

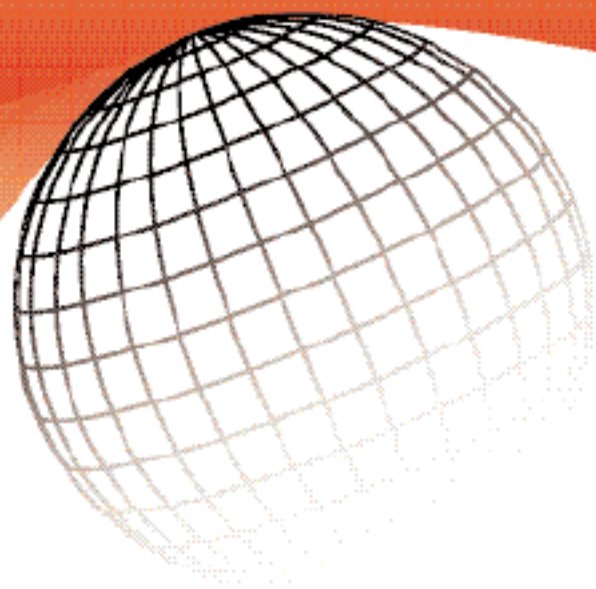
# THE CYPRUS REVIEW

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A Journal of Social, Economic  
and Political Issues

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VOLUME 22  
NUMBER 1

# THE CYPRUS REVIEW

A Journal of Social, Economic and Political Issues

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E-mail: [cy\\_review@unic.ac.cy](mailto:cy_review@unic.ac.cy)

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## **This issue is dedicated in memory of Dr Costas P. Kyrris on the anniversary of his death**

Costas Kyrris, the well-known historian, writer and researcher, passed away last June at the age of 82.

He was born in Lapithos, currently under Turkish occupation, in 1927. Costas Kyrris studied History and Archaeology at the University of Athens, French Literature at the French Institute in Athens, and Byzantine history with a specialisation in Turkish studies at the School of African and Oriental Studies (SOAS) of the University of London. He received his PhD from the University of Ioannina, Greece.

On the completion of his studies and his return to Cyprus he began to play a major part in the cultural life and activities of the island. He wrote numerous articles in Greek, English, French and German on the Social, Economic and Intellectual History of Byzantium, the Near and Middle East and the Balkans and on the Mediaeval and Modern History of Cyprus. Through his published work and public approval he became widely known both in Cyprus and abroad.

He was appointed Director of the Cyprus Research Centre, a position from which he served most successfully until 1987. He was a member of the European Academy of History (Brussels), took part in many Byzantine, Historical, Orientalist and Parliamentary History Congresses and gave lectures at many Greek and other European Universities and Academies of Science in Europe.

He received many honours for his scholarly work including the prestigious prize awarded to him by the Academy of Athens.

Costas Kyrris also served on the Editorial Board of the scholarly journal "The Cyprus Review" from its first publication in 1989 until his death. We are grateful for his valuable help and contribution over a number of years. There are those who disagree with some of his views, especially about the origin of the Turkish Cypriots, but the fact remains that Costas Kyrris paved the way for a number of younger scholars who were encouraged and in some cases inspired by his example. Cyprus and historical studies have lost a most able, prolific and committed researcher and writer. His published works provide testimony of his contribution and are his legacy to the people of Cyprus.



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## CONTRIBUTORS

**HARRY ANASTASIOU** is professor of International Peace and Conflict Studies in the Conflict Resolution Graduate Programme and International Studies Programme at Portland State University, USA. He has published numerous peer reviewed books, book chapters and journal articles, on peace and conflict issues, including nationalism and ethnic conflict, peace building and the European Union, the Cyprus problem, Greek-Turkish relations and conflict transformation. Some of his recent publications include *The Broken Olive Branch: Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and the Quest for Peace in Cyprus*. Volumes I and II, Syracuse University Press, and 'Encountering Nationalism: The Contribution of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution' in *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, Routledge. E-mail: [harrya@pdx.edu](mailto:harrya@pdx.edu)

**PHOEBUS ATHANASSIOU** is Legal Counsel at the Legal Services of the European Central Bank (ECB). He holds graduate and postgraduate degrees in law from Queen Mary College and King's College, University of London. Prior to joining the ECB, the author was in private practice, inter alia acting as consultant to the Government of the Republic of Cyprus on the transposition of the *acquis* in the fields of securities, banking and insurance law. He has published extensively on financial services, capital markets-related and ECB-specific topics as well as on issues of relevance to the Cyprus dispute. He is a Member of the Editorial Board of the ECB Legal Working Papers Series and of the International In-house Counsel Journal. E-mail: [phoebus.athanassiou@ecb.int](mailto:phoebus.athanassiou@ecb.int)

**REBECCA BRYANT** is Associate Professor of Anthropology at George Mason University. She is author of *Imagining the Modern: The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004) and *The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the New Cyprus* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2010) and co-editor (with Elizabeth Drexler) of *Aftermaths of Violence: Institutions of Truth and Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming 2011). E-mail: [rbryant2@gmu.edu](mailto:rbryant2@gmu.edu)

**CHRISTOPHOROS CHRISTOPHOROU** received his BSc in Business Administration from the University of Nicosia before completing his MBA (October 2007) with a concentration in Finance, in the Business School of the University of Nicosia. He has significant professional experience in banking as a high-level administrator and is currently employed at the Hellenic Bank in Cyprus. E-mail: [cc-mba@hotmail.com](mailto:cc-mba@hotmail.com)

**MARIOS CHRISTOU** worked with the Multinationals Division of Andersen's Consulting (the consultancy section of Arthur Andersen and Co) in the City of London upon completing his BA (Hons) in Economics and Econometrics at the University of Reading (UK). He completed an MBA with the Maastricht School of Management (the Netherlands) and a postgraduate Diploma in Financial Strategy at the University of Oxford (UK). For 17 years he lectured for the Henley School of Management MBA programme and the University of Nicosia (formerly Intercollege) on undergraduate and postgraduate programmes. His most recent research outputs include the development of a GDP forecasting model and the development of a Consumer Confidence Index (CCI) for the economy of the Republic of Cyprus. Over a ten-year period he also maintained a permanent weekly (Sunday) column in the economics section of *Phileleftheros* newspaper, Nicosia. E-mail: [christou.m@unic.ac.cy](mailto:christou.m@unic.ac.cy)

**MURAT ERDAL İLİCAN** is a D.Phil. Candidate in human geography at the University of Oxford (Oxford University Centre for the Environment). He works on issues of property and sovereignty in Cyprus, covering the period from the Ottoman Tanzimat through the British colonial period to today. E-mail: Murat.erdal@ouce.ox.ac.uk

**HUBERT FAUSTMANN** is Associate Professor for History and Political Science at the University of Nicosia. He has published extensively on the British Colonial Period in Cyprus as well as Cypriot politics, history and society since 1960. He is the editor-in-chief of the refereed journal *The Cyprus Review* and President of the bi-communal NGO *Cyprus Academic Forum* (CAF). Together with Erol Kaymak he writes the annual reports about Cyprus for the *Political Data Yearbook* of the European Journal of Political Research. His book publications include: *Divide and Quit? British Colonial Policy in Cyprus 1878 - 1960. Including a special Survey of the Transitional Period: February 1959 - August 1960* (Mannheim: Mateo, 1999); as editor together with Nicos Peristianis: *Britain in Cyprus. Colonialism and Post-Colonialism 1878-2006*. (Mannheim/Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 2006); as editor together with James Ker-Lindsay: *The Government and Politics of Cyprus*. (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008); as editor together with Andrekos Varnava: *Reunifying Cyprus: The Annan Plan and Beyond* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009); as editor together with James Ker-Lindsay and Fiona Mullen: *An Island in Europe. The EU and the Transformation of Cyprus* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, forthcoming in 2010). His most recent articles are: 'History in the Making? A New Drive for a Solution to the Cyprus Problem' in: *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 13, No. 3, (November 2008), pp. 453-458; together with Erol Kaymak: 'Cyprus' in: *European Journal of Political Research. Political Data Yearbook 2008*, Vol. 48, (2009), pp. 925-938 and 'Cyprus: Local Perception, European Illusion' in openDemocracy, 16 April 2010 [<http://www.opendemocracy.net/hubert-faustmann/cyprus-national-perception-european-illusion>]. E-mail: hfaustmann@hotmail.com

**MARIA GEORGIU** received her PhD in developmental Psychology from Durham University in the UK. She has undertaken research on attachment influences on understanding of self and others. One of her studies for her PhD thesis included the findings reported in this article. She is currently part-time faculty of the University of Nicosia. E-mail: mariagf@avacom.net

**ISABELLE IOANNIDES** is Post-Doctoral Researcher in the Department of Governance Studies, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Netherlands working on the EC FP7-funded project "INEX: Converging and conflicting ethical values in the internal/external security continuum in Europe". She is also Associate Research Fellow at the Institute for European Studies, Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB), Belgium. She has researched and published widely on critical approaches to peacebuilding, post-conflict reconstruction in the Western Balkans, EU crisis management, international police missions, security sector reform, and complex organisational learning in EU external relations. E-mail: isabelle\_ioannides@hotmail.com

**GREGORIS IOANNOU** is a PhD Candidate in Sociology at the University of Warwick. His thesis focuses on labour relations in Cyprus. He has written extensively in public media on the sociology of the Cyprus problem, reconciliation and the referendum legacy. E-mail: g.ioannou@warwick.ac.uk

---

**HANS-RUEDIGER KAUFMANN** was a sponsored PhD student, research assistant and lecturer at Manchester Metropolitan University following extensive experience in German Bank Management. He later worked in Budapest, initially as Course Director Marketing for the Chartered Institute of Marketing and then as Assistant Professor in Marketing at the International Management Centre Budapest and as a contractual consultant. He joined the University of Liechtenstein in 2000 as Academic Director Private Banking and, later, Head of the Competence Centre International Management. From October 2006 he was appointed Associate Professor at the University of Nicosia and from 2007 to April 2009 he was President of the international research network on consumer behaviour, CIRCLE. Currently, Dr Kaufmann is Vice-President of the EuroMed Research Business Institute (EMBRI). He has authored several chapters in books and articles in peer reviewed journal publications; is a member of the editorial board of various journals, and the Executive Editor of the World Journal of Management and Economics. E-mail: kaufmann.r@unic.ac.cy

**ELIZABETH MEINS** received her undergraduate and postgraduate degrees from the University of Cambridge and is currently a Reader in the Department of Psychology at Durham University in the UK. Her research focuses primarily on early infant-mother interaction, attachment security, mind-mindedness, children's understanding of mind and the development of private speech. E-mail: elizabeth.meins@durham.ac.uk

**CHRYSOSTOMOS PERICLEOUS** is the author of the book *The Referendum of 2004: A Divided Island and the Challenge of the Annan Plan*, I.B.Tauris, 2009. He has been a political analyst for a long time. In 1986, he published a book entitled: *To Kypriako Provlima* [The Cyprus Problem]: He also published two collections of poems entitled *Endohora* [Inner Country] in 2007 and *Apo Ktiseos* [Ab Urbe Condita] in 2009. He is a member of the NGO 'Socialist Initiative' and the Bi-communal Forum Cypriots' Voice'. E-mail: perikleous@cytanet.com.cy

**NICOS PERISTIANIS** is the President of the Council of the University of Nicosia and past President of the Cyprus Sociological Association. His research interests relate to social change and its impact on Cypriot social institutions (including the family, education and religion), as well as on nationalism and national identities. He recently coordinated and co-authored the first national Human Development Report for Cyprus which examines the attitudes and values of young people on both sides of the divide and was produced as part of the 'Cyprus Youth Dialogue Project', sponsored by UNDP. E-mail: peristianis.n@unic.ac.cy

**LAMBROS PHILIPPOU** (BA in Philosophy, University of Cyprus - MA in Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Warwick - PhD in Philosophy, Australian National University) has taught philosophy in Cypriot academic institutions and has published mainly in the area of continental philosophy. His main research interests lie in the field of continental philosophy, ethics and philosophy of history. E-mail: lambrosphilippou@hotmail.com

**ANDREKOS VARNAVA** was born and raised in Melbourne, obtained a BA (Honours) from Monash University (2001) and his PhD in History from the University of Melbourne (2006). He is the author of *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915: The Inconsequential Possession* (Manchester University Press, 2009); and the co-editor of *Reunifying Cyprus: The Annan Plan and Beyond* (I.B. Tauris, 2009) and *The Minorities of Cyprus: Development Patterns and the Identity of the Internal-Exclusion* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009). He was Assistant Professor in History at the European University Cyprus from October 2006-January 2009 and in January 2009 he was appointed Lecturer in Modern History at Flinders University, South Australia. E-mail: andrekosvarnava@flinders.edu.au

**CRAIG WEBSTER** earned his PhD degree in Political Science from Binghamton University, USA. He has taught at Binghamton University, Ithaca College, and the College of Tourism and Hotel Management. He has also served as a World Bank consultant on human rights indicators. At present, he is an Associate Professor in the Department of European Studies and International Relations at the University of Nicosia. His chief research interests are human rights policy, comparative foreign policy, tourism politics, and public opinion analysis. E-mail: webster.c@unic.ac.cy

**BIROL A. YEŞİLADA** is Professor of Political Science and International Studies and Contemporary Turkish Studies Endowed Chair at Portland State University. His research interests include power transition, European Union, Turkish politics, international political economy, World Values Survey (PI for Cyprus), decision making and forecasting, and the Cyprus problem. His recent publications include *The EU-Turkey Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (forthcoming 2011), *Islamization of Turkey under the AKP Rule* (forthcoming 2010), *The Emerging European Union*, 'Religiosity and Social Values of the Cypriots', *Social Compass*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (2009), 'Islam and the Turkish Cypriots', *Social Compass*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (2009), and 'Competition among Giants', *International Studies Review* (December 2006). E-mail: byesilada@verizon.net

**MICHALINOS ZEMBYLAS** is Assistant Professor of Education at the Open University of Cyprus. His research interests are in the areas of educational philosophy and curriculum theory, and his work focuses on exploring the role of emotion and affect in curriculum and pedagogy. He is particularly interested in how affective politics intersect with issues of social justice pedagogies, intercultural and peace education, and citizenship education. Zembylas's recent books include: *The Politics of Trauma in Education* (New York: Macmillan Palgrave, 2008), *Peace Education in Conflict and Post-conflict Societies: Comparative Perspectives* (co-editor with C. McGlynn, Z. Bekerman and T. Gallagher, New York: Palgrave, MacMillan, 2009), and *Advances in Teacher Emotion Research* (co-editor with P. Schutz, Springer, 2009). E-mail: m.zembylas@ouc.ac.cy

ARTICLES

VOLUME 22  

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NUMBER 1







# The Status of the 'TRNC' through the Prism of Recent Legal Developments: Towards Furtive Recognition?

PHOEBUS ATHANASSIOU\*

## Abstract

*Using the Cyprus-specific jurisprudence of the Court of Justice, the European Court of Human Rights and the English courts as a starting point, we examine selected legal developments over the last six years that point to or may result in a change in the approach of the international community to the self-proclaimed 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus'. These developments highlight the risks of the perpetuation of Cyprus's de facto partition for the chances of an eventual re-unification of the island. They also suggest that, unless the prospects of achieving a negotiated settlement to the Cyprus dispute were to improve considerably in the near future, a resetting of the objectives of the side to the negotiations that stands to lose the most from an eventual partition of the island would be advisable so that the consequences of a possible recognition by the international community of the status quo in the areas outside the effective control of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus can be mitigated.*

**Keywords:** Cyprus dispute, 'TRNC', recognition, Court of Justice, Orams litigation, European Court of Human Rights, Demopoulos ruling

## Introduction

The Cyprus problem is amongst the longest-standing international disputes in recent history, accounting for the most protracted peacekeeping mission since the creation of the United Nations ('UN'). Despite its notoriety and the several efforts made to broker a negotiated settlement to it, the hallmark of the last three and a half decades of the history of the Cyprus dispute, starting with the Turkish military intervention of 20 July 1974 and ending with the failure of the simultaneously held Annan Plan referenda of 24 April 2004, has been stagnation, both in terms of the actual situation on the ground and, no less importantly for our present purposes, in terms of the international community's approach to the 'TRNC'.<sup>1</sup> Spearheaded by the UN Security Council, the international community has, until now, firmly denied recognition to the breakaway, self-

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\* PhD (King's College), LLM (King's College), LLB (Queen Mary College), Legal Counsel. The views expressed in this paper are purely personal.

1 The only notable exception has been the opening on 23 April 2003, for the first time in three decades, of two crossing points along the Green Line, accessible to the public.

proclaimed 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' ('TRNC'), treating its creation as illegal and refusing to entertain economic, political or any other relations with it. The international community's recognition of the Republic of Cyprus ('RoC') as the sole *de jure* sovereign over the whole island – including in the areas outside the effective control of its Government (the 'Areas') – was to find its most conspicuous expression on 1 May 2004 when, after years of negotiations, Cyprus joined the European Union ('EU') as a single entity, but with the effect of the *acquis* suspended temporarily in the Areas pending a viable, comprehensive settlement to the dispute.<sup>2</sup>

With negotiations failing to break the deadlock, national, supranational or international judicial authorities had, until recently, and subject to very few (and, mostly, short-lived) exceptions only, thrown their weight behind the international community's well established stance in the matter of the Cyprus dispute. Indeed, for the best part of the last thirty-six years the legal front has been one of the precious few where any notable developments have been registered in the matter of the Cyprus dispute and where the RoC's efforts to resist Turkey's longer-term geo-political aspirations in Cyprus have met with any success. The RoC's accession to the EU, despite the non-settlement of the Cyprus problem, was, in many ways, the pinnacle of those legal battles fought and won; but there have been many others that played out before national courts (in particular, those in the UK, the 'third country' jurisdiction that is, historically, the most closely connected to the dispute), the European Court of Justice ('ECJ') and the European Court of Human Rights ('ECtHR'), both prior to and subsequent to the 1 May 2004 watershed. It is precisely those juridical successes that have helped preserve the fiction of the continuity of the RoC and of its pre-invasion legal order, frustrating Turkey's efforts to legitimise the territorial and political gains of its military intervention. The 'TRNC' was systematically shunned, no less so in 2004 than in February 1975 (at the time of the declaration of the 'Turkish Federated State of Cyprus' ('TFSC'), the precursor of the 'TRNC') or in November 1983 (at the time of the 'TRNC's unilateral declaration of independence ('UDI')) or in March 1995 (when the EU General Affairs and External Relations Council announced the opening of accession negotiations with the RoC).

If international law and the pronouncements of national and supranational courts have, throughout the course of the pre-April 2004 period, been among the RoC's strongest allies in its fight against the *faits accomplis* brought about by Turkey's military intervention, the period that has elapsed since the rejection of the Annan Plan has seen a number of notable *legal* developments that do not fit into the pattern of the three decades preceding that period. These developments appear to reflect (or could result in) a shift in the international community's approach to the Cyprus dispute and, more specifically, in the legal assessment of the situation on the ground, with an emphasis on the treatment of the claim of the 'TRNC' to a place in the international scene, commensurate with the realities brought about by Turkey's military intervention. If confirmed, this apparent shift is apt to usher in, sooner or later, fundamental changes to the *status quo*, even

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2 See Protocol No. 10 attached to the Treaty of Accession of Cyprus of 16 April 2003, (OJ.L 236, 23.9.2003, 955).

absent a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus dispute, risking to wipe out, somewhat unceremoniously, the gains of the legal battles fought and won over the first three decades and to reshuffle the cards in favour of those claiming that the effects of Turkey's military intervention and the hitherto failure to undo them through a negotiated settlement have, over time, become too firmly entrenched to be altogether ignored.

The purpose of this paper is to briefly examine the role that court rulings and legal arguments have played in informing or reflecting the international community's approach to the Cyprus dispute – to the advantage, until not so long ago, of the negotiating position and strategic aspirations of the RoC – and their recent diversion into potent weapons in the hands of the 'TRNC', supporting, instead of frustrating, its ambitions for the achievement of statehood or of some form of international recognition falling short of statehood, *even outside* the framework of a negotiated solution to the Cyprus dispute.<sup>3</sup> The end-objective of our analysis is not to provide an overview of the Cyprus-specific case-law of the ECJ or the ECtHR nor an assessment of some of the legal considerations surrounding the international community's and, more specifically, the EU's stance in the matter of the Cyprus dispute. Our end-objective rather is to draw attention to specific legal developments pointing to an increase in the international community's tolerance *vis-à-vis* the 'TRNC', which, if corroborated, should lead, before long, to a reassessment of the negotiating line of one, at least, of the sides to the Cyprus problem; and second, to highlight the risks inherent in pursuing an unduly legal (or, perhaps, 'legalistic') route to resolving the Cyprus dispute with the ill-considered fervour and the unquestioned devotion of yesteryear.

### **The Cyprus Dispute:**

#### **The First Thirty Years through the Prism of the Jurisprudence of the ECJ, the ECtHR and the English Courts**

The Turkish Cypriot Community's isolation predates the forceful partition of the island in 1974. It is telling that it was the RoC Government's approval only (to the exclusion of that of the Turkish Cypriot leadership) that the UN sought before deploying the first peace-keeping force on the island, in 1964.<sup>4</sup> The persistent refusal of the international community to recognise the 'TRNC' – most famously reflected in the two Security Council Resolutions of 1983 and 1984<sup>5</sup> – is premised on mainly three considerations: first, that the 'TRNC' was established through the illegal use of force; second, that its establishment was in violation of the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960,

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3 If no settlement can be found, it is arguable that the process referred to in the context of the Cyprus dispute as 'Taiwanisation' will inevitably gain momentum, consolidating partition to the disadvantage of both Communities.

4 See UNSCR 186 (1964).

5 The reference is to UNSCR 541 (1983) and 550 (1984). The stance of the EC, as it then was, coincided with that of the UN (see the declarations of 16 and 17 November 1983, whereby the European Parliament, the Commission and the Council rejected the 'TRNC' 's UDI, expressing their continued recognition of the Government of the RoC as the legitimate administration over the whole of Cyprus).

which prohibited the island's partition; and third, that, whatever the self-determination rights of the Turkish Cypriot Community, these do not amount to a right to independent statehood.<sup>6</sup>

Despite the fact that the events giving rise to the division of Cyprus date back to the mid-1970s, the international community continues recognising the RoC's exclusive sovereignty over the whole of the island of Cyprus, refusing to entertain any direct, formal relations with the 'TRNC's *de facto* authorities. No event in the recent history of the Cyprus dispute reflects better the international community's disapproval of the secessionist ambitions of the Turkish Cypriot leadership than the RoC's accession to the EU, after the successful conclusion of negotiations conducted without the participation of the 'TRNC's *de facto* authorities. This is all the more so, considering the clear preference of the Member States for the achievement of a political settlement, initially as a condition precedent to Cyprus's EU membership,<sup>7</sup> and Turkey's opposition to the RoC's EU accession, premised on the contention that this violated both the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960 and the Constitution of 16 August 1960.<sup>8</sup> The island's European integration process was to be completed soon thereafter, with the accession of Cyprus to the Euro Area, on 1 January 2008, an event that was to bring the RoC within the fold of Economic and Monetary Union, making it part of the select group of EU Member States participating in "one of the most important growth areas of European integration".<sup>9</sup>

In spite of the international community's unambiguous position in the matter of the Cyprus dispute, some attempts have been made in the course of the last three decades, in order for a measure of recognition to be attributed to the 'TRNC' or, more precisely, to some of its *de facto* authorities. These attempts were, until recently, foiled through recourse to *legal* arguments, several of which found their way in the pronouncements of the competent domestic, supranational or

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6 For a general account, see Dugard (1987), pp. 108-111. For a more nuanced view see Necatigil (1993), especially p. 110 et post; Dodd (1998), especially pp. 78-82; and Ronen (2007), fn. 72.

7 It was only at the time of the Helsinki Summit of 10 and 11 December 1999 that the issue of the RoC's accession to the EU was for the first time dissociated from that of the resolution of the Cyprus dispute (see Helsinki Summit, Presidency Conclusions, §§9 (a) and (b)).

8 Under Articles I and II of the Treaty of Guarantee, the RoC could not participate in any political or economic union of which Turkey was also not a part. Several of the provisions of the Constitution of 1960 had also become inoperative after the Turkish Cypriot Vice-President, the 15 delegates to the House of Representatives and all Turkish Cypriot civil servants abandoned their posts, in the aftermath of the first inter-communal disturbances in 1963, casting doubts on the legitimacy of the Government of the RoC to represent the interests of both Communities on the island (Yilmaz (2010), pp. 131-134; Arslan and Güven (2007), pp. 6-7; cf. Hoffmeister (2006), pp. 90-96). Since the landmark ruling of the Supreme Constitutional Court of Cyprus in *Attorney General of the Republic v. Mustafa Ibrahim* [1964] CLR 195, the Government of the RoC has successfully claimed to be deriving its legitimacy from the 'doctrine of necessity', invoked to validate acts falling outside the purview of the constitution (but which are necessary to preserve political stability and state continuity). For a critical assessment of the application of the 'doctrine of necessity' in Cyprus, see Hoffmeister (2006), pp. 25-31; Özersay (2004); Mendelson (1997 and 2001); and Crawford, Hafner and Pellet (1997 and 2001 [reprinted 2002a and 2002b]).

9 Thym (2005), p. 1733.

international courts before which cases of relevance to the Cyprus dispute were brought. The effect of the resulting *corpus* of jurisprudence has been to uphold the exclusive rights of the Government of the RoC to represent the interests of the people of Cyprus, on both sides of the Green Line, and to deny recognition to the 'TRNC', whether direct or indirect. What follows is a brief overview of the relevant jurisprudence and of the insights that this provides into the international community's perception of the Cyprus dispute.

### *ECJ Jurisprudence*

The earliest attempt to see a measure of recognition attributed to the *de facto* authorities of the 'TRNC' provided the backdrop for the ECJ's decision in *Anastasiou I*,<sup>10</sup> a reference for a preliminary ruling on the interpretation of the Association Agreement of 19 December 1972 between the RoC and the Community and its Protocol.<sup>11</sup> The system of tariff preferences accorded to Cypriot agricultural products under the terms of the Association Agreement was conditional on the production of certificates of origin to prove that these originated in Cyprus. A number of Member States, including the UK, allowed imports of citrus fruit and potatoes from the Areas on the basis of certificates issued by the 'TRNC's *de facto* authorities. The UK's practice of accepting such certificates was challenged by the plaintiffs – agricultural product producers and exporters from the RoC – before the High Court of Justice, Queen's Bench Division. In its preliminary reference, the High Court invited the ECJ to determine whether the practice in question was consistent with the Association Agreement and its Protocol. Avoiding to dwell on the political situation on the island, the ECJ linked the issue of the production of appropriate certificates to the "principle of mutual reliance and cooperation between the competent authorities of the exporting and the importing State",<sup>12</sup> concluding that the 'TRNC's non-recognition by the Community or any of the Member States excluded the possibility of such mutual reliance or cooperation.<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, the ECJ ruled that the Protocol was to be interpreted strictly, as precluding the

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10 Case C-432/92 *R. v. Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, ex p. Anastasiou (Pisouri) Ltd and Ors* [1994] E.C.R. I-3087. For a detailed account of the ECJ ruling and some opposing perceptions of its rationale and effects see Emiliou (1995); Talmon (2001), especially pp. 733-737; Koutrakos (2003); and Lahlé Shaelou (2007), especially pp. 624-628.

11 See Council Regulation (EEC) No 1246/73 on the conclusion of an agreement establishing an association between the European Economic Community and the Republic of Cyprus (OJL 133, 21.5.1973, 1) as last amended by Council Regulation (EEC) No 4165/87 on the application of Decision No 1/87 of the EEC-Cyprus Association Council again amending Articles 6 and 17 of the Protocol concerning the definition of the concept of 'originating products' and methods of administrative cooperation (OJL 397, 31.12.1987, 5), to which the text of the Association Agreement is annexed. Notwithstanding the supervening *de facto* partition of the island of Cyprus, the 1987 amendment suggests that the Association Agreement was considered to be applicable to the whole of Cyprus.

12 *Anastasiou I*, *supra*, fn. 10, paras 37-38.

13 *Ibid.*, paras 36-41 and 47.

acceptance by the Member State authorities of certificates issued by authorities other than those of the RoC. While the ECJ was to later qualify its ruling in *Anastasiou I* by accepting that Member States were allowed to import agricultural products originating in a non-member country (in the case at hand, the ‘TRNC’) – provided that these were accompanied by certificates issued by the authorities of the *third* country through which they had been imported in the EU (in the case at hand, Turkey)<sup>14</sup> – the Court was to effectively reiterate its original position in *Anastasiou III*,<sup>15</sup> limiting the ‘TRNC’s trading options at a time when the Turkish Cypriots’ status as future EU citizens was certain, no doubt in order to avoid “an ‘upgrade’ of the status of the regime in the North.”<sup>16</sup>

The rationale underlying the ECJ’s ruling in *Anastasiou I* (with an emphasis on the ‘mutual recognition’ condition to which the ECJ drew attention in its ruling in that case) was to be confirmed several years later, in the Court’s landmark decision in *Meletios Apostolides v. David Charles Orams and Linda Elizabeth Orams*,<sup>17</sup> a reference for a preliminary ruling from the Court of Appeal (CA), arising from a dispute between the dispossessed owner of land situate in the Areas and the holders of ‘title-deeds’ over the same land, issued by the ‘TRNC’s *de facto* authorities. Steering clear from any assessment of the complex political situation on the ground, the ECJ held that the suspension of the *acquis* in the Areas did *not* preclude the application of the Judgments Regulation<sup>18</sup> to a judgment issued by a competent (*rationae loci et materiae*) court sitting in the RoC, despite the fact that the land to which it related lay in the Areas.<sup>19</sup> The ECJ also held that the RoC’s lack of effective control over the land in question was of no relevance to the recognition of the judgment of a competent court sitting in the RoC in any *other* EU Member State, where no practical obstacles stood in the way of its enforcement.<sup>20</sup> By reaffirming the key principle underlying the system of “full faith and credit”<sup>21</sup> established under the Judgments Regulation – namely, that recognition of the judgments delivered by competent courts or tribunals in other Member States is *automatic*, subject to the fulfilment of the conditions laid down in the

14 Case C-219/98 *R. v. Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, ex p. Anastasiou (Pisouri) Ltd and Ors* [2000] E.C.R. I-5241 (*Anastasiou II*).

15 Case C-140/02, *R. v. Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, ex p. Anastasiou (Pisouri) Ltd and Ors* [2003] ECR-I-10635 (*Anastasiou III*).

16 Skoutaris (2008), p. 743. For a different reading of the relationship between the Court’s rulings in *Anastasiou I* and *Anastasiou III*, see Laulhé Shaelou (2007), pp. 635-637.

17 Case C-420/07, Judgment of 28 April 2009, [2009] ECR I-0000. For a detailed account of the ECJ ruling see Athanassiou (2009), especially pp. 424-427; and Lavranos (2009).

18 Council Regulation (EC) No 44/2001 of 22 December 2000 on jurisdiction and the recognition and enforcement of judgments in civil and commercial, [2001] OJ L12, as amended.

19 Case C-420/07, *Meletis Apostolides v. David Charles Orams, Linda Elizabeth Orams* Judgment of 28 April 2009, paras 37-38 and 51-52 respectively.

20 *Ibid.*, paras 66-70. The ECJ opted for a functional approach to the implementation of the Judgments Regulation, motivated by the desire to guarantee its *effet utile*.

21 Bartlett (1975).

Judgments Regulation – the ECJ not only rendered obligatory the recognition of judgments issued by the courts in the RoC<sup>22</sup> but, what is more, negated the possibility of the enforcement in any of the Member States of judgments issued by the courts or tribunals sitting in the 'TRNC', thereby denying them any recognition.

It follows that, without taking a position, as such, on the Cyprus dispute and demonstrating an unusual reluctance to depart from the literal interpretation of the legal rules before it, the ECJ has, through its Cyprus dispute-related rulings, toed the line of the international community, withholding any judicial recognition to the authorities of the 'TRNC' (whether it is phytosanitary, judicial or other authorities) and upholding, by the same token, the legitimacy of the RoC and its institutions. The ECJ's desire to avoid being drawn into politically sensitive appreciations has hitherto been clothed in strict juridical terms, with the ECJ's decisions being examples of the impassionate application of Community law more so than the fruit of a cautious, neutrality preservation exercise.

### *ECtHR Jurisprudence*

The ECJ's refusal to recognise any of the *de facto* authorities of the 'TRNC' was, until very recently, matched by the corresponding reluctance of the ECtHR to extend any form of recognition thereto, as reflected in its two flagship, pre-April 2004, judgments in the matter of the Cyprus dispute: *Loizidou v. Turkey*<sup>23</sup> and *Cyprus v. Turkey*.<sup>24</sup> Both cases involved complaints against the deprivation of the claimants' rights to the peaceful enjoyment of their property, in violation of the European Convention of Human Rights (the 'ECHR' or 'the Convention') as a result of the continuing division of Cyprus caused by the military occupation of the Areas. At stake before the ECtHR in its preliminary objections (admissibility) ruling in the first of the aforementioned cases<sup>25</sup> was the question of Turkey's international responsibility for the violation of the human rights of the evicted Greek Cypriot owners of property situate in the Areas. Turkey denied jurisdiction, arguing that, to the extent that there had been any such violations, these were directly imputable to the 'TRNC' and its 'authorities'. Rejecting Turkey's objection to its responsibility

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22 This reading of the kernel of the ECJ's ruling in *Orams* is consistent with paragraphs 31 and 32 of the Opinion of Advocate General Kokott who, in rejecting the argument that the suspension of the application of the *acquis* in the Areas precluded the recognition and enforcement of a judgment relating to claims to the ownership of land situated therein, clearly stated that, "... the recognition and enforcement of a judgment of a court of a Member State in the northern area of Cyprus cannot be based on the regulation. Nor does it appear possible, under the regulation, for a judgment of a court situated in that area of Cyprus to be recognised and enforced in another Member State. However, the dispute before the Court of Appeal does not involve either of those situations ...".

23 Application no. 15318/89, Judgment of 18 December 1996, (1997) EHRR 513.

24 Application no. 25781/94, Judgment of 10 May 2001, (2002) EHRR 30.

25 *Loizidou v. Turkey (preliminary objections)*, Application no. 15318/89, Judgment of 23 March 1995 Series A No. 310.

under the Convention, the ECtHR noted in *Loizidou v. Turkey* (preliminary objections) that the concept of ‘jurisdiction’ under Article 1 of the ECHR was not restricted to the national territory of the High Contracting Parties and that responsibility may also arise when, as a consequence of military action, whether lawful or unlawful, a Contracting Party exercises effective control of an area outside its national territory; as it was not disputed that it was *Turkish* troops that prevented the applicant from gaining access to her properties, the Court concluded that the facts alleged by her were capable of falling within Turkey’s ‘jurisdiction’.<sup>26</sup> Reiterating much the same arguments in its judgment in *Cyprus v. Turkey*, the ECtHR based its finding that the respondent state (as opposed to the ‘TRNC’) was internationally responsible for violations of the claimants’ rights on the reasoning that, given the circumstances on the ground and, in particular, the ‘TRNC’<sup>27</sup>’s non-recognition by the international community,

“... any other finding would result in a regrettable vacuum in the system of human-rights protection in the territory in question by removing from individuals there the benefit of the Convention’s fundamental safeguards and their right to call a High Contracting Party to account for violations of their rights in proceedings before the Court”<sup>27</sup>

By rejecting Turkey’s objections to its jurisdiction over human rights violations committed in the ‘TRNC’, the ECtHR had, in its pre-April 2004 jurisprudence, thrown its weight behind the international community’s denial to recognise the ‘TRNC’, leaving Turkey as the only eligible candidate to assume responsibility for the continuing interference with the claimants’ property and other human rights guaranteed by the Convention.<sup>28</sup> At the same time, it is only fair to recall that, despite having consistently treated the ‘TRNC’<sup>29</sup>’s “administration” in the Areas as Turkey’s “subordinate local administration” that, “survived by virtue of Turkish military and other support”,<sup>29</sup> the ECtHR’s pre-April 2004 Cyprus-specific jurisprudence was never directly concerned with the issue of the legitimacy, or otherwise, of the military occupation of the Areas (as one, at least, of the two sides to the dispute may have surmised from the ECtHR rulings in *Loizidou v. Turkey* and *Cyprus v. Turkey*). The focus of that jurisprudence was on the property rights of the evicted holders of title deeds and, more specifically, on the protection of their peaceful enjoyment, which Turkey’s military presence on the island interfered with. What is more, several *dicta* (i.e. judicial opinions expressed on points that are only incidental to the court’s decision) in both *Loizidou v. Turkey* and *Cyprus v. Turkey* helped prepare the ground for some of the more recent Cyprus-related jurisprudence of the ECtHR, in a way that, with hindsight, should, perhaps,

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26 *Ibid.*, paras 56-64 of the judgment and point 2 of the operative provisions.

27 *Cyprus v. Turkey*, supra, fn. 24, para. 78.

28 For a critical review of the pre-April 2004 jurisprudence of the ECtHR see Aksar (2001), especially pp. 169-173.

29 *Cyprus v. Turkey*, supra, fn. 24, para. 77. This helps explain its declaration of the ‘TRNC’<sup>29</sup>’s expropriation ‘legislation’, including Article 159 of the 1985 ‘TRNC’ ‘Constitution’, as invalid and of no effect on the legal title of the evicted Greek Cypriot owners of property under the ‘TRNC’<sup>29</sup>’s *de facto* control.



have put those acting for the RoC on inquiry.<sup>30</sup> It is this apparent misunderstanding of the purport of the pre-April 2004 jurisprudence of the ECtHR, in conjunction with the *qualified* nature of the right to the enjoyment of property,<sup>31</sup> that could, perhaps, explain some of the disillusionment experienced by one of the sides to the dispute on account of the more recent Cyprus-specific case-law of the ECtHR (discussed in more detail later in this paper).

### *The English Courts' Jurisprudence*

The Cyprus-specific case-law of the English courts is largely consistent (if somewhat more nuanced) with the international community's stance in the matter of the Cyprus dispute. The few cases where courts in England *have* attributed validity to (some of) the acts of the *de facto* authorities of the 'TRNC' (or otherwise acknowledged their existence) can be distinguished on their facts and do not represent notable departures from the international community's position on the Cyprus problem.

It is undisputed law in England that courts will not take cognizance of the acts of entities that Her Majesty's Government has not recognised, *de jure* or *de facto*.<sup>32</sup> English courts have, by and large, applied that principle also in their Cyprus dispute-related jurisprudence. In *Hesperides Hotels Ltd. v. Aegean Turkish Holidays Ltd.*,<sup>33</sup> an action in tort for conspiracy in England to procure trespass to land and chattels situate in the Areas, Lord Denning MR attempted unsuccessfully to read a public policy-based qualification into the 'one-voice principle'. Invoking, *inter alia*, the rule in *Phillips v. Eyre*,<sup>34</sup> his Lordship asserted that, "... the courts of this country can recognise the laws or acts of a body which is in effective control of a territory even though it has not been recognised ...: at any rate, in regard to the laws which regulate the day-to-day affairs of the

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30 The reference is, in particular, to para. 45 of *Loizidou (merits)*, where, referring to the so-called 'Namibia exception' (see ICJ, *Namibia, Advisory Opinion* of 21 June 1971, ICJ Reports 1971), the ECtHR noted that "international law recognises the legitimacy of certain legal arrangements and transactions in such a situation, for instance as regards the registration of births, deaths and marriages, the effects of which can be ignored only to the detriment of the inhabitants of the [t]erritory"; and to para. 102 of *Cyprus v Turkey*, where the ECtHR concluded that, for the purposes of former Article 26 of the Convention, remedies available in the 'TRNC' may be regarded as Turkey's "domestic remedies" and that the question of their effectiveness was to be considered in the specific circumstances where it would arise.

31 In this regard, see the text to fn. 83.

32 *Luther v. Sagor* [1921] 3 KB 532. The rationale of the so-called 'one-voice principle' is that the judiciary and the executive branch should present a united front, avoiding the risk that courts may, through their pronouncements, frustrate the decision of the executive branch to withhold recognition.

33 [1978] 1 QB 205.

34 The reference is to *Phillips v. Eyre* (1870-71) LR 6 QB 1, which is authority for the proposition that a right of action does not lie in England where the acts complained of were lawful in the country where they took place.

people, such as their marriages, their divorces, their leases, their occupations, and so forth”.<sup>35</sup> The actual decision of the CA – whose ground was unrelated to Lord Denning MR’s *obiter dicta* – was, in part, upheld by the House of Lords, which declined to decide whether or not the ‘TRNC’ ought to be recognised as a legal entity.<sup>36</sup> The English courts’ policy of avoiding to attribute binding effects to the acts of unrecognised foreign entities was very recently reaffirmed through their decisions in two landmark cases arising from the Cyprus dispute: *Kibris Turk Hava Yollari and Anor v. The Secretary of State for Transport*<sup>37</sup> and *Meletios Apostolides v. David Charles Orams and Linda Elizabeth Orams*.<sup>38</sup> In the first of the aforementioned cases, the High Court declined to quash the defendant’s decision *not* to grant the aviation permits sought by the applicants for direct flights between the UK and the ‘TRNC’s Ercan ‘airport’, asserting that, to do so, would be to, “... completely undermine the express statements from the United Kingdom Government to the effect that it does not recognise the ‘TRNC’”.<sup>39</sup> In the second of the aforementioned cases (marking the culmination of the UK leg of the *Orams* litigation) the CA not only overturned the earlier decision of the High Court<sup>40</sup> but, what is more, rejected the submissions of counsel for the respondents that ‘international public policy’ precluded the recognition and enforcement, in the UK, of the appellant’s Cypriot court judgment, by recalling that the UN’s consistent calls for the respect of the RoC’s territorial integrity under one sovereignty, “... must include respect for the [RoC’s] courts as the judicial arm of the sovereign state”.<sup>41</sup> By throwing its weight behind the RoC’s

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35 *Hesperides Hotels Ltd. v. Aegean Turkish Holidays Ltd*, *supra*, fn. 33, per Lord Denning MR at 218. Lord Denning’s reasoning is not without parallels to the opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in its Namibia opinion (*supra*, fn. 30), to which his Lordship did not explicitly refer in his speech.

