimes, Seditions*, Routledge (London, (2004,)) and in this volume.

<sup>137</sup> D. Trimithiotis, 'Why Is the Category of "Pluralism" Insufficient to Describe the Media Sphere?', *French Journal for Media Research*, (2014), Vol. 4, No. 1, available at <http://frenchjournalformedia-research.com/lodel/index.php?id=295>.

Europeanisation of Cypriot society.<sup>138</sup> There are studies on labour issues, precarity, struggles and class relations,<sup>139</sup> child labour,<sup>140</sup> migration and discrimination,<sup>141</sup> as well as on digitalities and ‘new’ forms of employment.<sup>142</sup> Important innovations are seen in studies on tertiary education, brain drain and employment/unemployment in the era of neoliberalism.<sup>143</sup> Moreover, there have been studies on social movements, political parties,<sup>144</sup> the Left and the far Right in Cyprus.

Particularly, the last decade has seen the emergence of substantial sociological scholarship in fields as varied as photography, art theory, film studies, music and museology that sets out to rethink, deconstruct and challenge dominant narratives on Cypriot cultures.

What follows is a mere sample of this wealth in visual art, cultural and music studies. There is a current trend of offering textual and visual essays that re-envi-

<sup>138</sup> D. Trimithiotis, ‘Understanding political discourses about Europe: A multilevel contextual approach to discourse’. *Discourse & Society*, (2018), Vol. 29, No. 2; D. Trimithiotis, ‘The Persistence of Ethnocentric Framing in Online News Coverage of European Politics’, *Digital Journalism*, (2019).

<sup>139</sup> G. Ioannou works on peasant struggles, precarity, trade unionism and labour: Ioannou, G. (2006). ‘Αγροτικές κολλεκτίβες στη Κύπρο: εστιάζοντας σε ένα υβρίδιο της ύστερης αποικιακής περιόδου’ [Agricultural collectives in Cyprus: focusing on a hybrid of the late colonial era], *Epiterida*, (2014), Vol. 32, 449-476;. ‘Employment in crisis: Cyprus 2010-2013’, *The Cyprus Review*, (2015), Vol 26, No. 1, 107-126;. ‘Labor force fragmentation in contemporary Cyprus’, *Working USA: the Journal of Labor and Society*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 595-612. Ioannou, G. and Charalambous, G., ‘The social and political impact of the Cyprus economic crisis: 2010-2017’, *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*, (Berlin, 2017). Ioannou, G. and Sonan, S., ‘Trade unions and politics in Cyprus: an historical comparative analysis across the dividing line’, *Mediterranean Politics*, (2017), Vol. 22, No. 4, 484-503.

<sup>140</sup> L. Antoniou, *Μικρά Χέρια: Η Συνεισφορά των Παιδιών στα Μεταλλεία της Κύπρου τον 20ο Αιώνα*, (Nicosia: Centre for the Study of Childhood and Adolescence, 2004); L. Antoniou and S. Spyrou, *Μικροδουλειές: Παιδική Εργασία στην Κύπρο στις Αρχές και τα Μέσα του 20ού Αιώνα* (Nicosia, Centre for the Study of Childhood and Adolescence, 2005).

<sup>141</sup> Trimikliniotis, Parsanoglou and Tsianos, ‘Mobile commons’; Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, ‘Tolerance and Cultural Diversity’.

<sup>142</sup> A. Karatzogianni, & et al., ‘Intercultural Conflict and Dialogue in the Transnational Digital Public Sphere: Findings from the MIG@NET Research Project 2010-2013’, in *The Digital Transformation of the Public Sphere: Conflict, Migration, Crisis, and Culture in Digital Networks*, (eds) A. Karatzogianni, D. Nguyen and E. Serafinelli, *Palgrave Macmillan* (London, 2016); Trimikliniotis et al., *Mobile commons*.