36 “... it is not necessary to enter upon the questions raised by the respondent’s counsel as to the degree of notice (if any) which the courts should take of the situation in Cyprus and of ‘laws’ passed ...” (*Hesperides Hotels Ltd. and Anor v. Multizade* [1979] AC 508, per Lord Wilberforce at 537 H); “[A] number of interesting questions were fully argued; in particular whether the courts of this country should and can have regard to legislation of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus ... But it is not necessary to reach a conclusion on them” (*ibid.*, per Viscount Dilhorne, at 540 A-B).

37 [2009] EWHC 1918 (Admin).

38 *Orams v. Apostolides* [2010] EWCA Civ 9; 2010 WL 19916.

39 *Ibid.*, para. 79. The learned judge added that, “I do not see how it would be open to this Court to view the grant of permits as anything other than a complete contradiction of the United Kingdom’s Government’s stated position on recognition” (*ibid.*, para. 82).

40 Case No: QB/2005/PTA/0897, *David Charles Orams and Linda Elizabeth Orams v. Meletios Apostolides*, judgment of 6 September 2006, High Court of Justice, Queen’s Bench Division, [2006] EWHC 2226 (QB). The High Court’s refusal to enforce the Nicosia District Court against the judgment debtors was motivated as follows: because Protocol No. 10 suspended the application of the *acquis* in the Areas (which included the land involved in the proceedings before the High Court), the Judgments Regulation could not be relied on by the respondent as a valid legal basis for the enforcement, in the UK, of that judgment, as the Regulation was part and parcel of the *acquis* and, therefore, of no effect in relation to matters concerning the Areas.

41 *Ibid.*, para. 61.

claim of jurisdiction over the Areas, the CA thus signalled its readiness to comply with the UK Government's and the international community's disapproval of the 'TRNC's attempted secession, in violation of international law.

To date, there have been only two precedents where an English court has recognised the validity of (some of) the acts of the *de facto* authorities of the 'TRNC' or otherwise appeared to (indirectly) acknowledge its existence. The most famous is *Emin v. Yeldag*.<sup>42</sup> At issue before the High Court was the impact of the Crown's non-recognition of the 'TRNC' on the validity of a divorce decree granted by its *de facto* 'authorities'. Both the Attorney-General and the Foreign Office drew the Court's attention to the Crown's diplomatic stance *vis-à-vis* the 'TRNC', inviting it, nevertheless, to respect divorce decrees, to the extent that these affected private rights only. Despite the fact that the High Court *did* recognise the divorce decree in question, its decision is to be approached cautiously, for a number of reasons. The *first* is that the High Court expressly limited the scope of the qualification that it was prepared to read into the non-recognition rule *beyond* divorce decrees issued by the 'TRNC' (echoing the scope of the ICJ's 'Namibia exception', *supra*, fn. 30);<sup>43</sup> the *second* is that the High Court explicitly conditioned the validity of the decisions of a court of an unrecognised entity to their consistency with the foreign policy or diplomatic stance of Her Majesty's Government;<sup>44</sup> last but not least, the High Court associated recognition of the divorce decree before it to the RoC's treatment as *one* country but with *two* territories, within the meaning of s. 46(1) of the Family Law Act, which made no distinction between recognised or unrecognised countries or territories.<sup>45</sup> Strict legal considerations aside, the risk of injustice to a single mother of two minors, in a situation where no obvious UK public policy interests were at stake from the recognition of her divorce decree, is also likely to have played a role in tipping the balance in favour of (rather than against) recognition.<sup>46</sup> The second of the aforementioned precedents is said to be implicit in the CA ruling in *Polly Peck International PLC v. Asil Nadir and Ors*,<sup>47</sup> a dispute arising from the collapse of Polly Peck International, after

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42 [2002] IFLR 956.

43 *Ibid.*, para. 62.

44 *Ibid.*, para. 65.

45 *Ibid.*, paras 73-77. The clear implication is that, if it were not for the statutory interpretation 'escape route', the divorce-decree may never have been upheld. The mutually exclusive 'duality' of the High Court's reasoning in *Emin v. Yeldag* (i.e. the High Court's reliance both on the exception to non-recognition and on the statutory interpretation 'escape route') has been criticised in Ronen (2004).

46 Public policy, in its 'justice-to-the-parties' dimension, had contributed to the pendulum swinging in the opposite direction in the earlier authority of *B v. B (Divorce: Northern Cyprus)* [2002] 2 FLR 707, where the Court decided not to recognise a divorce-decree issued by a court in the 'TRNC', expressly justifying its decision by reference to the 'TRNC's non-recognition by Her Majesty's Government. That decision must also have been based on considerations of justice to the petitioner, who would otherwise have been deprived of the custody of her two young children and of her right to financial support under a divorce issued in England.

47 [1992] 4 All England Reports 769; [1992] 2 Lloyds Law Reports 238.

Asil Nadir, its chairman and CEO, was thought to have fraudulently misappropriated and transferred into private accounts in the 'TRNC' and Turkey a substantial part of the company's funds. At stake before the CA was a *Mareva* injunction obtained by Polly Peck International's administrators against the 'Central Bank of the 'TRNC'', in its capacity as constructive trustee for part of the misappropriated funds. Those who treat the CA's ruling as evidence of the English courts' acknowledgement of the existence of an effectual and autonomous administration in the 'TRNC' (and there are some)<sup>48</sup> point to the CA's recognition of the 'Central Bank of the 'TRNC'' as a regular credit institution that could sue or be sued before a court of law. This view does not however appear to be in line either with the *ratio* of the CA decision or with the subject matter of the proceedings before that Court. Far from being concerned with the recognition (or otherwise) of the 'TRNC', the emphasis of that ruling was on the assessment of the circumstances under which an English court will decide to impose a constructive trust and, more specifically, on the level of knowledge to be attributed to a party and on the limits of its liability as a constructive trustee in terms of the state of its 'commercial conscience'. What is more, the judge sitting for the CA clearly stated, already at the outset of his speech, that Her Majesty's Government did not recognise the 'TRNC', despite the effective control that its *de facto* authorities exercised over the Areas since 1974. As the Special Commissioners aptly observed in *Caglar v. Billingham (Inspector of Taxes)*,<sup>49</sup> "[T]he Polly Peck decision confirms the view ... that courts are willing to look at the facts where commercial issues between individuals are concerned".<sup>50</sup> It follows that, to read into the *Polly Peck* ruling an implicit recognition either of the 'Central Bank of the 'TRNC'' or of the 'TRNC' itself would be to jump to unwarranted conclusions that are also not borne out by the later jurisprudence of the English courts, including *Kibris Turk Hava Yollari and Anor v. The Secretary of State for Transport* and *Meletios Apostolides v. David Charles Orams and Linda Elizabeth Orams*.

### **The Direct Trade Regulation, and the ECtHR Rulings in the Xenides-Arestis, the Demopoulos and Ors and the Asproftas and Petrakidou Cases: The Shape of Things to Come?**

The post-April 2004 phase of the Cyprus dispute has seen no less than two sets of legal developments pointing to a possible change of perception in certain quarters that neither side to the ongoing negotiations for a lasting settlement can afford (or would be advised) to ignore. These consist in (i) the European Commission's stance *vis-à-vis* the 'TRNC', most notably reflected in its proposal for a Direct Trade Regulation, shelved for several years but recently revived by the European Commission and (ii) some of the more recent decisions of the ECtHR in the matter of

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48 See, for instance, Necatigil (1999); and Turkey's submissions in the *Loizidou* case.

49 [1996] STC (SCD) 150, [1996] 1 LRC 526.

50 *Ibid.*, para. 118.

the Cyprus dispute, with an emphasis on its judgments in the *Xenides-Arestis* and, more importantly, in the *Demopoulos* and the *Asproftas* and *Petrakidou* cases. The remainder of this paper examines these developments, with a view to understanding their concrete legal implications and assessing what their impact should or is likely to be, at the present juncture, on the negotiating strategy and positions of the two sides to the Cyprus dispute.

### ***The European Commission's Stance in the Aftermath of the Annan Plan Referenda and the Direct Trade Regulation***

As a commentator has aptly observed, "... Cyprus entered the EU in inauspicious circumstances",<sup>51</sup> with certain EU leaders, including the then Commissioner for Enlargement, publicly expressing their irritation at the RoC's political leadership for being seen to take advantage of the dissociation between the accession of Cyprus to the EU and the negotiation of a lasting settlement to the Cyprus dispute in order to campaign for (and secure) a 'No' vote from the Greek Cypriot electorate in the April 2004 referenda. The EU was to immediately express regret over the Greek Cypriot Community's rejection of the Annan Plan and to congratulate the Turkish Cypriots for their 'Yes' vote, promising to "put an end to the isolation of the Turkish Cypriot Community and to facilitate the re-unification of Cyprus by encouraging the economic development of the Turkish Cypriot Community".<sup>52</sup> With these objectives in mind, the European Commission swiftly tabled no less than three proposals for a Green Line Regulation,<sup>53</sup> a Financial Aid Regulation<sup>54</sup> and a Direct Trade Regulation.<sup>55</sup> Due to the RoC's opposition, only the Green Line Regulation and, thereafter, the Financial Aid Regulation were approved; the former defines the terms under which EU law applies to the movement of persons, goods and services across the line dividing the Areas from the rest of the RoC, while the latter envisages the transfer of €259 million of financial aid to the 'TRNC'. The RoC's staunch opposition to the proposed Direct Trade Regulation revolved

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51 Nugent (2006), p. 1.

52 See the Statement of the General Affairs Council of 26 April 2004. In his Report on his mission of good offices in Cyprus, of 28 May 2004 (S/2004/437), the UN Secretary General was to also call for the lifting of the Turkish Cypriot Community's isolation (see §§ 87-90), regretting that what was rejected by the Greek Cypriots was "... the solution itself, rather than a mere blueprint" (see § 83).

53 Council Regulation (EC) No 866/2004 of 29.4.2004 on a regime under Article 2 of Protocol No. 10 of the Act of Accession, OJ L 161, 30.4.2004, p. 128, as last amended by Council Regulation (EC) No 587/2008 (OJ L 163, 24.6.2008, p. 1).

54 Council Regulation (EC) No 389/2006 of 27 February 2006 establishing an instrument of financial support for encouraging the economic development of the Turkish Cypriot community and amending Council Regulation (EC) No 2667/2000 on the European Agency for Reconstruction, OJ L 65, 7.3.2006, p. 5. The RoC agreed to the grant of financial aid to the 'TRNC' if that were to be administered by its Government.

55 Proposal for a Council Regulation on special conditions for trade with those areas of the Republic of Cyprus in which the Government of the Republic of Cyprus does not exercise effective control, Brussels 772004, COM (2004) 466 final, 2004/0148 (ACC).

around its legal basis and the political aims that this was deemed to promote, both of which were deemed to be objectionable.<sup>56</sup> It is, perhaps, telling that the RoC was not alone in its negative assessment of the proposed Direct Trade Regulation: the Council's Legal Service shared the opinion of the Government of the RoC that the European Commission proposal was inconsistent both with international and with EU law and that its legal basis was erroneous.<sup>57</sup> The shelving of the proposed Regulation disappointed the 'TRNC' and attracted criticism from Turkey, which accused the EU of breaking its April 2004 promises to the Turkish Cypriot Community and of backtracking on its commitment to encourage their economic development.

The Direct Trade Regulation, which was still pending at the time of writing, was unexpectedly revived in December 2009 and, along with it, so was the EU's April 2004 promise to end the Turkish Cypriot Community's isolation. Given that EU legal acts adopted on the basis of Article 207 TFEU (formerly, Article 133 EC) are only subject to qualified majority voting within the Council (already prior to the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty)<sup>58</sup> and that the proposed Regulation appeared, at the time of writing, likely to pass the hurdle of the European Parliament (which, in accordance with the Lisbon Treaty's 'common legislative procedure', is responsible, jointly with the Council, for adopting the measures defining the framework for implementing the common commercial policy), the likelihood of the Direct Trade Regulation becoming law is substantial. The re-emergence of the Direct Trade Regulation, with the same legal basis,<sup>59</sup> no doubt confirms the assessment made by a commentator that, "[T]he initial negativity towards the Republic still resonates".<sup>60</sup> Perhaps more importantly, it suggests that the EU Institutions are unwilling to wait indefinitely for the parties involved in the Cyprus dispute to barter a solution before it acts to ensure that the Turkish Cypriots are no longer penalised by the chronic failure of the parties to the dispute to come to an understanding on how best to resolve it.

Whether the revival of the proposed Direct Trade Regulation, with the same legal basis as the one originally envisaged, is part of a strategy intended to help attribute a certain measure of recognition to the 'TRNC' can only be the subject matter of uninformed speculation, despite the fact that, for instance, in the *Orams* litigation, the European Commission had intervened in a

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56 The proposed use of (former) Article 133 EC (now, Article 207 TFEU) as the legal basis of the Direct Trade Regulation exemplified its divisive nature, since that particular Treaty provision provides for trade with *third countries*, thereby hinting to the 'TRNC' 's possible recognition as an external trade partner enjoying the status of a state. Article 1(2) of Protocol No. 10 providing for the withdrawal (including only a partial one) of the suspension of the *acquis*, would appear to be the appropriate legal basis for the Direct Trade Regulation.

57 Brussels, 25 August 2004, Doc. No. 11874/04.

58 The Lisbon Treaty has seen an increase in the number of policy areas where decisions are to be taken by qualified majority voting at the Council, instead of unanimity. Subject to some notable exceptions, where unanimity will continue to be required (e.g. defence, social security and taxation), qualified majority voting is to become the norm.

59 In this regard, see Skoutaris (2008), *supra*, fn. 16, 751, explaining the European Commission's choice of Article 133 EC by arguing that this, "... would allow the Union to adopt such measure through a QMV procedure".

60 Nugent, *supra*, fn. 51, 61.

manner consistent with the interests of the occupants of the applicant's property.<sup>61</sup> Although there is no credible evidence, for the time being, of any official change of policy at the level of the EU *vis-à-vis* the 'TRNC', the *practical* effects of the possible adoption of the proposed Regulation would be hardly any different from those feared by the Government of the RoC. One would expect the legitimate concerns of the Greek Cypriot side at the unexpected re-surfacing of the proposed Direct Trade Regulation to inform its future steps, having an impact both on its assessment of the urgency of coming to a negotiated settlement to the Cyprus dispute before external developments pre-empt its hitherto efforts and make nonsense of the political capital invested in them and on the importance of devising a 'plan B' in the event that the on-going discussions for a lasting settlement should fail to produce any results, leaving the international community with few other options but to consider alternatives to a perpetuation of the untenable *status quo*. As only some of these alternatives are likely to match the Greek Cypriot leadership's expectations for a re-unified Cyprus, one would hope that its elite will carefully assess what reasonable compromises and concessions a majority within the Greek Cypriot Community is capable of subscribing to and, depending on the outcome of its inquiries, readjust its negotiating position with a view to reaching, sooner rather than later, a settlement that matches the genuine desires of the Greek Cypriots.

***The ECtHR's More Recent Jurisprudence in the Matter of the Cyprus Dispute: The Xenides-Arestis and the Demopoulos, Asproftas and Petrakidou Rulings***

Of the ECtHR's post-April 2004 Cyprus-related jurisprudence, two cases stand out the most, namely *Xenides-Arestis v. Turkey*<sup>62</sup> and, no less importantly, *Demopoulos and Ors v. Turkey*.<sup>63</sup> While the Court's rulings in those cases are open to different interpretations, one of them is that what these point to, however indirectly, is the *sui generis* judicial recognition of the *status quo* in the Areas, an unprecedented development that is likely to have far-reaching implications on the international community's approach to and degree of toleration of the 'TRNC'.

The factual background to the first of the aforementioned two cases was similar to the one in *Loizidou*. The applicant had been prevented, since August 1974, on account of the Turkish military occupation of the Areas and of the resulting division of Cyprus, from enjoying property

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61 In its intervention in the *Orams* litigation, the Commission took the view that, in deciding on whether and how to apply the Judgments Regulation to the ruling at stake in the proceedings before the ECJ, regard had to be had to the 'Immovable Property Commission' established by Turkey in order to address the claims of the evicted Greek Cypriot owners of land in the Areas. In *Xenides Arestis III* the ECtHR had found the IPC to be consistent, in principle, with the ECHR's requirements. The Commission's view left both Advocate General Kokott and the ECJ unimpressed.

62 *Xenides-Arestis v. Turkey* (admissibility) Application no. 46347/99, Judgment of 14 March 2005, unpublished; *Xenides-Arestis v. Turkey II* (merits) 22 December 2005 [2005] ECHR 919; and *Xenides-Arestis v. Turkey III* (just satisfaction) 7 December 2006 [2006] ECHR 0000.

63 *Demopoulos and Ors v. Turkey* (admissibility) Applications nos. 46113/99, 3843/02, 13751/02, 13466/03, 14163/04, 10200/04, 19993/04, 21819/04, Judgment of 1 March 2010, unpublished.

that she owned and had made use of in the Areas. She brought a compensation claim against Turkey pursuant to Article 8 of the ECHR and to Article 1 to the First Protocol to the ECHR. To avoid a judgment against it, Turkey had established, in July 2003, an 'Immovable Property Determination, Evaluation and Compensation Commission' ('IPC'), which was intended to provide a domestic remedy for similar complaints.<sup>64</sup> As the IPC only provided for compensation but not restitution and as there were doubts about its impartiality, the ECtHR found that, in the circumstances prevailing in the 'TRNC' at the time of the delivery of its admissibility ruling, the IPC did not provide an effective and adequate domestic remedy that applicants should exhaust prior to filing an application to the ECtHR, in accordance with Article 35 § 1 of the Convention.<sup>65</sup> The ECtHR's assessment prompted Turkey to introduce changes to the IPC that were already in place at the time of the issuance by the Court of its third ruling (on just satisfaction).<sup>66</sup> Rejecting Turkey's argument that the applicant should be required, at that particular stage of the proceedings (i.e. after a judgment on the merits had already been issued), to apply for compensation to the new IPC, the Court concluded that the deprivation of the applicant's rights to enjoy her property constituted a violation of the ECHR, ordering Turkey to pay her compensation.<sup>67</sup> Notwithstanding its consistency with the earlier judgments of the ECtHR (including *Loizidou*), by far the most significant aspect of the ECtHR's decision in *Xenides-Arestis* was the fact that the Court not only viewed favourably the establishment of an accessible and impartial IPC but, in principle, also endorsed it, inviting Turkey to address systematically, through it, the issue of the deprivation of the property rights of all similarly-situated applicants.<sup>68</sup> That aspect of the ECtHR ruling in *Xenides-Arestis* was to become of particular relevance closer to the time of the writing of this paper. It is also an aspect of that ruling that appears to have been partly ignored, at least by one of the sides to the Cyprus dispute, despite the unequivocal terms in which the ECtHR

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64 The legal basis for the establishment of the original IPC was 'Law 49/2003', which entered into force on 30 June 2003.

65 *Xenides-Arestis v. Turkey*, 43-45. Article 35 § 1 of the Convention provides that, "[T]he Court may only deal with the matter after all domestic remedies have been exhausted, according to the generally recognised rules of international law, and within a period of six months from the date on which the final decision was taken".

66 The reference is to 'Law 67/2005', which came into effect on 22 December 2005 and which was intended to address the lack of the provision for restitution, to which the Court drew attention in *Xenides-Arestis*.

67 *Xenides-Arestis v. Turkey III*, paras 37-38.

68 "It is inherent in the Court's findings that the violation of the applicant's rights ... originates in a widespread problem affecting large numbers of people. ... Moreover, the Court cannot ignore the fact that there are already approximately 1,400 property cases pending before the Court brought primarily by Greek-Cypriots against Turkey. ... The Court considers that the respondent State must introduce a remedy, which secures genuinely effective redress for the Convention violations identified in the instant judgment in relation to the present applicant as well as in respect of all similar applications pending before the Court, in accordance with the principles for the protection of the rights laid down in Article 8. ... Such a remedy should be available within three months from the date on which the present judgment will be delivered and the redress should occur three months thereafter (*Xenides-Arestis v. Turkey II*, para. 38)".



welcomed Turkey's steps to provide adequate domestic redress in respect of all similar applications and the clear message sent by the Court that an adequate, effective and accessible compensation and restitution mechanism would pass human rights muster and meet the ECtHR's requirements.<sup>69</sup>

More recently, in its landmark ruling in *Demopoulos v. Turkey*, the ECtHR's Grand Chamber declared inadmissible the complaints of eight Greek Cypriot applicants against Turkey over the deprivation of the enjoyment of their possessions in the Areas as a result of Turkey's continuing military occupation thereof. The Court found that, since Turkey had, in its view, established, through the 'revamped' IPC, an accessible and effective mechanism for the redress of complaints similar to those of the applicants before it, their applications should be rejected for non-exhaustion of domestic remedies, in contravention of Article 35 § 1 of the Convention. This judgment is of very considerable significance, not only because there were some 1,600 similar applications pending before the Court at the time of its delivery but, most of all, because of the reasons that the ECtHR furnished for it. Specifically, the Court dismissed the applicants' claim that any recourse to the IPC would be tantamount to a recognition of the existence of the 'TRNC'. In the Court's view, for the applicants to avail of the IPC, established in the aftermath of and in accordance with the ECtHR's rulings in the *Xenides-Arestis* line of jurisprudence, was not for them to legitimise Cyprus's illegal occupation but, rather, to make use of a mechanism intended to bring Turkey in line with its obligations under the Convention, guaranteeing the protection of their rights.<sup>70</sup> The ECtHR also rejected the applicants' submission that the IPC did not provide a real and effective remedy.<sup>71</sup> The Court was of the opinion that the IPC amounted, *prima facie*, to a reasonable and fair redress mechanism (whose awards were subject to a right of appeal before the 'TRNC's 'courts') and that no evidence had been adduced to show that it was ineffective or discriminatory;<sup>72</sup> finally, that material compensation instead of restitution was the IPC's favoured means of settling claims was not, in the Court's view, fatal to its efficacy as a redress mechanism, as restitution may well be the preferred but it is not the only conceivable form of redress, where the circumstances render it impracticable or impossible.<sup>73</sup> Significantly, the Court stressed that thirty-

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69 *Xenides-Arestis v. Turkey II*, para. 40.

70 "... As has been consistently emphasised, this conclusion does not in any way put in doubt the view adopted by the international community regarding the establishment of the 'TRNC' or the fact that the government of the Republic of Cyprus remains the sole legitimate government of Cyprus ... The Court maintains its opinion that allowing the respondent State to correct wrongs imputable to it does not amount to an indirect legitimisation of a regime unlawful under international law" (*Demopoulos and Ors v. Turkey*, supra, fn. 63, para. 96).

71 In support of their claims, the applicants invoked the IPC's bias against Greek Cypriots, the fact that it only rarely ordered the restitution of property and the contention that the compensation awarded by the IPC was only a fraction of the disputed property's value.

72 In this regard see *Demopoulos and Ors v. Turkey*, supra, fn. 63, paras 104-126.

73 "The Court's case-law indicates that if the nature of the breach allows *restitutio in integrum*, it is for the respondent State to implement it. However, if it is not possible to restore the position, the Court, as a matter of constant

five years had already elapsed since the occurrence of the events giving rise to proceedings before it and that to attempt to settle disputes on the basis of a 'snapshot' of the parties' human rights, as they stood in August 1974, would be to risk causing injustice to the *de facto* long-term occupants of the applicants' properties, whose non-proprietary rights may outweigh the applicants' sentiments and, with greater reason, those of their descendants<sup>74</sup> (many of whom had never made use of the disputed properties).<sup>75</sup> Specifically on the issue of the evicted applicants' proprietary rights, one of the major bones of contention in the ongoing negotiations for a settlement to the Cyprus dispute and amongst the main reasons (alongside security concerns)<sup>76</sup> for the rejection of the Annan Plan by the Greek Cypriot Community,<sup>77</sup> the ECtHR observed that,

"The Court can only conclude that the attenuation over time of the link between the holding of title and the possession and use of the property in question must have consequences on the nature of the redress that can be regarded as fulfilling the requirements of Article 35 § 1 of the Convention"<sup>78</sup>

Closer to the time of publication of this paper, the ECtHR was to issue two more rulings, unfavourable to the interests of the displaced owners of properties in the 'TRNC'. The cases in question (which, in their material respects, were identical) are *Asproftas v. Turkey* and *Petrakidou v. Turkey*.<sup>79</sup> The applicants, both of whom were driven from their family homes in August 1974, at the age of 11, were arrested by the authorities of the 'TRNC' while taking part in a demonstration in Nicosia, in July 1989. Invoking, *inter alia*, Article 8 of the Convention, the

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practice, has imposed the alternative requirement on the Contracting State to pay compensation for the value of the property ..." (*Demopoulos and Ors v. Turkey*, supra, fn. 63, para. 114).

74 "In the present applications, some thirty-five years have elapsed since the applicants lost possession of their property in northern Cyprus in 1974. Generations have passed. The local population has not remained static. Turkish Cypriots who inhabited the north have migrated elsewhere; Turkish-Cypriot refugees from the south have settled in the north; Turkish settlers from Turkey have arrived in large numbers and established their homes. Much Greek-Cypriot property has changed hands at least once, whether by sale, donation or inheritance" (*Demopoulos and Ors v. Turkey*, supra, fn. 63, para. 84).

75 "It is not enough for an applicant to claim that a particular place or property is a 'home'; he or she must show that they enjoy concrete and persisting links with the property concerned. The nature of the ongoing or recent occupation of a particular property is usually the most significant element in the determination of the existence of a 'home' in cases before the Court. However, where 'home' is claimed in respect of property in which there has never been any, or hardly any, occupation by the applicant or where there has been no occupation for some considerable time, it may be that the links to that property are so attenuated as to cease to raise any, or any separate, issue under Article 8" (*Demopoulos and Ors v. Turkey*, supra, fn. 63, para. 136).

76 For a short but thought-provoking account of the security angle to the two Communities stance in the matter of the Cyprus dispute, see Tank (2005).

77 In this regard, see Palley (2005), pp. 228-229.

78 *Ibid.*, para. 113.

79 *Asproftas v. Turkey* Application no. 16079/90, Judgment of 27 May 2010, unpublished; and *Petrakidou v. Turkey* Application no. 16081/90, Judgment of 27 May 2010, unpublished.

applicants complained of being unable to return to and enjoy their homes, situated in the area under the control of the 'TRNC'. Drawing heavily on *Demopoulos*, the ECtHR decided that, as children of Greek Cypriot refugees, with no concrete legal rights over the properties in question, the applicants, who had in any event not been in occupation thereof for a very considerable period of time and had no realistic expectation of ever taking up or resuming occupation thereof in the absence of such concrete legal rights (except by way of inheritance), had no right to appeal for them.<sup>80</sup> Accordingly, the Court ruled that the facts of the case did not disclose any present interference with their right in respect of their home and dismissed their claims.

There are two ways to approach the judgment of the Court in *Demopoulos v. Turkey* (of which the ECtHR rulings in the *Asproftas* and *Petrakidou* cases are, in most material respects, the logical conclusion). One is to see in it nothing more but the logical consequence of the ECtHR's judgment in *Xenides-Arestis*: the Court had expressly invited Turkey to establish a forum for the satisfaction of the rights of the Greek Cypriot owners of property situate in the Areas; Turkey did precisely that, which is why the Court was bound by its earlier judgments to uphold Turkey's steps (to the extent that it found them to be to its satisfaction), staying true to its earlier jurisprudence. Another way, no less legitimate, to approach the *Demopoulos* judgment is by focusing on its *implications* and on the *message* that this inevitably sends, irrespective of the Court's intentions: even if the ECtHR has never, to date, in its Cyprus-specific jurisprudence, directly concerned itself with the issue of the legitimacy of the military occupation of the Areas or with the international law status of the 'TRNC'<sup>81</sup> and even if it has consistently treated, also in *Demopoulos*, the 'TRNC's 'administration' as subordinate to and dependent from Turkey, the ECtHR declaration of the IPC as a legitimate forum for the redress of legal claims is tantamount, at least indirectly, to the attribution of a measure of legitimacy to the 'TRNC' that is at variance with the hitherto

80 "In this respect, it is to be recalled that the Grand Chamber has recently held that it is not enough for an applicant to claim that a particular place or property is a 'home'; he or she must show that they enjoy concrete and persisting links with the property concerned. The nature of the ongoing or recent occupation of a particular property is usually the most significant element in the determination of the existence of a 'home' in cases before this Court. However, where 'home' is claimed in respect of property in which there has never been any, or hardly any, occupation by the applicant or where there has been no occupation for some considerable time, it may be that the links to that property are so attenuated as to cease to raise any, or any separate, issue under Article 8. Furthermore, while an applicant does not necessarily have to be the owner of the 'home' for the purposes of Article 8, it may nonetheless be relevant in such cases of claims to 'homes' from the past that he or she can make no claim to any legal rights of occupation or that such time has elapsed that there can be no realistic expectation of taking up, or resuming, occupation in the absence of such rights. Nor can the term 'home' be interpreted as synonymous with the notion of 'family roots', which is a vague and emotive concept (see *Demopoulos and Others ...*): (*Asproftas v. Turkey and Petrakidou v. Turkey*, supra, fn. 79, paras 44 and 43, respectively).

81 The Court did acknowledge in *Demopoulos* that it, "... would eschew any notion that military occupation should be regarded as a form of adverse possession by which title can be legally transferred to the invading power" (at para. 112) and that, "... it goes without saying that Turkey is regarded by the international community as being in illegal occupation of the northern part of Cyprus" (at para. 114).

stance of the international community in the matter of the Cyprus dispute. This is all the more so, considering that, alongside the IPC, it is also the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the ‘TRNC’ whose existence and efficacy have been recognised, at least indirectly, by the Court as it is the ‘TRNC’s ‘Parliament’, its ‘President’ and its ‘courts’ that are involved in its establishment, in the appointment and dismissal of its members and in the hearing of appeals against its awards. It follows that the Greek Cypriot side’s concerns at this unprecedented development are understandable, not least on account of the possible impact of the *Demopoulos* ruling on other legal precedents, favourable to the RoC.<sup>82</sup> An obvious question is what use the RoC’s political elite will now make of these concerns: will it see in them the proof (or, at least, *some* evidence) that time is running out for a negotiated settlement to the Cyprus dispute to be hammered out and will it appreciate the urgency of reflecting on further concessions while, in parallel, working on a ‘plan B’ if the ongoing discussions for a lasting settlement were to fail, for whatever reason? Or will it see in *Demopoulos* no more than an erroneous legal decision that it can afford to disregard on account of the, seemingly, contradictory reasoning<sup>83</sup> that lies at its heart?

To approach the fallout of the *Demopoulos* ruling through purely legal lenses and to seek to challenge, on legal grounds, the validity of the Court’s reasoning would, in our view, be inapposite (however strong the urge to do so may be) for two reasons no less: *first*, because doing so is unlikely to bring anything to the Greek Cypriot side and *second* because it is not entirely clear that any such challenge would be robust enough to itself withstand refutation. More specifically, to attack the rationale of the Court’s ruling through recourse to legal arguments (however plausible those may be) or to attempt to explain it away by reference to the Court’s concern at the rising number of applications brought by Greek Cypriots against Turkey or as a reaction to its fear that human rights law may be used, indefinitely, as an instrument for the pursuit of objectives going beyond the satisfaction of legal claims<sup>84</sup> would, in all likelihood, bring the Greek Cypriot side no more benefits

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82 In this regard, see fn. 61 and Advocate General Kokott’s rejection, in paragraph 68 of her opinion in the *Orams* case, of the Commission’s view that, in applying the Judgments Regulation, regard should be had to the IPC, “[T]he Xenides-Arestis III judgment, in which the European Court of Human Rights took a positive view of the compatibility of the compensation regime with the ECHR, gives no indication that the legislation in question validly excludes the prosecution of civil claims under the law of the Republic of Cyprus. On the contrary, the European Court of Human Rights expressly rejected the argument that the applicant was obliged to bring the matter of compensation before the Immovable Property Commission, and instead itself awarded her compensation.”

83 The contradiction resides in the tension between the Court’s judgment in *Demopoulos* and the *ex injuria ius non oritur* principle. As if to pre-empt that criticism, the Court stated that, “... from a Convention perspective, property is a material commodity which can be valued and compensated for in monetary terms. If compensation is paid in accordance with the Court’s case-law, there is in general no unfair balance between the parties” (*Demopoulos and Ors v. Turkey*, supra, fn. 63, para.115).

84 The ECtHR’s concerns are, *inter alia*, reflected in the following excerpt from its judgment in *Demopoulos*, “... individuals claiming to own property in the north may, in theory, come to the Court periodically and indefinitely to claim loss of rents until a political solution to the Cyprus problem is reached” (at para. 111).

than similar attacks or challenges have brought the 'TRNC' or Turkey in connection with precedents that Turkey and the 'TRNC' objected to. Leaving aside the fact that no right of appeal lies against the ECtHR's admissibility decisions, to want to challenge the rationale of limitations that the Court spelled out in the *Demopoulos* ruling for the ownership rights of the evicted Greek Cypriots would be to lose sight of the inherently *qualified* nature of property rights and of the restrictions to which these are subject, as a result.<sup>85</sup> Seen in this light, the limitations that the ECtHR spelled out for the applicants' property rights in *Demopoulos* could be understood as incidental to the very nature of property rights rather than as indications of the judicial recognition of a new legal situation in the Areas, commensurate with the realities on the ground. At the same time, to assert that human rights law invariably gives priority to the dispossessed owners of property over its current occupants (including illegal ones) may be to misunderstand the link between property and occupancy and to exaggerate the relative weight of one over the other, disregarding the need for a balancing act before a decision to prefer the dispossessed owners of property over its long-term occupants is made.<sup>86</sup> Besides, it is worth recalling that the Annan Plan – which, despite its rejection, provides invaluable guidance as to the international community's perception of what an acceptable compromise would look like in the context of the Cyprus dispute – gave priority to the long-term occupants of land over their evicted owners in a number of situations,<sup>87</sup> suggesting that, while the right to ownership is, no doubt, protected, it is not an absolute right nor is occupancy and the (mostly non-proprietary) rights that go along with it, to be entirely discarded. After all, the Court's ambition to ensure that individual rights and freedoms are effectively protected at the domestic level and that aggrieved parties only have recourse to the Court as a last resort is, fundamentally, a legitimate one that one would have difficulties to challenge (however much its application in the context of the Cyprus dispute would appear to be less than straightforward, given the unrecognised status of the 'TRNC' and its authorities).<sup>88</sup>

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85 Article 1 to the First Protocol to the ECHR (which was only added to the Convention in 1952) recognises a *qualified* right to property, one that is *inter alia* subject to the power of the contracting states to restrict its enjoyment to the extent necessary to secure the payment of taxes, other contributions or penalties. It is, perhaps, telling that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Art.17), the American Convention of Human Rights (Art.21), American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man (Art. 23) and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Art.14) also recognise *qualified* (as opposed to absolute) rights to private property.

86 For a detailed and thought-provoking account of the mechanisms in place for the balancing of conflicting proprietary and non-proprietary rights over real property in factual situations similar to those of the Cyprus dispute, see Ronen (2007).

87 See, for instance, Annan Plan, Foundation Agreement, Annex VII, Articles 12 (1)-(2), 14 and 16(3).

88 For an account of the 'pilot judgment procedure' developed by the ECtHR under Protocol No.14 to the ECHR in an attempt to address similar cases arising from the lack of relevant structures and procedures, allowing individual citizens to vindicate their rights and assert their freedoms under the Convention before the competent domestic courts see Paraskeva (2003).

An urgent rethink of the strategy of the side to the Cyprus dispute that stands to lose the most from the further consolidation of the island's partition<sup>89</sup> would appear to be a more appropriate reaction to the ECtHR ruling in *Demopoulos* and to the realities brought about by the Court's ruling so that further unpleasant surprises can be pre-empted and that developments can be steered in the direction that best serves the longer-term interests of both Communities on the island, however dissatisfied their individual members may be with the balance to be struck, as a *sine qua non* precondition for the resolution of the Cyprus conflict, between the rights of the dispossessed and those of the long-term occupants of their property.

### Concluding Remarks

Given the circumstances in which the 'TRNC' was established and the illegal use of force that preceded and facilitated its creation, in violation of international and human rights law, the international community has hitherto refused to recognise it, treating the Government of the RoC as the only legitimate partner on the island. However ironically, it would seem that the Law, a former ally and the very source of the RoC's meagre successes in its struggle against Turkey over the 'TRNC', may slowly be in the process of setting the tone for its future misfortunes. As those of the recent legal developments highlighted in this paper would seem to suggest the juridical route to resolving the Cyprus dispute entails risks, with yesterday's successes being apt to bear the seeds of tomorrow's calamities, as in the case of the *Xenides-Arestis* ruling. To pursue blindly the legal route is perilous, not least in the context of the Cyprus dispute that is, first and foremost, of a *political* rather than of a *legal* nature, meaning that no viable solution to it can ever be arrived at otherwise, than through negotiations.

If, as the recent developments highlighted earlier in this paper would seem to suggest, a consensus is gradually emerging outside Cyprus to the effect that a return to the *status quo ante* is increasingly becoming an unrealistic option, given the decades-long period that has elapsed since Turkey's military intervention, it is high time for those interested in the island's re-unification to come to terms with the inevitability of the slow drift towards partition, unless additional painful compromises and concessions are made, and to seriously examine what these compromises and concessions could be before introducing them at the negotiating table. If no such compromises or concessions would appear to be politically feasible or if those that the majority of the members of the two Communities would be willing to subscribe to would not suffice for Cyprus' division to be overcome, the obvious way forward would be for the side to the Cyprus dispute that stands to

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89 For the Greek Cypriots, the 'Taiwanisation' (or outright recognition) of the 'TRNC' would entail loss of significant territorial gains, the permanent stationing of Turkish troops on the island and the arrival of more Turkish settlers, as well as the acceleration of the exploitation of the Greek Cypriot-owned properties; for the Turkish Cypriots it would entail slower development and the loss of some of their rights as EU citizens. While both sides to the dispute would lose out, it is more or less clear which side would stand to lose out the most.

lose the most from the island's partition to try to secure whatever gains, territorial or other, it can before the partition is further consolidated or formalised. As time is not working in favour of the interests of those willing to see the island of Cyprus re-unified, it is only if the side to the dispute that stands to lose the most from the island's partition is prepared to see the writing on the wall that it can take the steps necessary in order to either readjust its position, so as to attain the settlement that it holds itself out as striving to attain or, alternatively, to minimise the potential effects of the one development that now, more than ever before, looms in the distance if no settlement can be achieved in the near future: the furtive recognition of the 'TRNC'. The adverse consequences of such a development should, by now, be clear to all parties to the Cyprus problem and should be avoided at any reasonable cost.

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# Critical Discourse Analysis of Multiculturalism and Intercultural Education Policies in the Republic of Cyprus

MICHALINOS ZEMBYLAS

## Abstract

*This paper engages in critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine the underlying philosophical and ideological assumptions about multiculturalism and intercultural education in some recent manifestations of educational policy in the Republic of Cyprus. It begins with an overview of CDA and its usefulness in educational policy analysis followed by a brief history of intercultural education in the Greek-Cypriot educational system. Sociopolitical and textual aspects of the chosen policy documents are then analysed which focus on the following questions: (1) What ideological assumptions are made about multiculturalism and intercultural education by Greek-Cypriot educational authorities, and what are the implications of those assumptions for the education of non-indigenous children; (2) How do the chosen policy documents construct culture and diversity and in what ways do those constructions establish and sustain certain power asymmetries? The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of this analysis for policymaking on intercultural education in the Republic of Cyprus and other multicultural settings.*

**Keywords:** multiculturalism, intercultural education, educational policy, critical discourse analysis

## Introduction

Discourses of multiculturalism and multicultural education have been the battleground of fierce debates in many societies during the last three decades. These debates focus on the questions of *unity* and *diversity* (Banks, 2007). On one hand, critics of multicultural education (e.g. Ravitch, 1990; Schlesinger, 1991) claim that the implementation of multicultural education reforms intensifies divisions and threatens national and social unity, while proponents of multicultural educational reforms (e.g. Nieto, 1999; Duarte and Smith, 2000; Gutmann, 2004) suggest that common values may be the result of repression of diversity and thus assimilation and that monocultural ideological perspectives should be resisted. These opposing views on unity and diversity have given rise to different strands of multiculturalism such as conservative, liberal, pluralist and critical multiculturalism (Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997). These strands espouse different ideals about what should be included and excluded in certain discourses, policies and practices around multiculturalism. While seemingly neutral and transparent, often espousing the

international imperative of positive recognition of difference and culture, discourses of multicultural education often convey vested political and ideological interests (Giroux, 1993; Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997). The analysis of discourses of multiculturalism that appear in official policy documents is particularly important for understanding the core assumptions informing policymaking on multicultural education.

This article critically examines how *intercultural education*,<sup>1</sup> *multiculturalism*, *difference* and *culture*, are positioned through discourse in certain manifestations of educational policy by Greek-Cypriot educational authorities. These constructs are chosen as a focus of this analysis because they constitute some of the crucial concepts in discourses of intercultural education. Given the scope of educational policy analysis, there is no attempt to represent its full complexity. The course chosen here is merely representative of some recent manifestations of educational policy – mainly through circulars sent to primary schools, because circulars represent a major way of communicating policies directly to teachers – for the purpose of enhancing our ability to provide alternative readings of policy texts. Using critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1995; Weiss and Wodak, 2003), The language of educational policy documents is analysed in relation to power and ideology, i.e. the examination of how the aforementioned basic constructs and categorisations in these documents constitute acts of power which give rise to particular forms of inclusion and exclusion of social groups and identities, and depend on assumptions about naturalised realities. De-naturalising these taken-for-granted assumptions and the underlying hegemonic ideologies is a key task of CDA and this is precisely the reason why this approach is appropriate for the purpose of this article.

In the first section of the article, CDA and its usefulness in educational policy analysis is described, and then a brief history of intercultural education in the Greek-Cypriot educational system is provided. The sociopolitical and textual aspects of the chosen policy documents are later analysed. More specifically, the aim of this analysis is to answer the following questions: (1) What ideological assumptions are made about multiculturalism and intercultural education by Greek-Cypriot educational authorities, and what are the implications of those assumptions for the education of non-indigenous children; (2) How do the chosen policy documents construct culture and diversity and in what ways do those constructions establish and sustain certain power asymmetries? The article concludes with a discussion of the implications of this analysis for policymaking on intercultural education in the Republic of Cyprus and other multicultural settings.

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1 'Intercultural education' is a preferred term used by the Council of Europe and most European countries (see Papamichael, 2008) by comparison to 'multicultural education' used in Britain and the US. In the discourse of the Republic of Cyprus 'intercultural education' is mostly used and therefore this is the term employed throughout this article. On a more general level, 'inter-cultural' implies a stress on communication across cultures, whereas 'multi-cultural' refers to their mere existence.

### Policy as Discourse: The Use of CDA to Critically Analyse Educational Policy

The notion of policy-as-discourse (Ball, 1993) – a major idea in which this article is grounded – suggests that policies are essentially texts that reflect underlying ideologies and philosophical assumptions. In other words, policies do not exist in a vacuum but are embedded in particular discourses that are situated in social and political frames; these frames delineate the possible interpretations and enactments of policymaking. Critical discourse analysis (CDA), then, is an approach by which texts (and therefore policies) are analysed to make transparent their underlying ideologies and philosophical assumptions (Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

CDA gives particular attention to power relations through examining the relationships between the micropolitics of texts (e.g. discursive textual features such as words, syntax and conceptual categories) and the macropolitical social and cultural structures within which discourses form and operate (Fairclough, 1992; Luke, 2002). As Fairclough (1995) explains:

“[CDA] ... sets out to make visible through analysis, and to criticize, connections between properties of texts and social processes and relations (ideologies, power relations) which are generally not obvious to people who produce and interpret those texts, and whose effectiveness depends upon this opacity” (p. 97).

Therefore, CDA makes ideologies and power relations more visible by questioning the taken-for-granted assumptions about social institutions and the society. The acts of naming and categorising, for example, that are necessary to all language usage, are essentially acts of power which delineate what is ‘normal’ from what is considered ‘deviant’. Thus anything ‘different’ is equated with anomaly through normative assumptions that demarcate the same from the different.

CDA focuses, then, on what language *does* in the world, that is, how language functions to establish particular realities, social relationships and systems of knowledge and belief (Weiss and Wodak, 2003). Language use is defined as social practice and consequently, discourse is not simply a representation of the world but a means of “constituting and constructing the world in meaning” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 64). Policy documents, for example, such as circulars sent to teachers, are immersed in discourses and discursive relations. Inherent in these policy documents are ideological positions that serve the interests of authorities and mobilise meaning in the service of hegemonic groups (Thompson, 1990). CDA provides indications of which voices and discourses are included and which may be excluded, thus being absent (Fairclough, 2003). Clearly, the process of immersion in discourses is not politically and ideologically neutral (Luke, 2002); therefore, any attempt to denaturalise the taken-for-granted frame of discourse and dismantle the relations of domination – by interrogating, contesting and reinscribing naturalised assumptions – is also a political task, albeit one that has the potential to interrupt hegemonic ideologies and given symbolic systems and create openings for change (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1997). Recent approaches to policy analysis in education have begun to explore the possibilities of CDA to examine policymaking as an arena of struggle over meaning (Taylor, 2004). As Taylor points out,

there has been relatively little published work on policy analysis in education which specifically uses CDA (*ibid*). However, this kind of approach is particularly appropriate for critical policy analysis in education, “because it allows a detailed investigation of the relationship of language to other social processes, and of how language *works* within power relations” (*ibid*, p. 436, original emphasis). In the context of this article, then, CDA can be used as a means to understand how multicultural discourses, as embedded in policy documents, are implicated in relations of power. Such an analysis will explore the ways in which power constitutes specific hegemonies that mark non-indigenous children in the Republic of Cyprus as different, as deficient, or as objects of exclusion and marginalisation.

For example, it would be valuable to expose the ways that these policy documents represent non-indigenous children as ‘other-language’ [*alloglossa*] children, that is, as individuals whose mothertongue is other than Greek. Drawing on Foucault, Popkewitz and Brennan (1998) discuss the implications of this representation for the subjectivisation of children, explaining that the power of discourses to name, depict and describe, create particular systems of comparing and normalising children as ‘different.’ It is important, therefore, to situate the analysis of textual features within the larger social and political context of education and the society. For instance, in relation to intercultural education policy in the Republic of Cyprus, it is interesting to examine how multiculturalism is constructed through claims that are rooted in the service of particular ideologies about immigration and cultural difference. In short, the CDA framework provides insights into the macropolitical structures of the social world and how particular discourses are constituted within these structures.

### **Intercultural Education in the Greek-Cypriot Educational System**

Cyprus has traditionally been a country of out-migration throughout the twentieth century; however, migration of labour to the Republic of Cyprus started in the 1990s as a result of the relatively quick economic boom that has turned Cyprus into a host country for immigration and migrant workers (Spyrou, 2009; Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, 2009). Immigration has particularly grown over the last few years, consisting of immigrants and labour workers from East Asia, Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and the Middle East; there has also been some internal movement of Turkish Cypriots from the north to the south part of Cyprus, especially after the partial lift of restrictions in movement in 2003. Of the current inhabitants 13.7% are non-indigenous Cypriots, that is, persons not born in Cyprus, including registered migrants and their children plus naturalised Cypriots (Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus, 2006). The changing profile of the population in the Republic of Cyprus has affected the schools and the educational system. The Greek-Cypriot educational system has always been monocultural – as a result of the historical segregation of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot educational systems – thus immigration has brought major changes to the profile of Greek-Cypriot schools. While in the school year 1995-1996, the percentage of “non-indigenous” students was 4.41%, in 2007-2008

this percentage rose to 77% (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2007a). There are now some schools where “non-indigenous” children constitute the large majority (80-90%) of the school population; as a result, there is a growing number of multicultural schools.

The concept of “intercultural education” is relatively new to Greek-Cypriot schools and society (Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou, 2007). The first serious attempt to implement it took place in 2002 (F: 7.1.191/3, 29 October 2002), when the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Cyprus sent a long circular to public (primary) schools (under the title ‘Intercultural Education’) and explained the government policy on this matter.<sup>2</sup> The policy focused on two things: first, the provision of measures for language support, that is, the teaching of Greek as a second language to non-indigenous students; and second, the provision of measures for facilitating the smooth integration of non-indigenous students (or ‘other-language’ children, as they were called in the document) in the Greek-Cypriot educational system and society.

However, the Commission for Educational Reform (2004) – which was appointed by the government – expressed concerns about the narrowly ethnocentric and culturally monolithic Greek-Cypriot educational system and argued that this basically ignored multiculturalism. The measures and policies suggested and implemented were considered inadequate by the Commission, because they primarily targeted non-indigenous students and their ‘language deficiency’ in Greek, while neglecting wider issues of nationalism, racism and intolerance; the Commission considered intercultural education for all students to be a necessary response to these issues. Also, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI, 2006) emphasised the lack of thorough understanding of and genuine sensitivity to human rights by many teachers. Other studies by researchers in the Republic of Cyprus stress that the philosophy behind educational practices on intercultural education is mostly grounded in the notion of assimilation, and that the educational system views the diversity of non-indigenous children as a form of deficiency that needs to be treated quickly so that these children can be assimilated to the mainstream society (Angelides *et al.*, 2004; Papamichael, 2008; Zembylas and Iasonos, in press).

The current model of intercultural education being implemented in Greek-Cypriot primary schools (the focus of interest in this article) is a mainstreaming programme in which language learners attend classrooms with indigenous Greek-speaking children. There are a number of schools that have become part of a Zone of Educational Priority (ZEP) (following the example of the French Zones Educatif Priorité, and less of Educational Action Zones in England). ZEP networks include schools with high numbers of non-indigenous students but this is not the rule; there are a number of other schools in Cyprus with high numbers of non-indigenous students that

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2 This was preceded by a booklet authored by Roussou and Hadjiyianni-Yiangou (2001) and published by the Primary Education Programme Development Service, which, however, does not outline the official policy by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Cyprus but describes the state of intercultural education in Greek-Cypriot education (Hadjiyianni-Yiangou, personal communication, 23 February 2009).

are not in a ZEP network. ZEP schools receive additional help – such as extra hours for assisting non-indigenous students to learn the language.

It is also important to point out that although the official policy of the Ministry of Education and Culture is against segregation of non-indigenous children, there is a trend towards segregation in schools with a high concentration of migrants, minorities and Greek Cypriots from poorer backgrounds (Trimikliniotis and Demetriou, 2009). Parallel to the growing number of these students, most of those schools at the same time see a significant reduction of white, middle-class Greek-Cypriot students. This is the so-called ‘white flight.’ Although there is increasing evidence of racial prejudice against minorities, the Ministry of Education and Culture supports that there is no research or proper figures indicating racist incidents in schools (Trimikliniotis, 2008). In their study, Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou (2007) acknowledge that their semi-structured questionnaire with teachers and the interviews with parents and children pointed to racist incidents; non-indigenous children were targeted mostly because of the manner in which they dressed, the financial difficulties of their families and their skin colour. In a recent ethnographic study that lasted for two years, the author’s own research team also documented many racist incidents in which Roma and Turkish-Cypriot students were systematically marginalised by the majority (Zembylas, in press a, in press b). In general, existing research in schools shows that Greek-Cypriot teachers are ill-prepared to deal with the challenge of multicultural education (Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou, 2007; Papamichael, 2008; Trimikliniotis, 2004; Zembylas and Iasonos, in press).

### Overview of Dataset

In terms of the social and political aspects of my analysis, the social practices relevant to this article are located in the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Cyprus, the site for the production of the policy texts to be analysed. The particular documents chosen were the following:

- 22 circulars (relevant to intercultural education and the teaching of Greek to ‘other-language’ children) sent to schools by the Primary Education Directorate between 2002 and 2008, including three relevant circulars concerning the annual objectives of the Ministry of Education and Culture between 2006-2007 and 2008-2009;<sup>3</sup>
- the Strategic Planning of the Ministry of Education and Culture published in December 2007 (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2007b); and,

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3 The circulars analysed are listed in the Bibliography under Primary Sources. The information provided at the end of this article includes their protocol file number, publication date, and title.

For purposes of translation reliability and accuracy in the quotes from the Greek circular documents, the extracts used in this article were initially translated to English both by the author and by a professional translator. These extracts were then translated back to Greek and checked for reliability and accuracy. The process continued until an inter-rater agreement was reached.

- the Council of Ministers' Decision No. 67598 (30 July 2008) entitled 'Measures for the Smooth Integration of Other-Language Students' that adopts the so called 'intercultural approach' as the official policy of the government and approves specific measures for the "smooth integration of other-language students"; this Decision complements an earlier Decision (No. 59550, 25 February 2004) about the provision of Greek language instruction to 'other-language' children, dividing them into two categories (beginners and non-beginners).<sup>4</sup>

The particular policy documents are chosen for two reasons: first, because circulars provide a major means of communicating policymaking decisions directly to teachers – especially in the absence of an official policy on the matter, as has been the case with intercultural education in the Republic of Cyprus for several years until the delineation of this policy in a Decision of the Council of Ministers (July 2008); and, second, because the Strategic Planning of 2007 outlines the major vision and policy intentions of the Ministry of Education and Culture in future years.<sup>5</sup> Overall, it may be argued that these particular documents reflect the government's philosophy and policy on intercultural education in the Greek-Cypriot educational system.

In terms of the textual features of this analysis, it is accomplished through an examination of several elements. First, the texts belong to a particular *genre*. The policy documents that are analysed here fall into the genre of government policy statements, drawing from a variety of discourses such as education, law, and science. The circulars are addressed to teachers, the Strategic Planning is addressed to teachers, administrators, parents, education organisations and generally all those interested in Cypriot education, and the Decision No. 67598 is addressed to government education bureaucrats. Second, the texts position themselves in accessible and authoritative ways. They are structured with short paragraphs that contain mainly factual assertions or imperative directions. The style of the text appears objective and neutral, especially through the use of third-person and the inclusion of numbers, figures, and tables. Also, the circulars, in particular, often shift from the use of first person plural 'we' (to establish a sense of identity between the authors and the readers) to the second-person 'you' to provide particular directions to teachers and administrators.

Another key aspect of discourse in these documents is the selection of particular words and phrases. The lexical choices of the texts analysed establish or perpetuate particular everyday

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4 Given that the Decision 67598 of the Council of Ministers (30 July 2008) is outlined in circular F: 7.1191/10 (28 August 2008) and the phraseology in the two documents is exactly the same, all citations made in this article will use the circular as a reference source, because all circulars (after 2003) are publicly available. See at the following site: [<http://www.schools.ac.cy/dde/circular/allcircular/ShowAllcircularTablePage.aspx>].

5 The 2004 document of the Commission for Educational Reform is not analysed here because it constitutes a *proposal/manifesto* authored by an independent committee and not an *official policy document* by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Cyprus. Some of the 2004 proposals are 'translated' into official policies and are included in the 2007 Strategic Planning of the Ministry of Education and Culture; therefore, the latter is the chosen document for analysis.

ideologies and popular language use in the ways some groups are conceptualised. One example is the word 'other-language' [*alloglossoi*] children. This word is used throughout the texts reviewed but sometimes it is interchanged with the words 'alien' [*allodapoi*], 'foreigners' [*xenoi*] and 'foreign-language' [*xenoglossoi*]. All these words are not ideologically neutral lexical choices but reveal implicit ideological assumptions and knowledge/power relationships. It is interesting to note that the word 'other-language' does not appear in any other multicultural or language discourses in the international literature; instead, the words 'bilingual', 'foreign-language', or 'second-language' are utilised. The word 'other-language' connotes a very different referent that is grounded on the hegemonic language in the Republic of Cyprus (i.e. Greek) and the clear delineation about the 'other' (languages). This particular lexical choice indicates, as it will be shown soon in more detail, that there are particular ideological forces at work in semantics, and these forces – that is, the prevalence of the dominant language in all aspects of school and everyday life and the requirement that those who do not speak Greek should do so – reinforce ideological interests. Overall, the textual features of the policy documents that are analysed here communicate a sense of objectivity, clarity and truth thus predisposing readers to accept the claims made (e.g. see Spivak [1987] on the notion of the other as opposite rather than 'just' foreigner).

Thematically, the presentation of the policy documents reviewed here includes three major categories in response to the focus questions stated in the introduction. The first two categories include extracts from documents conceptualising the philosophy and ideology of the Greek-Cypriot educational system regarding multiculturalism and intercultural education as well as the implications for educating non-indigenous children, especially in relation to the notion of acquiring intercultural skills or competencies. The final category includes extracts revealing the constructions about culture and diversity and the ways those constructions establish and sustain certain power asymmetries.

## Analysis

### *Conceptualising Multiculturalism*

As a subject topic, multiculturalism has been initially framed in negative and rather bleak ways, although more recently it is described in a more factual manner, as an unavoidable reality of contemporary societies. For example, in circular F: 71.191/3 (29 October 2002), the longest one ever sent on the topic of intercultural education and the policy adopted by the Ministry of Education and Culture (hereafter 'Ministry'), multiculturalism is conceptualised as follows:

"It is known that in the last few years, in addition to its serious political problem, Cyprus is in the whirlwind of serious socio-economic developments. During the last decade, the Cypriot society, which until recently had a relatively homogeneous composition with basically Greek-Orthodox population, experiences intensely the consequences of the massive arrival of alien workers and fellow Greek-Pontians from the former USSR. Among the consequences [of this massive arrival] is also the continuing growth of the number of other-language children enrolled in our schools" (p. 1).



In this extract, there are clear distinctions made between 'us' (the Greek Cypriots whose Greek-Orthodox identity is threatened by this massive arrival of aliens) and 'them' ('other-language' and 'alien' individuals). Such distinctions are fundamental in most circulars reviewed and articulate the boundaries between insiders and outsiders, mainstream and marginalised, normalised and deviant.

In the next paragraph of the aforementioned circular, it is explicitly clarified that the demands created by these recent events constitute a "problem" (*ibid.*) that leads to the development of the Programme entitled 'Intercultural Education.' This Programme, as it is stated, concerns "the formation of an action plan about the education of other-language children" (*ibid.*). Notwithstanding the welcoming development of acknowledging for the first time the need for intercultural education in Cyprus, the issue is framed right from the beginning as a *problem*, rather than an opportunity. Specifically, this 'problem' concerns the children who do not speak the dominant language (i.e. Greek) and seems to have nothing to do with the majority population. As it is stated, the Ministry's efforts are focused on "the smooth integration of these children into the Cypriot educational system" (a phrase that is repeatedly used in numerous subsequent circulars). Moreover, it is noted that "the basic goal is to offer supporting and differentiating programs of Greek language learning so that the children of expatriates and aliens can communicate more effectively with their environment" (*ibid.*). In other words, the focus is on developing effective communication skills to 'other-language' children. In addition to this focus, as it is further elaborated, an ongoing "intention" of the Ministry of Education and Culture is "the protection of the freedoms and rights of all members of the Cypriot society from racist discrimination and social exclusion" (*ibid.*). The latter statement makes a rather vague and rhetorical claim about protecting individual rights, yet there is no further explanation of what this means or implies, especially in terms of the existing social and political structures that cause social exclusion and discrimination in the first place.

The above extracts are structured in the form of *problem*→*solution*, that is, the problem is the presence of aliens and other-language children, and the solution is to teach those children Greek language skills so that they can communicate with the majority. In other words, not only the terrain of the school curriculum remains essentially unchanged, but also the situation is defined in terms of the *language deficit* of non-indigenous children. The deficit theory is grounded on the notion that students from minority backgrounds have difficulties and eventually fail in school because of the supposedly lower culture they bring with them (Banks, 1994). Coincidentally, the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Cyprus seems to subscribe to this (heavily criticised) theory because, as it is stated in the Strategic Planning, "It is nowadays acceptable that school progress, the success or failure of students is indebted upon a large degree on their social and educational background, since the educational capital they inherit from their parents differs from one social class to another" (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2007b, p. 72). Although partly correct, this statement tells half of the story and fails to acknowledge that this 'deficit' is not really a deficit but an issue of power relationships (May, 1999). The dominant culture plays a hegemonic role and essentially delegitimises the knowledge brought by children of minority backgrounds

such as their language and culture (Nieto, 1999). That is, the entire philosophy and practice of intercultural education in the Greek-Cypriot educational system is built upon the difficulty of non-indigenous children to speak Greek. Both in this circular and in those that follow in subsequent years, there is rare, if any reference, to multiculturalism as an event that concerns the majority such as the majority's responsibilities to play a part in incorporating the contributions of other cultural meanings and identities or revaluing its own complicities in unequal social and political structures.

Subsequent circulars refer to multiculturalism through a series of strong declarative statements/assertions that simply go only as far as acknowledging that multiculturalism forces a general first-person plural 'we' to adopt to the new realities by acquiring relevant *individual* skills of intercultural communication. For example, in circular F: 71.05.20 (28 August 2007) it is stated: "The radical social changes that are observed in our days, the modern way of life, the need for continuous moving and communication with other people and mainly the new European environment, impose on all of us the need to adopt such principles and acquire such skills ..." (p. 1). Once again, the issue is framed in individual terms and evades the matter of collective responsibilities or existing structural inequalities. There is also a sense of urgency coupled with some unwillingness set up by the use of "impose" as a consequence of the fact that "Cyprus, although it always was at the crossroad of different cultures and despite that it always had elements of a multicultural society, experiences nowadays an unprecedented presence of foreigners, workers, visitors, even permanent residents" (*ibid.*). Multiculturalism is represented here as an inevitable change that essentially *forces* the country to respond to the "unprecedented" number of foreigners, and this response basically demands the acquisition of intercultural skills or competences by everyone.

The notion of intercultural skills or competencies provokes conflicting reactions in the field of intercultural education (e.g. see Valentin, 2006; Wubbels *et al.*, 2006). Skills or competencies are a set of normative statements that are negotiated within relations of power and therefore the discourse on intercultural skills or competencies is not neutral. The increasing reliance on discourses of competencies promoted by various institutions has been linked to neo-liberal policy agendas that aim to control outputs through controlling individuals, while putting aside conveniently the institutional processes of maintaining unequal structural relations (Spring, 2008). The emphasis, then, is misplaced and the 'problem' is misconstrued, if multiculturalism is simply defined as a matter of acquiring individual language or intercultural skills and competencies. As seen from the extracts presented here, the Ministry's philosophy oscillates back and forth between two positions: on the one hand, there is the issue of multiculturalism as a recent social phenomenon that is invoked to the supposedly 'homogeneous' society of Cyprus (Gregoriou, 2004); on the other hand, this description of multiculturalism is framed in individual/psychological and interpersonal terms and sets aside "the re-appreciation of our historical ethnic diversity and ethnic divides" (*ibid.*, p. 245) and therefore ignores the role of power inequalities and social injustices. The emphasis is on *managing* multiculturalism through addressing the need for

the 'right' skills in dealing with multiculturalism, rather than on embracing multiculturalism and critically reconceptualising existing policy provisions. In circular F: 4.3.03/3 (6 October 2008), there is even a stronger reference revealing this managerial perspective of controlling individuals by highlighting "the serious psychoemotional problems that these children [immigrant children and children of asylum seekers] often face" and lead them "to show aggressive, pathetic or other disconcerting behaviour" (p. 1), thus solidifying an approach that is grounded in disregarding the socio-political aspects of multiculturalism and views the issue in individual terms.

### ***Ideological Assumptions about Intercultural Education***

In circular F: 71.191/10 (28 August 2008, p. 1), it is stated that the Ministry of Education and Culture "adopts" what it calls the "intercultural approach" as "the basic dimension of its [Ministry's] educational policy, because it considers this as the most effective educational strategy that can contribute to mutual acceptance, the cultivation of a climate of trust and the abolition of negative stereotypes and prejudices among students". The term *intercultural approach* is initially outlined in the Strategic Planning of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2007b, pp. 68-72), then adopted by the Council of Ministers on 30 July 2008 and further explained in circular F: 71.191/10 (28 August 2008). This term is a buzz word in the international literature on intercultural education, yet it has no uniform meaning and is often used for political/symbolic purposes to impress stakeholders and the public (Banks, 2007; Troyna, 1994). A critical discourse analysis of the policy documents reviewed here suggests that there are competing discourses about the ideological meaning and the policy implications of the particular intercultural approach in Cyprus; namely, there are conservative, pluralist and a few scattered liberal multiculturalist views (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997) interwoven around the notion of intercultural education, implying lack of conceptual clarity and often contradictory ideological dispositions.

Reflecting the approach of conservative multiculturalism (*ibid.*), there are numerous indications, for example, that place emphasis on the dominant (Greek) culture and its language. Although it is explicitly stated that the Ministry's efforts are not focused on the "assimilation" of 'other-language' children (see F: 71.191/3, 29 October 2002, p. 1), the state's ideology is framed in monolingual and monocultural terms and there is no space provided for building upon a child's mother tongue. Previous studies have already shown the monocultural and ethnocentric character of educational policies, school curricula and teacher practices in Cyprus (Bryant, 2004; Zembylas, 2008; Zembylas and Karahasan, 2006). The present analysis of the reviewed policy documents confirms and further builds on some of these findings. Evidence of the monolingual and monocultural emphasis is shown as follows:

- The prevalence of 'us' and 'them' distinctions in essentialist ways (see next section) focus on the Other and what 'other-language' children *need* to do, while depreciating that

intercultural education is about all of us and what the majority should do to reflect on social injustices and the marginalisation of minorities in society (Banks, 2007; Nieto, 1999). The reference to “the addition of intercultural elements in the new curriculum programs and school textbooks” (F: 71.19.1/10, 28 August 2008, p. 3) betrays the state’s “additive” approach that is based on the hegemonic group’s knowledge and identity.

- The emphasis of intercultural education in the Republic of Cyprus on “the language inadequacy or/and language problems of other-language children” (F: 71.191/3, 29 October 2002, p. 6), without taking into consideration their existing cultural and language capital and the potential of bilingualism and bilingual education is deeply problematic (see Cummins, 1993, 1996, 1997). In contrast to what international research on bilingualism has shown for other countries, first language education in the Greek-Cypriot educational system is not recognised as an important basis for identity building as well as for second language acquisition. The adoption of new recent measures (e.g. the accelerated instruction of Greek language; the in-service training of teachers on the teaching of Greek as a second/foreign language; the publication of a Guide to welcome ‘other-language’ students etc.) simply aim at further “acceleration and smooth integration of other-language students into the school system and the society of Cyprus” (F: 71.191/10, 28 August 2008, p. 1) thus constructing other-language children as deficient students.
- The taken-for-granted assumptions that “the education provided to children and youth is grounded in our Greek heritage” (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2007b, p. 2), “the Greek-Cypriot education will continue to be Greek education because it will cultivate the Greek language, the traditions and the particular cultural traits that characterize us as Greek Cypriots” (F: 71.0521, 27 August 2008, p. 1), and “the duty of public education [is] to help all children understand the official language and know the Greek culture” (F: 71.194, 8 August 2006, p. 2), provide further evidence about the monocultural approach that is followed, which essentially views ‘different’ children as inferior and with lower abilities because they lack language skills and cultural knowledge of the dominant group. The ultimate goal of this approach is the assimilation of diversity into the normative culture, despite rhetorical proclamations to the contrary (for more on this argument see Tiedt and Tiedt, 2002).

Pluralist discourses of multiculturalism (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997) are also evident in the documents reviewed, focusing on grandiose claims about respecting and accepting cultural difference and diversity. Diversity and cultural heritage are celebrated in several circulars, but once again, power relations and structural inequalities are not acknowledged or challenged in any way. There is, instead, a naïve and simplistic celebration of diversity – what has been called by some as “boutique multiculturalism” (Fish, 1997) – and consequently, issues of equality or prejudice are diminished to a matter of good intentions (i.e. as an individual rather than a social issue).

For instance, there are references to “recognizing diversity and the multiculturalism of the

student population, as well as individual needs” (F: 71.05.21, 27 August 2008, p. 1), and “a school system/education that respects difference [and] pluralism (cultural, linguistic, religious) ...” (*ibid*). Circulars F: 71.05.21 (27 August 2008) and F: 71.194 (8 August 2006) also refer to the recognition of “the particular cultural characteristics and the particular character [of ethnic communities in Cyprus]” (p. 1) and the “particular cultural characteristics of alien students” (p. 2), respectively. Finally, in circular F: 71.05.20 (28 August 2007), the general goal and the specific objectives of the European Year on Intercultural Dialogue are analysed (as those are defined by the European Parliament and the European Council). Specifically, these goals and objectives include several pluralist references such as the “coexistence of different cultural identities and beliefs” (p. 2), and “the contribution of different cultures and expressions of cultural diversity” (p. 3). The Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Cyprus suggests various educational activities that acknowledge cultural diversity such as organising cultural festivals and dances and the study of values or institutions from various countries so that the cultural differences are clearly exposed. All the aforementioned extracts focus on a superficial recognition of plural identities and cultures, while the structural roots of inequality that lead to racism and social exclusion remain unchallenged.

Finally, in the reviewed policy texts there are a few references that draw attention to liberal views of multiculturalism (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997). Such liberal views are emphasised through notions of equality, for example in circular F: 71.05.19 (18 July 2006), “the equality of opportunities for access, participation, success, and in-school ‘treatment’”, in circular F: 71.05.21 (27 August 2008), and the ecumenical dimension of human experiences in the Strategic Planning. However, as it is pointed out by several scholars in the field of intercultural education, the uncritical emphasis on similarities can lead to cultural invisibility (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997; Sleeter and McLaren, 1995) because existing social, economic and political inequalities are attributed to the absence of social and educational opportunities; thus, liberal multiculturalist views emphasise positive ideals – particularly, equality and freedom (Duarte and Smith, 2000). The following statement in circular F: 71.05.21 (27 August 2008, p. 2) does precisely that:

“Principles that emanate from contemporary intercultural approaches are the cultivation of the possibility to put ourselves in the others’ position and see the world through their perspective, solidarity, intercultural respect, the axioms of equality of cultures and the provision of equal opportunities. [...] It is also imperative that educational programs remain focused on the eternal values of equality, freedom, democracy, peace, dignity and justice”.

All in all, the competing discourses of conservative, plural and liberal multiculturalism and intercultural education in the policy documents reviewed highlight the ambivalence and conceptual instability that is present in these texts. This discursive and linguistic ambivalence has implications for how policy texts are read and implemented by teachers and administrators. This ambivalence is further evidenced in the constructions about culture and diversity, as shown in the last category.

### *Constructions about Culture and Diversity*

In the policy documents reviewed, *culture* is inscribed as a signifier of *difference*: “two ethnic communities [in Cyprus] that have their origins, history, particular cultural characteristics and particular character” (F: 71.05.21, 27 August 2008, p. 1); “the needs of other-language children are not only limited to learning the language of the host country, but also expand to other issues, particularly to issues relevant to the social and cultural support of these students” (F: 71.191/3, 29 October 2002, p. 3); “while we will retain and develop our ethnic and local culture, we can also co-exist and collaborate harmonically with people from other cultural traditions” (F: 71.05.20, 28 August 2007, p. 1). These statements and other similar ones that have been pointed out earlier reveal the notion of cultures as stable social entities and difference as a particular marker for ethnic communities and cultural groups. All of the reviewed policy documents utilise the terms ‘other-language’ [*alloglossos*] and ‘ethnic’ [*ethnikos*] as synonyms for cultural diversity.

The inscription of “accepting other-language children and difference in general” (F: 71.191/3, 29 October 2002, p. 9) begs the question, “difference in reference to what?” As shown in the previous two categories, Greek language and culture are the points of comparison for defining ‘difference’, on which the central distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ is based. Against the dominant Greek language and culture, others are made visible as deficient, not normal. Despite the rhetoric of “equality of cultures” (F: 71.05.21, 27 August 2008, p. 2) purporting the axiom that cultures are different but equal, the policy documents reviewed – especially those that describe measures to support other-language students by dividing them into different categories based on their knowledge of Greek language (e.g. F: 71.191/10, 21 January 2008) – deploy the construct of culture as a marker of difference with hierarchical value.

Another point for gauging difference from the norm is inscribed through the reification and essentialisation of ‘culture’ in reductionist terms. Culture and cultural identity, then, are presented as monolithic and reified characteristics that are attributed to groups of people, who are identified by those reified characteristics. In addition to the earlier examples about the “particular cultural characteristics” of each ethnic community, there are several other extracts in which culture is conceptualised as untouched by change in contemporary societies. For instance, in circular F: 71.05.20 (28 August 2007, pp. 1-2) it is stated that,

“[F]oreign-language and alien students are called on to live in the Cypriot cultural environment without selling out their own cultural heritage. Indigenous students and teachers have naturally an obligation to highlight and enrich our culture and offer foreign students the capabilities to know its essential elements so that they can understand us and live comfortably on our island. Simultaneously, they [indigenous students and teachers] should have the sensitivity to offer the students that are hosted capabilities and opportunities so that they can present also aspects of their own culture”.

In the above extract, there is an underlying assumption that “foreign” students will always be “foreign”, thus not belonging in the mainstream Greek-Cypriot culture that has essential elements

and remains unchanged by “foreigners.” The conceptualisation of culture as a category defined by essential traits that are unchanged is also viewed through the description of the Ministry’s understanding of intercultural dialogue. Here is an extract from the paragraph that follows the previous one:

“It is emphasized that intercultural dialogue does not mean in any case refusal, concealing or repression of elements of one’s cultural identity. [...] With intercultural dialogue neither the few, the immigrants and the members of minorities are culturally repressed, nor of course is the majority called on to be discoloured [*apochromatistoun*] culturally.” (*ibid.*, p. 2)

The above examples are explicit in their understanding of culture as a static entity that can be appealed to and responded to within an educational policy that recognises cultural difference (cf. McDonough, 2008). This form of glorification of essentialism stresses cultural differences while taking them out of their social, political and economic contexts, and thus structural inequalities remain once more unchallenged. What is further interesting, however, is that teachers are called on to teach this decontextualised reification of culture and cultural traits through a number of statements that express their obligation to do so.

For example, according to circular F: 71.191/3 (29 October 2002, p. 9), teachers “should be concerned” about:

- encouraging other-language children to ... highlight their cultural identity [...]
- acting so that children feel proud about their cultural heritage but also have respect for others
- presenting – through the programmes they develop – the positive influences of all ethnic groups toward the improvement of human race.
- selecting teaching material which presents a positive view of multicultural society, [and] helps children strengthen their self-confidence, regardless of race, ethnic origin or class [...]

Bullet points are often reader directive, indicating a superficial perspective that ignores power relations.<sup>6</sup> Circular F: 71.05.20 contains a similar bullet list (28 August 2007, p. 4):

- Projects should be undertaken and relevant conclusions should be extracted about the life, the habits, the contribution, and the needs of immigrants living in the vicinity of the school or the expatriates living in foreign countries [...]
- At student conferences and other events, the customs, religious beliefs of different communities and peoples should be presented, if possible, through an authentic way by members of different groups in a safe climate of seriousness, respect and acceptance.

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<sup>6</sup> Bullet points are a strategy of exercising power in the sense that they are used mostly to ‘instruct’, as for example in recommendations at the end of reports. In light of requirements that bullet points are concise, there is no serious engagement with the complexities of the claims made and thus the power relations involved are put aside or ignored (Fairclough, 2003).

Even though several circulars include stipulations regarding possible activities that teachers could do to promote intercultural education, these ideas depoliticise culture and difference by construing these notions solely in essentialist and reified ways. Finally, the simplistic culturalist assumption is made that these activities will project “the culture and civilization of other-language children and the easier acceptance of those children by indigenous children and their parents, as well as the fighting against xenophobia and possible racist trends” (F: 71.191/3, 29 October 2002, p. 10).

## Conclusion

This article has examined the educational policy on intercultural education in the Republic of Cyprus, as this is expressed through circulars sent to teachers between the years 2002-2008, the Strategic Planning of 2007, and the Decision by the Council of Ministers on 30 July 2008. By analysing these three important sources of policies, it was possible to trace competing discourses of intercultural education in the policy implementation process that lead to a lack of conceptual clarity embedded in these documents. While the majority of constructions on intercultural education are grounded in conservative multiculturalist ideas and essentialist positions about culture and difference (the dominant discourse), there are also liberal and pluralist views, possibly as a result of the Republic of Cyprus’ membership in the European Union and the demands for infusing more liberal/pluralist perspectives. These perspectives (along with critical multicultural views) constitute the marginalised discourses, that is, those ideas that are placed in the margins of the social and educational agenda in the Republic of Cyprus. The various documents analysed shifted between competing discourses, on the one hand presenting Cyprus as a Greek culture embedded in Greek values and goals, and on the other, a country that respects all cultures as equal and accommodates all differences in its educational system. While conservative multiculturalism constitutes the hegemonic ideological version, these policy documents reveal a conceptual instability by embodying contested versions of intercultural education in the Greek-Cypriot educational system.

However, within the grand narrative of conservative multiculturalism, it is still possible to trace marginalised references to critical multiculturalist views, that is, ideas that begin to recognise aspects of social inequalities and their implications. One such reference is buried in the middle of several conservative views in circular F: 71.191/3 (29 October 2002) and proclaims that the Ministry of Education and Culture “hopes to function as a future compass with which teachers and the society in general will be able to resist those situations that reproduce social, economic, educational and cultural inequalities” (p. 3). Even the vision of developing “a democratic school that integrates and does not exclude” (F: 71.05.21, 27 August 2008, p. 1) leaves traces of a subtle critical multiculturalist perspective that avoids essentialism and understands culture, difference and multiculturalism as parts of the discourse of power and inequality. Although these minor references are far from revealing any sustained critical multicultural philosophy, the significance of such *discursive shifts* (Taylor, 2004) is important because such traces provide *small openings*



(Zembylas, 2007, 2008) to recognise the discursive construction of power relations and their implications. By tracing these discursive shifts and the openings they provide, we as educators and participants in these discourses can begin to advocate intercultural education policies and practices appropriate to critical democratic demands in contemporary society (McDonough, 2008).

The educational implications of understanding and critically analysing the language of policy are, then, an important consideration. Arguably, possibilities for a different conceptualisation of intercultural education in the Greek-Cypriot educational system exist only when power relations and discursive construction in these documents are interrogated and ultimately interrupted. Whether this interrogation can produce a qualitatively different kind of discourse, one that will not attribute deficiencies to non-indigenous children, is difficult to foresee. Yet it seems clear that a *transfigurative* kind of multicultural discourse is needed (*ibid.*) in the Republic of Cyprus, that is, a discourse that would allow for re-inscription of constructs such as multiculturalism, intercultural education, culture and difference, allowing them to be understood in critical democratic ways in an increasingly complex society. This transfigurative multiculturalist discourse must be devised as something fundamentally different to the competing and rather fragmentary multiculturalist ideals present in the policy documents analysed here. Although it is difficult to outline exactly how to do this, especially in conjunction with the lack of systematic empirical research in this area, it is apparent that the point of departure must be the task of *corrupting* current discourses to create the conceptual space in which alternatives can be posed and tested (Park, 2005). Critical discourse analysis, then, can provide spaces for strategic discursive interventions and alternative constructions of power in dominant discourses of policy documents (Luke, 2002).

However, CDA has also limitations that should be considered. First, one cannot know the effects of policy texts without empirical research (Fairclough, 2003; Taylor, 2004); therefore, it is important to test policies empirically and analyse their results in conjunction with discourse analyses. It is worthwhile mentioning that recent empirical research conducted in four multicultural schools by the author confirms the implications of the power relations inscribed in the policy documents analysed here (see Zembylas, in press a, in press b). Moreover, it has been identified that the cultural identities and differences are relationally defined and institutionally maintained through exclusionary educational practices tied to monocultural identifications. Second, the critical and emancipatory potentials of CDA alone cannot bring transformation unless the structural and material grounds of oppression and exclusion are challenged (Luke, 2002). Therefore, Luke argues, critical discourse analysts need to embrace the political nature of this work and move “beyond ideology” (*ibid.*, p. 98), that is, work at multiple levels (micropolitical and macropolitical) to provide affirmative uses of discourse; in other words, it is important to create openings, both in practice and in policy texts, that make productive uses of power while recognising the materiality of oppression.

In light of the above discussion, the critical and emancipatory potentials of CDA need to be made known to teachers, administrators and policymakers in Cyprus and other multicultural settings. In this way, it is hoped that teachers, administrators and policymakers will be enabled to

adopt critical reflexive praxis in reading and interpreting policy texts (Giroux, 1993). This kind of reflexivity is important in the policymaking process and can have significant contributions in undermining dominant discourses and practices, as it shown in another use of CDA as a tool to interrogate inclusive educational policies in Cyprus (see Liasidou, 2008). The taken-for-granted boundaries about 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in policy texts need to be constantly critiqued and transgressed, if the goal is to develop new *pedagogies of difference* (Tryfonas, 2003) that rearticulate intercultural education policies and practices on the basis of critical democratic values.

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# Relations between Peer Attachment, Self-Esteem, and Perceived Parental Bonding in Greek Cypriot and British Young Adults

MARIA GEORGIU, ELIZABETH MEINS

## Abstract

*Greek Cypriot (N=272) and British (N=170) students completed assessments of (a) perceptions of childhood relationships with parents, (b) peer attachment, and (c) self-esteem. In comparison with British students, Greek Cypriot students were more likely to classify their relationships with peers as insecure, and perceived both of their parents to be more overprotective. In both the Greek Cypriot and British samples, individuals who classified relationships with peers as secure perceived their mothers to have been more caring and less overprotective, and had higher self-esteem compared to individuals who classified relationships with peers as preoccupied or fearful. Regardless of nationality, higher self-esteem was related to higher perceived parental care and lower perceived parental overprotection. The results are discussed with reference to differences in family structure in Cyprus and the UK.*

**Keywords:** parental bonding, peer attachment, culture, self-esteem

## Introduction

Attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969/1982, 1973, 1980) proposes that individuals use early experiences with caregivers to form internal working models (IWMs) of self and relationships with others. If caregivers have been sensitive and loving, the child will form an IWM of self as being worthy of love and attention and an IWM of relationships with others as being satisfying and worthwhile. Conversely, if caregivers have been insensitive or inconsistent, the child will form an IWM of self as unworthy of love and attention and expect relationships with others to be unfulfilling. Early attachment experiences are thus proposed to form a template for future close relationships (Bowlby, 1973, 1980).

The development of self-report measures for assessing adults' attachments to peers and romantic partners (e.g. Hazan and Shaver, 1987; Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991) has made testing this claim possible. In these self-report measures of attachment style, individuals endorse the description of interpersonal interaction that best fits their approach to close relationships. Hazan and Shaver's measure involves three descriptions based on Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, and Wall's (1978) tripartite scheme for assessing attachment security in infants: secure, dismissing, and preoccupied. Secure individuals have positive IWMs of both self and of close relationships. Dismissing individuals have a positive IWM of self, but a negative IWM of close relationships,

whereas preoccupied individuals show the opposite pattern. Bartholomew and Horowitz's (1991) Relationship Questionnaire (RQ) described a further style, since they argued that there should logically be four attachment styles on the basis of the valence of IWMs of self and relationships with others. The new category was termed fearful, and describes individuals who have a negative IWM both of self and close relationships. Bartholomew and Horowitz's model thus has the advantage of distinguishing between individuals whose reasons for avoiding close ties are different. In contrast to those in the dismissing category, fearful individuals' failure to forge successful relationships stems not from a view that such relationships are unnecessary in order to feel fulfilled, but because their negative IWM of self and their poor expectations of social relations makes them reticent about seeking close relationships.

### **Attachment System and Adolescence**

In adolescence, peer relationships increasingly become the major source of love and support. Parental attachment relationships can enhance or impede adolescents' ability to form meaningful relationships with peers. For example, Allen and colleagues have argued that secure relationships with parents facilitate increased autonomy in adolescence (Allen, Hauser, Bell, and O'Connor, 1994) and provide young adults with a secure base from which to explore their changing identity (Allen and Land, 1999). In early childhood, the primary goal of the caregiving system is protection, both in terms of meeting the child's physical needs and providing psychological and social support. However, in order for the caregiving system to support autonomy and self-development in adolescence, the parent must be willing and able to provide protection and support in more subtle ways. As Ekstein (1991) noted, "the most complex act of true parental love is the one that permits the child to move away towards his own life" (p. 531). Failure to manage this transition sensitively can result in parents being perceived as overprotective and stifling the adolescent's attempts to forge an adult identity.