<sup>143</sup> N. Trimikliniotis, N. Stavrou and C. Demetriou, ‘The reality of free movement for young European citizens migrating in times of crisis’, *ON-THE-MOVE, Cyprus National Report*, available at <http://eu-onthemove.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/Cyprus-national-report.pdf>; L. Lambrianou, ‘Η επιβολή νεοφιλελεύθερων πολιτικών στην εκπαίδευση και την επιστήμη’, *Theseis*, Vol. 149 (October-December 2019).

<sup>144</sup> See Charalambous and Christophorou, *Party-society*.

sion Cyprus and culture through subject matter that includes, among others, the social history of child labour, the commodification of the Rock of Aphrodite, the family album, the silent presence of foreign female domestic workers and the political and social dimensions of the practice of the construction of Easter bonfires.<sup>145</sup> In turn, music, cinema and photography<sup>146</sup> in and about Cyprus have been the subject of three separate volumes, which offer quite comprehensive and foundational discussions on identity politics, Cyprus's colonial and postcolonial condition, Westernisation, modernisation and nationalism, and how they can be deciphered through cultural production. Some studies challenge, head-on, established notions of a one-dimensional, homogenous and Greek-oriented cultural production in Cyprus.<sup>147</sup> This is followed by critiques of 'the political museum',<sup>148</sup> which can be extraordinarily influential for shaping identity and collective memory, and provides an understanding of how politics, conflict, national agendas, and individual initiatives have shaped Cypriot museums and their narratives through processes of inclusion and exclusion.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>145</sup> P. Loizos, N. Philippou, and T. Stylianou-Lambert (eds) *Re- Envisioning Cyprus*, University of Nicosia Press (Nicosia,, 2010).

<sup>146</sup> N. Philippou, 'Representing the Self : Cypriot Vernacular Photography', in Loizos, P., Philippou N. and Stylianou-Lambert, T. (eds), *Re- Envisioning Cyprus*, University of Nicosia Press, (Nicosia, 2010); N. Philippou, N. 'The Legibility of Vernacular Aesthetics'. *Photographies*. Vol. 3, No. 1, 85-98, 2010b; N. Philippou, N. Sharqi, NiMAC, (Nicosia, 2016).

<sup>147</sup> L. Wells, T. Stylianou-Lambert and N. Philippou (eds), 'Photography and Cyprus: Time, Place, Identity', I.B. Tauris, (London, , 2014), J. Samson and N. Demetriou, 'Music in Cyprus', (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015) and Y. Papadakis and C. Constandinides (eds), 'Cypriot Cinemas: Memory, Conflict and Identity in the Margins of Europe', *Bloomsbury*, (Londonm 2015).

<sup>148</sup> T. Stylianou-Lambert and A. Bounia, 'The Political Museum: Power, Conflict and Identity in Cyprus', *Routledge*, (London:, 2016).

<sup>149</sup> D. Pasia, 'Encounters betwixt and between: contemporary art curatorial performances and the Left in the Republic of Cyprus', in *The Politics of Culture in Turkey, Greece & Cyprus: Performing the Left Since the Sixties*, (eds) L. Karakatsanis and N. Papadogiannis, Routledge, (Basingstoke,2017), 122. She discusses how recent art curatorial projects are informed by ideas usually associated with progressive leftist politics in the country. Pasia's chapter coincides with E. Stylianou and N. Philippou, 'Greek Cypriot Locality: (Re)defining our understanding of European Modernity', in *A Companion to Modern Art*, (ed.) P. Meecham (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2017), as the authors discuss the emergence of an alternative, site-specific modernity and the wider socio-political and cultural changes shaping Greek Cypriot society in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. British colonialism, Greek nationalism, and the organised Left and labour movement are identified as the three main modernising forces and are linked to corresponding trends in painting as well as other manifestations of culture, like vernacular photography. Elena Stylianou, in 'Sharqi, the instant photograph, and the re-invention of Cyprus', *Photographies*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2019), discusses Nicos Philippou's photobook *Sharqi*, NiMAC, (Nicosia, 2016). Stylianou demon-

Over the last few years, we seem to be under the spell of Suzanne Césaire, who called for a state of mind embracing a ‘permanent readiness for the Marvellous’.<sup>150</sup> This was published in 1941 in the journal *Tropiques*, in the French-controlled island of Martinique, advocating the surrealist movement. Suzanne Césaire called for embracing

the domain of strange, the marvellous and the fantastic, a domain scorned by people of certain inclinations. This is the freed image, dazzling and beautiful, with a beauty that could not be more unexpected and overwhelming.

### **Looking to the Future: An Invitation to Public Sociology from the Magma of Cypriot Society**

This article attempted to chart and locate public sociology as it developed in a small, divided country in the Eastern Mediterranean, from colonial to postcolonial times. It hopes to contribute to the broader debates on public sociology and social justice, as well as critical sociology that connects politics to art and culture and social movements. There are four main sources of sociology in Cyprus: the three were associated with colonial projects deriving from British, Greek and Turkish sociologies, which imposed their own ‘national’ statist projects and which competed for dominance; the fourth is in the sociology developed against and outside State-related institutions offering alternative social reading and social imaginaries. Given that there was no university until the 1990s, these ideas circulated at the level of ideas and contested ideological perspectives.

In our 100-year review of sociology in Cyprus, we can revisit Caesar Mavratsas’ Invitation to sociology<sup>151</sup> in a new light: We can locate crucial insights which contain the analytical means that allow for alternative pathways to the modern. We can move beyond Weber’s ‘iron cage’ to Marx’s ‘realm of freedom’. It is within these that we can locate potentialities of social ruptures to overcome the impasse over the ‘deficient modernity’ debates in Cyprus, as well as the oppressive and restraining structures of society. The task before us is very much the great challenge for Cypriot sociology. This can only be achieved by connecting to global and regional

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strates eloquently how the 27 Polaroid images of an ‘other’ Cypriot landscape in *Sharqi* are challenging these traditions. This is further discussed in this volume by Karayiannis (2019).

<sup>150</sup> S. Césaire, quoted by D. G. Kelley, ‘The Poetics of anticolonialism’, in *Discourse on Colonialism*, A. Césaire, *Monthly Review*, (New York NY, 2000), 15.

<sup>151</sup> Mavratsas, Εθνική, XI.

debates and renewing our conceptual frames through comparative learning rather than merely ‘copy-pasting’.

The empirical challenge is to search for the right words, to develop the analytical frames, and to articulate them as part of the theoretical patterns that link historical-sociological studies and social movements, as art, poetry and creation, as much as social critique, in the struggles. This search is for what makes the social ‘click’ or ‘connect’ to social imaginaries in Cyprus, born and grown via the societal ‘magma’ of creation (to borrow from Castoriadis’s concept).<sup>152</sup> Nothing is, of course, predetermined or guaranteed at the outset, and neither is it merely random. There are patterns and structures, but the results and consequences of the encounters (conflict, cooperation, contact) are unscheduled, never pre-charted, and thus open to various outcomes and contingencies.<sup>153</sup>

The recording and understanding of these phenomena requires conscious effort, which is why the Cypriot ‘kopiaste’ to sociology,<sup>154</sup> which involved both an invitation and effort (i.e., labour), as Caesar Mavratsas had been calling for, entails intellectual labour and thought. The Cypriot ‘kopiaste’ to the ‘game’ of sociology is a play of wonders: art, culture, music, creative literature and poetry are crucial elements and require one to understand the ‘magical realism’ of society. By analogy, we ought to read art-and-sociology as creation, within the chance encounter that Cyprus is both a frontier/border as well as a bridge. These are the tools, the analytical means to properly appreciate the ‘magma’ produced by this particular society, which is not separate from but very much part of the cosmos.