Surprisingly little empirical research has investigated this important aspect of how attachment systems evolve during adolescence and early adulthood. For obvious reasons, longitudinal investigation of the transfer of primary attachments from parents to peers is difficult. Given Bowlby's (1969/1982) argument that early relationships with caregivers become the template for later relationships with peers and romantic partners, cultural differences in caregiving practices may provide an elegant way of investigating whether parental encouragement of autonomy in adolescence facilitates the development of secure attachment relationships with peers. In any given culture, parent-child relationships are bound by accepted caregiving practices and socio-cultural influences. If perceptions of parental attachment relationships and the extent to which parents are viewed as caring versus overprotective are indeed important in determining the quality of peer attachments, one would predict that cultural practices that serve to engender high levels of parental supervision into early adulthood may impede the formation of secure attachment relationships with peers. Investigating this question was the first aim of the study reported here.



### **Culture and Perception of Self**

We chose to investigate the impact of different cultural caregiving practices on young adults' perceptions of relationships with peers and parents by recruiting participants from two contrasting countries: Cyprus and the United Kingdom (UK). People's perception of self is greatly influenced by culture. Markus and Kitayama's (1991) seminal work on culture and the self describe the differences in the perception of self between individualistic and collectivistic cultures. According to these researchers the construct of self develops through early patterns of direct interactions with parents and peers in a given culture. Individualistic cultures emphasise the inherent separateness of persons who are independent from others. Achieving the cultural aim of independence requires the construction of a self that is organised around one's feelings, thoughts and actions, rather than by reference to others' feelings and actions. Thus, a person is considered an independent and an autonomous entity. In contrast, collectivistic cultures stress the importance of connectedness of human beings to each other and the interdependence among individuals. An individual's sense of self is determined to a large extent by the thoughts, feelings, and actions of others, as one needs to see oneself as part of a larger social unit. The fact that family ties still predominate in early adulthood in Cyprus, whereas the main focus of attachment tends to transfer from parents to peers during the teenage years in the UK, makes the cross-cultural study reported in this chapter well suited to investigating the comparative contributions of perceptions about parental versus peer relationships to young adults' self-esteem. Research has shown that self-esteem is stable across the life-span or increases with age (Gove *et al.*, 1989; Trzesniewski *et al.*, 2003; Coleman *et al.*, 1993). A general increase in self-esteem with age has even been observed in psychiatric patients, independent of the type of disorder patients were suffering from (Salsali and Silverstone, 2003). Consequently, age was included as a control variable in the regression analyses.

### **Cyprus' Historical Development**

Greek Cypriots were chosen as a comparison group for the British sample for a number of reasons. First, despite Western influences and urbanisation, Cypriot society remains traditional, with strong emphasis on the nuclear family and extended kin well into adulthood (Attalides, 1981; Mavratsas, 1992; Peristianis, 2004). For example, in a recent study of Greek Cypriot adults up to age 64, almost half reported seeing both parents on a daily basis, with over one-third seeing in-laws and one-fifth seeing grandparents every day (Intercollege, 2004). Various researchers have proposed that Greek Cypriots in general emphasise the family as the most important unit of life and that ties with the extended family are very important. Greek Cypriot parents have often been characterised as caring but overprotective (Charalambous, 2006; Attalides, 1981; Mavratsas, 1992). As most researchers of Greek and Greek Cypriot society have pointed out, Greek Cypriot parents' attitudes seem to differ from those of their counterparts in the Western world. Although the Greek Cypriot family is at a transitional stage from collectivism to individualism, the family remains the

strongest institution in Greek Cypriot society. Furthermore, in Schwartz's (1994) cross-cultural research on value priorities, Greek Cypriot teachers appeared to be most conservative among 36 cultures emphasising traditional order, respect for tradition, obedience, and family security. Given the prevailing attitudes and as Cyprus is still at a stage between traditionalism and modernisation, child-rearing practices still involve a high level of control as the family is valued over and above individualistic concerns (Herz and Gallone, 1999).

While Greek Cypriot family roles are changing due to women's higher education opportunities, and economic independence, according to Charalambous (2006), the "ingroup" is the immediate and extended family and the "outgroup" is other families or nearby communities in the Greek Cypriot community. The "ingroup" is to be honoured, respected, and valued. In contrast, relationships with the "outgroup" are more likely to be characterised by distrust and contention. In contrast, the UK is an individualistic society where regular contact with extended family is increasingly rare, adolescents are allowed much greater autonomy, and the individual rather than the family is emphasised as the basic unit of society.

Second, young adults in Greek Cypriot society are socialised to maintain family honour through abiding by moral codes, with traditionally more emphasis placed on ensuring young women's moral virtue than young men's (Markides, Nikita and Rangou, 1978; Peristianis, 2004; Peristiany, 1965). This differs markedly from British norms, and consequently many of the practices commonly adopted by Greek Cypriot parents would be seen by British standards to be overprotective.

Finally, Cyprus' unique recent history is likely to have reinforced the importance of family, protection, and a sense of belonging in Greek Cypriots' lives. In the 1950s Greek Cypriots engaged in a struggle for *enosis* and the outcome of this struggle led to Cyprus becoming an independent nation, in 1960. In 1974, Cyprus experienced a military coup against its first president, followed by the Turkish invasion that separated the island into two parts. Almost 40% of the land came under Turkish control, and 200,000 Greek Cypriots were expelled from their homes. It has been argued that this foreign rule makes Greek Cypriots fearful and distrustful of outsiders (e.g. Markides *et al.*, 1978) and to focus even more strongly on family ties.

If the argument that secure peer relationships are facilitated by parents' willingness to encourage autonomy in their adolescent children is correct, one would expect Greek Cypriot parents' continuing emphasis on family ties rather than relationships with peers in early adulthood to result in a higher proportion of insecure peer attachment in the Greek Cypriot sample than in British young adults. We also explored differences between these two groups of young adults in how they perceived their relationships with parents. Despite cultural differences in the caregiving one experiences, all young adults should seek to forge their own autonomous self-identity and focus more prominently on relationships with peers. If caregiving practices serve to maintain a focus on parental and family relationships, young adults are likely to perceive parents as being overprotective. We therefore hypothesised that Greek Cypriot young adults would be more likely than their British counterparts to perceive their parents as overprotective.

However, one of the limitations of this study is that cultural differences were assumed, and not assessed. For example, it is impossible on the basis of the data to draw any conclusion regarding whether parental overprotection is perceived negatively among Greek Cypriot young adults, rather than merely regarded to be the norm of the culture. Future research should use additional observational and interview-based assessments of Greek Cypriot young adults' opinions about their parents to investigate whether they like or dislike such attitudes associated in Western cultures with overprotection and stifling of independence and autonomy.

### **Parental Bonding Instrument (PBI: Parker, Tupling and Brown, 1979)**

One measure that focuses explicitly on individuals' perceptions of parental overprotection is the Parental Bonding Instrument (PBI: Parker, Tupling and Brown, 1979). The PBI is a short questionnaire with items assessing the extent to which the individual views the parent's behaviour during their first 16 years as being caring or overprotective. Surprisingly, the contribution of parental care versus overprotection in maintaining the attachment system via peers has not been studied extensively. Matsuoka *et al.*, (2006) investigated relations between PBI scores and self-reported peer attachment using the RQ in a large sample of Japanese college students. Rather than using the RQ categories in their analyses, Matsuoka *et al.*, derived a total attachment style score by having individuals rate each of the four attachment descriptions using a 7-point Likert scale and then subtracting the scores obtained on the ratings of the three insecure styles (dismissing, preoccupied, fearful) from the rating for the secure style. They reported positive correlations between this measure and PBI care scores for both parents, and negative correlations between scores for total attachment style and overprotection for both mothers and fathers.

### **Themes of the Study**

We investigated links between perceived care and overprotection in parental relationships and attachment style with peers, hypothesising that secure peer attachment in both the Greek Cypriot and British young adults would relate to higher perceived parental care and lower perceived parental overprotection.

The final aim of the study reported here was to investigate how perceived parental and peer attachment related to young adults' evolving self-identity, and in particular their self-esteem. Bowlby's (1973, 1980) theory predicts that attachment relationships are important for an individual's psychological health, and links between infant-parent attachment security and children's later self-esteem have been identified (see Sroufe, 2005). Although research has addressed links between perceived parenting and self-esteem in various atypical populations, such as psychiatric outpatients (Fosse and Holen, 2007), young adults whose parents had suffered early child loss (Pantke and Slade, 2006), adoptees (Passmore, Fogarty, Bourke and Baker-Evans, 2005), and young offenders (Chambers, Power, Loucks and Swanson, 2001), few studies have investigated

links between these factors in normative populations. In a sample of Australian and Vietnamese Australian adolescents, Herz and Gullone (1999) reported that higher self-esteem was associated with lower scores for parental overprotection and higher scores for parental care regardless of the adolescents' cultural group. With respect to relations between self-esteem and peer attachment relationships (assessed using the RQ), Park, Crocker and Mickelson (2004) found that secure and dismissing attachment styles were related to higher self-esteem, whereas preoccupied and fearful styles were associated with lower self-esteem.

However, what is less clear is how both parental and peer attachment relationships contribute to young adults' self-esteem. To our knowledge, only one study has investigated how representations of both peer and parental attachment relationships contribute to young adults' self-esteem. Laible, Carlo, and Roesch (2004) reported that perceived parental, but not peer, attachment had a direct effect on self-esteem. Laible *et al.*, (2004) found that peer attachment was unrelated to self-esteem in young men, but in young women, there was an indirect relation, with pro-social behaviour mediating the link between peer attachment and self-esteem. Regardless of gender, perceptions of parent and peer relationships were highly positively correlated. However, the assessment of parental attachment in this study did not assess perceived overprotection, so it is not possible to establish from these findings whether perceiving one's parents to be stifling one's autonomy plays a crucial role in determining both peer relationships and self-esteem. We thus sought to investigate how perceptions of parental care versus overprotection and the security of peer relationships relate to young adults' self-esteem. We predicted that higher perceived care and lower perceived overprotection in relationships with parents would relate to higher self-esteem. With respect to peer relationships, given that both secure and dismissing individuals are proposed to have a positive IWM of self, we hypothesised that individuals in these two groups would have higher self-esteem than their counterparts with either preoccupied or fearful attachment styles.

In summary, the study reported here investigated how perceptions of relationships with parents and peers related to young adults' self-esteem in a country where family ties still predominate in early adulthood (Cyprus), and one in which the main focus of attachment tends to transfer from parents to peers during the teenage years (the UK). We hypothesised that (a) Greek Cypriot students (particularly women) would be more likely than their British counterparts to perceive parents as overprotective; (b) Greek Cypriot students would be less likely than British students to have secure peer attachment relationships; (c) in both countries, secure peer attachment would relate to higher perceived parental care and lower perceived parental overprotection; and (d) in both countries, self-esteem would relate positively to secure or dismissing peer attachment and perceived parental care, and negatively to perceived parental overprotection, whereas the opposite pattern would be found in preoccupied and fearful individuals. Finally, we investigated whether perceptions of peer and parental relationships made independent contributions to self-esteem, although no directional hypothesis was made.

## Method

### *Participants*

Participants were students drawn from two countries: Cyprus and the United Kingdom (UK). The Greek Cypriot sample comprised of 272 (189 women) college students, ranging in age from 17 to 37 years (mean 20.7 years, standard deviation 2.70 years). All participants spoke Greek as their native language and lived in Cyprus. The British sample consisted of 170 (92 women) native British university undergraduates aged between 17 and 34 ( $M=20.6$  years,  $SD=2.63$  years), all of whom lived in the UK and spoke English as their native language. No incentive was offered for participation.

### *Procedure*

All measures were translated into Greek by a bilingual researcher. The translated questionnaires were then piloted on a sample of 16 Greek Cypriot students to check for comprehensibility. No problems were identified from this pilot, and these translations were thus used for the Greek Cypriot sample in the main study. All students completed the questionnaires in the order described below.

*Perceived Parental Bonding* was assessed using the PBI (Parker *et al.*, 1979). Two copies of the PBI, one for each parent, were administered to the students. The PBI is a 25-item self-report measure of parental attitudes and behaviours, with each item being scored on a 4-point Likert scale. Items assess perceived care (12 items) or perceived overprotection (13 items), yielding scores of between 0 and 36 for care, and between 0 and 39 for overprotection. High care scores indicate empathy and warmth, while low care scores indicate indifference and rejection. High overprotection scores reflect a parent who infantilises controls, intrudes, and encourages dependency, while low overprotection scores point to a parent who encourages independence and autonomy in the child. The PBI has been shown to have good reliability and validity (Parker *et al.*, 1979; Wilhelm and Parker, 1990), and has been used to assess reported parental characteristics of the subcultures of Jewish and Greek parents in Australia (Dihn, Sarason and Sarason, 1994; Parker and Lipscombe, 1979).

*Peer Attachment Style* was assessed using the RQ (Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991), in which participants indicate which of four paragraphs (secure, dismissing, preoccupied, or fearful styles) best describes their relationships with peers and romantic partners. The RQ has been shown to have acceptable reliability and validity (Griffin and Bartholomew, 1994).

*Self-Esteem* was assessed using Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI). The SEI is a 10 item-scale that measures global self-esteem, with each item scored on a 4-point Likert scale (possible scores range from 10 to 40). In the original coding scheme, higher scores indicate lower self-esteem, but items were reverse scored in the study reported here so that higher scores represent higher self-esteem. The SEI has been used across the globe to assess self-esteem (Schmitt and Allik, 2005).

## Results

### *Descriptive Statistics and Preliminary Analyses*

Tables 1 and 2 (p. 70) show the descriptive statistics with respect to nationality, gender, and peer attachment. Six participants (5 British) did not complete the PBI for fathers due to parental separation early in their lives. Kolmogorov-Smirnoff tests showed that all of the PBI variables were non-normally distributed, and transformation did not improve normality. However, the F-test is robust against violations of the assumption of normality as long as there are at least 20 degrees of freedom for error (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2007). Non-transformed scores were thus used in all analyses.

### *Relations between Nationality and Perceived Parental Bonding*

Differences in PBI scores between the British and Greek Cypriot samples were investigated in a series of nationality (British, Greek Cypriot)  $\times$  gender (men, women) ANCOVAs with age as a covariate. ANCOVA is an extension of analysis of variance that allows one to explore differences between groups while statistically controlling for an additional variable, called a covariate. For maternal care, there was no main effect of nationality,  $F(1, 403) = 2.48$ , n.s.,  $\eta^2 = .006$ , or gender,  $F(1, 403) = 0.40$ , n.s.,  $\eta^2 = .001$ , and no nationality  $\times$  gender interaction,  $F(1, 403) = 0.72$ , n.s.,  $\eta^2 = .001$ . For paternal care, there was a main effect of nationality,  $F(1, 397) = 4.46$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $\eta^2 = .011$ , but no effect of gender,  $F(1, 397) = 0.15$ , n.s.,  $\eta^2 = .000$ , and no interaction,  $F(1, 397) = 0.47$ , n.s.,  $\eta^2 = .001$ . A post-hoc t test showed that British participants ( $M = 25.85$ ,  $SD = 7.79$ ) reported higher paternal care than their Greek Cypriot counterparts ( $M = 24.21$ ,  $SD = 8.18$ ),  $t(434) = 2.08$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $d = 0.21$ .

For maternal overprotection, there was a main effect of nationality,  $F(1, 403) = 4.67$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $\eta^2 = .011$ , no main effect of gender,  $F(1, 403) = 2.37$ , n.s.,  $\eta^2 = .001$ , and a significant nationality  $\times$  gender interaction,  $F(1, 403) = 4.32$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $\eta^2 = .010$ . As figure 1 shows, the interaction for maternal protection scores arose due to the fact that Greek Cypriot women ( $M = 14.46$ ,  $SD = 7.34$ ) perceived their mothers to have been more overprotective than did British women ( $M = 12.08$ ,  $SD = 6.41$ ),  $t(279) = 2.66$ ,  $p < .01$ . Greek Cypriot men ( $M = 12.81$ ,  $SD = 6.70$ ) and British men ( $M = 12.57$ ,  $SD = 6.97$ ) did not differ in perceived maternal overprotection,  $t(154) = 0.23$ , n.s.

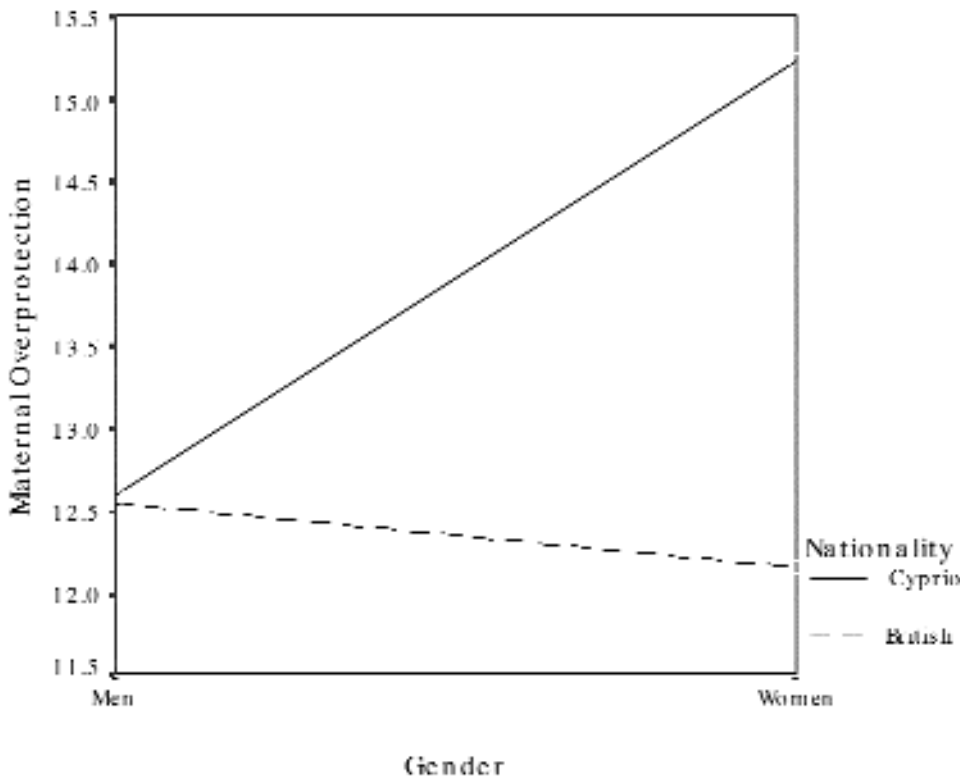
For paternal overprotection, there was a main effect of nationality,  $F(1, 397) = 14.88$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .036$ , and of gender,  $F(1, 397) = 5.29$ ,  $p < .025$ ,  $\eta^2 = .013$ , but no interaction,  $F(1, 397) = 0.43$ , n.s.,  $\eta^2 = .001$ . Post-hoc t tests showed that Greek Cypriot participants ( $M = 13.18$ ,  $SD = 7.92$ ) perceived their fathers to have been more overprotective than did British participants ( $M = 9.75$ ,  $SD = 5.80$ ),  $t(434) = 4.83$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 0.50$ , and women ( $M = 12.85$ ,  $SD = 7.71$ ) reported higher paternal overprotection than did men ( $M = 10.26$ ,  $SD = 6.40$ ),  $t(429) = 3.54$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 0.37$ .

*Relations between Nationality and Peer Attachment*

Secure peer attachment style was reported by 105 (38%) Greek Cypriot and 91 (54%) British participants, dismissing style by 57 (21%) Greek Cypriot and 22 (13%) British participants, preoccupied style by 43 (16%) Greek Cypriot and 23 (14%) British, and fearful style by 68 (25%) Greek Cypriot and 34 (20%) British participants. Peer attachment style was related to nationality,  $\chi^2(3) = 10.52, p < .025, w = 0.15$ . British participants were more likely to report secure peer attachment style than were their Greek Cypriot counterparts.

Figure 1:

Mean Maternal Overprotection Scores for Greek Cypriot and British Men and Women



**Table 1**  
**Mean scores for MC, MO, PC, PO and SE in Greek Cypriot Secure, Dismissing, Preoccupied and Fearful Participants**

	Secure		Dismissing		Preoccupied		Fearful									
	Men n=38	Women n=66	Men n=20	Women n=35	Men n=10	Women n=32	Men n=12	Women n=56								
MC	29.11	4.87	29.12	6.80	27.20	7.18	27.46	5.34	22.40	11.85	26.44	6.01	26.08	5.28	28.06	6.66
MO	11.84	6.34	12.77	7.17	12.65	6.60	15.94	7.06	15.80	7.93	15.75	7.61	13.67	6.96	14.79	7.35
PC	24.38	6.74	25.61	8.96	24.37	6.75	23.43	7.13	24.00	11.85	21.91	6.44	20.85	4.98	24.70	9.75
PO	10.76	6.49	12.70	8.21	11.79	6.79	14.94	8.23	11.10	10.67	16.53	6.81	12.17	6.81	13.63	8.52
SE	32.26	3.84	31.68	4.53	32.10	4.44	30.00	5.09	28.20	6.03	26.47	4.77	29.67	4.46	28.07	5.61

Note. MC - Maternal Care, MO - Maternal Overprotection, PC - Paternal Care, PO - Paternal Overprotection, SE - Self-esteem

**Table 2**  
**Mean Scores for MC, MO, PC, PO, and SE in British Secure, Dismissing, Preoccupied and Fearful Participants**

	Secure		Dismissing		Preoccupied		Fearful									
	Men n=42	Women n=48	Men n=13	Women n=8	Men n=8	Women n=15	Men n=13	Women n=21								
MC	30.62	3.80	30.60	5.76	29.62	4.43	28.25	9.08	27.88	6.94	28.47	7.90	25.25	5.30	23.05	8.94
MO	11.71	6.78	9.44	4.51	13.00	8.30	14.00	8.35	13.25	7.01	15.07	7.54	14.46	6.54	15.24	7.54
PC	25.95	6.42	27.51	8.64	26.92	7.12	29.25	9.05	22.13	6.92	26.67	5.69	23.64	5.41	22.48	9.34
PO	9.34	5.81	12.70	8.21	9.83	3.79	11.75	6.82	7.00	3.16	12.13	6.36	9.45	4.44	11.05	6.00
SE	33.19	3.74	31.19	4.18	33.00	2.61	29.00	3.63	28.88	4.32	27.00	3.34	28.46	5.59	24.86	5.46

Note. MC - Maternal Care, MO - Maternal Overprotection, PC - Paternal Care, PO - Paternal Overprotection, SE - Self-esteem.



### *Peer Attachment and Parental Bonding*

PBI scores are shown as a function of peer attachment style in Tables 1 and 2. Relations between parental bonding and peer attachment were investigated in a series of one-way ANCOVAs with age and gender as a covariate. For maternal care, there was a main effect of attachment style,  $F(3, 403) = 8.60, p < .001, \eta^2 = .06$ . Post-hoc pairwise comparisons showed that individuals with secure peer attachment ( $M = 29.78, SD = 5.63$ ) rated their mothers as more caring than those in each of the dismissing ( $M = 27.76, SD = 6.19$ ), preoccupied ( $M = 26.53, SD = 7.70$ ), and fearful ( $M = 26.48, SD = 7.54$ ) groups. No other pairwise contrasts were significant.

Paternal care was related to peer attachment style,  $F(3, 403) = 82.90, p < .05, \eta^2 = .022$ , but post-hoc tests indicated that there were no significant pairwise contrasts.

For maternal overprotection, there was an effect of attachment style,  $F(3, 403) = 8.17, p < .001, \eta^2 = .057$ , with post-hoc tests showing that secure individuals ( $M = 11.55, SD = 6.40$ ) rated mothers as being less overprotective than those in the dismissing ( $M = 14.12, SD = 7.39$ ), preoccupied ( $M = 15.18, SD = 7.07$ ), and fearful ( $M = 14.71, SD = 7.16$ ) groups. No other pairwise comparisons were significant.

There was a marginally significant relation between paternal overprotection and peer attachment style,  $F(3, 403) = 2.44, p = .064, \eta^2 = .018$ . Post-hoc comparisons showed that preoccupied individuals ( $M = 13.53, SD = 7.66$ ) rated their fathers as more overprotective than did secure individuals ( $M = 10.69, SD = 7.06$ ), with no other significant pair-wise contrasts.

### *Predictors of Self-Esteem*

Independent predictors of SEI scores were investigated using hierarchical linear regression analyses. In the first regressions, gender, age, and nationality were entered at the first step, and the four PBI variables and RQ attachment style were entered at the second step. RQ attachment style was entered into the regression as a dummy variable (1=secure, 2=dismissing, 3=preoccupied, 4=fearful). With respect to relations between the attachment variables and self esteem, as table 3 shows, self-esteem scores were independently predicted by (a) maternal care, (b) paternal care, and (c) peer attachment style. A post-hoc one-way ANOVA showed a main effect of attachment style on self-esteem scores,  $F(3, 442) = 28.40, p < .001, \eta^2 = .163$ , with pairwise comparisons indicating that individuals with secure peer attachment style ( $M = 31.92, SD = 4.27$ ) had higher self-esteem than those in the preoccupied ( $M = 27.11, SD = 4.61$ ) and fearful ( $M = 27.65, SD = 5.59$ ) groups, and individuals in the dismissing group ( $M = 30.82, SD = 4.62$ ) reporting higher self-esteem than those in the preoccupied and fearful groups. No other pairwise comparisons were significant.

Gender, age, and nationality also independently predicted self-esteem at the final step. Post-hoc tests showed that men ( $M = 31.60, SD = 4.49$ ) had higher self-esteem scores than women ( $M = 29.24, SD = 5.25$ ),  $t(440) = 4.74, p < .001, d = 0.48$ , but there was no difference between the self-esteem scores of the Greek Cypriot ( $M = 29.95, SD = 5.18$ ) and British participants ( $M = 30.13, SD = 5.07$ ),  $t(440) = 0.35, n.s., d = 0.04$ , and age and self-esteem scores were not correlated,  $t(440) = 0.08, n.s.$

**Table 3:**  
**Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Self-Esteem Scores**

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
Step 1			
Age	0.07	0.09	.04
Gender	2.29	0.54	.22 <sup>†</sup>
Nationality	0.15	0.52	.01
Step 2			
Age	0.22	0.08	.12**
Gender	1.54	0.46	.15 <sup>†</sup>
Nationality	0.92	0.44	.09*
Peer Attachment Style	1.12	0.18	.27 <sup>†</sup>
Mother Care	0.25	0.04	.31 <sup>†</sup>
Father Care	0.06	0.03	.09*
Mother Overprotection	0.07	0.04	.09
Father Overprotection	0.03	0.04	.05

Note.  $R^2 = .05$ ,  $p < .001$  for Step 1;  $\Delta R^2 = .31$ ,  $p < .001$  for Step 2.

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , <sup>†</sup>  $p < .001$ .

## Discussion

The present study aimed to assess how assumed cultural differences in caregiving practices related to young adults' perceived parental bonding and attachment relationships with peers, and to investigate cross-cultural influences of perceived parental and peer attachment on self-esteem. Broad support was obtained for the hypothesised relations.

Greek Cypriot and British participants did not differ in their ratings of maternal care during childhood, but in support of our first hypothesis Greek Cypriots perceived both parents to have been more overprotective than did their British counterparts. As well as this main effect, there was an interaction between gender and nationality for maternal overprotection scores. Compared with British women, Greek Cypriot women perceived their mothers to have been more overprotective, while there was no such difference in Greek Cypriot versus British men. There was also a main effect of gender for paternal overprotection, with women from both countries perceiving their fathers to have been more overprotective than did men. However, contrary to expectations, British participants perceived their fathers to have been more caring than did their Greek Cypriot counterparts, although the effect size for this relation was small (Cohen, 1988).

As hypothesised, the Greek Cypriot students were less likely than their British counterparts to report secure attachment style with peers. While 54% of British participants reported having a secure attachment style, only 38% of Greek Cypriots perceived their peer relationships as being secure. But regardless of nationality, secure peer attachment style was related to higher perceived maternal and paternal care and lower perceived overprotection from both parents.

With respect to relations with self-esteem, regression analyses showed that perceived parental bonding and peer attachment style predicted self-esteem scores independently of one another. Specifically, perceived maternal care was the best predictor of self-esteem, followed by peer attachment style, with paternal care also independently predicting self-esteem, and a non-significant trend for maternal overprotection as a predictor. Higher self-esteem was associated with higher perceived parental care and with both secure and dismissing peer attachment style. Our findings thus replicate those of previous studies indicating a link between attachment and self-esteem in children (Sroufe, 2005) and adolescents (Herz and Gullone, 1999). However, our study is unique in identifying independent contributions of perceptions of both peer and parental attachment relationships to self-esteem.

The finding that both peer and parental attachment relationships contribute independently to self-esteem is not consistent with Laible *et al.*, (2004) who reported no direct relation between peer attachment and self-esteem. This discrepancy may have arisen due to the different assessments of peer and parental attachment employed in the two studies. Laible *et al.* assessed parent and peer attachment using an adapted version of the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (Armsden and Greenberg, 1987) which assesses relationships with respect to three variables: trust, communication, and alienation. It may be that measuring attachment relationships with both parents and peers using the same assessment results in individuals being more likely to generalise across different types of attachment relationship, thus reducing the discriminant validity of the peer versus parental attachment measures. In contrast, we assessed individuals' perceived relationships with parents and peers using very different measures, with a specific focus on care versus overprotection in parental attachment relationships. This distinction in how different types of attachment relationships were characterized and assessed might explain why we found peer and parental attachment to make unique contributions to self-esteem. Future research should attempt to explore in greater detail how the mode of assessment of different types of attachment relationships might impact on outcome variables.

It is important to note the limitations of the present study. We have relied solely on self-report assessments of attachment relationships, and it would be interesting to establish whether a similar pattern of results is obtained if attachment relationships were assessed using more in-depth measures such as the Adult Attachment Interview (George, Kaplan, and Main, 1985). Given that all assessments were made concurrently, it is also impossible to draw strong conclusions relating to the causal role that attachment relationships may play in young adults' developing self-identity and self-esteem. Our findings are, however, consistent with those of longitudinal studies that have shown a link between early attachment security and later self-esteem (Sroufe, 2005).

Despite the limitations of our study, the findings reported here make an important contribution to the literature on cross-cultural differences in patterns of attachment. While research on cultural differences in infant attachment security has a long history (van IJzendoorn and Kroonenberg, 1988), the present study is noteworthy in investigating how cultural differences in caregiving practices impact on young adults' perceptions about attachment relationships. Our results also support a number of central proposals in attachment theory.

First, the fact that, regardless of cultural background, robust relations were found between perceptions of parental and peer relationships supports Bowlby's (1969/1982) argument that early experiences with caregivers provide a template for later relationships with peers and romantic partners. Second, our finding that Greek Cypriot young adults are more likely than their British counterparts to perceive (a) their parents as being more overprotective, and (b) their relationships with peers as being insecure, is consistent with the proposal that parents' willingness to encourage their children to become autonomous in early adulthood promotes successful peer relationships (e.g. Allen *et al.*, 1994). Our results thus support the view that a vital part of the caregiving system as the child matures is facilitating the transference of primary attachment relationships from parents to peers.

In line with the argument that both secure and dismissing individuals have a positive IWM of self, we found no self-esteem differences between individuals in these groups, whereas both secure and dismissing individuals' self-esteem was higher than that of individuals in the two groups proposed to have negative IWMs of self (preoccupied and fearful). Finally, the fact that the same relations between perceptions of attachment relationships and self-esteem were found in both cultures supports the view that IWMs play an important role in determining psychological wellbeing (e.g. Bowlby, 1969/1982).

This study was thus the first of its kind to provide evidence that Greek Cypriot young adults perceive their parents as overprotective.

In addition, the study included only young adults, for whom ties with parents are still likely to be part of their lives. It would be interesting to test older adults or other age groups to find out whether the same patterns exist across the lifespan to establish whether the same patterns are obtained regardless of age. For example, it may be that perceptions of one's relationships with parents become less important in determining one's self-esteem than do those with peers and romantic partners as people grow older. Moreover, as people become parents, the quality of relationships with one's offspring may make increasingly important contributions to one's self-esteem. There is thus a great deal of future research to be done in mapping out relations between representations of different types of close relationships and self-esteem across the lifespan.

The study reported here highlights the importance of viewing the caregiving system and its influence on developmental outcome within its cultural context. In order to understand how caregiving changes as the child becomes an adolescent, one needs to take into account not merely the individual characteristics of the caregivers involved, but how caregivers' behaviour is influenced

by cultural expectations. Future research should thus investigate changes in caregiving practices during adolescence and early adulthood in other traditional societies to establish the true impact of parental attachment on individuals' evolving relationships with peers and romantic partners, as well as their developing sense of self.

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# Reinterpreting Macmillan's Cyprus Policy, 1957-1960<sup>1</sup>

ANDREKOS VARNAVA

## Abstract

*Commentators universally accept that successive British Governments wanted sovereignty over Cyprus until Harold Macmillan became Prime Minister in January 1957 who then decided to relinquish Cyprus. This assertion is made because the Macmillan Government had determined that the whole of Cyprus was not needed as a base and that bases in Cyprus were sufficient for British military purposes. The Macmillan Government's plans for a solution, however, never included the complete withdrawal of British sovereignty over the island. Ultimately, Britain was not involved in terminating its colonial rule over Cyprus and was indeed reluctant to accept independence as a solution. By tracing the development of the concept of sovereign enclaves, a gap in the published historiography will be filled, while also answering what it was that made sovereignty over Cyprus so vital to British defence policy. The establishment of Sovereign Base Areas on the island questions the view that Cyprus was "relinquished", let alone "decolonised". The delay between the signing of the Zurich-London Accords and Cypriot independence, blamed on Makarios' uncompromising attitude towards British military needs, will be reviewed. This article is a reinterpretation of the Macmillan Government's Cyprus policy.*

**Keywords:** Cyprus, Harold Macmillan, Sovereignty, Decolonisation, Sovereign Bases Areas

In January 1957, Harold Macmillan succeeded Anthony Eden as Prime Minister of Great Britain with British prestige in the Middle East at its lowest ebb. Eden's government Suez escapade had left his government paralysed in the Middle East and Eden a shattered man. He had presided over one of the great British military fiascos and had also damaged Anglo-American relations. According to Scott Lucas, Eden had so lost the support of the Cabinet by December 1956, that Macmillan was able to collude with Washington in a "plot" to overthrow him, as a means of restoring Anglo-American relations.<sup>2</sup> Whatever the truth of this claim, within weeks of coming to power, Macmillan had supposedly decided to withdraw from Cyprus, where the British had moved their Middle East Head Quarters from Egypt in 1952 and where since April 1955 a terrorist group,<sup>3</sup> EOKA (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters), had been trying to force the

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1 I thank Professor Ian Copland, School of Historical Studies, Monash University, for reading a longer version of this article. I also thank Associate Professor Hubert Faustmann for his comments.

2 W.S. Lucas (1987) 'Suez, the Americans, and the Overthrow of Anthony Eden', *LSE Quarterly*, pp. 227-254.

3 No doubt 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter' and in the case of Cyprus for many Greek Cypriots EOKA members were 'freedom fighters' while for many British, EOKA members were 'terrorists'. This may be

British out of the island in favour of uniting it to Greece (*enosis*).

Historians have generally characterised Macmillan as the leader who reluctantly accepted Britain's diminishing imperial position by decolonising the Mediterranean and Africa.<sup>4</sup> His famous 1960 "winds of change speech" indicates how the idea of Empire had radically changed for the Conservatives since they had regained power in 1951. Wars or 'emergencies' to maintain the Empire in Kenya, Malaya and Cyprus had proved costly economically, politically, militarily and prestige wise. Historians claim that Macmillan wanted to accelerate the process of decolonisation in Cyprus and within months of coming to power, he decided that Britain would withdraw from the island.<sup>5</sup> Macmillan himself has contributed to this idea when claiming in his memoirs that his efforts to find a solution to "the Cyprus tangle" were sincere.<sup>6</sup> If this is indeed the case and Macmillan was really prepared to decolonise Cyprus and therefore end British sovereignty over the island, why did it take until February 1959 – over two years after coming to power – for a settlement to be reached?

Some might think that two years is not a very long time, but Glafkos Clerides, a former President of Cyprus (1993-2003), posed this intriguing question in his memoirs:

The real question ... which requires to be answered is why British Governments were so obsessed with the need to retain sovereignty over Cyprus. The argument that British ... strategic requirements could only be served by Britain retaining sovereignty over the Island does not hold water. British and allied strategic requirements could have been served by

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the case out in the coffee-house or in other social environments; conflicts are usually heated when being discussed by participants or their descendants. But this is an academic article and my position on terrorism broadly agrees with that of Alex P. Schmid: "Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby - in contrast to assassination - the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat- and violence-based communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperilled) victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target (audience(s)), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought". A.P. Schmid and A.J. Jongman *et al.* (1988) *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature*, Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Group. In my view, the 'Cyprus Emergency' reveals group based terrorism from EOKA and TMT, as well as state terror from the British.

4 R.F. Holland (1985) *European Decolonization, 1918-1981: An Introductory Survey*, Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan; J. Darwin (1988) *Britain and Decolonisation: The Retreat from Empire in the Post-War World*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Education.

5 R. Stephens (1966) *Cyprus: A Place of Arms*, London: Pall Mall Press, pp. 157-158; S. Panteli (1984) *A New History of Cyprus*, London and The Hague: East-West Publications, pp. 292-308; R. Holland (1985) *European De-Colonisation, 1918-1981*, pp. 200, 256; B. Lapping (1985) *End of Empire*, London: Granada, pp. 335-337; E. Hatzivassiliou (1997) *Britain and the International Status of Cyprus, 1955-1959*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, p. 103; B. O'Malley and I. Craig (1999) *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, London: I.B. Tauris, pp. 49-50, 53.

6 H. Macmillan (1971) *Riding the Storm 1956-1959*, London: Macmillan, pp. 657-701.

Britain retaining sovereign military bases on the Island, as in fact was finally agreed in 1959. If this was possible in 1959, it was equally possible in 1957.<sup>7</sup>

The view that somehow the settlement reached in 1959 could have been reached two years earlier will be contested here. London made no decision to relinquish British sovereignty over Cyprus in 1957 or for that matter in 1958. In fact, London never made such a decision in 1959 either; it was Greece and Turkey that worked out the Zurich Accords that granted Cyprus independence the details of which were kept secret from the British government while they were being negotiated.<sup>8</sup> All that the British did was sign on the dotted line when the two governments brought the documents to London.

Various studies have attempted to explain the events of the unique “decolonisation” of Cyprus, but none have explored in depth the principle reason offered here to underpin the reluctance of Macmillan’s government to relinquish complete British sovereignty over all of Cyprus – namely the stationing of nuclear weapons on the island in pursuit of the Baghdad Pact.<sup>9</sup> This is why during the negotiations to determine the size of the British Sovereign Base Areas (BSBA) independence of the island was delayed from February 1960 to August 1960. Hubert Faustmann’s e-book (his PhD dissertation) and chapter in his co-edited collection *Britain in Cyprus* went a long way to rectifying these omissions by 1) recognising that Macmillan’s government “aimed at the continuation of British rule [and that] the sharing of the power would have happened largely under British control”;<sup>10</sup> and 2) thoroughly covering the negotiations between British and Cypriot representatives over the size of the BSBA.<sup>11</sup> His noteworthy work on the ‘transitional period’ (between the signing of the Zurich-London Accords in February 1959 and the coming into being of the Republic of Cyprus in August 1960), rightly identifies the negotiations over the size of the bases as the primary cause of postponement of independence. What Faustmann does not do is situate these negotiations alongside the earlier ideas and concepts for exclusive sovereign British territory at a time when (as he acknowledges) the British were only interested in sharing sovereignty over the rest of the island and interested in much smaller areas under exclusive British

7 G. Clerides (1989) *Cyprus: My Deposition*, IV, Nicosia: Alithea Publishing, p. 39.

8 R. Holland (1998 [repr. 2002]) *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954-1959*, Oxford: Clarendon Press p. 306.

9 F. Crouzet (1973) *Le Conflit de Chypre, 1946-1959*, Bruxelles: E. Bruylant; S. Xydis (1973) *Cyprus: Reluctant Republic*, The Hague: Mouton; Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*; I.D. Stefanidis (1999) *Isle of Discord: Nationalism, Imperialism and the Making of the Cyprus Problem*, New York: New York University Press; C. Nicolet (2001) *United States Policy Towards Cyprus, 1954-1974: Removing the Greek-Turkish Bone of Contention*, Mannheim and Möhneseec: Bibliopolis.

10 H. Faustmann (1999) *Divide and Quit? The History of British Colonial Rule in Cyprus 1878-1960 Including a Special Survey of the Transitional Period February 1959-August 1960*, (e-book) Mateo - Mannheimer Texte Online, Mannheim, p. 245.

11 H. Faustmann (2006) ‘Independence Postponed: Cyprus 1959-1960’ in H. Faustmann and N. Peristianis (eds.), *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism 1878-2004*, Mannheim and Möhneseec: Bibliopolis, pp. 413-429.

sovereignty. In this connection it is worth mentioning the unpublished PhD dissertation of Klearchos Kyriakides, which is as comprehensive account of the establishment of Cyprus as a British military base in the Middle East and the establishment of the BSBA. This also does not tie all the threads together with respect to why the British were only willing to discuss shared sovereignty, the lengths they went to maintaining British sovereignty, their miscalculation that the Greek and Turkish governments would agree over Cyprus, and the subsequent larger area wanted under exclusive British sovereignty, which ultimately caused the delay to Cyprus' independence, but which also resulted in the British not being particularly interested or focussed on the transition of Cyprus from a British colony to a consociational republic, with the existence of two armed and violent camps.<sup>12</sup>

At the time, Macmillan's government insisted that it was only interested in solving the problem and retaining its military assets on the island and therefore implying that the British would accept a Greco-Turkish agreement on Cyprus. Conservative leaders and military figures had concluded by mid 1957 that the use of the whole of Cyprus as a base was no longer necessary. Macmillan would have it believed that

Britain had no interest except peace both in Cyprus and between Greece and Turkey, together with the preservation of the bases which were so essential to the defence of the Eastern Mediterranean and the resistance to Communist aggression.<sup>13</sup>

Macmillan claims that both peace and bases were his interests, but what if the desire to hold bases prevented or prolonged peace and led to an escalation and expansion of violence? If peace and bases in Cyprus, as opposed to the whole of Cyprus as a base, were the aims, why was Macmillan's government reluctant to relinquish complete British sovereignty of Cyprus, when its strategic vitality had supposedly diminished after the Suez debacle? Moreover, why did it take eighteen months after the Zurich-London Accords were signed for independence to be proclaimed and why did Britain retain sovereign territory on the island even then? What is the relationship between the "partial" decolonisation of Cyprus and the Macmillan government's attempts to find a solution?

Macmillan's government reluctance to relinquish Cyprus was a reluctance no less stubborn and only less overt than that of his predecessor's government, Anthony Eden. While a "coup" to oust Eden was fermenting in his absence (to recover from the Suez escapade) from 23 November to 20 December 1956, Alan Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, devised a plan to play Turkey off against Greece by proposing a partition of the island. Macmillan had himself succeeded in this ploy back in 1955 when as Foreign Secretary his chairmanship of the Tripartite Conference (attended by Greece, Turkey and Britain) in London brought Turkish objections to *enosis* to the

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12 K.A. Kyriakides (1996) 'British Cold War Strategy and the Struggle to Maintain Military Bases in Cyprus, 1951-60'. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge.

13 Macmillan, *Riding the Storm*, p. 663.

fore.<sup>14</sup> Partition had not been on the agenda then, but after Lennox-Boyd had initially rejected the suggestion of it by the then Governor of Cyprus, Sir John Harding, in October 1956, he reconsidered partition when Ankara demanded it.<sup>15</sup> Now he felt that partition might “have advantages”, it could, he mused, “cause [the] Greek Cypriots to reconsider the merits of the *status quo*”.<sup>16</sup> So in other words he adopted partition as a foil to *enosis* and in the hope – a rather misguided hope – that the Greek Cypriot EOKA terrorists would lay down their arms and agree to the continuance of British colonial rule. But the Cabinet hesitated at his suggestion because it could mean that Cyprus might be “partitioned against the wishes of the majority” – the 80% Greek Cypriot community.<sup>17</sup> Lennox-Boyd promised the Cabinet that he would not mention partition while on his trip to Athens and Ankara, but in Ankara, he negotiated a “very clever formula” to apply “double self-determination” to Cyprus.<sup>18</sup> Each community would vote on self-determination, but if the Turkish Cypriots opted for union with Turkey, Cyprus would be partitioned.

When Lennox-Boyd threw partition into the pot as a way of forcing the Greek Cypriots to back away from *enosis*, he also announced the constitutional recommendations of Lord Radcliffe, the eminent legal authority chosen to devise a constitution for Cyprus.<sup>19</sup> According to Radcliffe's terms of reference, the whole of Cyprus would remain under British sovereignty for the lifetime of the constitution.<sup>20</sup> Lennox-Boyd failed to cite, however, that Radcliffe rejected the idea of a federation with reservations as it was a claim “by 18 percent of a population to share political power equally with 80 percent”. Radcliffe believed it unfair since the Cypriots lived in neighbouring and mixed villages across the island.<sup>21</sup> Yet, Lennox-Boyd had committed Whitehall to consider partition, a solution anathema to the Greek side and viewed as politically, economically, and morally unfathomable by Lord Radcliffe, who had drawn up India's partition line. Lennox-Boyd's undermining of Radcliffe's constitution has taken a backseat to its rejection by the Greek side.

Consequently, when Macmillan came to power, the Anglo-Turkish alliance over Cyprus, which began under Eden, was freshly reaffirmed. Indeed, within weeks, the new Cabinet showed

14 Turkey's uninterested history was recorded by a prominent and well respected Turkish Cypriot community leader Dr Ihsan Ali, who in the 1970s became a political adviser to President Archbishop Makarios. Dr Ihsan Ali (1980) *Ta Apomνημονεύματα Μου* [My Memoirs], Nicosia: Zavalis Press, p. 9.

15 FO 371/123932/2285, 4 October 1956; CAB 128/30, 5 October 1956; FO 371/123932/2280, and FO 371/123932/2279, 25 October 1956.

16 CAB 129/84 C(56)33, 'Memorandum by Mr Lennox-Boyd for Cyprus Policy Committee', 26 November 1956.

17 CAB 128/30/2, C.C. 98(56)1, 11 December 1956. Note: Cabinet Conclusions (CC) and Memoranda (C).

18 CAB 128/30/2, C.C. 99(56)2, 12 December 1956; Stephens, *Cyprus: A Place of Arms*, pp. 148-150. A Turkish FO official involved with Cyprus revealed this to Stephens, a former Middle East correspondent for the *Observer*, in 1965. Official documents confirm this. See, R. Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, p. 166.

19 Hansard, House of Commons, 19 December 1956, pp. 1267-1269.

20 *Constitutional Proposals for Cyprus*, Report submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Right Hon. Lord Radcliffe, G.B., HMSO, London December 1956, cmd 42, p. 6.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 13. Radcliffe gave the Greek Cypriots a majority in the legislature. The Turkish Cypriots were protected through a Department of Turkish Cypriot Affairs and by checks on the legislature from interfering in their affairs.

that British policy had changed little from the Eden “never-never land”<sup>22</sup> period, when it discouraged Washington from tabling a UN resolution urging London to find a settlement.<sup>23</sup> Not wishing, however, to project an image of total intransigence, particularly given Macmillan’s earnestness to mend Anglo-American relations, the Cabinet decided to finally allow the NATO Secretary-General to “use his good offices for conciliation”.<sup>24</sup> Lord Ismay, the first NATO Secretary-General, who had been Winston Churchill’s adviser during the Second World War, had offered to mediate earlier,<sup>25</sup> but in December 1956 he announced his retirement. His replacement, in May 1957, was Paul-Henri Spaak, a former Labour Prime Minister of Belgium. Perhaps because of his socialist roots or because he may see in Cyprus a place where the Belgian system of government could be established, the Cabinet decided against accepting mediation and to discourage any suggestions for it.<sup>26</sup> Lennox-Boyd simultaneously proposed that Archbishop Makarios, in exile in the Seychelles Islands since March 1956, be released in exchange for a public denunciation of EOKA.<sup>27</sup> Both these measures were taken despite the fact that Makarios had been exiled for refusing the same ultimatum and Britain’s subsequent encouragement of Turkish objections to a Cyprus settlement had further poisoned Greco-Turkish relations.

Indeed Adnan Menderes’ government, which was strongly anti-communist and pro-western, promptly rebuked Britain on the move to involve NATO and release Makarios – it had become accustomed to doing so whenever it objected to a proposal it disliked – but this time the Cabinet rejected this, *only* because Turkish protest would make a solution even *less* likely.<sup>28</sup> When Makarios responded that he would condemn violence if the emergency was ended and an amnesty declared, London faced a dilemma because Ankara objected to these conditions.<sup>29</sup> At the time, Macmillan was in Bermuda with United States President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who asked him to free Makarios.<sup>30</sup> Macmillan decided to do so – without Makarios responding to the prerequisite

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22 On 28 July 1954 Henry Hopkinson, the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, was pressed by a Labour MP on what the proposed new constitution meant for the future status of Cyprus. Hopkinson replied that: “it has always been understood and agreed that there are certain territories in the Commonwealth which, owing to their particular circumstances, can never expect to be fully independent”. Hansard, House of Commons, 28 July 1954, p. 508. This was the birth of the so-called “never-never land” policy, a term used by Robert Holland, see R. Holland (1993) ‘Never, Never Land: British Colonial Policy and the Roots of Violence in Cyprus, 1950-54’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, pp. 148-176.

23 CAB 128/31, C.C. 6(57)1, 1 February 1957.

24 CAB 129/85, C(57)49, 28 February 1957; CAB 128/31, C.C. 21(57)1, 18 March 1957.

25 Obituary, ‘Lord Ismay: Vital Role in British Defence’, *The Times*, 18 December 1963, p. 9.

26 *Ibid.*

27 CAB 129/86, C(57)71, 16 March 1957.

28 CAB 128/31, C.C. 21(57)1, 18 March 1957.

29 CAB 128/31, C.C. 23(57)4, 25 March 1957; CAB 128/31, C.C. 24(57)1, 26 March 1957.

30 Department of State, Conference Files, Lot 62 D 181, CF 866, Secret, ‘Memorandum of a Conversation, Mid-Ocean Club, Bermuda, March 21, 1957’, *FRUS, 1955-1957: Soviet Union, Eastern Mediterranean*, XXIV, pp. 465-466. There is little evidence that Macmillan freed Makarios in a pact with Eisenhower. See, O’Malley and Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, p. 50.

demand – but by banning him from entering Cyprus, and sustaining the war against Colonel George Grivas and his EOKA guerrillas, Macmillan contented both Turkey and Eisenhower.<sup>31</sup> Macmillan's initial conciliatory move did not result in any constructive developments to solve the Cyprus crisis, nor did it encourage NATO efforts – quite the opposite, a rivalry developed between Britain and NATO over the handling of the Cyprus question.

NATO concern over Cyprus was not new, but Secretary-General Paul-Henri Spaak now decided that only a quick and realistic compromise could avoid a NATO schism between Britain, Greece and Turkey. Over the next few months he held discussions with the Greek and Turkish Governments and with Makarios in Athens.<sup>32</sup> In mid-July he wrote to Menderes, the Turkish Prime Minister, to explain that he rejected partition as a “demarcation line would ... be wholly artificial [and] involve large transfers of population ... not ... in tune”, he maintained, “with present-day thinking”.<sup>33</sup> At length he asked Menderes to consider “guaranteed” independence as:

Under the treaty in which the independence ... would be anchored, the Powers concerned would renounce all sovereignty over Cyprus ... not only never to lay claim to such sovereignty, but also to reject any offer of sovereign rights.<sup>34</sup>

Menderes was indifferent to this idea, but Spaak began a dialogue with the Greek and Turkish NATO delegates.<sup>35</sup>

Macmillan, on the other hand, had already rejected independence when Eisenhower had suggested it to him in Bermuda,<sup>36</sup> but decided to undermine Spaak's efforts anyway. He did this through a “new” policy which he explained in the following memorandum:

Our essential military needs in Cyprus are to secure the continued use of an operational air base, primarily for the support of the Baghdad Pact, and of certain wireless facilities for intelligence and propaganda purposes which cannot be provided elsewhere. These needs can be met if we insist on retaining exclusive British sovereignty over relatively small enclaves ...<sup>37</sup> (see also MAP II)

Historians have defined this as a sharp break with the “never” policy of successive British governments.<sup>38</sup> Macmillan and strategists had been stunned by the failure of Cyprus to live up to

31 CAB 128/31, C.C. 24(57)1, 26 March 1957.

32 P-H. Spaak (1971) *The Continuing Battle: Memoirs of a European, 1936-1966*, Boston: Little, Brown and Co., pp. 281-283. Spaak was a former socialist Prime Minister of Belgium.

33 Spaak letter to Menderes, dated 16 July 1957, Spaak, *The Continuing Battle*, p. 284.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 285.

35 Spaak, *The Continuing Battle*, pp. 285-286. R. Holland (1995) ‘NATO and the Struggle for Cyprus’, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, pp. 33-61, 45-48.

36 Hatzivassiliou, *Britain and the International Status of Cyprus*, p. 104.

37 CAB 129/88, C(57)161, 9 July 1957.

38 Hatzivassiliou, *Britain and the International Status of Cyprus*, p. 112; O'Malley and Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, p. 53.

military expectations during the Suez campaign. When Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal in July 1956, Eden demanded military action, but was told that an immediate operation was impossible. British facilities on Cyprus were underdeveloped, the paratroopers were tied-up fighting EOKA in the mountains, and the marines had not received proper training for a year.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, the British rejected Grivas' 'truce' offer in early August because this would have been a sign of weakness and also that a military operation was being hatched for Egypt. In September, the head of the operation against Egypt, Charles Kneightley, warned that Nicosia airfield suffered from dated facilities and was "vulnerable" to EOKA attack. He ordered that Akrotiri and Tymvou airfields be hastily upgraded to meet Eden's demand for an attack on Egypt.<sup>40</sup>

Colonel Grivas sensed his chance to escalate EOKA terror.<sup>41</sup> During the first half of August 1956, EOKA bombed military installations and security forces daily and strikes crippled bases at Akrotiri, Episkopi and Dhekelia.<sup>42</sup> This meant that the Anglo-French attack on Suez planned for 15 September could not take place on military grounds (perhaps it was this reason which led to the British and the French agreeing to the second Suez Canal Users Conference on 19 September). From that date, until the end of October, 63 bomb attacks, mostly inside military installations, with 21 such attacks on 2 November alone, were carried out.<sup>43</sup> EOKA terror clearly restricted the development of Akrotiri and Tymvou.<sup>44</sup> Then, on the eve of the Anglo-French operation, an EOKA bomb "completely destroyed" the runway of Akrotiri airfield, crippling it for two weeks.<sup>45</sup> Gorst and Lucas concluded that the Anglo-French failure to seize the Canal was due to the "lack of will ... of the British military and politicians to carry out a rapid parachute landing ... within a few days of the Israeli invasion".<sup>46</sup> However, Nicosia, Akrotiri and Tymvou were the only airfields feasible for this task and since Akrotiri was out of action, an instant drop was impossible. Within days of neutralising the Egyptian air force, Britain vetoed French plans to launch an airborne attack. At the time the British military authorities argued that their paratroopers had just been relieved from fighting EOKA and Akrotiri was still under repair.<sup>47</sup> When the paratroopers did

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39 General Hugh Stockwell, the Commander-in-Chief of Middle-East Land Forces, noted this. See A. Gorst and SW. Lucas (1988) 'Suez 1956: Strategy and the Diplomatic Process', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, pp. 391-436, 400; Also, O'Malley and Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, p. 38.

40 PREM II/1130, Kneightley's despatches, O'Malley and Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, pp. 37-38.

41 G. Grivas-Dighenis (1964) *The Memoirs of General Grivas*, (ed.) London: Charles Foley, p. 85.

42 *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87; CO 926/418, Harding's daily situation reports, O'Malley and Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, pp. 38-39.

43 O'Malley and Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, p. 40; Grivas, *Memoirs*, p. 101.

44 Tymvou housed French transport aircraft. O'Malley and Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, p. 39.

45 Grivas, *Memoirs*, p. 97. The British concealed the attack from the public.

46 Gorst and Lucas 'Suez 1956: Strategy and the Diplomatic Process', p. 429.

47 In Cyprus the British had 20 squadrons of Canberra and Valiant bombers, eight infantry battalions, the commando 3rd Brigade and three paratroop battalions. The French had at least 40 Thunderstreaks, 600 troops, and several transport and bomber squadrons. The French utilised Cyprus on the first night of the Israeli invasion to secretly airlift food and arms to the Israelis behind the lines. O'Malley and Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, p. 41.



eventually leave for Egypt on 5 November, Akrotiri was not used.<sup>48</sup> Thus, had Nasser bothered to challenge the allied aircraft carriers, perhaps the Anglo-French air action may have been crippled, since Cypriot airfields were "too distant" to permit bombers "more than ten to fifteen minutes" over Egyptian targets.<sup>49</sup> Kneightley concluded that the operation failed because of a "shortage of airfields and ports in Cyprus when operations started", as the former were "under construction or repair" and the latter did not exist.<sup>50</sup> In the event, a sea-borne attack was launched from Malta, nearly 1,000 miles to the west of Alexandria!

Therefore, Macmillan's "new stance" was a revision of the belief that the whole of Cyprus was required for British military needs in the region. Now bases in Cyprus would be sufficient to safeguard these interests. The primary interest was the Baghdad Pact, an alliance formed a few days after EOKA terror had started in April 1955 and which included Turkey, and aimed at preserving British military and political authority in the Middle East against the Soviets, and against the interference of the United States in an area that was traditionally a British concern.<sup>51</sup>

The idea of sovereign enclaves, however, was not new. The instigator (although not originator) of the concept seems to have been Francis Noel-Baker, a Labour backbencher, a Philhellene with family connections to Lord Byron, a landholder in Greece, and an acquaintance of Archbishop Makarios. His unique position resulted in Harding and the Eden government accepting him to act as "go-between" during the ill-fated Harding-Makarios talks of 1955-1956.<sup>52</sup> Noel-Baker was a strong advocate for a more liberal treatment of the Greek Cypriots, without ever supporting or condoning the use of violence. In this sense, the Conservatives had always been wary of his views, but they liked the last proposal of his "four point plan for Cyprus", which he outlined in an interview with the *Observer* reporter Philip Deane in June 1956. This held that before self-determination (which for Noel-Baker, like Greek Cypriot elites, equated to *enosis*), for which a date would be set according to point two of Noel-Baker's plan, "British military installations in Cyprus should be concentrated in an enclave which would remain British territory indefinitely whatever the results of self-determination".<sup>53</sup> Noel-Baker told Deane that he was

convinced this enclave could be made acceptable to Archbishop Makarios and the Greek Cypriot community and to the Greek Government. It would reassure the Turks who fear that Greece would use Cyprus as a base to attack them. It would do much to allay the fears

48 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

49 P. Darby (1973) *British Defence Policy East of Suez 1947-1968*, London: Oxford University Press, p. 112.

50 COS56 (220), COS minutes by Kneightley, 11 October 1957; O'Malley and Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, p. 44.

51 DEFE 4/78, COS 56(55), 12 July 1955, *Egypt and the Defence of the Middle-East: Part III 1953-1956*, Discussed in notes for Document 597, 432. By 1954, the new Foreign Secretary, Selwyn Lloyd, warned that America was usurping British supremacy in the Middle East. CAB 129/66, C(54)53, 'Middle-East: Anglo-American policy': Lloyd note for the Cabinet, 15 February 1954, *ibid.*, Document 491, pp. 218-220.

52 F. Noel-Baker (1985) *My Cyprus File: From My Personal Records, 1956-1984*, London: Christopher Terry, Ross Features International.

53 P. Deane, 'Four Point Plan for Cyprus', *Observer*, 17 June 1956.

of the Turks in Cyprus. And for Britain's strategic needs, such an enclave would be as safe as Gibraltar ... and be a purely British base from which the British could act independently of the wishes of her NATO partners.<sup>54</sup>

It is clear that in comparing the enclave to Gibraltar and labelling it "a purely British base", Noel-baker was proposing an enclave that would be British sovereign territory. In any event, this is what Eden thought. The day after the interview appeared on 17 June, a Foreign Office (FO) clerk reported that Eden "thought that consideration might be given to retaining an area of UK sovereignty in an area of Cyprus after self-determination had been granted". Eden acknowledged that there would be difficulties, namely that Governor Harding and the military chiefs "objected to it".<sup>55</sup> This means that Noel-Baker was not the first to tout the concept of a sovereign enclave or enclaves.

As it was, Eden's government did not give the idea much consideration, firstly because the main priority was to find a solution that the Turkish government agreed to and Ankara opposed self-determination for Cyprus;<sup>56</sup> and because of the Eden government's resolve to use force on Egypt after Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal.

It was not until after the Suez catastrophe when the idea of sovereign enclaves was again pushed. In December 1956, a letter to the editor of *The Times* by A.G. Bourne opined that "the only security for a British base in Cyprus is for a portion of the island to be retained as British territory".<sup>57</sup>

The plan that Macmillan had in mind, however, did not intend to fully relinquish British sovereignty over the rest of Cyprus, but instead:

We (Britain) should offer to surrender the rest of the island to a condominium of the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey. The sovereignty would be vested in the three countries jointly. The indigenous population would acquire Greek and Turkish as well as British nationality.<sup>58</sup>

The use of the word surrender could only be described as an oxymoron: Britain would "relinquish" the government of Cyprus to two other foreign powers, Greece and Turkey, as well as to itself! In

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54 *Ibid.*

55 FO 371/123002/RG/1081/1377, John B. Denson, minute, 18 June 1956; Kyriakides, *British Cold War Strategy and the Struggle to Maintain Military Bases in Cyprus*, pp. 217-220.

56 Department of State, Central Files, 747C.00/7-1356, Secret, 'Memorandum of a Conversation', Department of State, Washington, 13 July 1956, *FRUS, 1955-1957, XXIV*, pp. 379-380. Dulles slammed the Turkish veto since Turkey "had no legal basis to obstruct a settlement". Department of State, Central Files, 747C.00/6-2256, Secret, 'Memorandum of a Conversation', *ibid.*, p. 371. Note, on 14 June, Greece, unaware of the British scheme, proposed to pass-over self-determination for 13 years. CO 926/551/730, Noel-Baker to Eden, 14 June; E. Hatzivassiliou (1990-1991) 'Blocking *Enosis*: Britain and the Cyprus Question, March-December 1956', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, pp. 247-263, 252-253.

57 *The Times*, A.G. Bourne, Letter to Editor, 27 December 1956, 7e.

58 CAB 129/88, C(57)161, 9 July 1957.

reality, here was a plan for retaining the substance of British sovereignty and political control over Cyprus. It would have made Cyprus an isle of arms, from which Britain, and indeed Turkey, could perpetuate their defence alliance. The scheme could not have been further removed from Spaak's initiative to create an independent Cypriot state.

The tri-condominium plan grew out of Defence Minister Duncan Sandys' review of Britain's global military strategy in the post-Suez era in April 1957. He reported that "bomber squadrons operating from Cyprus ... [and] capable of delivering a heavy counter-blow with nuclear weapons" were vital to defend the Baghdad Pact.<sup>59</sup> Britain had vested its Middle East interests on the Baghdad Pact, with Turkey and Iraq, as a buffer against Soviet penetration into the Middle East. London now felt that its main contribution to the Baghdad Pact was nuclear weapons. In 1955 and 1956, Britain formed its first V-bomber squadron to carry atomic and hydrogen weapons, and dropped its first atomic bomb, while at the Bermuda Conference in 1957, Anglo-American nuclear relations had been restored.<sup>60</sup> In mid-1956, the British Chiefs-of-Staff had projected that Cyprus' military value "should be viewed against the background of the nuclear counter-offensive", especially as Akrotiri airfield was to become "an advanced base for the V-bomber force".<sup>61</sup> These plans were now a reality. It meant little that Cyprus would be "within range" of Soviet bombers and ballistic missiles, and thus a target in a nuclear conflict.<sup>62</sup> Accordingly the military warned the Cabinet that London must remain on close terms with any future Cypriot administration, so it would be "extremely dangerous" to surrender sovereignty.<sup>63</sup> Sandys also listed thirteen military sites outside the proposed enclaves, principally intelligence networks and training grounds, where British sovereignty could *never* be relinquished (see MAP II).<sup>64</sup> Thus, the tri-condominium scheme points to another ruse to facilitate the continuance of British control over Cyprus, to ensure that a future Cypriot government could not threaten British nuclear capability or maintenance of intelligence networks scattered across the island.

The Cabinet realised that the only hope for the tri-condominium plan lay in Washington coercing Athens into accepting it. The US was against playing this role as it favoured independence. So Britain tried to discredit the idea of independence throughout 1957 by proposing

59 CAB 129/86, C(57)69, 15 March 1957, revised CAB 129/86, C(57)84, 1 April 1957.

60 See, S.J. Ball (1995) 'Military Nuclear Relations between the United States and Great Britain under the Terms of the McMahon Act, 1946-1958', *The Historical Journal*, pp. 439-454.

61 DEFE 5/69, COS(56)231, annex. 'Facilities required by HM forces in Cyprus in peace and war': COS Committee memorandum on the strategic importance of Cyprus, 14 June 1956.

62 *Ibid.*, pp. 512-513.

63 *Ibid.* In November Randolph Churchill made news when he divulged that "Britain could knock down 12 cities in the region of Stalingrad and Moscow" and the Crimea from bases in Cyprus and that Britain "did not have that power at the time of Suez". *The Times*, 14 November 1957.

64 Sandys' delineation of the enclaves and the facilities outside remains classified. The de-classification of the map, however, which was a map to the classified notes, and his November memorandum listing the outside facilities, provides adequate information of size and use of the enclaves. CAB 129/88, C(57)178, 26 July 1957; CAB 129/88, C(57)184, 30 July 1957; CAB 129/90, C(57)265, 12 November 1957.

a tripartite conference between Greece, Turkey and itself, with US and NATO observers. London wanted this conference to fail, as it was thought that only then would America accept the British plan for want of a better solution.<sup>65</sup> But Greece refused to attend a conference. According to its Foreign Minister, Evangelos Averoff, his government and that of Ankara were not adverse to the idea of independence,<sup>66</sup> yet the Cabinet warned that Spaak “should be discouraged from lending any support” to it at all costs.<sup>67</sup> By the end of 1957, London had wasted six months sabotaging NATO efforts while trying to trap Athens and Washington into accepting a plan neither desired.

Meanwhile changes were made at the head of the Cyprus Government. Harding had supposedly asked to retire in October. Macmillan wrote in his memoirs that Harding

felt, and I could not but share this view, that in the new phase and in the light of the new policy which we were trying to put forward ... his immediate task was accomplished.<sup>68</sup>

His task had been to crush EOKA; but this had not been achieved.

Sir Hugh Foot, the Governor of Jamaica, replaced Harding.<sup>69</sup> Historians have seen this as confirmation that Macmillan wanted Britain to soften the British government’s policies in Cyprus and even as an indication of withdrawal.<sup>70</sup> There is evidence to suggest, however, that Foot’s employment had little to do with British plans for a withdrawal. Macmillan claimed that he made the appointment because Foot was a “leading figure” in the Colonial Service and because of his success as an administrator and negotiator and because he wanted a new face to represent his “new policy”.<sup>71</sup> It is difficult to argue that Foot was a “leading figure” in the Colonial Service given that he was the Governor of Jamaica (indeed his first governorship), and even more difficult to assert that he had especial negotiating skills, when there is no parallel in Foot’s career that compares to “the Cyprus tangle” (although during his early career he had served in Palestine as an assistant secretary, distinguishing himself as a mediator between Arabs and Jews). The appointment was also made after Foot had expressly refused London’s prerequisite directive to pledge “not [to] resign on grounds of policy”, that is, to be loyal and obedient regardless of what London decided. Moreover, he criticised the policy that had induced interference from Athens and Ankara. He believed that only the Cypriots could find a solution.<sup>72</sup> Macmillan was at the time beset with the

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65 CAB 129/88, C(57)178 MAP A, 26 July 1957; CAB 128/31, C.C. 52(57)1, 16 July 1957. The Cabinet felt Turkey would need little inducement to reject independence. CAB 129/90, C(57)276, 20 November 1957.

66 E. Averoff-Tossizza (1986) *Lost Opportunities: The Cyprus Question 1950-1963*, New York: New Rochelle, pp. 166-168; Spaak, *The Continuing Battle*, pp. 281-283.

67 CAB 128/31, C.C. 81(57)1, 21 November 1957.

68 Macmillan, *Riding the Storm*, p. 664.

69 Foot was the Governor of Jamaica.

70 Panteli, *A New History of Cyprus*, p. 298; O’Malley and Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, pp. 56-57. L. Ierodiakonou (1971) *The Cyprus Question*, Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, pp. 160-162.

71 Macmillan, *Riding the Storm*, p. 664.

72 Sir H. Foot, (Lord Caradon) (1964) *A Start in Freedom*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, pp. 157-158.

tri-condominium scheme, a plan clearly distinct from Foot's ideas. Even so, Foot was given the job, why?

Robert Holland has argued that it was insurance against the Labour Party using the Cyprus crisis against Macmillan in upcoming elections that influenced his choice of Foot.<sup>73</sup> Foot came from a distinguished Cornish Methodist family of liberal-radical political orientation. His father had been a Liberal MP and two of his brothers Labour supporters. One of these, Michael Foot, co-authored *Guilty Men*, a socialist polemic against the evil Tory policy in Cyprus and Egypt, later led the Labour Party. There is no direct correlation between concerns over an election and the appointment, but such a connection cannot be discounted. In his memoirs, Macmillan adds weight to this view when he admits to being aware of "the radical opinions" that Foot had "inherited from his Cromwellian father."<sup>74</sup> Macmillan's concern with domestic politics is further evidenced by the increasingly graphic front-page reports of the carnage emanating from Cyprus. In November 1956, Derek Lambert published an article in the *Daily Mirror* entitled 'It's Murder Mile', with a photograph of Arthur Hallam, an architect, lying dead on Nicosia's Ledra Street or "Murder Mile."<sup>75</sup> The murder of civilians could turn a public against a tough and uncompromising policy very quickly, while the murder of soldiers and police could create a "body-bag condition."<sup>76</sup>

The sources, however, establish that the Cabinet was principally concerned about Britain's international position. Quite apart from the fact that Harding had come to symbolise Eden's tough uncompromising military solution to the problem (despite Harding's genuine efforts to end the Emergency through negotiation with Makarios), he had also distinguished himself for presiding over hangings and allegations of torture by the security forces against Greek Cypriot detainees. Athens (thanks to research conducted by Glafkos Clerides, then a leading Greek Cypriot lawyer, thus thrusting him into national politics) had taken the conduct of the security forces to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) and Harding had since February 1956 been trying to prevent investigators from coming to Cyprus.<sup>77</sup> In April 1956, two British officers, Captain O'Driscoll of the Intelligence Corps, and Lieutenant Linzee of the Gordon Highlanders, were court-martialled and convicted of causing physical harm during an interrogation. On 10 May 1956, two EOKA members, Michalis Karaolis and Andreas Demetriou, were hanged. In August and September 1957, the ECHR was pressuring to investigate in Cyprus, but Harding and Lennox-Boyd were violently opposed.<sup>78</sup> No doubt Harding would have considered this insulting

73 Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, pp. 214-215.

74 Macmillan, *Riding the Storm*, p. 665.

75 Derek Lambert, 'It's Murder Mile', *Daily Mirror*, 16 November 1956.

76 Kyriakides, *British Cold War Strategy and the Struggle to Maintain Military Bases in Cyprus*, pp. 213-215.

77 A.W.B. Simpson (2001) *Human Rights and the End of Empire*, London: Oxford University Press, pp. 884-1055.

78 CAB 129/90, C(57)258, 4 November 1957. Lloyd and Lennox-Boyd Memorandum; For the British attempts and failure to deflect criticism of the actions of the security forces onto EOKA see, S.L. Carruthers (1995) 'EOKA and the Struggle for Enosis in Cyprus, 1955-59', *Winning Hearts and Minds: British Governments, the Media and Colonial Counter-Insurgency, 1944-1960*, London: Leicester University Press, pp. 239-244.

to British officers doing their patriotic duty in a climate of terror. But Foot had promised to stabilise Anglo-Cypriot tensions and the fact that his career and family background were liberal, was an antithesis to Harding. Within days of arriving, Foot visited Cypriot leaders, rode through villages, and on Christmas Eve released 100 detainees, all the women held without trial, and removed movement restrictions on 600 others.<sup>79</sup> Also, an announcement was made that the ECHR could send a team of lawyers to investigate the Emergency procedures. Although Foot did not make this decision, many in his administration blamed him for it, and thus it is clear that London used Foot in order to appease the Court and repair Britain's international image without scaring its own military and more conservative circles. London's rejection of Foot's plan for a solution after Turkey vetoed it verified this. The Foot Plan envisioned an immediate end to the emergency, for Makarios to return, and for Cyprus' status to be settled after five years of internal self-rule.<sup>80</sup> The Cabinet approved, but Foot knew it depended on London standing up to Turkey, who would be presented with his plan first. As he predicted the Turkish veto stuck in the "gullers" of the Macmillan Cabinet.<sup>81</sup>

In just over a year of trying to "withdraw" from Cyprus, all that Macmillan's government had achieved was to strengthen Ankara's position. Menderes' government now demanded a base on the island, a veto on any interim constitution, and that no long-term settlement was possible short of partition.<sup>82</sup> In January and February 1958, Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd and Foot visited Ankara to offer Turkey a base and Foot's constitutional plan which envisaged communal self-determination after a period of self-government.<sup>83</sup> But the Turkish government rejected the proposal and Turkish Cypriot riots in Nicosia confirmed Turkish opposition to it.<sup>84</sup> Then in May 1958, the Macmillan "Partnership Plan" was devised.<sup>85</sup> It provided for: continued British sovereignty unless a tri-condominium was accepted; Greek and Turkish government representation in the Cyprus government; and a constitution with separate houses of representatives for each community.<sup>86</sup> The guise of partition was inherent in all these provisions, acknowledged even by Macmillan who described it as "metaphysical partition", and the Colonial Office called it "pre-partition".<sup>87</sup> It was not so much that the constitution, in trying to protect the

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79 Foot, *A Start in Freedom*, p. 161.

80 *Ibid.*, pp. 159-163.

81 CAB 128/32, C.C. 4(58)2, 6 January 1958; CAB 128/32, C.C. 7(58)5, 20 January 1958; Foot, *A Start in Freedom*, pp. 163-164.

82 CAB 128/32, C.C. 12(58)1, 28 January 1958.

83 CAB 128/32, C.C. 17(58)4, 18 February 1958; J. Reddaway (2001 [1<sup>st</sup> edition 1986]) *Burdened with Cyprus: The British Connection*, Nicosia: Rustem, pp. 105-107.

84 Foot, *A Start in Freedom*, pp. 166-167; CAB 129/91, C(58)43, 17 February 1958.

85 For the first draft of the Partnership plan see, CAB 129/93, C(58)106, 12 May 1958. Macmillan explained his new proposal to the Cabinet the following day and revealed that both Greece and Turkey had rejected the tri-condominium plan. Cab 128/32, C.C. 42(48)2, 13 May 1958.

86 CAB 129/93, C(58)109, 14 May 1958.

87 FO 371/136370, Anthony Rumbold, minute, 2 July 1958.

demographic minority (Turkish Cypriots) from the potential tyranny of the majority (Greek Cypriots) in doing away with majority rule since a 20% minority would equally share power with a 78% majority. But it was rather that Greek and Turkish officials would be involved in the governance of the island, and that the British would never fully relinquish full sovereignty over all of Cyprus (only share sovereignty, despite saying that after seven years the issue of self-determination could be re-evaluated), which would never really be independent. Yet before London informed Turkey of this plan, civil war broke out on the island after the Turkish Consulate in Nicosia was bombed. Foot awoke in the “middle of the night to see from the balcony of Government House what looked like the whole of Nicosia aflame”.<sup>88</sup>

The British instantly blamed EOKA, but Rauf Denktash, then a Colonial Government lawyer and founder in 1957 of a secret Turkish Cypriot terrorist group *Türk Mukavemet Teskilati* (TMT), admitted in 1984 that a Turk “had put this little bomb ... to create an atmosphere of tension”.<sup>89</sup> Successive Conservative Governments promoted the politicisation of the Turkish Cypriot community. They encouraged Dr Fazil Kutchuk to found the “Cyprus is Turkish Party” and allowed TMT to function virtually at will.<sup>90</sup> The British formed an auxiliary police almost entirely of Turkish Cypriots and then a Turkish Mobile Reserve to combat EOKA. By 1958 the Greek Cypriots were outnumbered by a ratio of five to three in the police.<sup>91</sup> This was a policy of exploitation of the worst sort.

By spreading the conflict and encouraging inter-communal violence the British had only succeeded in plunging the island into civil war, with the result that partition seemed probable. Thus, the Menderes government, now in a position of strength, promptly accepted the “Partnership Plan”, but Athens fearing it a prelude to partition rejected it. From June to the end of October, Britain pressured Greece to acquiesce but failed.<sup>92</sup> Yet, Greece could not veto British proposals for Cyprus and the Cabinet decided to implement the “Partnership Plan” without Greece – a major “partner”.<sup>93</sup> Greek Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis instantly warned Spaak that London’s “insistence ... on applying its plan unilaterally” would jeopardise Greece’s membership in NATO.<sup>94</sup> Perhaps this forced Makarios’ hand, as he then dropped a bigger bombshell when he told Barbara Castle, the Chairman of the British Labour Party, then visiting Athens, that “Cyprus should become an independent state” with *enosis* and partition both

88 Foot, *A Start in Freedom*, p. 169.

89 Interview with Rauf Denktash in the documentary *Britain's Grim Legacy* (1984) Granada, UK.

90 C. Hitchens (1997) *Hostage to History*, London: Verso, p. 45. At the time Greek Cypriot political parties were banned. Also there were moderate Turkish Cypriot leaders like Dr Ihsan Ali who promoted Cypriot coexistence. Ali, *Ta Απομνημονεύματά Μου* [My Memoirs], pp. 8-9.

91 D.M. Anderson (1993) ‘Policing and Communal Conflict: The Cyprus Emergency, 1954-60’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 21, Iss. 3, pp. 177-207, 189-191.

92 CAB 128/32, C.C. 67(58)5, 12 August 1958; CAB 128/32, C.C. 69(58)2, 8 September 1958; CAB 128/32, C.C. 79(58)2, 30 October 1958.

93 See, CAB 128/32, C.C. 67(58)5, 12 August 1958.

94 Karamanlis letter, 22 September 1958, to Spaak, *The Continuing Battle*, p. 289.

excluded.<sup>95</sup> The Greek side, fearful of partition, decided to negate the perceived partitionist policies of Macmillan's government.

For the moment Greece's threat took precedence over Makarios' new stance, as London became more belligerent and NATO more concerned. Spaak called an emergency NATO meeting for 25 September (five days before the application of the "Partnership Plan") where he offered a solution contrary to the British scheme.<sup>96</sup> Turkey savaged his efforts, but other NATO members (bar Britain) sided with Spaak.<sup>97</sup> London then forced Spaak to include their plan alongside his for discussion at a conference.<sup>98</sup> But Ankara had already chosen and was preparing to send their official to Cyprus as part of the "Partnership Plan". Karamanlis' government decided to attend a conference on the condition that a final settlement would be discussed.<sup>99</sup> But the Turkish and British governments considered that a final settlement prejudiced an interim solution and reaffirmed their determination to apply the "Partnership Plan".<sup>100</sup> The situation had reached a stalemate.

Macmillan's fervent desire to execute his plan with or without Greek and NATO support was augmented by the collapse of the Baghdad Pact and by events in Cyprus. In July, Ankara and London became alarmed when a coup in Iraq resulted in the overthrow of the pro-British government and the coming to power of a neutralist regime. The Cabinet observed that Turkey was surrounded by neutral states, while the British policy to defend Western interests in the region had failed.<sup>101</sup> Within weeks, Washington was forced to take the initiative to stabilise the Middle East from further defections.<sup>102</sup> In fact in August, Britain was negotiating the terms that would have given America 400 acres to install and operate in Cyprus a 500-kilowatt transmitter to relay Voice of America programmes to Middle East countries.<sup>103</sup> Then in October, Cyprus flared-up when a British sergeant's wife was murdered and though Grivas denied liability, rage against

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95 D.S. Bitsios (1975) *Cyprus: The Vulnerable Republic*, Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, p. 78. Bitsios was a career diplomat, at the time Head of the Cyprus Desk in the Foreign Ministry in Athens, and later Greece's permanent representative to the UN. Castle told this to Karamanlis in Bitsios' presence. See also, B. Castle (1993) *Fighting all the Way*, London: Macmillan, pp. 289-310; and Makarios' interview with Stephen Barber, 'My Plan Would Rule Out Enosis', *News Chronicle*, 21 October 1958.

96 Spaak, *The Continuing Battle*, pp. 291-292.

97 *Ibid.*, pp. 292-293; Bitsios, *The Vulnerable Republic*, p. 83.

98 Spaak, *The Continuing Battle*, pp. 294-295.

99 Bitsios, *The Vulnerable Republic*, p. 89; Karamanlis to Spaak, 4 October 1958, *The Continuing Battle*, p. 298.

100 *Discussion on Cyprus in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation September - October 1958*, Cmnd. 566, HMSO, London, 1958.

101 CAB 128/32, C. C. 55(58), 14 July 1958; After the Iraqi coup an Anglo-American operation from Cyprus was launched to protect Jordan. CAB 128/32, C. C. 59(58), 16 July 1958. Stephens reasons that the Iraqi coup convinced Britain that Greco-Turkish reconciliation over Cyprus was needed, but no evidence suggests this. Stephens, *A Place of Arms*, p. 158.

102 CAB 128/32, C. C. 65(58)3, 29 July 1958.

103 CAB 129/94, C(58)173, annexes, 26 August 1958. The US requested this in November 1957, while they rejected a tri-condominium. The land was in Paphos outside the planned enclaves.



EOKA ensued.<sup>104</sup> Lennox-Boyd then summed up Whitehall's evaluation of the Cyprus question at the 9 October Conservative Party Conference at Blackpool. He labelled Cyprus a British "fortress colony" and a Turkish island, since it was "600 miles from Athens and only 40 miles from Turkey".<sup>105</sup> Turkey was besieged by foes, he claimed, so Cyprus had to stay in "strong hands", so he reaffirmed that the "Partnership Plan" would be implemented – with or without Athens.<sup>106</sup>

Then there was a sudden and unexpected development. In November the Cyprus question was once again debated in the UN – as had been the case since 1954 – and the three sides, Britain, Greece and Turkey trudged along, as usual the aim being to obtain the upper hand against each other. On the surface the debate revealed a hardening of Anglo-Turkish attitudes, but beneath the surface the seed of a settlement was planted. Britain aimed to have the UN endorse Macmillan's "Partnership Plan", while Turkey, led by Foreign Minister Fatin Zorlu, tried to have the Turkish Cypriot right to self-determination recognised.<sup>107</sup> Greece wanted to upset the British and Turkish schemes, and to argue for independence.<sup>108</sup> Averoff succeeded in discrediting the British and Turkish plans, but could not obtain UN support for independence because of an Anglo-Turkish threat of civil war in Cyprus.<sup>109</sup> Yet, before the General Assembly session finished on 6 December Zorlu privately told Averoff that Turkey would accept independence and that they should meet and discuss the matter further.<sup>110</sup> Within three months Athens and Ankara had reached a settlement!

The immediate question arises, who was behind the Turkish move? Was London behind Turkey's shift or was it in the dark? Zorlu does not indicate outside involvement and there is nothing to say that the initiative was not a Turkish one. Observers have argued that EOKA strength and Britain's "decision" in 1957 to "relinquish" Cyprus for bases meant that Britain endorsed the Greco-Turkish talks.<sup>111</sup> Foot attributes a British source for starting the dialogue.<sup>112</sup>

104 Grivas, *Memoirs*, p. 169; for the public backlash, Carruthers, 'EOKA and the Struggle for Enosis in Cyprus', p. 230. The woman's daughter testified that the killer was blonde, but the media overlooked this, as Holland points out because it is rare to find a blonde Cypriot. Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, pp. 286-287.