Whilst the British had plans to open a university in Cyprus in 1935, these never materialised.<sup>155</sup> More to the point, the dominant nationalistic Greek Cypriot

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<sup>152</sup> C. Castoriadis, ‘The Imaginary Institution of Society’, MIT, (Cambridge,, 1987), C. Castoriadis, ‘The logic of magmas and the question of autonomy’, *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, (1994), 20 (1–2); H. Joas and R. Meyer, ‘Institutionalisation as a Creative Process: The Sociological Importance of Cornelius Castoriadis’s Political Philosophy’, *American Journal of Sociology*, (1989), Vol. 94, No. 5.

<sup>153</sup> C. Psaltis, C. ‘Intergroup trust and contact in transition: A social representations perspective on the Cyprus conflict’, in Marková, I and Gillespie, A. (eds), *Trust and Conflict: Representations, Culture and Dialogue.* Routledge, (London, 2012) 83–104. Psaltis, C., Carretero, M., and Cehajic Clancy, S. (eds). (2017).

<sup>154</sup> In Greek «κοπιάστε».

<sup>155</sup> M. Strohmeier, “‘I’d rather have it in Cyprus than nowhere’: A plan for a British University in the Middle East 1935-1940” (pp. 151-166), in *Britain in Cyprus*.

elite feared that creating a university in Cyprus would sever links with Greece and ‘de-Hellenise’ the island.<sup>156</sup>

Cyprus and Malta, the two most Southern island States of the EU, small societies and States with a common British colonial process, acquired independence at about the same time and can learn from each other, despite contextual issues and differences. Cyprus can also learn from other divided societies.<sup>157</sup> The Cyprus problem almost completely eclipsed all critical thinking: anything that may deviate from the ‘national cause’ or that revealed issues, conflicts or tensions in Cypriot society was either seen as irrelevant or suppressed. This has delayed critical thinking for decades: even the question of national identity and the conflict over identity, in both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot thinking, was only opened to ‘public debate’ in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>158</sup> Critical thinking began after 1974, when intellectuals, who were mostly diasporic social and political scientists, intervened to engage in an effort to rethink Cyprus and its problem.<sup>159</sup>

Looking ahead, we can observe that the generations of scholars have found new pathways to challenge and develop Euro-Mediterranean critical thinking that transcends national boundaries, and, as Southern European islands. Such vantage points may have a comparative advantage in becoming the centres for such meetings, exchanges and the development of institutions that counteract the ‘clash of civilisations’. Fascinating syntheses have emerged with postcolonial and other critical thinking and have played with ideas pertaining to ‘boundary’, ‘border’, ‘bordering’ and ‘frontier’. Also, studies relating to gender, racism, migration and refugees, queer theory, and class are enriching the debates in Cyprus. Further discussion and development of such work is necessary.

The political framing and the real practicalities relating to scale and capacities of national states cannot be ignored. However, the example of Malta, which is in size

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<sup>156</sup> P. M. Pavlou, *Κράτος, Ιδεολογία, Πολιτική και εκπαίδευση στη Κύπρο, 1959-1974, Ekdoseis Papazisis*, (Athens, 2015).

<sup>157</sup> Social scientists can and must learn from each other – some important works comparing the experiences pertaining to colonialism, H. Frendo, *Europe and Empire: Culture, Politics and Identity in Malta and the Mediterranean (1912–1946)*, (Sta Venera, Malta: Midsea Books, 2012); microstates in negotiations, D. Panke, “Microstates in Negotiations beyond the Nation-State: Malta, Cyprus and Luxembourg as Active and Successful Policy Shapers? *International Negotiation*, (2011), Vol. 16; migration, R. King and J. Connell (eds.), *Small Worlds, Global Lives: Islands and Migration*, Pinter, (London, , 1999).

<sup>158</sup> See the works of Papadakis, Mavratsas, Argyrou, Peristianis from the 1990s and 2000s.