105 "Imperium et Libertas", Alan Lennox-Boyd speech, 9 October 1958, *British Imperial Policy and Decolonisation, 1938-64*, II, 1951-1964, A.N. Porter and A.J. Stockwell, New York 1989, Document 74, 494. To illustrate his point Lennox-Boyd compared Cyprus with Athens and the Turkish mainland, and not Cyprus and Ankara and Cyprus and Athens because they have similar distances.

106 *Ibid.*, p. 496.

107 Bitsios, *The Vulnerable Republic*, p. 92.

108 *Ibid.*

109 Averoff-Tossizza, *Lost Opportunities*, pp. 278-279, 285. Before the British and Turkish threats, ten states supported Cypriot independence and the two-thirds majority needed seemed possible.

110 *Ibid.*, pp. 295-298.

111 Panteli, *A New History of Cyprus*, pp. 309-323; Ierodiakonou, *The Cyprus Question*, pp. 214-219.

112 Foot, *A Start in Freedom*, pp. 176-177. Foot's claim that the British ambassador to the UN, Pierson Dixon arranged the Averoff-Zorlu meeting does not mean that it can be assumed that he hinted that Britain would accept independence.

Lately it was alleged that an Anglo-American initiative forced Turkey's hand.<sup>113</sup> This article does not have the space to explore American involvement,<sup>114</sup> but will focus on the Macmillan government's stance on Cypriot independence and the Greco-Turkish talks.

Macmillan's government did not embrace the Greco-Turkish talks or the idea of independence, yet it never revealed this publicly.<sup>115</sup> In November, Commander Allan Noble, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs since 1956, had warned the UN that it would be dangerous "to endorse independence now, [or] even as a long term prospect".<sup>116</sup> But on 8 December, Foot sent a strongly formulated evaluation of the situation, arguing again for Makarios' return to Nicosia, but also for independence "as surely the right answer".<sup>117</sup> Two days later, however, Macmillan reiterated that the "Partnership Plan" would be implemented.<sup>118</sup> But within a week, Averoff and Zorlu continued their secret talks in Paris during the annual ministerial NATO gathering. When the other foreign secretaries realised that the Greek and Turkish governments had found common ground over Cyprus, the "only one ... annoyed" was Lloyd according to Averoff.<sup>119</sup> Lloyd pondered "whether the British might be allowed to know what was being hatched up for their colony".<sup>120</sup> When Averoff and Zorlu briefed him, Lloyd became so troubled by the prospect of independence, that he secretly met Zorlu again that night. Zorlu assured Lloyd that it was "not really a form of independence", as Britain would keep sovereign bases, and Greece and Turkey would share the rest of the island.<sup>121</sup> Lloyd, thinking of a bi-condominium concept outside the British areas, was shocked when told two days later that "Cyprus would be absolutely independent" and "parried out protestations", but to no avail.<sup>122</sup> He had utterly misread the situation. Hence, when he briefed the

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113 O'Malley and Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, pp. 68-73. O'Malley and Craig's thesis here lacks evidence. Indeed some of the evidence they provide assists the contrary contention offered here.

114 For US involvement see, Xydis, *Cyprus*, p. 342; it is not the purpose here to answer why Turkey changed its position.

115 This is primarily because it was Labour's policy to give Cyprus independence and elections loomed in 1959. See, Hansard, Hugh Gaitskill House of Commons, 28 October 1958, pp. 18-19. Indeed, though Gaitskill and subsequently Aneurin Bevan asked Macmillan about Makarios' independence plan, Macmillan refused to answer any questions that acknowledged its existence.

116 Baker, 'The Settlement in Cyprus', p. 244.

117 CO 926/630, Foot to Martin, 8 December 1958, quoted Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, p. 292.

118 Hansard, House of Commons, 10 December 1958, pp. 350-351. Indeed, on the day Zorlu approached Averoff, Dulles telegraphed Athens and London, reiterating that the US supported the 'Partnership' plan, failing to mention Zorlu's approach to Averoff, or independence. Department of State, Dulles telegram, 5 December 1958/47C. 00/12-558, University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Bound Photocopies, United States Department of State Records, Washington.

119 Averoff-Tossizza, *Lost Opportunities*, p. 312.

120 *Ibid.*, pp. 311-312.

121 CO 926/630/622, 11:15pm, record of a meeting between Lloyd and Zorlu at British embassy in Paris, 16 December 1958, O'Malley and Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, p. 72.

122 Averoff-Tossizza, *Lost Opportunities*, p. 316.

Cabinet on the Greco-Turkish rapprochement, he omitted to mention the independence talks.<sup>123</sup> Moreover, when Averoff asked London to publicly endorse Cypriot independence, Lloyd did not ask the Cabinet for its views on independence and therefore could not oblige Averoff.<sup>124</sup> Claude Nicolet recently claimed that London blessed the Greco-Turkish independence negotiations;<sup>125</sup> but it did not. Lloyd did not seek Cabinet approval, for the decision to “decolonise” Cyprus had already been made, and London had not made it.

For Macmillan's government, independence meant relinquishing British sovereignty over Cyprus. Warned by the military of the importance of keeping control of any government outside the enclaves, the aversion was understandable. It would not have sat well with the Conservative leadership to find Makarios, dubbed the “arch-terrorist” by the British media,<sup>126</sup> heading a Cypriot government. The fact that Cyprus had a strong Communist Party in AKEL (Progressive Party of the Working People) complicated matters further.<sup>127</sup> With British authority now usurped after the Greco-Turkish decision, Macmillan's response was swift and calculating. British authority needed reasserting and the ground gained politically, in forcing the Greek side into a corner with the “Partnership Plan”, had to be maintained. So against Washington's advice,<sup>128</sup> Macmillan's government embarked on a new military offensive to eradicate EOKA and execute the “Partnership Plan” (now with no partners at all!). This was no “blunder”,<sup>129</sup> the Macmillan government knew what it was doing and why: it wanted to show that they were the masters in Cyprus. Considering that Greece and Turkey had been at loggerheads over Cyprus for so long, there was no reason to believe that they would come to an agreement now. Even if they did, with a successful winter campaign against EOKA, British prestige would at least be preserved.

On Christmas Eve, Grivas declared a cease-fire after Foot released 527 EOKA detainees<sup>130</sup> in order to create an atmosphere of peace for the negotiations, but on Boxing Day, Macmillan demanded that British forces “continue to prosecute the anti-terrorist campaign with the greatest determination”.<sup>131</sup> Military operations against EOKA escalated, but Foot refused London's directive to re-arrest former EOKA detainees, and asked that the publishing of bills concerning the “Partnership Plan” cease.<sup>132</sup> London refused Foot's request, but was overruled by Zorlu when he informed Whitehall that a Greco-Turkish settlement was close.<sup>133</sup> Foot resisted Macmillan's

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123 CAB 128/32, C.C. 86(58)1, 18 December 1958.

124 Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, pp. 299-300; CAB 128/32, C.C. 87(58)2, 23 December 1958.

125 Nicolet, *United States Policy Towards Cyprus*, p. 135.

126 *Daily Express*, 27 August 1956.

127 TW. Adams (1971) *AKEL the Communist Party of Cyprus*, Stanford, California: Hoover Institute Press.

128 Nicolet, *United States Policy Towards Cyprus*, p. 135.

129 *Ibid.*

130 Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, p. 301.

131 Grivas-Dighenis, *Memoirs*, p. 184; CO 926/938, Macmillan to Lennox-Boyd, 26 December 1957.

132 Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, p. 301.

133 *Ibid.*, p. 302.

subsequent pressure to reverse this and implement the “Partnership Plan”.<sup>134</sup> Thus, instead of pacifying the island and reconciling the two communities to encourage the Greco-Turkish talks, Macmillan escalated the conflict. The Turkish Ambassador to London, Muharrem Nuri Birgi opined to the US Consul in Greece that he was unsure whether the British actually wanted a settlement.<sup>135</sup> Even the British Labour Party warned the Conservative government on 13 January that if it was “genuinely anxious ... that talks should be successful, it has the responsibility of creating a helpful atmosphere in Cyprus”.<sup>136</sup> But four days later, Macmillan’s government warned Washington to “refrain from becoming involved” in the Greco-Turkish talks and to order Spaak to do likewise.<sup>137</sup> The violence came to the fore in Cyprus on 24 January when a schoolteacher from Agros village was arrested and a woman seriously injured in the process. One historian reveals that General Darling, who was in charge of military operations against EOKA, “personally flew incognito over the town (sic) dropping tear-gas!”<sup>138</sup> These unprovoked acts prompted Averoff to inform the Consul of the US Embassy in Greece on 31 January that both he and Zorlu feared that the British escalation of violence at a time when all the other parties were working towards a solution would sabotage the chances of success.<sup>139</sup>

Nevertheless, the prevailing winds could not be stifled. By promoting a Greco-Turkish conflict and in conceding to accept bases in Cyprus, Macmillan’s government had implied a will to “relinquish” the island – while never offering to – if Athens and Ankara would agree to a solution. Thus, when the Greek and Turkish governments signed the Zurich Accords in February 1959, ruling out both *enosis* and partition and establishing an independent state, Britain could not refuse to sign.<sup>140</sup> When Averoff and Zorlu flew to London to explain the settlement, Macmillan was recorded as saying to Selwyn Lloyd: “this is getting interesting ... [but] we only need our Gibraltar’s”.<sup>141</sup> Clearly, despite the change of policy, there had been a reluctance and even an attempted sabotage of the independence negotiations, meaning that the Conservatives did not, and – if they had their way – would not, have relinquished total British sovereignty over Cyprus. Indeed, how can it be said that Cyprus was “decolonised” when it was two foreign states that decided to grant it independence, while the colonial power sought to oppose it?

A further eighteen months passed, however, after the signing of the agreements, before Cyprus

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134 *Ibid.*

135 Samuel Berger, Counsel of the US Embassy in Greece to Dulles, University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Bound Photocopies, United States Department of State Records, Washington.

136 Walworth Barbour, US Deputy Chief of Mission to London, to Dulles, 14 January 1959, No. 3631, 747c.00/1-1459, *ibid.*

137 *Ibid.*, 17 January 1959, No. 3704, 747c.00/1-1759, Secret.

138 Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus*, p. 306.

139 Samuel Berger, Counsel of the US Embassy in Greece to Dulles, Secretary of State, 31 January 1959, *FRUS, 1958-1960: Eastern Europe Region; Soviet Union; Cyprus*, X, pp. 764-766.

140 See, CAB 129/96, C(59)25, 16 February 1959. It is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss the constitution.

141 A. Horne (1989) *Macmillan, 1957-1986*, II, London: Macmillan, p. 691.

finally became independent from British rule.<sup>142</sup> It is not an issue of this time period being too long: indeed it was probably too soon given the groundwork required to establish peace, trust and understanding of the constitution, and proper demilitarisation of the paramilitary groups in Cyprus. The issue is that the eighteen-months were a delay according to the agreed schedule, which stipulated that the hand-over of power should happen in February 1960 (instead, Cyprus became independent in August).

The delay was chiefly caused by wrangling over the size of the British Sovereign Base Areas – territory that also questions the view that Britain “relinquished” Cyprus, since there is still a British presence on the island.<sup>143</sup> At the time, Macmillan’s government fostered a perception that Makarios’ “Byzantine” negotiating methods were completely to blame for the delay.<sup>144</sup> Conservative MPs constantly made their anger felt that “just as agreement is about to be concluded some new factor is brought in by them (the Greek Cypriots)”.<sup>145</sup> With a strain of impatience, one MP clamoured:

... the time has come when we should say to Archbishop Makarios and to Cyprus, “if you push us too far we shall chuck in our hand and go”.<sup>146</sup>

Somehow this seemed unlikely, but that was mild compared to the views of the Conservative F.M. Bennett, who refused even to mention Makarios by name or title, as he explained the reasons for the delay:

One has only to look at the map to see the size of the White Paper to realise that the delay arose ... largely because we have been bargaining with someone who indeed would do well in any form of huckstering about the price of any article in any and all parts of the world wherever he might choose to exercise his abilities. It has been a question of a little bit taken out of the base, a little enclave fitted in, an argument about this, an argument about that ... We have only to remember this to realise that these delays have taken place not because of any intransigence on the part of Her Majesty’s Government but because we have been dealing with someone of whom one has almost thought from time to time that he enjoys bargaining for bargaining’s sake.<sup>147</sup>

The view that Makarios was solely to blame for delaying the negotiations over the bases has remained unchallenged until now. In Macmillan’s July 1957 memorandum (discussed earlier) a

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142 See Faustmann, *Divide and Quit?*

143 The other reason for the delay was the trouble British authorities had stopping the Turks smuggling arms into Cyprus and to get EOKA to relinquish theirs. See, E. Hatzivassiliou (1993) ‘Post-Zurich Cyprus, 1959: Arms Smuggling and Confidence Building’, *Storia Delle Relazioni Internazionali*, Vol. 9, pp. 71-93.

144 Hansard, Viscount Hinchinbrooke, House of Commons, 9 May 1960, p. 25; Hansard, Healey, House of Commons, 9 May 1960, p. 26; Macmillan, *Riding the Storm*, p. 700.

145 Hansard, Mr. Wall, House of Commons, 2 June 1960, p. 1643.

146 Hansard, Sir G. Nicholson, House of Commons, 9 February 1960, p. 346.

147 Hansard, F.M. Bennett, House of Commons, 14 July 1960, pp. 1640-1641.

top-secret map, indicating the size of the enclaves Britain wanted in 1957, completely alters the historical record (see MAP II).<sup>148</sup>

The Zurich-London Agreements allowed for Britain to receive two sovereign areas, but the size and conditions of use were left to British and Cypriot representatives to determine. Julian Amery, a leader of the “Suez rebels”, negotiated the terms with Makarios and Kutchuk – by now the recognised leader of the Turkish Cypriots. The Macmillan government’s aim was to include within the areas as many of the over 100 sites that would otherwise be in the Republic of Cyprus.<sup>149</sup> Initially, London privately considered that 170 square miles – 5% of Cyprus – was needed, but proposed instead 152 square miles.<sup>150</sup> This was a staggering request, as the enclaves determined in July 1957 (see MAP II) did not amount to half this.<sup>151</sup> Makarios’ concern was the number of Cypriots living in what would be British territory, and after his initial offer of 36 square miles, proposed 93 square miles: Macmillan’s government flatly rejected this, although it was forty times Gibraltar’s size.<sup>152</sup> To appease Makarios, Britain reduced its demand to 122 square miles: a further reduction was considered a “sacrifice of ‘elbow room’” and was discounted.<sup>153</sup> Labour criticised the delay, the value of the bases and their size – Francis Noel-Baker correctly retorted that Malta was 122 square miles.<sup>154</sup> Another MP pointed out that the installations covered twelve square miles and although it was recognised that room to manoeuvre was required, asking for almost ten times the area covered by the installations was a bit rich.<sup>155</sup> Even the US Ambassador to London condemned the British stance on the bases, but did not recommend any public statements to such an affect for fear of Makarios stalling further.<sup>156</sup> Nevertheless, on 1 July – three months after Kutchuk offered the compromise of 100 square miles – agreement was reached on 99 square miles (see MAP III).<sup>157</sup> Thus the eighteen-month delay was essentially due to London’s efforts to retain a larger slice of the cake than they had wanted in July 1957 when an independent Cyprus was not foreseen and smaller sovereign territory was acceptable.

Although Macmillan’s government failed to prevent the creation of an independent Cypriot state, it was the real victor in 1960. A Cypriot state was born, but Greek and Turkish Cypriot elites destroyed it in December 1963 when their competing desires for *enosis* and partition respectively

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148 CAB 129/88, C(57)161, 9 July 1957.

149 Hansard, Selwyn Lloyd, House of Commons, 1 February 1960, pp. 637-638.

150 CAB 129/100, C(60)44, 7 March 1960.

151 CAB 129/88, C(57)178, 26 July 1957.

152 Hansard, House of Commons, 1 February 1960, p. 637; and CAB 129/100, C(60)44, 7 March 1960.

153 CAB 129/100, C(60)44, 7 March 1960.

154 Hansard, Francis Noel-Baker House of Commons, 9 February 1960, pp. 331-333. Of particular interest are the questions put to the Conservative Government by Emrys Hughes, see, Hansard, House of Commons, 9 February 1960, pp. 341-344; Also see the long debate, Hansard, House of Commons, 14 July 1960, pp. 1613-1740 and 19 July 1960, pp. 377-446.

155 Hansard, Jeremy Thorpe, House of Commons, 9 February 1960, pp. 348-349.

156 Nicolet, *United States Policy Towards Cyprus*, p. 146.

157 Hansard, House of Commons, 6 April 1960, pp. 391-392; Hansard, House of Commons, 4 July 1960, p. 31.

collided into open civil war between the various Greek Cypriot paramilitary groups and TMT.<sup>158</sup> In 1960 two territories under British sovereignty within this state – the BSBA of Akrotiri-Episkopi and Dhekelia (see MAP IV and MAP V) were also established and maintained despite the violent 1960s and the 1974 coup against Makarios by the Greek Junta at its supporters in Cyprus and the subsequent Turkish invasion. The bases were not leased – despite popular Greek Cypriot notions that they were, and the British government is under no obligation to relinquish them. Although these enclaves are military bases they contain British run hospitals, schools, churches, police and fire departments, golf, tennis, cricket, rugby, boating, sailing, motorcycle, gun, go-kart, and saddle clubs, cinemas, and theatres; in essence they have the appearance of an operative civic society – “little colonies”.<sup>159</sup>

Britain also kept the unfettered control of thirty-one sites and installations scattered across the territory of the Republic, although the figure required in 1957 was eleven.<sup>160</sup> British personnel would guard these sites, but outside of them, the onus was on Cypriot authorities to provide security against any interference, including restricting the movement of vehicles and Cypriot citizens around them.<sup>161</sup> British authorities also had unrestricted use of roads and ports within the Republic, and Cypriot airspace without the need for permission. American installations, primarily sensitive communication facilities, were also safeguarded by the agreements and agreed to by Makarios in January 1960.<sup>162</sup>

There can be little doubt of Cyprus' military value to Britain and to the West, as in the case of the First Gulf War when some 10,000 sorties were launched from the island.<sup>163</sup> O'Malley and Craig also point out that the 1960 agreements were geared to protect the “sophisticated electronic listening equipment, which fed – and still feeds – a constant flow of top secret information to Britain and America”.<sup>164</sup>

158 A. Varnava and C. Yakinthou (forthcoming 2010) ‘Cyprus: Political Modernity and Structures of Democracy in a Divided Island’ in F. Hendriks, A. Lidstrom and J. Loughlin (eds.), *Handbook on Subnational Democracy in Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

159 *Cyprus District Map of Akrotiri, Scale 1: 10,000, Akrotiri and Environs*, Directorate of Survey, Near East, 1968; *Cyprus Town Plans, Episkopi Cantonment*, Directorate of Survey, Ministry of Defence, United Kingdom, 1958; Lieut-Colonel J.D. Edgar (1955) ‘Cyprus’, *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, pp. 73-81, 79.

160 The number reduces to eleven since two of the sites originally proposed to be outside the enclaves were included in the Dhekelia base (hence its peculiar shape and substantially larger size from that proposed in 1957). These were the SCANT transmitter site near Akhna and the road to Ayios Nikolaos containing the Army Y station, the RAF message centre and the Army ordnance depot. See, also Hansard, Julian Amery, House of Commons, 14 July 1960, pp. 1734-1735.

161 O'Malley and Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, p. 84.

162 Walworth Barbour, US Deputy Chief of Mission to London, to Dulles, 13 January 1960, *FRUS, 1958-1960*, X, pp. 806-807. O'Malley and Craig are therefore wrong when they claim that the US used their facilities without reference to the Government of Cyprus. O'Malley and Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, p. 82.

163 *The Times*, 5 July 2001, editorial, p. 17.

164 O'Malley and Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy*, p. 80.

The most controversial point, however, was the stockpiling of nuclear weapons. During the wrangling over the size of the bases a Labour MP tried to prevent the use and stockpiling of nuclear weapons on Cyprus by Britain without the consent of Nicosia. But Amery retorted that this amounted to “a key to the cupboard”.<sup>165</sup> Indeed, two years later, when the Minister of Defence was asked to give an assurance that nuclear bases would not be established in Cyprus he could not since:

For some years we have based in Cyprus ... bomber aircraft which are capable of delivering nuclear weapons ... [and] no question of seeking approval arises.<sup>166</sup>

A year later, when rumours spread that Cyprus would house nuclear rockets, the new Defence Minister did not deny them, stating that:

The essence of a sovereign base area is that we can deploy such weapons as we think fit at such time as we think fit.<sup>167</sup>

In 2000, journalist Jean Christou presented information from a newly declassified British document which prompted President (at the time) Glafkos Clerides to opine that it was possible that nuclear weapons were stationed on the island during the 1960s, triggering a stir on the island. This prompted one historian to write an article substantiating the claim from British and American government documents.<sup>168</sup> He need not have bothered: the existence of nuclear weapons was no top secret for it was made known in the House of Commons. But in the event, although the development of Cyprus as a nuclear-armed aircraft carrier made the island a hostage to a nuclear disaster, the tactical use of nuclear weapons remained impractical.

Britain maintained military sites and installations when withdrawing from other areas of its Empire, but never were these rights unfettered or in perpetuity as in Cyprus.<sup>169</sup> Nicosia has never challenged the legitimacy of the British Sovereign Base Areas, but riots in 2001, led by a local MP, Marios Matsakis, reminded the world community of their existence. It also made Tony Blair's government reassess their value, offering to relinquish some of the territory in the event of an agreement between the two communities on the island, which it did when the fifth and final version of the Annan Plan was put to a referendum in April 2004.

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165 Hansard, Emrys Hughes, House of Commons, 19 July 1960, pp. 400-402; and reply by Amery, pp. 405-406.

166 Hansard, Minister of Defence, Harold Watkinson, House of Commons, 14 February 1962, p. 163.

167 Hansard, Minister of Defence, Peter Thorneycroft, House of Commons, 27 March 1963, p. 1315.

168 C. Nicolet (2000) 'British Nuclear Weapons in Cyprus in the 1960s: The Evidence from the Archives', *Themis*, VII, pp. 373-376.

169 Britain's military presence in Iraq lasted from its independence in 1932 to the coup of 1958, though the bases were disbanded in 1955. British bases in Transjordan were leased and Britain left 10 years after Transjordan's independence in 1946. Britain's military presence lasted the longest in Egypt, from 1922 to 1956. It should be noted that Guantanamo Bay was leased to the United States; it is of no consequence that since Castro came to power no rent has been paid.



Ultimately, Macmillan's interest to preserve the British military position in Cyprus outweighed his interest in peace, because he never offered to relinquish full sovereignty over the whole island. It was during his reign that civil war broke out between the two communities: a tragedy that would have been averted had Macmillan's government actually proposed in mid-1957 to relinquish sovereignty over the territory outside the enclaves instead of insisting on the tri-condominium scheme. But it did not intend to do so even in 1959 when the decision was taken by Athens and Ankara.

When it is considered that Cyprus is the only independent state in the world to have a foreign state own territory within its geographic borders, then the question of Britain "relinquishing" Cyprus let alone "decolonising" the island is disputable. The granting of "independence" to Cyprus in 1960 and the tragic events since have overshadowed the fact that to obtain "freedom" the Cypriots had to cede 99 square miles of territory to Britain. At the time Liberal MP Jeremy Thorpe pointedly noted:

... the cession of sovereignty is a very high price for a small nation to have to pay in order to obtain independence. We have never asked any part of our Colonial Empire to pay such a price.<sup>170</sup>

In late 1958 Barbara Castle, Chairman of the British Labour Party, summed up the Macmillan government's Cyprus legacy most aptly. As she sat drinking local wine in an idyllic Cypriot open-air tavern "in the dappled sunshine of the lemon trees ... [she mused at] what a tragedy it was, that this predominantly Greek island with its little villages in the hills, where one ate black olives and drank the rather strong, resinous wine, had become the pawn of hard, militaristic, international politics".<sup>171</sup>

It is evident that Macmillan's government wanted to retain sovereign rights over all of Cyprus through 1) small pockets of territory under exclusive British sovereignty and 2) through sharing sovereignty and government of the rest of the island in a tri-condominium with Greece and Turkey. This is the first article to demonstrate that the reasons for this British policy was that the government wanted to station nuclear weapons on the island in pursuit of the aims of the Baghdad Pact and that the military advisers convinced the government that a government in Cyprus (especially one under Makarios) which may challenge the stationing of nuclear weapons would threaten the policy. Macmillan's government continued to position Britain between Greece and Turkey, making out that the Cyprus conflict was a Greco-Turkish problem, and that the issue for his government was securing its strategic interests. By doing this, however, Macmillan's government did not take into account that the Greek and Turkish governments might come to an agreement on Cyprus, and since all that Macmillan's government made out it was concerned about was its strategic interests, these, both Athens and Ankara thought, could be secured in areas under

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170 Hansard, House of Commons, 9 February 1960, p. 347.

171 Castle, *Fighting all the Way*, pp. 299-300.

exclusive British sovereignty. Despite its reluctance, in the end, Macmillan's government thought it not a bad thing to wash its hands of governing Cyprus and was content with small territory under its exclusive sovereignty, which meant areas where they could exercise unfettered control. But this did mean that Macmillan's government now wanted much more land under its exclusive sovereignty. So, instead of preparing Cyprus for its transition to independent republic by laying down the structures for the establishment of security and democracy, by insisting on the breaking up of the terrorist groups (EOKA and TMT) and ensuring that both communities understood the reasons behind the consociational system (namely the protection of the minority against any potential tyranny from the majority),<sup>172</sup> Macmillan's government was focused on extracting larger sovereign military bases than they had themselves considered suitable in 1957.

## MAP I

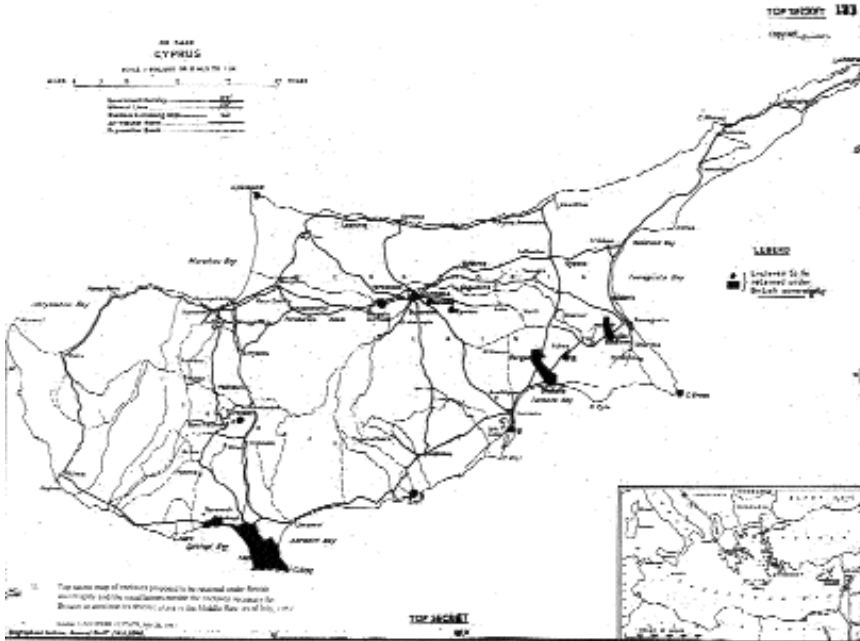


1. Map showing Cyprus' position in the east Mediterranean and the distance between Cyprus and various places.

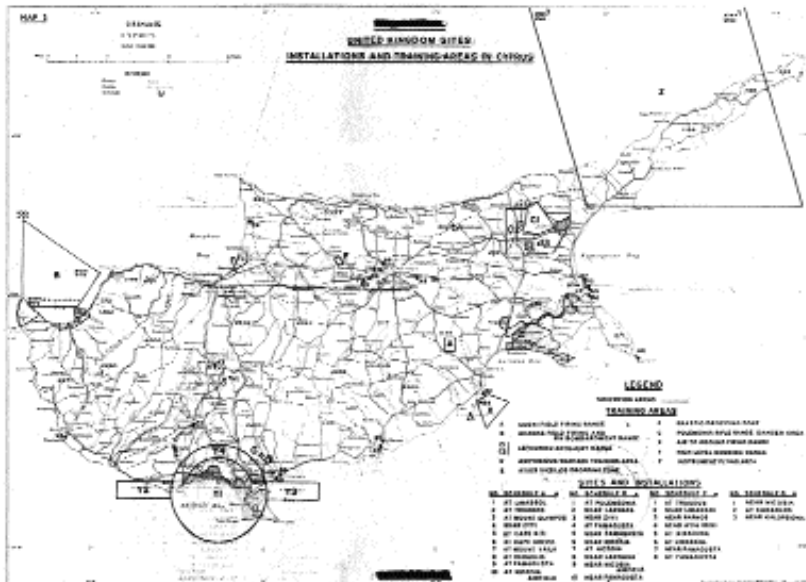
Source: Istanbul University, School of Geography and Environmental Science.

<sup>172</sup> Varnava and Yakinthou, 'Cyprus: Political Modernity and Structures of Democracy in a Divided Island'.

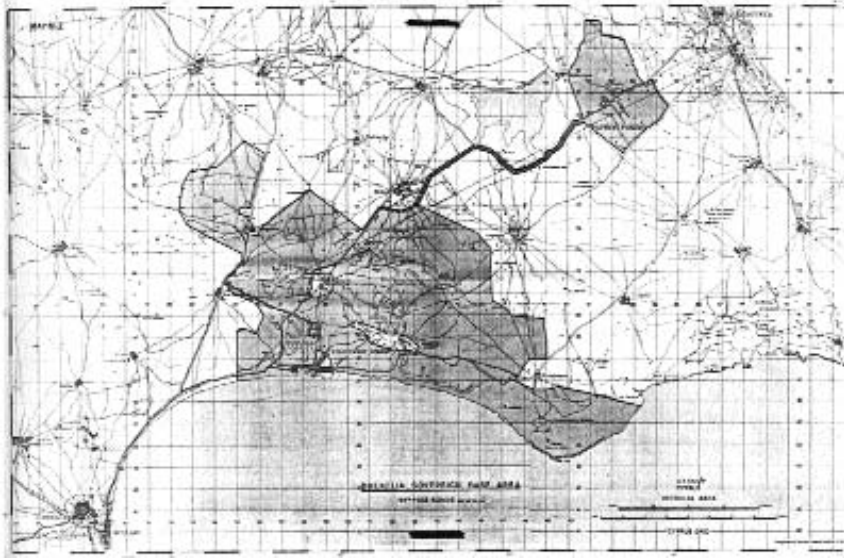
MAP II



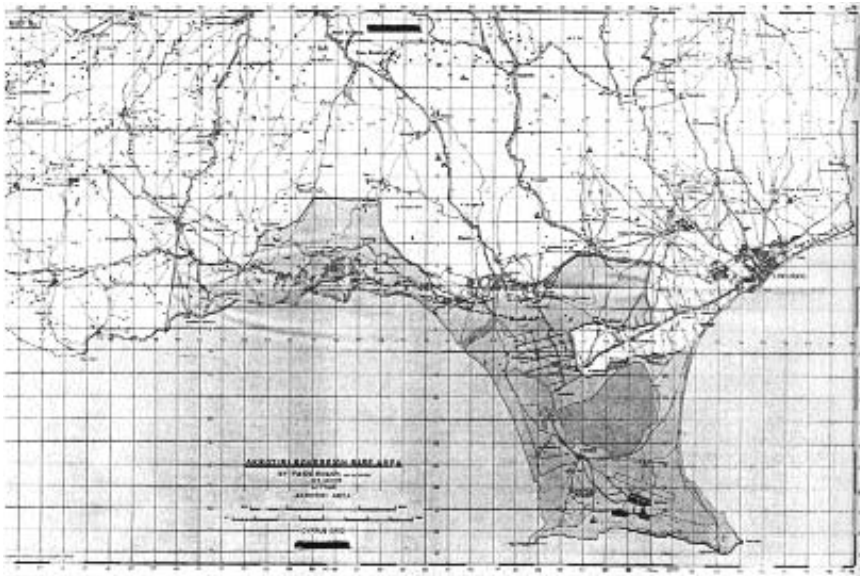
MAP III



MAP IV



MAP V



# Cyprus as EU-Location for Asset-Protection

HANS RUEDIGER KAUFMANN, MARIOS CHRISTOU,  
CHRISTOPHOROS CHRISTOPHOROU

## Abstract

*The purpose of this paper is to provide a framework to develop a competitive advantage of the financial market of Cyprus interrelating political, historical, legal and economic aspects. As the current era of globalisation implies intense international competition for attracting financial resources, the discussion has been positioned in the context of competitive advantage. The research intends to provide authorities and all stakeholders involved with a comprehensive pool of internal and external competitive elements reflected in a holistic framework synthesising country, industry and company perspectives. Whereas current literature refers more to individual and scattered elements of competitive advantage a coherent view is very seldom applied. No such study on comprehensive factors of competitive advantage of the Financial Centre of Cyprus has been provided so far. The paper qualitatively validates a model applied for another successful financial market, Liechtenstein, to analyse its applicability to the Cyprus case. Against the background of the global financial crisis and the still existing Cyprus problem, the paper pays special attention to the security aspect penetrating all factors of the model. The paper intends to provide a holistic view on the factors of competitive advantage of the Financial Centre of Cyprus.*

**Keywords:** Private Banking, Competitive Advantage, Financial Centres, Cyprus

## Introduction

Cyprus is not only acknowledged as a popular tourism destination in the most south eastern part of Europe but it is also renowned as an attractive real estate market, a holding location, and an international financial centre which represents a strategically important bridgehead to three continents. Incorporating the results of qualitative research, a detailed description of factors of competitive advantage follows, highlighting security aspects that refer to: the role of the government, especially in regard to its tax policy and coordinating role; factor and demand conditions; the banking and financial services system; the impact of related and supporting branches; and suggestions for further concerted strategies. Finally, in conclusion, the key findings are summarised and some possible future scenarios are briefly envisaged.

### Factors of Competitive Advantage Related to the Security Aspects

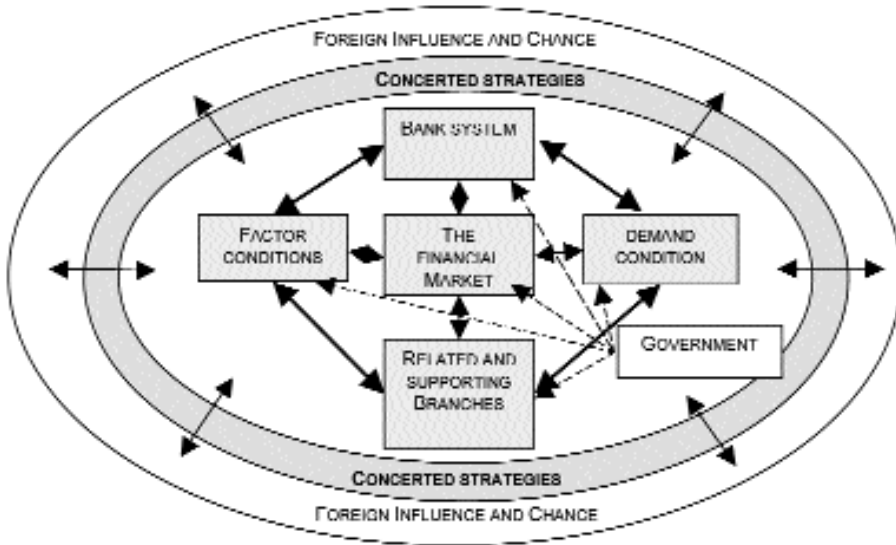
In times of a global economic and financial crisis the protection of property, private equity and the well established legal, accounting and audit, banking and communications' sectors of Cyprus, coupled with the social and politically safe environments, have contributed to the spread of the Cyprus offshore business sector. However, in the wave of the current global economic crisis, the basic economic data referring to the government controlled area of Cyprus (mainly based on the Economist Intelligence Unit, 2009) still compare well with European average figures although they are becoming gloomier. Hence, efforts should be undertaken to soften the blow of the global crisis on the Cyprus economy. For 2009-2010 the budget balance is expected to be in deficit, mainly due to higher levels of social spending, a decreasing fiscal discipline and a substantial reduction of government's income from taxation. For the first time since 1978 the Cyprus economy went into a recession (negative GDP). Inflation is predicted to increase by 0.8% in 2009 rising to 1.8% in 2010. The current account deficit is expected to sharply decline from 18.3% in 2008 to 8.5% of GDP in 2009 due to decreasing consumer and import demand and declining rates of commodity prices offsetting the weak export performance. Summarising, the Cyprus economy, especially its pillars, tourism, construction and financial services might be negatively affected in future years by an expected sharp downturn of the economy of three of its major trading partners: UK, Greece and Russia. This situation is also strongly influenced by the development of the exchange rates of the US dollar and sterling pound against the euro. The necessity to take security aspects into consideration is also reflected in that a state guarantee on deposits of up to €100,000 had to be announced by the government and Central Bank of Cyprus to assure depositors of the health of the Greek Cypriot banking system.

In the eyes of foreign investors particularly, the still existing 'Cyprus problem' could detrimentally influence the trust on the security of financial assets invested in Cyprus. Notwithstanding strong international pressures, progress, in terms of settlement, is perceived to be very slow. The chance for a solution during the period 2009-2010 has been estimated to be 40% (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2009).

To précis, the perceived security of financial assets invested in Cyprus can be regarded as the *conditio sine qua non* to develop a competitive advantage for the Cyprus financial market.

The model of Romero and Kaufmann (2006) is used as a conceptual basis to describe the factors of competitive advantage of the Cyprus financial market and, implicitly, the influential factors for asset security (figure 1).

Figure 1: Determinants of Competition



Source: Developed from Sele (1995) and Porter (1980)

The model has been developed from Sele (1995) who adjusted Porter's (1980) model of generic determinants of competition to specifically fit the idiosyncratic factors to a financial market by adding the financial market as a nucleus and replacing the firm strategy, structure and rivalry by the banking system.

### Methodology

Contradictory to Porter (1980), the authors, in line with Sele, regard the government as an independent determinant of competition. This is due to the immediate and, often crucial and long-lasting effects that governmental interference, i.e. in terms of legislation, policy of competition, finance and tax policy, labour market, immigration policy or education, has on matters relating to the financial market.

Based on qualitative research, Romero and Kaufmann (2006) expanded the model investigating the relevance of fiscal systems as a determinant of competitive advantage. The main research aim was to gain insight into the phenomena which influence the competitiveness of Cyprus as a financial service centre. The research objective was to validate the model 'Determinants of Competition' which was developed from Romero and Kaufmann (2006) for the Liechtenstein case by qualitative research on the basis of Sele (1995) and Porter (1980), hence,

contributing to assess the reliability of the model. The researchers were especially interested in verifying the role of the government as an independent determinant of competition.

The research method of a case study was chosen due to the unique characteristics of the Cyprus setting. Moreover, the case study method and the research technique of in-depth semi-structured expert interviews allowed the identification and understanding of interplay (rather than comparing the statements of the interviewees) between the various actors involved (strategic and operational decision makers) and the collation of rich and detailed data (purposive sampling). The model mentioned earlier was also used as a basis for categorising the data.

Typically, qualitative research is concerned with small samples, and the decision on the adequate sample size to achieve the research objective is a function of judgement and experience of the researchers (Sandelowski, 1995). The view of Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007, p. 240) – referring to Connolly – was followed for this research stating that “qualitative researchers typically do not make inferences about the underlying population but to obtain insights into particular educational, social and familial processes and practices that exist within a specific location and context” (Connolly, 1998).

The following assessment of Cyprus is based on Christophorou (2007) who conducted nine face to face in-depth expert interviews with respondents involved in offshore banking, namely, senior bank managers, government tax experts, and representatives of the private sector on the factors of competitive advantage for the Cyprus Financial Centre.

The high level of expert knowledge and professional standing of the interviewees enhanced the validity of the research findings. The results of this exploratory research are integrated but further validation and triangulation is suggested by quantitative research studies. For the sake of completeness, the development of the property and private equity sectors has also been included in this paper. Generally, the majority of the respondents (five interviewees) see a bright future for the Cyprus Financial Centre based on distinct factors of competitive advantage. The interviews imply, however, that certain areas require future concerted efforts and improvement.

## **Government**

The role of the government in relation to the financial centre is suggested to be one of a catalyst or referee. In this respect, Silvani (2005, in Romero and Kaufmann, 2006) appeals to the government to be more pro-active if it is to be serious about conserving its autonomy of acting and its *raison d'être* against the backdrop of increasing pressure by international organisations and competitors. Providing a catalytic infrastructure refers to the transparency, simplicity and competitiveness of the tax system, providing forums for discussion and international networking, and introducing special purpose companies, reflecting a long-term commitment to the financial sector, negotiating double taxation or other agreements especially for the trade with brands, licences and patents and supporting education, training and research in the field of banking and its support services.



## Tax Conditions

Tax conditions which are favourable for international investment in Cyprus refer, for example, to the lowest corporate tax rate in the EU (10%), the beneficial treatment of international trusts based on the specific International Trust Law, no taxation on capital gains earned on any recognised stock exchange and an exemption of taxation for any profits and capital from re-organisation or repatriation. Moreover, any dividends and profits earned from a permanent establishment outside of Cyprus (subject to conditions) are also not taxed. Incomes and gains from a Cyprus International Trust received from sources outside of Cyprus are exempt from taxation. This might be seen as a relevant service of Family Offices, which are independent advisers and consultants for investments of wealthy families. Beyond the low corporate tax rate of 10% there are many more benefits enjoyed by holding companies, i.e. no corporate tax on dividends and other profit distributions from Cypriot or foreign companies; exemptions of tax on dividends and profits in case of 1% ownership of the company paying them; received income taxed abroad is not taxed in Cyprus (based on unilateral or bilateral treaty conditions); no taxation on dividends of non Cyprus residents, shareholders, individuals or corporations received from Cypriot companies; no minimum withholding period; withholding tax exemption of dividends received from subsidiaries abroad (under certain conditions); exemptions of non resident shareholders from any withholding taxes on outward dividends (Philippides, 2006, quoted by Marray, 2006), and VAT exemption (subject to conditions). In addition, based on the double taxation agreements (DTAs) (Verbist, 2006) Cyprus companies might be used as intermediaries, licensing vehicles for the extraction of royalties between Cyprus and those countries with DTAs, so long as the royalties are not considered a Cyprus source income (Christophorou, 2007). Whereas the tax regime combined with the DTA web might be regarded as Cyprus' main competitive advantage, an improvement and clarification of the tax system might contribute to the confidence of investors and the attraction of investment funds (Tsialis, 2006). A debatable component of the tax system is also the existence of stamp duties on documents referring to assets in Cyprus (PriceWaterhouseCoopers, 2006).

According to Tsialis (2006) the Cypriot tax system entails factors and restrictions that discriminate domestic companies, who obtain dividends from companies which are established abroad. On the other hand, dividends received by a company registered in Cyprus from another company registered in Cyprus are not subjected to these restrictions. Furthermore, the tax regime has played a major role in the development of the system which has been stable and well defined and has provided competitive international rates that attracted large numbers of offshore companies to register in Cyprus and operate from the island. Between 1980 and 1995 the offshore businesses sector contributed substantially to the GDP of Cyprus, but with the start of the accession process towards full EU membership, Cyprus began to lose its tax advantages for offshore companies and many of these establishments left the island between 1995 and 2004. In the period since, the number of new establishments registering in Cyprus has declined considerably.

## Quality of Service

The Cyprus government has identified the benefits for the national economy and plans to increase the levels of diversification in its economy. It has also identified the need to strengthen the institutional framework to promote Cyprus as an entrepreneurial island. As part of this policy the Cyprus Investment Promotion Agency (CIPA) was established in 2007 by a Council of Ministers decision.

As regards the quality of the public service, contradictory statements have been encountered. Kasapis (1999) and Christou (1999) perceive that public services are efficient and operate without problems of bureaucracy. This is supported by Kochan (2006) who refers to the creation of a 'one-stop-shop', established in 2007 by the Foreign Investor Service, which allows for a company to be established or bought within one week. In practice, based on the information provided by the Registrar of Companies (12 January 2009), a company can be registered in Cyprus within three days provided an extra fee of €85 is paid otherwise the process might last approximately one month.

The government plan for expansion includes a budget for research, development and innovation which was increased in 2008 and 2009 but reduced in the 2010 budget. Nevertheless, two interviewees perceive an overemphasis on the part of the government regarding the Cyprus problem which is detrimental to other urgent challenges, for example, the creation of an international financial centre. Two of the interviewees voiced an appeal to make the tax system clearer and pointed to the possibility of chances for non-uniform decisions when individual government officers have the authority to choose which amount will be taxed, as is dispensed in some provisions of the tax laws. In effect, the absence of objectivity and the permission of subjectivity when applying the relevant provisions of the tax laws may result in future problems of implementation. Three respondents called for more intensified relationships between the government and the private sector in relation to the orientation or culture towards the private sector. On the whole, the impression from the interviews endorsed the view that the private sector would prefer greater involvement in the decision-making process concerning the financial centre plus a better consideration of their specific needs.

## Factor Conditions

### *Inherited Factors*

According to Porter (1980) the factor conditions have to be differentiated between inherited and newly created factors of production. 'Inherited' factors refer, for example, to capital, human resources or land. Newly created factors refer to know-how, infrastructure, networks or corporate culture. The newly created factors are mostly regarded as being more influential for developing the competitive advantage, but the inherited geographical situation has a strong bearing on the success of an offshore financial centre. Many offshore financial centres are either islands or peripherally

situated (Sele, 1995). From a strategic viewpoint, Cyprus is ideally located as a stepping stone between the Middle East, Europe, Africa and Asia representing the most south-eastern outpost of the EU. Hence, the location predestines Cyprus as an international investment and business turntable (Kasapis, 1999; Tsialis, 2006; Phylactis, 1995; Roussakis and Bisha, 2006; Lilikas, 2006; PriceWaterhouseCoopers, 2006; Kochan, 2006). Cyprus' investors can also benefit from the time zone which allows for transaction dealings in Japan during the day as well as in North-America in the afternoon (Kasapis, 1999; Phylactis, 1995; Roussakis and Bisha, 2006). The majority of the Cypriot interviewees regard the geographic position of Cyprus as an advantage, whilst three respondents perceive its importance to be decreasing due to advanced telecommunications technology.

### *Communications*

To compensate for a potential disadvantage of lack of accessibility, it is vital that international financial centres offer both excellent telecommunications services and easy physical access (Bornscheuer, 1999; Sele, 1995). The island's telecommunication system is regarded as one of the most developed in the world and the most advanced system in the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean (Ministry of Industry, Press and Information Office, 2007; Kasapis, 1999; Christou, 1999; Phylactis, 1995; Roussakis and Bisha, 2006). The respondents, in the main, confirmed the high level of quality of the current telecommunication services in Cyprus. One respondent pointed to a lack of competition in the field, and another called for an improvement of the telecommunications system. Although a globally well-developed network of air connections exists (Ministry of Industry, Press and Information Office, 2007; Kasapis, 1999; Christou, 1999; Phylactis, 1995; Roussakis and Bisha, 2006) accessibility could be significantly increased by negotiating routes with low-cost carriers in the future.

### *Manpower*

One of the most important factors is the availability of highly qualified manpower, particularly experts in the sphere of private banking, institutional wealth management, trustee business, lawyers, computer scientists, auditors and accountants. The requirement for foreign experts (Phylactis, 1995; Kasapis, 1999) in the above mentioned areas is increasing. According to the Ministry of Economics and the Ministry of Commerce (Autumn 2009) there might still be a need for highly trained, mostly managerial foreign staff although Cyprus' universities increasingly supply degree holders. New research in this field is suggested by the ministries. The majority of interviewees (seven) confirmed the generally good professional services with five, however, pointing to possible areas that require improvement: attitudes, project management, higher levels of service, cultural knowledge and teamwork. The level of bank secrecy is determined by EU membership (two interviewees) and one respondent highlighted very strict and rigid policies with

regard to the secrecy applied in international banking units, which reflects that OECD criteria are followed and applied.

The population of Cyprus is regarded to be well-educated, being bi-lingual in Greek and English (Tsalis, 2006; Roussakis and Bisha, 2006). According to Tsalis (2006), an experience and speed gap exists between the highly reputed private and the public sector. For the most part, a better infrastructure for Research and Development is suggested to increase the quality of private and public decision making, i.e. in terms of foreign investments and the origin of foreign money inflow (mentioned by three interviewees).

## **Demand Conditions**

### ***Historic Events Influence Real Estate Assets***

An important demand condition is the status of the real estate market, which in Cyprus has been influenced by historical events. Its attractive location has made it a colony of powers aiming to exercise control in the region. The most recent powers to colonise Cyprus, the Ottomans and the British, left their distinct mark on the development of the property market in Cyprus.

A combination of the land registry system of the Ottomans together with the lands survey and registry of the British left Cyprus with a unique system of accurate land registration whereby almost no inch of territory on the island was left unregistered. This explicit registration system, coupled with the protection of property rights derived from British law which applied to Cyprus during the colonial period, created a safe low-risk framework in which the property market of Cyprus could develop.

It is believed that the property ownership of the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus was created and developed during the Ottoman period which began after the siege of Nicosia in 1571 and lasted until 1878. Following the same practice that the Ottomans pursued in the ex Byzantine world, the Orthodox Church was exempted from heavy property taxes that individuals had to pay. Those who could not afford to pay the heavy taxes imposed on them faced either the death penalty or the danger of becoming slaves and working for the Ottomans in lieu of their unpaid taxes. The alternative was to donate their land to the Church and its establishments (mainly monasteries), in order to avoid punishment. In exchange, the Church would allow them to continue living in their property and use it, mainly to produce basic agricultural products to support their own living. Through this model, the Orthodox Church eventually amassed huge areas of land and other property ownership, a right of possession that it still enjoys and economically exploits today.

With such accumulated wealth, the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus has, over the past forty-five years, contributed considerably to the economic development of Cyprus. In 1973, one year before the Turkish invasion of the island, it established the Hellenic Bank; a bank that eventually became a public company and which is the third largest bank operating in Cyprus today, and which has recently commenced a modest expansion into the Greek market. In addition,

the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus is the major single shareholder of the Bank of Cyprus with a shareholding stake of approximately 4.5% (at the end of 2009). As well as bank share holdings, the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus has developed areas of the land that it owns by erecting hotel buildings and production units and these units are still rented out as property to entrepreneurs as well as to large companies. Furthermore, this activity helped the Cyprus economy to recover from the effects of the Turkish invasion, providing the necessary direct investment needed for the domestic economy.

Cyprus was a British Colony until 16 August 1960. The protection of human rights that the British applied together with the legal and regulatory framework concerning property and financial assets has remained close to the one adopted in Britain. After independence, a shake up in property use distribution (ownership remained unchanged) resulted following the developments of 1974 when Turkey invaded the northern part of Cyprus, and occupied 38% of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus ever since. More than one hundred and sixty two thousand Greek Cypriots<sup>1</sup> moved to areas still under the control of the government of the Republic of Cyprus, while around 45,000 Turkish Cypriots (PIO, 2007) moved to the north. Since then, access to property of Greek Cypriots in the occupied north has been denied by Turkey but their ownership rights have been upheld in international courts, notably in the European Court of Human Rights, in its judgement of 18 December 1996, on the individual application of the Greek Cypriot displaced owner from Kyrenia, Ms Titina Loizidou vs. Turkey; the Fourth Interstate Application of Cyprus against Turkey of 10 May 2001; and the European Court of Justice judgement of 28 April 2009 in the case of Apostolides vs. Orams.

The settlement of the Cyprus political question is still pending. The current negotiations are focusing on the creation of a federation consisting of two constituent states. It remains an open question how the property question will be dealt with and whether there would be any restrictions on the property purchase rights of non-residents of the Turkish Cypriot constituent state.

Property rights in the area under the control of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, remains well protected and secured. Cyprus property has been in high demand among European expatriates and especially British, who find the system familiar to their own social and cultural demands. Lately, the government's severe delay in issuing title deeds has become an issue for foreign buyers, although it does not seem to prevent the buying and selling of property. The attraction of property to foreigners allowed the opportunity for the development of a niche property market, addressing the needs of this specific target group of property buyers. Before the EU accession of Cyprus, the purchase of property on the island by non-nationals was difficult and regulated by a specific provision of the law that required buyers to obtain the permission of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cyprus. Even though such permission was usually granted to the vast

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1 See [<http://www.cyprus.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/C0872092FC133645C2256D6D001E9265?OpenDocument>].

majority of the applicants in the end, the process was bureaucratic and time consuming and resulted in an extra cost burden on the buyer. From the date of EU accession, the requirements of the Law, at least for EU citizens ceased to exist and consequently the demand increased. Together with falling interest rates, rising employment and strong population growth, this is another important reason why property prices increased substantially between 2005 and 2008 (Buy Sell Index of property stood at 116.2 in January 2007 closing at 143.5 in December 2008 before falling to 140.1 in March 2009). Based on information received from the Buy Sell company, the Buy Sell Home Index has been suspended as from the first quarter of 2009 in anticipation of the production of an official index by the Department of Statistics of the Republic of Cyprus. The latest internal statistics of the Ministry of Finance indicates that 2009 experienced a decrease of 44.3% in the number of sales in house contracts (8,170) compared to 2008, where the house contracts sold amounted to 14,700.

An additional factor that has generated an increase in the demand for property is, of course, derived from the extra political security that EU accession has provided to Cyprus. It can be argued that the EU accession removed a large amount of political risk implied by the Turkish occupation of the northern part, since from 1 May 2004 (date of accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the EU) the territory of the Republic of Cyprus became an EU territory (according to Protocol 10 of the Act of Accession the EU's *acquis communautaire* is "suspended" in the north).

To a large extent it can be claimed that property supply is not free of government intervention. The so called "Building zones" that determine the usage of land including the regulation of what is permissible to erect on a piece of land and its area coverage, is a direct intervention in the market. Such a market intervention and regulation can restrict the supply of land and differentiate prices on the basis of determination of which zones might be considered as being residential (and consequently of a higher value) and which might not. It is therefore possible to contend that there is a government regulated, market supply segmentation, leading to a price discrimination of privately owned property. In turn, it may be asserted that this influences property rights in determining the actual value of individual property ownership.

### ***Customer Demands***

In a comparative study on service quality in the banking industries of both northern and southern Cyprus a gap was identified between bank customer expectations and perceptions on service quality (Arasli *et al.*, 2005). The research concluded that these industries were insufficiently customer focused; a situation, which threatens the competitiveness of local banks in light of increased international competition. In line with Smid and Zwart (2002) the authors reason this deplorable state by a 'de facto cartel-like' position not requiring high levels of personalised services. The biggest expectation-perception gap within these industries refers to a lack of empathy in their customer services. Additionally, empathy, tangibles, reliability, assurance and, accordingly, all dimensions of Parasuraman *et al's* (1988) SERVQUAL model, were found to be significant

explanatory variables, albeit with differentiated values in the respective industries. As a consequence, the authors suggest intensified training programmes in terms of implementing a service culture with improved interpersonal communication and customer care.

These findings are also in line with quantitative research conducted by Golob and Podnar (2007) who investigated components of competitive advantage of firms in terms of market offerings. The authors elected to differentiate between competitive product strategies with regard to old and new member states of the European Union. With more than 20% of the total weighting, the elements regarded as most influential for competitive product strategies were quality and distribution. Other considered elements relating to differentiating strategies were innovation, variety, distribution and price. Whereas the old member states preferred quality and distribution components (31.2% compared to 23.9% of new members), new member states focused more on price and quality factors (30% compared to 14.7% of old countries). Taking into account that – due to government pressure – the three main Cypriot banks were urged to forego a planned increase in lending rates and that the current lending rates are still well above the EU average (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2009), it would appear that Cypriot banks emphasise the price factor.

### *The Development of Private Equity*

The structure of the economy of Cyprus did not allow the creation and development of large corporate establishments and the growth of any kind of financial market. The only company that developed over a period of 100 years (from 1899) was Bank of Cyprus, which was established as a small savings trust, The Nicosia Savings Trust, and developed into the largest public company of Cyprus (measured by market capitalisation). Since independence, many Cypriots have viewed Bank of Cyprus as an important banking institution that helped to develop the economy. Moreover, Bank of Cyprus has created an excellent name and gained trust among the general public, which is an important factor in attracting the savings of Cypriots as well as drawing many of them to invest in its share capital. It is estimated that approximately 35% of Cypriot households maintain some kind of participation in the share capital of Bank of Cyprus (Public Company) Limited (Christou, 2006).

After independence, a number of other public companies began to establish themselves, mainly in the banking, insurance and construction sectors, which until today remain the dominant sectors in the Cyprus Stock Exchange. Serious activity in creating a stock market in Cyprus was observed in the late 1980s and early 1990s. However, the world market problems following the crash of 1987 and the Gulf war of 1991 eased the strong momentum that had been stimulated earlier. Stock exchange meetings were organised under the umbrella of the Cyprus Chamber of Commerce and Industry and these meetings were organised three times weekly (Monday, Wednesday and Friday) which created awareness in the Cypriot population. In the second half of the 1990s the interest was high, leading the government to propose a law to the

Parliament governing the establishment and the operation of a Cyprus Stock Exchange. On 27 March 1997, the Cyprus Stock Exchange started trading officially on the basis of the legislation created. For all that it was very general and held many deficiencies which played an important part in the creation of the Cyprus stock market bubble of 1999 and 2000. Following teething problems the Parliament has since adopted very strict legislation which has created a well protected system. The Cyprus Stock Exchange currently lists 140 titles and operates with the Financial Times Index Company, the Cyprus Stock Exchange Index (GSE Index) and the FTSE/GSE-20 Index in which twenty selected company shares participate. As from 2006, a dual listing agreement has been reached with Athens Stock Exchange in an attempt to create a common platform. Nevertheless, progress made in this direction has remained below expectations. Marfin Popular Bank and Bank of Cyprus are the only two companies that have applied and have been accepted to enjoy dual listing in both Athens and Nicosia; The FTSE/XA-XAK Banking Index has been jointly created.

The vast majority of companies in Cyprus are not listed on the Cyprus Stock Exchange. The small size of the economy of Cyprus, offered an opportunity to small private businesses to expand and these enterprises are mostly registered with the Registrar of Companies as Limited Liability Companies. At the end of 2007 the number of registered companies in Cyprus totalled approximately 190,000 according to the estimates of the Office of The Registrar of Companies of the Republic of Cyprus. This number is extremely high for the small economy of Cyprus, hence in this context, the sector of private equity has been developed. It is important to stress that ownership of private equity has always been well protected.

### ***Suggestions for an Efficient Cyprus Stock Exchange***

Referring to the case study of the Cyprus Stock Exchange (CSE), Charitou and Panayides (2009) highlight the idiosyncratic market problems of emerging European Exchanges which currently consider the implementation of market making systems: low liquidity, capital supply shortage, general attitude of indifference and mistrust of both domestic and international individual and institutional investors. These factors have to be taken into account when designing an adequate market making system. The authors, Charitou and Panayides, suggest that “the emerging market’s exchange authorities inform all market participants involved of the risks and benefits of the implementation of a market making system” (*ibid.*, p. 58) based on the following decision criteria:

- “current exchange design and the costs of restructuring
- current investors’ sentiment towards the exchange, both domestically and internationally
- the market design in countries hosting the target foreign capital
- size of the emerging market” (*ibid.*, p. 57).

From the above criterion, the authors emphasise the benefits of the non-centralised market system in an order driven market (compared to the quote driven market making system and the



centralised market making system in an order-driven market). Furthermore, referring to Chan *et al.*, (2005, cited in Charitou and Panayides, 2009) the necessity is stressed to design a respective market making system in such a way that it resembles the market design of the foreign investors to be attracted. Implicit higher familiarity with market design may positively affect the investment intentions of foreign investors.

### ***The Role of the Banks***

With such a small stock market, the development of the banking sector has been an important factor in supporting the expansion of private companies by generating the funds to finance their borrowed long-term capital as well as successfully prospering in parallel and in balance with the retail and corporate sectors. This is especially apparent after the 1974 Turkish invasion when individual savings peaked following a psychological change in the savings behaviour of Cypriots (Christou, 2003) who turned to a precautionary type of investment immediately after the invasion. Through the aggregation of funds the banks accumulated the savings of individuals which provided an important resource for financing private corporate loans, and by doing so it allowed the borrowed capital of private companies to mature. Guided mainly by the instructions of the Central Bank, this in turn benefited the growth of private equity since the banks followed a policy of balanced leverage (gearing) between their own capital (private equity and reserves) and borrowed capital. This proved to be a successful model of financing the long-term borrowed capital of private companies in Cyprus (Christou, 2002), and permitted both private equity to thrive and some private companies to expand their capital base in the absence of a venture capital market in Cyprus depending on the respective business sector and the specific collateral provided by each particular company. This enabled small companies to succeed in growing to a reasonable size which afforded them the opportunity to become listed companies in the then evolving Cyprus Stock Exchange. Before turning to recent developments in the Cyprus Stock Exchange, it is worth looking briefly at the advancement of the Cyprus offshore business sector.

### ***Factoring***

During the period between 1985 and 1995 a new financial asset sector was developed known as the trade debtors sector. This sector remained well under control even before this period due to the conservative character of the Cyprus economy and its trading policy at that time. Nevertheless, a wholesale and retail trading boom in the late 1980s (as opposed to foreign trade), coupled with the introduction of a number of new facilities to the Cyprus economy (credit and debit cards etc), gave rise to businesses entering an era of overtrading. As a result, in the early 1990s the economy was brought close to crisis point with severe liquidity problems. The banking sector, however, responded to the needs of the economy and thus initiated the factoring facility for the corporate market, with the creation of factoring companies operated by the three largest local banks. This

provided the market with the necessary liquidity and an economic crisis was averted. Additionally, the introduction of factoring companies gave the Cypriot banks an opportunity to develop their know-how so that this facility could eventually be transferred through their operations in Greece. Bank of Cyprus generated the first factoring company in Greece in the mid-1990s, which gave the opportunity to Greek companies with liquidity problems to improve their liquidity position, while at the same time enjoying a competitive advantage which was one of the key components in its rapid expansion in the Greek economy. According to Factor Chain International<sup>2</sup> the total factoring turnover of the three factoring companies in Cyprus amounted to 3,255 Mio euro at the end of 2008. The rights of these kinds of creditors are well protected under Cyprus law and there have been no known cases where such rights have been violated over the past fifty years, since the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus and even prior to that, during the British colonial period. The law is extremely strict and until very recently, any failure to meet borrowing obligations resulted in bankruptcy and imprisonment, despite the slow process that such actions may take. Moreover, from 2002, the Law was amended and other liquidation procedures were introduced in its provisions including bankruptcy – the imprisonment provision was waived.

### ***Insurance***

The private insurance sector is an area that evolved mainly in the Cyprus economy in the 1970s and 1980s. Its progress was boosted by provisions in the Tax Law which offered important tax incentives for life insurance contributions at that time. These incentives were kept substantially high in the 1990s, despite the fact that their significance in the overall personal tax system had been reduced. Life insurance contributions became an important element of personal tax planning in Cyprus, particularly in the period that followed – the 1980s and 1990s. As a result, large insurance companies began to flourish in Cyprus, and in the 1990s this area became the first corporate sector to experience major mergers' and acquisitions' activities on the island (Christou, 2007). The local insurance companies became principal investors in a number of economic activities, ranging from the construction sector to tourism, private and public equity, government bonds, etc. In this respect insurance companies have contributed substantially to the developmental funding of the Cyprus economy.

An important factor that has not been examined so far is the contribution that insurance companies have made to the restructuring of the Cyprus economy. It is not easy to maintain large corporate investment and insurance funds such as Provident Funds, Pension Funds etc., in a small economy like Cyprus with small size businesses. With 96% of Cyprus businesses employing up to four people (Cyprus Statistical Office, Cystat), it is difficult to create such funds within this type of framework. As a result, insurance companies cover a vital sector in the Cyprus economy,

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2 See Factor Chain International at [[http://www.factors-chain.com/?p=ich&uli=AMGATE\\_7101-2\\_1\\_TICH\\_L470153550](http://www.factors-chain.com/?p=ich&uli=AMGATE_7101-2_1_TICH_L470153550)].

providing insurance and, at the same time, pension funds and other long-term savings facilities (such as provident fund facilities) to small size businesses and those individuals employed by them. The Cyprus economy has experienced a significant restructuring programme over the past twenty-five years, shifting from an economy which produced light manufacturing products (textiles, shoes, clothing etc.), to a service economy. A large number of small and medium size firms were forced to close down with the subsequent establishment of businesses operating in the services sector (tourism, food and beverages, financial services etc.). This process was the result of highly protectionist measures taken in the period after 1974 for the protection of newly established industries (mainly family businesses) by imposing high import duties and tariffs. The Customs Union agreement with the EEC to harmonise duties and tariffs over a ten-year period that began on 1 January 1998, lifted protectionism and exposed Cyprus' small manufacturing companies to international competition for which they were ill prepared. Within this context, individuals were able to maintain their personal long-term insurance schemes intact while transferring their employment or their business activity from one sector to another.

The insurance activity in Cyprus remains well protected and is overseen by the Registrar and Commissioner of Insurance Companies. The Insurance Law remains very strict and requires insurance companies to file with the Commissioner of Insurance Companies on a quarterly basis, their register of assets bi-annually and their audited accounts annually. Most of the insurance companies insure their activities with larger international insurance companies. For over forty-seven years – since the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus – there has not been a case of failure reported by any insurance company in Cyprus to meet its obligations, which is a good indicator of the low risk area in which the sector operates, implying that supervision in the insurance sector is adequate.

### ***Pension and Provident Funds***

Despite the structural framework of the Cyprus economy being dominated by small and medium sized enterprises, larger organisations and, especially medium size companies, use the investment funds (mainly Provident Funds) operated by the large (trade) employees' unions. Although the employees' unions in Cyprus are attached to political parties and, therefore, draw substantial political power, they also run large group Provident Funds which provide services to their members, employees of companies and the companies themselves. The system has been effective in terms of covering a large number of employees who are able to enjoy life insurance coverage through a collective system. Furthermore, the above investment funds are all well protected under Cyprus Law and there have been no reported cases of failure to meet their obligations.

The Social Insurance Fund (SIF), operated by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus since 1966, provides substantial insurance coverage to all employees or self-employed persons in the Republic of Cyprus. In order to provide arguments for the future sustainability of the Cyprus pension system (due to fiscal challenges created by an

ageing population) the contribution rates to the social security system were increased in April 2008 and will continually be raised every five years until 2039 (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2009).

### ***Government Bonds***

Government bonds have proved to be useful financial instruments for the Central Bank of Cyprus to borrow on behalf of the Government, and, since 1 January 2008 when Cyprus entered the euro zone and officially adopted the change-over of currency from the pound to the euro, the government debt has, in general, been converted into euro denominated public debt. Cyprus Government bonds are also issued as government development bonds. They either carry a fixed or index based interest rate or they are issued at a discount through auctions by the Central Bank of Cyprus. Depending on their form, Government bonds may be traded on the Cyprus Stock Exchange (CSE). However, since almost no secondary market for government bonds exists, they have not yet developed into a significant financial asset for the private sector. Although the government has intended to create a platform for trading government bonds in the capital market for a number of years, no agreement has been reached so far, between Central Bank and the Securities and Exchange Commission on who will be authorised to oversee it.

### ***Banking and Financial Services***

Banking and financial services are also an important factor in demand. A strong financial service sector benefits from a high level of diversification of the economy. Offshore financial centres try to attract international investment from individuals and corporations by a wide range of special purpose entities, including favourable tax conditions for domiciliary and domestic companies alike or bank secrecy. However, 'ring-fencing', which refers to the allocation of privileges to domiciled companies in relation to tax rates, is regarded as a harmful tax practice by the OECD. In Cyprus the financial sector is also regarded to strengthen the national economy significantly, and contributed a share of 24.38% of the GDP in 2008 (Department of Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus, 2008). This, compared to other offshore financial centres, for example, Liechtenstein (more than 30%), is still a relatively low figure.

Although there are currently thirty International Banking Units on the island (Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism - *Invest in Cyprus*, 2007; Roussakis and Bisha, 2006), Tsialis (2006) regards the banking infrastructure as weak in comparison with its competitors, due to an absence of the world's largest banks (*ibid.*). According to Roussakis and Bisha (2006), even two International Banking Units (IBUs) were required to close after 2004 due to the 10% corporate tax rate – the lowest rate in the EU – which was perceived too high by them.

Based on interview results, the demand conditions for Private Banking/Wealth Management or the trustee business should be judged differently from the retail banking market. The local retail

market seems to be largely saturated, whereas the demand for Private Banking/Wealth Management services can be derived mainly from international investment, although the Cyprus financial centre still needs to provide certain preconditions for this to happen. The interviewees maintain that with regard to trustees, fund managers and wealth management companies, Cyprus has a strong demand to catch up on. It has been suggested (by three interviewees) that the understanding and knowledge of the trustee business ought to be developed and in the same vein, the interviewees stress that up until now wealth management services have been provided only to a limited extent by local banks. A turning point in this respect is perceived to be the attraction of large banks and mutual funds. So far, the market of Cyprus is dominated by local and, increasingly Greek, retail banks. Some interviewees view the motives for International Banking Units (IBUs) to be exclusively in the investment business and regard the market of Cyprus as too small for other IBU activities. Two respondents regard the existing political problem of Cyprus as an investment barrier for large banks and two other interviewees assume that the promotion of the Cyprus problem might be associated with a lack of political and economic stability. On the other hand, several authors regard an efficient investment fund infrastructure to be necessary in order to successfully compete with jurisdictions such as Luxembourg and Ireland (Tsialis, 2006; Roussakis and Bisha, 2006). With regard to potential Strategic Alliances, the positive professional organisation ratings of local banks, provided for example, by Moody or Standard and Poor, might attract large banks. Moreover, the interviewees suggested a change in the tax system and the provision of a legal framework for mutual funds which had not been included in prior tax reforms. For example, it is notable that despite the Mutual Funds Law, approved by the House of Representatives (Parliament) on 22 October 2009, no mutual funds have yet been established in Cyprus. Because of the size of mutual funds, one respondent views the local banks as inadequate to serve them, and to date, the establishment of investment funds in Cyprus is not regarded as favourable by one other respondent due to the relatively weak stock exchange.

### **Cluster of Related and Supporting Branches**

Beyond the right factor and demand conditions and a competitive banking and financial services system, the competitiveness of a financial centre depends upon the efficient and synergistic interplay between both the banks and the competent branches which are related to, and support them. Owing to an increasing disintermediation of the financial value chain, banks must closely co-operate with a growing number of emerging financial trustee companies, brokers, insurance concerns, finance and industrial holdings, tax consultants, auditors or attorneys as offshore financial transactions are more complex than the juridical or cultural point of view. The previous paragraph mentions the seemingly still existing gaps in Cyprus on the grounds of their contextual interdependence.

The ideal geographic positioning together with the EU accession, the corporate tax regime and, last but not least, the forty-plus double taxation agreements, thus attributes the destiny of

Cyprus as the archetypal island for the establishment of holding companies (PriceWaterhouseCoopers, 2006; Roussakis and Bisha, 2006; Philippides, 2006) that require complex and sophisticated international financial, legal, tax or management consultation. The fact that Cyprus law is based on English law might be regarded as conducive in relation to specific legal aspects, i.e. the stability of international investment and high levels of trust on behalf of international investors.

### **Concerted Strategies**

The discussion, so far, reflects the strengths of the Cyprus International Financial Centre but also points out the necessity to create synergy between the private and public sector in Cyprus and the whole value chain. The research findings imply a lack of implementation of the flexible and indicative planning principles of the three major Cypriot planning authorities consisting of the Central Planning Commission (President of the Republic, all ministers and, albeit with an advising role only, the Governor of the Central Bank), the Planning Committee on Policy and Budget (Minister of Finance, Permanent Secretary of the Planning Bureau, Permanent Secretaries of the six key ministries, top executives of the Central Bank and the Accountant General) and Planning Bureau (administrative and economic arm of the Central Planning Commission and the Planning Committee on Policy and Budget with an advisory role) (Colson and Corm, 2006). One of the main features of the planning principles incorporates representatives from the private sectors and social partners who are participating in defining strategy and objectives. This is also reflected in the inclusion of consultative and coordinating committees which allow the private sector to engage in the planning mechanisms (i.e. development plans). In this respect, an earnest request was implored by three respondents to engender a certain culture of co-operation between the parties with the aim of enhancing closer relations. Although two of the respondents suggested that the government might involve the private sector at an earlier stage of the decision-making process, one respondent regarded the level of co-operation as satisfactory. Another respondent referred to the practiced Swiss model where the government takes the suggestions of the practitioners into account. In addressing concrete examples, one respondent suggested to regulate the environment for the fiduciary service implying legal services which are more focused on international business. Two other respondents petitioned for an intensified teamwork between the government, the private sector, the International Banking Units and the auditors when internationally promoting the island. Generally, the majority of the respondents appealed to the government to draw even more attention to the financial centre and the economic and political benefits it provides. Further synergistic activities have been recommended in the field of education and training as well as on the legal and tax framework.

## Conclusions

Over the last three decades, the economy of Cyprus has developed to the extent that it needs a strong regulatory framework within which to operate efficiently, effectively and reliably. Against the historical background of the expansion of the Cyprus economy, the focus provided in this article is driven by the evolution of the Cyprus economy since the 1970s and, especially since 1974. The government of the Republic of Cyprus did not pay specific attention towards the creation of a sound regulatory framework, especially during the 1970s and 1980s. Paradoxically, it can be argued that the absence of such a framework might have given rise to the opportunistic development of a strong offshore sector, attracting offshore business and substantial direct foreign investment as a consequence. This is in line with the findings of the development of the competitive advantage model generated by Romero and Kaufmann (2006) in treating the government sector and, particularly, the fiscal sector as an exogenous factor. With the application of Cyprus to become a full member of the European Union, this trend had to be reversed in the 1990s. The EU regulatory framework required the creation of a tight institutional structure to be compatible with EU law, thus giving an important role to the government which either had to intervene as such in the economy, or create the necessary institutions to play a tight regulatory role. From that point onwards, it was evident from GDP figures that the activity growth had slowed down, suggesting that the findings of the model were applicable. This must, of course, be coupled with other competitive factors which have remained unchanged to a large extent. This process gives emphasis to the role of the European Union as a catalyst necessitating the government of the Republic of Cyprus, to fashion the necessary institutional and regulatory framework to control and manage the economic activity of the country, especially the part that relates to the emergence of a financial centre. This conclusion is confirmed by a perceived lack of timely government response to urgent market developments and the momentum (positive or negative) that the Cyprus economy gained. The government is recommended to embrace an even more driving and integrating role rather than an exclusive regulatory one.

Compared to a traditional offshore financial centre, Cyprus, complete with its stock exchange, has the potential to host a financial market and thus realise a more favourable market-making position rather than simply being able to transfer deposited funds to parent companies. On the other hand, Cyprus is situated on the periphery of various international finance markets which is reflected in its close affiliation with the stock exchange in Athens. Based on qualitative research, the expansion of more sophisticated financial products could come to the fore, for example, derivatives or mutual funds. To reiterate earlier, the lack of taxes on capital, on the formation of capital, and on capital transactions, make Cyprus an attractive financial centre. The close cultural and geographical proximity to the financial centre in Athens might be deemed a large advantage. Cyprus intends to position itself as a turntable to support the financial transaction platform operating in the whole of the Mediterranean, focusing on variety and quality. In the past, the political and economic stability has attracted investment from politically unstable Middle Eastern

countries such as the Lebanon, being in close geographic proximity to Cyprus. On account of the Euro accession from 1 January 2008 the economic stability will increase even more because no exchange rate risk will exist any longer for Eurozone investors. Increased foreign investment contributes to an increase in the competitiveness of the financial centre of Cyprus (PriceWaterhouseCoopers, 2007).

With regard to marketing related considerations it is suggested that future competitive product/service strategies of Cypriot banks should embrace quality, distribution and service quality components to a larger extent in order to be internationally competitive and to achieve consistency with the high quality positioning.

Looking ahead, it is vital to stress that the efficient, effective and ethical operation of the economy as a financial centre is crucial for its further progression. The management of the institutional and regulatory frameworks that have been created are the responsibility of the government of the Republic of Cyprus and overseen by the European Union. It is, therefore, up to the government to act in an appropriate manner to protect the advancement of the financial centre that has been forged. Furthermore, in the longer term, the sustainability of financial activity in Cyprus depends on the ability of the European Union to monitor the situation in a member state where there is flourishing financial activity, especially in connection with Eastern Europe – an area of high interest for the European Union itself.

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# The Cypriot Paradox: The Communist Way towards Political Liberalism

LAMBROS PHILIPPOU

## Abstract

*AKEL, the communist party of Cyprus, displays a divergent pattern of social and political activity within the Cypriot socio-political spectrum and manifests a specific mode of reaction towards political events. This article, through the use of a recurring paradox, aims to analyse the ontological and the political meaning underlying the historical importance of AKEL's activity within the Cypriot world. It is argued that AKEL is an authentic formation of the Cypriot environment. As such, it condenses a collective historical and synthetic response to the accumulation of mental and social places within a specific historical era. Despite its own declared intentions, in the long-term it works, among many other social and political forces, as an institutional bridge towards applying upon the Cypriot land basic values of social and political liberalism. Of course, this assumption creates a paradox as far as both the way AKEL understands itself and the way outsiders have conceptualised it. And it is this paradox that contributes to the blocking of nomadic liberalism which throughout history is inherent in the structures of the political party itself and in divergent political movements within the Greek Cypriot society as well. Yet, a paradox accumulates distortions, it spells out its own solution and it therefore calls for a deconstructive process. Such distortions have appeared in the modern history of the island, creating "zones of lost time". These are the zones whereby historicity as a progressive rupture with the reified and the ontological world, and the institutional infrastructures as well, is cancelled or is kept at a slow pace.*

**Keywords:** AKEL, Cypriot moral system, closure, nomadic rationalism, liberal dialectic, rhythm analysis

## The Parameters of Survival of the Traditional Cypriot Group

The traditional Cypriot moral system, that is, a sphere in which actions and thoughts are legitimised on the basis of whether they contribute to the survival of the group that happens to be identified as a part of this sphere, is structured on family and community values.<sup>1</sup> From the perspective this sphere establishes, there is a narrow inside that tends to colonise its outside

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1 See Peristiany and Pitt-Rivers (1992) and Loizos (2004). The progressive movement of the Cypriot moral system is clearly understood when compared to Banfield's (1958) analysis. In fact there are two different moral systems, delineating the tendencies of the wider unit of which they are part of. In relation to their structural conditions, issues dealing with the economic performance in the two involved countries could be addressed.

environment. Beyond these narrow moral boundaries, actions of hostility and cruelty are “forgotten” as necessary defensive mechanisms. Since those who are excluded cover a large number of the population which lives alongside, one characteristic of this ethical sphere is its limited scope of applicability. The British governmental intervention on the Cypriot environment, despite its own serious structural deficiencies, disrupted this limited set of parameters of survival. Liberalisation in law, religion, education and communication has opened these communal spheres into an outside. In relation to it, the two ethnic communal spheres were struggling, at the expense sometimes of their own narrow defined interests, to establish communicative links. Gradually, through the general structure of liberalisation and the specific ontological opportunities the Church and the conservative intellectuals have granted it, the parameters of survival have been widened, covering up the whole of the Greek Cypriot community. Within this mental and ethical world, whose powerful spirit was guiding the movement of Cyprus history nevertheless, the Turkish Cypriots were outsiders. The sphere of moral response at the level of official politics was exclusively communal. Any ruptures with the hegemonic communal system of survival were due to the practical field of life: the place where people were actualising the existential binding allowed by a pre-ontological human condition that precedes and transcends any ontological arrest of meaning. Yet, this space was devoid of any ideological covering whatsoever.

At the same time, a recurring and an ontologically transformed line of violence running through the Cypriot survival devise was at work. More specifically, alongside the process widening of the parameters of survival there was the activity of “free riders”.<sup>2</sup> These destabilising groups were employing all moral systems interchangeably, till their late stage of development. They were employing in all cases the same violent and destructive attitude towards those identified as outsiders. It is true that, in dealing with these people who were threatening the survival of the whole, both the village and the ethnic world developed corrective and defensive mechanisms. However, the mechanisms aiming at controlling those who were threatening the moral system with collapse were very inadequate. This is because all moral systems were interlinked, and furthermore, they had their own limited horizons as far as the nature of the responses required each and every time. These moral deviants addressed and were animated by the same drive cruelty

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2 Since closures, “limit evil to behaviours within the context of population, aggression by one population against another falls outside the gambit of ethical judgment” Thompson (2002, pp. 251-252). It is exactly this survival – reducing moral system that hijacked Cypriot history. Loizos (1998, p. 646), analysing the case of an extremist, remarks: “his perspective is that here violence was used to express commitment to a core moral value, against someone who in the view of his assailants had put himself outside of Greek moral community”. Of course he previously clarifies that “most young Greek Cypriot men did not join EOKA VITA, and they did not attack Turkish villages”, p. 641. The free riders were a small group of people that masked their cruel instinct behind ideological constructs, and by doing so, it controlled the movement of history till 1974. Though their moral system was survival – reducing, the majoritarian weak rationalism did not manage to sharply differentiate itself from them on the basis of a moral quality, and by virtue of this, to develop mechanisms for their elimination. Instead these destructive elements managed to destabilise the systemic world of Cyprus.

whether it concerned personal or family “honour”, property, ideology or ethnic values. Instead of putting them aside, the temporal mode of the development of Cypriot consciousness put them in the centre of its ethical and mental world. This had as a result the manifestation of the same killing attitude towards “others”. These very people, who were both inside and outside the moral system of the Greek Cypriot world, took for themselves the responsibility of doing the dirty work, against the English, Turks, Communists, against people of the Right, and at the end, against the state itself and its elected president. The moral system as a whole did not manage to control this group of free riders until the great tragedy of 1974. In fact, many, whose extremism continuously adjusts, have never stopped investing its destructive character with meaning.

### **The Infusion of Communist Ideas within the Cypriot Environment**

While the process concerning the application, failure, and readjustment of moral systems is unfolding, there is a “beautiful stranger” in the Cypriot environment – AKEL. The structural conditions for the existence of AKEL are to be found within the new liberal reality set up by the British and the British experience of trade unionism and co-operative movement. The Church was experiencing the existential and ethical structure of religion instrumentally. Instead of contaminating the mode of established development with universal existential conditions that, among many others, religion addresses, the Church was subjecting it to the stage of development of Cypriot consciousness. The Church, though it set up the process of progressive evolution towards the development of Cypriot consciousness through the specific realisation in time of the ideal of *enosis* – understood here as the misleading ontological product of an authentic, yet unarticulated, will for progressive evolution that its historical ontological arrest later became a reified dogma – it did not show strong interest about the lived experiences of the community of the poor who were exploited by the money-lenders, many attached to its institutional structures.<sup>3</sup> It is only AKEL which after the British “contaminates” the Cypriot environment with a set of ideas that were not originated in the linear unfolding of its history and culture. Gradually these transplanted ideas gain an autochthonous dialectic,<sup>4</sup> the dialectic of Left liberalism in Cyprus within the Greek Cypriot zone of historicity. That is, a mode of consciousness that transforms itself in order to construct a more functional and viable world. These sets of ideas, that had been reasonably applied, set up the structural conditions for an internal restructuring of the moral and

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3 For the harsh living conditions of the Cypriot poor see Agastiniotis (1965); Lefkis (1984); Katsiaounis (1996).