<sup>159</sup> See Trimikliniotis, *Η Διαλεκτική*, Trimikliniotis, *The Role of State Processes*.



much smaller than Cyprus, has a much more developed and focused sociological tradition, as the relevant publications in English indicate.<sup>160</sup> Nonetheless, we can confidently note that thinking, in terms of critical and public sociology in Cyprus, has already emerged.<sup>161</sup> Further research is required in this context towards a sociology of defiance in Cyprus that connects to a global sociology of defiance.<sup>162</sup> This comes from the largely unexpected encounters of diasporic intellectuals, poets, artists, sociologists and social scientists, and activists in Cyprus and beyond, and from their involvement in social and political struggles, as well as from their creative and critical work. It can open up new horizons and break the straightjacket of national, nationalist, colonial and postcolonial forms.

Creativity, insight and controversy are the modes from which *another Cypriot society emerges*. From the intellectual, scientific and artistic domains over the last 100 years or so,<sup>163</sup> we can observe the multiple and multidimensional fissures that come from a critical and alternative Cyprus of the future. In this frontier or border society par excellence, the associations of cultural creation, either as poetry, music, or a public sociology pose a serious possibility of transition to an autonomous society.

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<sup>160</sup> See the impressive edited volumes of Sultana and Baldacchino, *Maltese Society*; J. A. Cutajar and G. Cassar, *Social Transitions in Maltese Society*, Agenda (Luqa, 2009); M. Briguglio and M. Brown, *Sociology of the Maltese Islands*, Mille, (Luqa, 2016). With the exception of adult education and, to some extent, migration, Cypriot scholars have failed to often engage with Maltese scholars, as both Mediterranean island-States share a British colonial past and common law and administrative traditions and joined the EU in 2004, hence there is wide scope from learning and collaboration, particularly in the fields of social research.

<sup>161</sup> A version of my paper “Το αστάθμητο μιας κοινωνιολογικής συνάντησης – Ποίηση, αμφισβήτηση και κυπριακοί κοινωνικοί αγώνες: Από τον Ανθία στο Σήτα και από τον Haji-Mike στο JULIO” [An aleatory sociological encounter with poetry, defiance and Cypriot social struggles, From Anthias to Sitas and from Haji-Mike to Monsieur Domani and Julio] was presented at the conference Εθνικισμός, Τέχνη και Αμφισβήτηση [Nationalism, Art and Defiance], organised by the University of Cyprus on Wednesday, 13 March 2019. A section of the paper was published in Greek in the journal *Νέα Εποχή*, Vol. 340 (Spring 2019).

<sup>162</sup> See Sitas et al Sitas, A., Damodaran, S., Keim, W., Trimikliniotis, N., Garba, F. (2014) Gauging and engaging deviance 1600-2000, *Tulika Academic Press* (New Delhi,); Sitas, A., Damodaran, S., Keim, W., Trimikliniotis, N., (2015) “Deviance”, Immanuel Wallerstein (ed.) *The World is Out of Joint: World-Historical Interpretations of Continuing Polarizations*, Paradigm Publishers, US (Fernand Braudel Center Series),.

<sup>163</sup> From the poets Tefkros Anthias and Theodosis Pierides to the sociologist, dramatist and poet Ari Sitas, to the author and critic of comparative literature Djelal Kadir, to Haji Mike, the musicians Monsieur Doumani and Cypriot Rapper JULIO, and from Persephone Papadopoulou to the sociologist Floya Anthia.

Despite institutional barriers, there is a new creative spirit in art, social sciences and social movements. The development of critical and public sociology depends on the creative interaction with other social sciences and with radical art and social movements. This is not a plea for some eclectic postmodern mish-mash that undermines disciplined scholarship but for a critical cross-fertilisation, exchange and intellectual debate beyond 'disciplinarian chauvinism'. These are crucial components in producing critical thought, which is the basis of public sociology, in a small island society that creatively combines the universal with the particular. In and around Cyprus, there is an abundance of sociology, in both history and the future. It is within this abundance of sociology-in-society that we can perhaps find Caesar Mavratsas' star dust, which has made the debates and thinking possible in the current volume. In spite of the bleakness of our times, this abundance of sociology, emerging as societal 'magma', generates the promise of advancing knowledge for the good of society, the subaltern, the oppressed and the marginalized. It is a force propelling us forward towards the endless potentialities of the emerging new worlds.

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