4 The term “dialectic” refers to the progressive process towards a functional resolution. In Plato, Aristotle, Kant and Hegel this process itself unfolds in a different way. Retaining its modern Hegelian root, I apply it as a progressive movement towards the resolution of conflicts and contradictions of an historical era. However, this progressive movement is not structured on the model thesis – antithesis – synthesis, but on a reflective process within history of creating, correcting and improving rational models that provide long term functionality. The dialectic of the Cypriot consciousness has not the static character of cultural identity. Rather, it consists of a reflective movement within historical process to transform reality, to correct its distortions and attain workability and survivability.

mental world of Cypriots. An abstract theoretical edifice was actualised with specific practical results, different of course from its initial theoretical inception.<sup>5</sup> This chasm between abstract ideas and their practical implementation haunts AKEL's self-understanding, political activity and actual participation in Cyprus history. There, where abstract ideas remain intact, practical life creates the conditions for the emergence of a different set of ideas. However, this rigid core of abstract ideas eliminates and does not allow them to become ontological figurations. AKEL throughout its history was oscillating between its autochthonous dialectic, understood as an active historical creativity based on its practical autonomy in the Cypriot environment, and the neutralisation of this dialectic, based on a dogmatic withdrawal to atemporality. Under the energy of this, there was an attempt to subject evolution to a rigid core of ideas through the invocation of the communist world outside of Cyprus. The party's subjection to the promotion of universal communist strategic interests is also another symptom of this very constitutive defect.<sup>6</sup>

AKEL disturbed the existing moral system by addressing the common of the community of the poor. So, another system of survival is grounded that addresses neither the family, nor the village nor the ethnic community but a common universal existential condition. AKEL consists of a rupture with the traditional Cypriot moral system by depersonalising moral contact. This was crucial for the evolution of the Cypriot mental world because the changing variants of the pre-existing moral systems are compensated by a stable variant. This concerns an inner human condition experienced and lived without the suspension of practical life and without the codified moral system that imposes patterns of behaviours and horizons of expectations. Moreover, AKEL established mechanisms of organisation, of cooperative reflective exercise and strategic calculation. And because they were all employed in a hostile and often dangerous social and political environment, the party also developed complex mechanisms of sustainability.

This topography of elements that formed its own internal reflective zone has contributed to the beginning of an indigenous dialectic. AKEL was building in the Cypriot worldsphere islands of functional rationalism in which the abilities of trust, solidarity, reflexivity and cooperation among greater teams than that of the village were exercising. On the one hand, the Church and

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5 As Loizos (2004, p. 37) remarks: "here it is enough to suggest that in 1969 leftist ideas were still grasped in parody by many villagers". Adams (1971, p. 8), states that "in practice, the party is oriented toward the working class and its problems, and shows little or no interest in arguing points of ideology". AKEL's functional ideological origins are rooted in the spatiotemporal Cypriot environment. One might say that in reality it is a communist party without communist voters.

6 As Adams (1971, p. 19) says, "comintern criticized the KKK for its inept handling of the anti-imperialist uprising of 1931". In fact the party was punished, it came under the surveillance of the British Communist Party, and its leaders were deported in Soviet Russia. In 1947, a party delegation visited the Greek communists during the Greek Civil War. The Greek communist leaders affected AKEL in changing of policy from Self-government – *enosis* to *enosis* and only *enosis* because Greece was to become communist country very soon. AKEL did not accept the Radcliffe constitution as well as the Zurich–London agreements for reasons dealing with its instrumental alliance with the international communist movement and its collective strategic interests.

the Right, from the 1920s onwards, were building their alliance on non-existent moral communities that were given from outside and were perceived instrumentally. The mere invocation of the values of nation and religion as more inclusive moral communities does not necessarily presuppose the possession of the mental and ethical qualities that measure thoughts and actions on the basis of whether they contribute to the survival of the collectivity they refer to. In real terms, such values were not the product of the self-realisation of the Cypriot spirit. In this sense, they do not emerge out of a process of establishing a real evolutionary affinity with them based on its own development on the practical field.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, AKEL was progressively building a moral system that was based on real existential conditions, reflecting an actual stage of the development of consciousness. This gradually builds up a specific human type, mainly among party activists: one who averts violence, who carefully examines and plans actions after thorough examination and orients oneself towards the world through a quasi-evolutionary perspective.<sup>8</sup> In this respect, AKEL's infrastructures enabled many of its members to make qualitative leaps of consciousness rarely cultivated in other Cypriot political environments. The hitherto unseen and unheard population of the marginalised poor escapes from obscurity and massively inserts itself into the process of the construction of the Cypriot microcosm and earns for itself the right to think.<sup>9</sup> AKEL therefore attained a vague moral superiority against the Right which was following the injunctions of the temporality of the Cypriot environment and was completely regulated by it.

Additionally, through a typified alliance with the world's communist parties and the worldwide flow of communist ideas, AKEL established communicative bridges with external worldspheres. This, as far as the 1920s is concerned, occurred in a period when this contact itself was rare and when the Cypriot world seemed to be stuck in static spiritual isolation. AKEL set up

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7 Kitromilides (1979, 1990) points to a direction of asynchrony where such values are filtrated and subjected in diverging ways by different ethnic communities because of the different stage of development of consciousness that are spirited by.

8 Crawshaw (1978, p. 34) remarks that, "the Communists worked well in municipal and labour affairs with their opposite numbers in the administration". Loizos (2004, p. 146) describes how a local leftist reacts against the extremists' plans to push out the Turkish inhabitants of the village. Loizos (1998) refers to a discussion between an EOKA VITA sympathetic and the local communist leader in Argaki where again the latter reacts to the former's suggestion to kill the village's Turks before leaving because of the advance of the Turkish army. As Adams (1971, p. 182) points out: "The aversion AKEL has shown in recent years to militancy or outright violence appears to be a strong factor in the behavior of party members". In fact, there is here a widening up of the Cypriot moral system and an increase of its ethical responsiveness. When EOKA was executing trade unionists, AKEL did not involve itself in a circle of violence. In the name of unity, it was pointing to the danger of destabilising the sensitive parameters of survival of the Greek Cypriot community.

9 In fact what is at stake here is an intellectual revolution and emancipation analysed by Rancière (1992, 2003). The actual contribution of this movement cannot be found in the structures of the visible political party. Rather, the real strength of this movement from below, which gathered dispersed trade unions, was its force to enable what Rancière calls the "monotechnicians" to emerge in the sphere of public and discursive order and to perform hitherto class occupied social functions from which they were eliminated.

a bridge of communication with the outside world by constructing a universal ideological path. In the short-term, the participation and interaction with the world's communist movement was a historical contingency. In the long-term however, it built the conditions for communicating, synchronising and adjusting with international environments. As a result, by giving ontological content and expression to a permanent and pressing human condition, and moreover, by transcending the ethnic boundaries, AKEL practically attracted the attention of Turkish Cypriots who did share this universal human condition. In this way, AKEL managed to actualise, sustain and develop existential conditions that were gradually oriented by an inherent will for more inclusive moral systems in terms of solidarity, trust and cooperation.

### **AKEL's Actual Manifestation in Cypriot History**

AKEL's participation in Cypriot history clearly illustrates this autochthonous dialectic of reason that crosses the borders of strict Cypriot closure.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, it discloses its weakness to make the necessary radical conceptual leaps which could have situated it outside the sphere of the hegemonic ideology. Such progressive leaps could have increased AKEL's efficiency to disrupt the disastrous dialectic of Cypriot reason. The anticlerical discourse of the communist party, the predecessor of AKEL, in conjunction with an intense defence of workers and peasant's rights, situated the party against the dominant pole of communal participation – that of the Church. Many landlords, usurers and city bourgeoisie were part of the Church establishment and AKEL could not see how this ideological block could improve the living conditions of the Cypriot poor. After the Second World War and with the consolidation of AKEL, the theoretical discourse about the progressive evolution of society towards socialism imprints itself in the set of actual practices and ideas of the mechanisms that AKEL was supported by. It is this autochthonous dialectic that made it susceptible to preconceived Venizelist inspired ideas of self-government for a period of time till *enosis* will finally be achieved. AKEL tries to enrich and reopen the will for liberalisation and thereafter to free it from its contingent and misguided ontological arrest and freezing (*enosis*) and to reconnect it with pressing social and economic issues. At the same time, it established itself against the limited mental system of the official Church, which through the dominance of the extremists gradually came to represent a less developed system of consciousness. The Church could not conceive any evolutionary process for Cypriot consciousness to follow for its own realisation. The “*enosis* and only *enosis*” slogan reflected the stubbornness of this mental

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10 The term of “closure” borrowed from Castoriadis (1991, 1997b, 1997a, pp. 265, 293), and applied in Philippou (2005), refers to a defect in reflective process whereby the horizon of questioning and examining established knowledge is limited. Likewise, the term of nomadic rationalism refers to a polycentric movement of breaking with the cognitive and institutional closure and of forming islands of functionality. The term “nomadic” is used here in order to place emphasis upon the pre-ontological and ontological nature of this polycentric movement of rupture with closure. This movement cannot be identified with, or be enclosed within, the established ideological field that classifies and regulates the flow of ideas.



world and its inability to imagine the process of its alteration. So it always inclined to perceive the stage of its development as the final one. As a result, the Church refuses to take part in the discussions concerning the consultations on a constitution in 1948. AKEL managed to achieve a sort of communicative link with the very process, though it was not strong enough to allow it to pursue this conceptual leap further. In parallel, partly due to the civil war in Greece, there was a struggle on behalf of the Church and the political parties around it to devalue and marginalise AKEL because it could not represent the religious and national orthodoxy.<sup>11</sup> In fact, this was a masking of a regressive ideology that dominated Cypriot history till then, and which in the name of Hellenomania legitimised the majority of the defective moral and mental systems as official ideologies. AKEL, by breaking with the established mental and ethical system, and replacing it with a more inclusive one, was paradoxically thrown out of the very system itself as a threat for the survival of the ethnic unit.

The position of AKEL towards EOKA and the latter's treatment of AKEL was the outcome of the antagonism between two different mental and ethical systems: the traditional one and a more enlarged one. It is because of its autochthonous dialectic which prioritises reflective processes, ascending evolution, public-spirited action and care, non-violence, cooperation and negotiation with external worlds, that AKEL is initially fearful of the dialectic of Grivas' activities on the Cypriot land. The emergence of strict closure against which AKEL was struggling and at the same time moving within its own borders, was so powerful that it could not be transgressed by frozen ideological formulas which might lead the party to an alliance with EOKA. Cyprus strict closure was coupled with violence and systemic fear, marginalisation and stigmatisation and it was pursued through the force of arms and through the arbitrary act of execution. It is because of AKEL's structural islands of functional reason and weak divergence from the dominant ethical system that its reluctance towards the armed struggle against the British colonialists was made possible. Such a political position appears as an injunction generated by the development of its autochthonous dialectic. And because it removed itself from the established sphere of beliefs, it was excluded from the struggle and it suffered member losses from executions. EOKA's executions of trade unionists were nothing but an attack on moderate thought, a mode of response that has a long line of historical continuity since the 1920s. It is now though invested with armed violence portraying an extreme form. Nevertheless AKEL, breaking with the dominant Cypriot ethical system, does not take revenge for the executions of its members. It proposes instead the consolidation of the parameters of survival of the Greek Cypriot world because the possibility of a civil war between Left and Right were imminent.

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11 See Papageorgiou (1984) and Papaphotis (1996, pp. 220-537). From the point of view of Grivas' strict closure and that of the extreme Right, AKEL could not be accommodated within the Cypriot environment. In real terms, it was considered to be a sick body contaminating the healthy fibres of Greek consciousness. Hence Grivas' clear strategy for its ideological elimination.

Since 1960, AKEL has been gradually incorporated within the established Greek Cypriot ethical system of survival whose rules and mental limits the party itself obeys.<sup>12</sup> This system has been widened through the splitting within EOKA, caused by the antagonism between Grivas' fanaticism and Makarios' weak nomadic rationalism. It has also been strengthened because of many of EOKA members' resistance in accepting the moral system that Grivas was systematising. Cypriot nomadic rationalism's stratification is polycentric and its many centres established an alliance. AKEL established communicative links with the dominant system; it both affects it and is affected by it. Mainly, AKEL's autonomous dialectic within the Cypriot land broadens the field of its reflection that covers now the whole Greek Cypriot community. The tools of this reflection are its self-made tools: that of regulated cooperation through institutionalised mechanisms, care for cooperating projects, communal cooperation, strategic calculation and the aversion of violence. So by becoming one of the many centres of nomadic rationalism, it historically meets, converges and communicates with these centres, whether they belong to the Church or the liberal Right.<sup>13</sup>

This historical meeting of nomadic liberals is represented by Makarios' political attitude and thinking. Makarios incorporated all the fragments of rational functionalism within the Cypriot land. Even though he historically failed in a dramatic way, he represented the most developed stage that Cypriot consciousness could reach within the specific historical horizon. He represented both the institutional and political wisdom that the Church attained throughout the centuries. Moreover, he could establish less adversarial and less ideologically charged relationships with Greece and the western world. Additionally, Makarios could express the liberal forces of the Right who were developing their own dynamic against the destructive impacts of the arming of strict Cypriot closure on behalf of Grivas. Thus AKEL's moral system met with that of nomadic rationalism not on the basis of ideological codifications but on the basis of functional rationalism. Still, Makarios possessed a more developed functional rationalism than AKEL because it could attract all dispersed fragments of truth in the Cypriot land without being reducible to them. Moreover, Makarios could identify functional rationalism behind ideological artefacts – a trait to which AKEL was showing a serious weakness, resembling a sort of structural defect.<sup>14</sup> Makarios'

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12 For the territorialisation of the two ethnic moral and mental systems see Patrick (1976). AKEL is subjected to the mental and ethical limits of the Greek Cypriot moral system and as such it follows official policies. As a result, Turkish Cypriot nomadic liberals sense that AKEL's moral system does not provide them with the desperately needed liberal shield.

13 AKEL's alignment with liberal elements in Cyprus illuminates the common functional rationalism possessed by divergent groups. The support of Leontios as Archbishop in 1947 was a sign of such an historical meeting that will be later materialised with the emergence of the figure of Makarios. Leontios' words encapsulate the common root of nomadic liberalism that breaks with its historically depended ideological content. As Adams (1971, p. 116) remarks: Leontios "felt that the aims of communists were the same as those of Christianity and claimed often that he was a Christian-Communist".

14 Servas (1985a, 1985b), in delineating the disastrous trajectory of the historical mistakes of the Greek Cypriots, always invokes AKEL as the inactive possessor of reasonable formulae that could prevent the tragic flow of

ideologically naked nomadic rationalism was the binding force of all the political forces that gathered around him. AKEL's participation in Cypriot history from 1960 to 1974, lining itself with the collective goal for national unity and strongly supporting Makarios, could be explained in these terms.

After the Turkish invasion of 1974, AKEL politically acts against the memory of the destructive forces of strict closure which their ruinous trajectory began during the late 1920s and ended in 1974. Moreover, it establishes the ideology of rapprochement between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Being blocked in a static ideological environment, it identifies the Right with the forces of extreme fanaticism. Synchronously, the Right, which has never been homogeneous, gives political roof to all these extreme elements that in their turn blocked its own liberal dynamic. As a consequence, AKEL elects Kyprianou as a president and establishes a strategic coalition with parties of the centre, namely DIKO and EDEK. It follows, however, a period of ideological stagnation and corruption that endangered the very function of the state itself. At the same time, AKEL felt uneasy with Kyprianou who was displaying symptoms of strict closure against foreign environments. Thus the decision to elect Vassiliou unlocks the blocking of Cypriot history and there are tangible signs of modernisation. Moreover, the Right, oriented more by a will for power than by the realisation of the need for progressive movement of Cypriot consciousness, surrenders itself to DIKO's static policy against the set of Ghali ideas and gains power, with Clerides as president. This binding of forces freezes again the progressive movement of history and pursues policies like the joint defence dogma and the decision for the deployment of the S-300 missiles. It is this contradicting constellation of forces that were leading nowhere that AKEL then decides to challenge with the nomination of Papadopoulos as a presidential candidate in 2003.

What set of given ideas and practices led AKEL to take such a decision? There was an ideological blocking and dissemination of islands of functional rationalism to such a degree that the clearing of dialectics was deactivated. The Right gradually surrenders itself to the culture of strict Cypriot closure and is subjected to the ideological background of Greek Cypriot fanaticism. At the same time DIKO and EDEK developed a sterile political discourse that, while it did not jeopardise the harmony of the Greek Cypriot community, it could not communicate with both internal (Turkish Cypriot) and external environments. AKEL chose the "less evil" discourse because what did matter in that period were the Greek Cypriot community's parameters of survival. Papadopoulos, however, represented a mind-set that prevailed in the 1960s, consisting of the setting of parameters of the survival of the Greek community against the survival of the Turkish Cypriot one and in sharp conflict with wider parameters of western survival.

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historical events, but which never actualised itself. The melancholic turnings of his thought rather show the movement of nomadic rationalism which returns back to itself and reflects on the stages of the development of Cyprus consciousness. As far as this is concerned, see the dramatic, yet untimely, imaginary discussion between Makarios and Karamanlis in Servas (1991, pp. 96-114).

As a matter of fact, the accession process to the EU, in conjunction with the Annan plan discussions, rendered this mental and ethical system inadequate to respond to a new setting where the widening of these parameters was at stake. AKEL's internationalism and ability to conceptualise universal human conditions brought it within a line of conflict with a rigid mental system that can function only within Greek Cypriot boundaries. As a result, AKEL managed to make some communicative links with the plan and enter into a reflective process. Nevertheless, the power granted by the political system to the Cypriot president to construct reality, prevented this initial communicative bridge to develop an autonomous dialectic. AKEL, concurrently trapped in the dialectic of closure, was faced with the emergence of a dynamic liberal leadership of the Right and the liberal nomads who were moving outside strict closure. This population of subjectivities was emerging out of the polycentric islands where nomadic rationalism is produced. As a systemic consequence of this, they became the victims of the same oppressive practices that have dominated the Cypriot world for decades.

Thus AKEL, for the first time in its history, did not officially participate in a movement that was fighting the very roots of Greek Cypriot fanaticism. In real terms, it was in asynchrony with the dialectic of nomadic rationalism no matter what ontological form it might take in historical time. Within the period before and after the referendum, a zone of historicity was created, fused with intense reflective energy, a drive that the prevailing rhythm of the Cypriot spatio-temporal environment is lacking. It actualised in a modern setting a cluster of reflective mechanisms working in synchronisation, in Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and the EU. This multilayered reflective energy caused permanent ruptures within the hegemonic mental and ethical systems.<sup>15</sup> As such, it created a residue of meaning emanating from the manifested failure of Cypriot closure to effectively respond to the challenges posed to it. This residue of meaning began merging into ontological constructions that were breaking the existing ones. They signalled the beginning of a process of building a new mental and ethical system that is compatible and in harmony with more inclusive parameters of survival.

After the 2004 referendum over the Annan Plan, there was a theoretical struggle between Cypriot closure and nomadic liberals. The movement of Cypriot closure was concentrated around the political philosophy of Papadopoulos and attracted a wide range of powers from the Centre, the extreme Right and from the Left. The silent movement of nomadic liberals in the Cypriot land brought together forces that were not traditionally related. In doing so, it transcended the very ontological categories on which the political system was based. Within this new political setting, AKEL understood that there was no possibility for Cyprus to be modernised and communicate with external systems of reason unless a change in the direction of Cyprus history came about. Thus it fought against the very core of Papadopoulos' political philosophy during the election

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15 The explosion of nomadic rationalism in Turkey was coupled with the silent revolution of Turkish Cypriots and resulted into the elimination of Turkish Cypriot closure represented by Denktash. See Anagnostopoulou (2004); Bahcheli (2004); Hatay and Bryant (2008).

campaign for the presidential elections of February 2008. It based its rational synchronisation on pre-existing ontological constructs of the nomadic liberals and it faced the same attacks that nomadic liberals were facing when AKEL was part of the government coalition.

At the same time however, the Right through its own candidate was expressing the same will for breaking with Cypriot closure. This event appears to illustrate the invisible line of nomadic rationalism and the stages of development it has to go through. There was a convergence of nomadic liberals belonging to different political parties and a divergence from the forces of strict closure. During the second round of elections a new setting appeared, albeit governed by the same structural forces, thus intensifying the clearing of the antagonistic dialectics on the Cypriot field. Many of the bearers of Greek Cypriot fanaticism were attracted by the Right's candidate and used the traditional tools of closure against Christofias. Moreover, the parties supporting Papadopoulos, moved by an undefined and weak internal nomadic rationalism, decided to support Christofias. AKEL, after this intense ideological struggle elected a president for the first time, and it has the opportunity to construct novel blocks of reality within the prevailing one.

### **The "Outsider's" Understanding of AKEL and the Blocking of the International Liberal Dialectic**

AKEL's perception in the West was instrumentally defined by the mechanistic rules of the cold war. In an ideological climate of distrust against communism, Greece and Turkey saw AKEL as a threat to the western alliance. To a large extent they identified AKEL with Makarios because of the latter's strategy of cooperation with local communists instead of persecution practised in these countries. Thus their aim was to emasculate AKEL and eliminate the "danger of communising Cyprus". Britain was caught up in a climate of "blockage of reason". On the one hand, it was deeply worried by the structure and organisation of AKEL and its potential to seize power, and yet, in the air there was an untold liberal bridge between AKEL and the British that never expressed itself. On the other hand, it discarded the stubbornness and intransigence of the nationalists and the Church, thus investing in the possibility of moderate powers that Britain never found in the end.<sup>16</sup> US policy, mainly after independence, was haunted by the danger for Cyprus of "falling into the communist camp". This fear, however, was cultivated both by Greek politicians and Cypriot advocates of strict closure. Consequently, it prioritised the unity of NATO at the expense of the autonomous trajectory of progressive reason in Cyprus.<sup>17</sup> The USA prevented a Turkish invasion

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16 See Holland (1998); Sonyel (1997); Crawshaw (1978); McHenry (1987); Peristianis (2006, p. 261).

17 See Crawshaw (1978, p. 34); Hitchens (1984); Adams (1971); Markides (2001, pp. 54-58, 86-87); Kassimeris (2008). Adams understands very well the social conditions of deprivation and ruthless exploitation out of which AKEL has emerged. Additionally, he stresses AKEL's pacific nature. Despite that, he refuses to recognise in AKEL an authentic dialectic deeply rooted in its autonomous development in the Cypriot environment, and thus, irreducible to the strategic interests of international communism. Through the analysis of the US policy in Cyprus,

twice, and after 1964 it conceptualised *enosis*, at the same time giving military bases in Cyprus to Turkey in an arrangement that could introduce Cyprus into NATO, as well as consolidate the unity of the alliance and marginalise the communists. Thus it supported the Greek Junta and looked in favourable terms on the invasion of Turkish troops. In real terms, US policy supported and relied upon these elements that represented the illiberal forces in Cyprus. The Soviet Union used AKEL and the Cyprus problem generally in order to damage NATO and gain a strategic advantage. Meanwhile, the more AKEL subjected itself to the wider interests of international communism, the less its own autonomous dialectic unfurled. This instrumental support of the Soviet Union to Cyprus was unfolding against a wider background of strengthening its relationships with Turkey aiming at the same strategic goal. Hence the Soviet policy's agreement with islands of nomadic rationalism was calculated.

The Turkish invasion was the result of this multiple blocking of liberal dialectic that was developing in divergent ontological constructs. AKEL and Makarios distanced themselves from the zones of western functional rationalism. This communicative defect was clearly indicating the external limits of Cypriot closure, within which every ontological construction obeys the same structural laws. The ossified nature of conceptual units, the likes of "enosis" or "foreign imperialism", betrays the overwhelming power of strict closure. Their invocation often compensates for the reflective processes that the Greek Cypriot world should have gone through but never did. Nevertheless, it was within the sphere of western functional rationalism that Cypriot nomadic rationalism could accelerate its own dialectic and establish the conditions for its sustainability. In contrast to this, the tactical openings to the Soviet Union and the instinctive hostility towards the West oriented a set of political actions aiming to establish links with a world in which the Cypriot one was not structurally so closely tied together.<sup>18</sup> Outside the borders of Cypriot closure, the USA, instead of identifying the autonomous dialectic of liberal thought in Cyprus and thereafter patiently to encourage its own development, relied heavily on the extreme illiberal elements. As a result, the July 1974 *coup d'état* illustrated the disfunctionality of the temporary ontological arrest of liberal thought in ideological constructs, which in reality were damaging the very roots of this thought. Britain knew very well the destructive forces behind Greek Cypriot fanaticism. Turkey actualising its sphere of interests which morally excluded the Greek Cypriots, and distrusting the fanatics, decided to invade and try to regulate the movement of Cypriot consciousness through the force of arms.

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we witness the recurring blindness of American political thinking which identified the movement of liberalism with dominant ontological categories. That led American policies towards supporting the majority of the oppressive regimes that humanity has witnessed.

18 The Soviet Union policy does not essentially meet with any of the involved systems of reason as far as the Cyprus issue is concerned. On the contrary, it was based on a short-term policy that collapsed with the communist regimes and had not any relevance whatsoever with the actual movement of political reason in Cyprus. For an overall account see Stergiou (2007). See also Christodoulou (1987, pp. 293-294); Polyviou (1980, pp. 5-4); Ziartides (1995, p. 88); Ker-Lindsay (2004, pp. 125-127).

### The Unlocking of the Liberal Dialectic and the “Zones of Lost Time”

The liberal dialectic in Cyprus was blocked and still is. AKEL's autonomous dialectic adjusted the compulsive need of Cyprus consciousness to follow its own path of development. From a point onwards, it opposed *enosis* and cultivated the idea of independence. On the other hand, the catholic energy of closure that governs the Cypriot field renders the party ideologically static, authoritarian, and subjects it to the strategic interests of international communism.<sup>19</sup> So, it is affected by the Greek communist party's decision to change the line of self-determination-*enosis*; it initially opposes the constitution of 1960 because of assumed NATO interests served, and it follows every step of the unstable movement of Makarios thought in neutralising any corrective intervention of Greek and western political thinking. In the name of anti-imperialism and in the name of the “democratic socialist bloc”, AKEL became blinded by islands of functional liberalism in the West and in Greece as well.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, the communist regimes were considered to be the “true land of democracy”. In real terms, AKEL's dogmatic closure disabled it from seeing the real liberal qualitative difference between the western and the communist world, and thereafter to follow its own dogmatic-free autonomous dialectic. The establishment of communicative bridges with liberal worlds appeared very late, mainly through EU accession.

The Cold War's end however, unveiled the genuine liberal dialectic of AKEL, which was suffocating behind a codifying and stubborn ideology. This very dialectic, which explains AKEL's survivability in the Cypriot environment, needs to be unlocked. The party itself, under the energy

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19 People who were expelled from the party were treated in a similar way the prevailing Cypriot moral system treats outsiders (see Peristianis, 2006, p. 260). Adamantos is possibly the best mind of the left that has been ostracised. There was no movement of critique of communist regimes like in Europe. AKEL was blind to the tactical policies of the Soviet Union over the Cyprus issue. There is a collective condemnation of the West and Greece that is initiated by the static experience of communist ideology in Cyprus which was adjusted by the pattern of reception mechanisms cultivated by strict closure. This shows the strict delineation of the external borders of strict Cypriot closure through its differently manifested ontological content. Because of these external borders, AKEL was in conformity with Makarios' policy; in reality, a trajectory of breaking with Greek and Western political systems, which even before the EOKA struggle was trying to prevent the disastrous dialectic of Cypriot unified policy. In the name of anti-imperialism, AKEL, with all others, silenced this will of Greek and Western reason to prevent the great disaster. At the same time, along with the most fanatic elements it was initially against the shift in Makarios' thought from *enosis* to self-government.

20 Islands of Greek political thinking from the Venizelist age onwards, were trying to modify the nature of Cyprus closure. They failed to do so, and AKEL, along with Makarios, were blocking and demonising any Greek initiative. More specifically, AKEL perceived Greece as a state servile to the West and a member of an “evil” alliance, NATO. From this point of view, AKEL's cyprocentrism draws both from nomadic rationalism and from strict closure. It draws from nomadic rationalism when it is oriented towards the modernisation of Cypriot society and when it is opposed to the forces of fanaticism. It draws from closure insofar as one constituent part of this complex concept owes its existence to the inability of Cypriot closure as a whole to communicate throughout history with the Greek political system. On AKEL's view on the traditional Venizelist liberal approach on the Cyprus issue see Lefkis (1984, p. 30) and Fantis (1994, 2005).

of both closure and nomadic rationalism, at the same time locks and develops this dialectic.<sup>21</sup> That is, it creates and thereafter it erases what it creates because it is animated by two opposing ontological structures. A hidden dialectic becomes powerful when it is realised as such, and by the mediation of this, it develops its own autonomous and self-conscious dynamic. AKEL is facing the challenge to establish links with liberal forces in Europe and elsewhere, and moreover, to address and communicate with these forces within Cyprus with which it shares the common root of polycentric liberal thought.<sup>22</sup> This dialectic underlies a real movement, a shadowy reality on the level of pre-ontological and practical life. Despite this, it is on the basis of the fixed ideological constructs that the political is understood, planned and analysed. However, within the new setting of temporal and spatial dynamic, liberal thought precedes and proceeds arrested ontological meaning. It therefore renders a chain of distortions visible. Thus the network of reflective mechanisms, the spectre of the Annan Plan activated in Cyprus, has broken the traditional Cypriot ontological world. Under the guidance of Papadopoulos, “the national forces” through the actualisation of the very tools of Cypriot closure, suppressed, victimised and marginalised liberal thought. On the other hand, traces of nomadic rationalism in the liberal leadership of the Right were, for a long period of time, defending the forces that were struggling to push Cyprus within the sphere of historicity.

In this field of conceptual and practical locking, AKEL was paralysed. On the one hand, it found itself in coalition with the regressive forces of Cyprus history, and on the other hand, against an explosion of nomadic liberalism.<sup>23</sup> This movement, emanating from the active field of practical life was transgressing the political Right. Within AKEL itself, it worked as an internal encompassing force of alienation through the marginalised left nomadic liberals who saw the

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21 It seems that Ziartides (1995, pp. 143-190) is right in arguing that the Left trade union movement, through its practical exercise with the real conditions of the Cypriot worldsphere, developed a different, a quasi-liberal attitude diverging from the ossified and dogmatic party politics. AKEL developed its strength after the unification of the scattered trade unions. As Castoriadis remarks (1997b, p. 64), English workers before Marx developed a pre-marxist project of autonomy that understood itself as the continuation of democratic movement through social and reflective emancipation. Thereafter, “marxism replaced this individual with the militant activist who is indoctrinated in the teachings of the gospel; who believes in the organization, in the theory, and in the bosses who possess this theory and interpret it; who tends to obey them unconditionally; who identifies with them; and who is capable most of the time, of breaking with this identification only by falling apart”.

22 Liberal thought in Cyprus starts within the Church and a number of non-communist politicians participating in the Legislative Council during the British period. Nikodemos Mylonas, Neoptolemos Paschalis, Nikolaos Lanitis Kl, were the first nomadic liberals who fought against the forces of strict closure. On this, see Georghallides (1985). AKEL’s dogmatic blocks derailed this flow of Venizelist evolutionary perspective of the Cyprus problem, which paradoxically came as a late comer to endorse.

23 See Christophorou (2008, p. 222). As Christophorou (2006, p. 520) remarks, “on many occasions, its leaders were attempting to defend impossible positions. The combination of the President’s view and AKEL’s traditional position of rapprochement with the Turkish Cypriots appeared awkward, causing dissensions within the party”.



immanent ideological trap very early.<sup>24</sup> AKEL reacted and discarded Papadopoulos' xenophobic attitude. At the same time the Right showed signs of readiness for supporting AKEL's candidate and left liberals their willingness to support the nominee of the Right. After the formation of the new government, the distortions and the locking of the liberal dialectic were still visible and they became even more vivid as the new round of intercommunal discussions progressed. The progressive part of the Right, being outside the government, supported the new philosophy, while DIKO situated itself as an island of control and reorientation within the government. But there are signs that this party is itself also subjected to the multilayered emergence of nomadic rationalism that disrupts its seemingly intact policy.

AKEL is the vehicle for the liberal worldview to develop its own dialectic on the Cypriot environment, attracting nomadic liberals, both Greek and Turkish Cypriot. Both however measure its actual stage of liberalisation, and especially insofar as this covers only the Greek Cypriot sphere of Cyprus. Its motor of liberalisation is the ethical structure it has developed both as an injunction out of the experience of the harsh Cypriot socio-economic reality, and as the grounding of the conditions for the emergence of a set of parameters of survival aiming at the well-being of the whole Cypriot population. AKEL survives the fall of the communist regimes because of its deep liberal root which has indeed rearranged the Cypriot perceptual field. Yet AKEL's practical functional rationalism is not fully articulated and incorporated in its rigid ideology. In fact, the internal silent dialectic of liberalism works against the established ideological edifice and vice versa.<sup>25</sup> The more AKEL continued its condemnation of a liberal economy, "imperialist European common market", Western reason and the entrepreneur spirit, the more it was empowering their dialectic. This is because the values, the theoretical tools and practices that AKEL has developed – that is a cooperative culture and networks of solidarity and goodwill – are the very tools that any economy on a long-term basis needs to augment.<sup>26</sup> The common struggle against capitalism

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24 See Constantinou (2003); Trimikliniotis (2006); Panayiotou (2006).

25 The historical archetype of this internal struggle has been crystallised with the expulsion of its leadership and many of its progressive elements in 1952. Its class-based understanding of reason led it to the expulsion of its more liberal elements, which have been called "bourgeoisie". In fact AKEL turned itself against itself. The change of leadership is coupled with the silencing of its autonomous dialectic and the proliferation of its instrumental communism. In real terms, AKEL suspended its liberal dialectic and marginalised its more progressive elements, products as they were themselves of its own authentic evolutionary dialectic. On this see Richter (2003).

26 The concept of liberalism is deconstructed here by the untold ethical ground that historically conditions it. Its dialectic is considered to be an unfinished project. Along with Marxism, it is considered as a descendant of enlightenment. The very reflective tools of enlightenment though, like the will for truth, authenticity, sincerity and justice [see Arendt (1978); Foucault (2001); Trilling (1971)] built a moral ethos representing the condensed evolutionary wisdom for enhancing cooperation and social consensus and aiming at the invention of rules for the survival of a population which is under a rapid process of enlargement. The motor of the process of liberalisation is the ontological and pre-ontological ethical structure on which the political reality is grounded, despite codified ideologies which condition agreements and disagreements. Established neoclassical economic thought was caught in a theoretical fallacy from which it has not liberated itself yet. It misconstrued the real motor of liberal democracy

created a spirit of cooperation and solidarity above self-interests.<sup>27</sup> This spirit was systematised, released and defused into the wider society, thus facilitating the functioning of economy itself. Through AKEL's conscious struggle against liberal economy, the very tools that such an economy needs were unwillingly produced and sustained. In other words, it attacked liberal economy by building the solid conditions for its existence. But AKEL did not only contribute to providing the Cypriot economy with its qualitative properties that work as its powerful motor. Through the reactivation of the first British initiative to build up a Cypriot cooperative movement, it managed to correct the distortions of ruthless exploitation and subject economic practice to a self-transforming process of ethicalisation.

AKEL consequently, is still in the process of becoming aware of its own dialectic on the Cypriot land. This refers to a chain of corrective adjustments which would unlock the liberal dialectic in Cyprus. AKEL could conceptualise and align itself with the pre-ontological movement of functional rationalism in Cyprus. This understanding can result in prioritising the hidden dialectic of unarticulated liberalism. Additionally, it can prevent the refuge to acts and schemata that contribute to the formation of what this author will call the "zones of lost time" in the Cypriot environment.<sup>28</sup> AKEL, in an act of defence against genuine objections for its communist ideology, often invokes its singular dialectic in the Cypriot environment. It does not, however, proceed to relate this singularity thereafter with its stereotyped ideological shield. More specifically, AKEL could deconstruct itself on two axons. Firstly, it could recognise the nomadic liberals of the Right as a progressive force. This very inability betrays the arrest of reflective life within static ontological constructs which in their turn disable the timely and correct adjustment in a constellation of movements governed by strict closure and nomadic liberalism. Secondly, AKEL could enrich its ontological pool through the welcoming of nomadic liberals who do not belong to any political party. Nevertheless, although AKEL did and does so to an extent, the reasons for this elective affinity with nomadic liberals throughout Cyprus history have not been fully articulated. Put differently, AKEL could be understood as the place where the more radical phases of thought

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and economy, identifying it with strict individualism. In this analysis, liberal democracy and economy are truly such, insofar as they are based on the real conditions of their survivability, that is sincerity, solidarity, goodwill, cooperative culture and trust binding relationships. For a discussion aiming at deconstructing the liberal paradigm of the self-interested individual see Dore (1983); Etzioni (1990); Becker (1993).

- 27 The false identification of liberal economy with individualism is one factor that prevents Adams (1971, p. 108) from tracing any progressive element in AKEL's deployment in the Cypriot environment. In fact, he uses the assumed "Greek individualism" to show that AKEL was irrelevant to the well-functioning of Cypriot economy and the deportment of Cypriots on the level of practical life.
- 28 Graikos' (1991) analysis is a communist narrative of Cyprus' history. Gradually, the dogmatic blocks that he is unfolding seal with a leftist way the Cypriot closure. The Soviet world is glorified while the western world is demonised. Greece is granted the status of absolute heteronomy because of its NATO alliance. The Church and the bourgeoisie are charged only with interest-based motivations. Within this sphere of beliefs, the dialectic of functional rationalism makes two steps back and one forward.

reaches in Cyprus are welcomed, and by virtue of this, the field where the chain of distorted ideological and practical tools that block this dialectic meets the greater resistance. The depressive shadow of Papadopoulos' governance in Cyprus shows exactly that AKEL did not conceptualise the dialectic of liberalism in Cyprus, otherwise, such a realisation would have resulted in a compulsive will to follow it in its every step and stage of development.

### **The Pre-ontological and the Ontological: A Rhythmanalysis of the Spatiotemporal Environment in Cyprus**

In the Cypriot worldsphere, the "pathology of lost time" is manifested on many levels. However, in the novel age of planetary communication there is a radical change in the mode of the balance between frozen ontological meaning and active reflective mechanisms. In this novel environment, there is also a shift of the mode of historicity in Cyprus that begins rather from down to top than the opposite.<sup>29</sup> So while the ontological and the institutional rules through which hegemonic politics is unfolding remain uninterrupted and retain the traditional pace, on the level of practical life there are ruptures that render the official ontological Cypriot field out of its time. In this sense political parties in Cyprus, including AKEL, are subjected to this polycentrally originated process of production of islands of functionality. Therefore the viability of the political system and its constituent parts that dominate the official public discourse depends on the degree of adjustment of the emerging mental and ethical attitudes. In fact, AKEL's progressive evolution as the force of Left liberalism in Cyprus depends on its institutional and ontological deconstruction by the residues of functional rationalism, which although they are not yet composed into theoretical and practical tools, they are disseminated on the Cypriot land.

AKEL's ideological misadjustment could be understood as a symptom of the rhythmic mode of the Cypriot environment. In the Cypriot field, there is a structural modernisation defect caused by the weak mechanisms of reflection that sustain a reactive mode whereby responses to problems do not appear timely. This weak representational wave tolerates a mode of historicity that allows the accumulation of distortions. Once a sphere of meaning or a set of practices is established, it develops thereafter its own autonomous dialectic, resisting examination, correction and mutation. And it is only when the total collapse of the systemic world is immanent that such distortions are dealt with. As far as this systemic defect is concerned, Makarios' untimely response and adjustment to a series of problems and challenges throughout history is enlightening.<sup>30</sup> The network of these

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29 For the transnational movements see Tarrow (1998, pp. 176-195). The worldwide diffusion of such movements not only escapes the traditional discussion of party politics but even the relation of the political itself with the "sovereign national state".

30 Makarios' weak nomadic rationalism was lacking in long-term employability and functionality. Many misconceived his strategy as one of double thinking and sophistry. See Mayes (1960, p. 33), Vanezis (1971, p. 72); Holland (1998, p. 47).

unworkable practices and ideas creates a blocking zone that neutralises its creative transcendence. And exactly AKEL's official ideological closure, as is manifested through a disparity between established ideas and practical comportment within the Cypriot sphere, could be inscribed within this all encompassing structural pathology; namely, the ontological arrest of meaning and its fusion to institutions dominates the reflective mechanisms which aim at its modification, readjustment and reconstruction.

Nevertheless, on the level of practical life, within the unheard and unseen spheres of places and times, there are fractures. An accumulative production of functional rationalism exists, not officially represented in the hegemonic politics.<sup>31</sup> This repressed underworld which is not incorporated in dominant ideologies, throws light on the dialectic of the silent revolution of Cypriots. Sooner or later, it will raise demands for representation in the public space and time. In order for political parties to survive and raise claims of relevance and applicability, a shove into a negotiation process with this hidden ontological world is necessary. AKEL in this case, will be called to synchronise its own dialectic with this dialectic which is at work. In the modern world political parties cannot enclose themselves upon themselves, and by doing so, regulate the production and circulation of ideas and practices. There is a real mental and existential condition engendered in the unseen, and yet powerful, unrepresented worldview of the citizens. The urgency to develop abilities of speedy and timely response to these unheard ontological constructions is a presupposition for political organisms to retain their communicability.

With the rules of a different age now over, AKEL deployed itself as a corrective mechanism against the distortions of the Cypriot institutional and ideological hegemony. The very party itself consists of a movement that inscribes in the visible and audible Cypriot world the lived experience of the unseen and unheard population of the poor. Hence it reconstructs and "contaminates" established reality. Likewise, in the modern environment, there is an apolitical field which accumulates as a corrective response to the failures of official politics. In order for AKEL to keep a pace with the mental, existential and ethical mutation of nomadic liberals, it will find itself within the process of establishing communicative links with them, mediated by the common liberal root. The latter unfolds in the field of practical life. As such, it is irreducible to ideologies understood as fixed ontological constructions that develop independently of the field that grants to them islands of functionality. On the level of dominant politics, this means that progressive thought needs to be understood as pre-ontological, multilayered and thus more powerful than official ideologies. The

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31 This silent revolution arises out of what Lefebvre (1991, 2004, 2003, p. 183) calls the "rebellion of the lived experience, of the everyday, of praxis". The mental space and time produce meaning that calls for a rhythmic equilibrium, that is, the insertion of the invisible mental world into the visible reified one so that the latter can contain the former and reconstruct itself by so doing. In the Cypriot case, the social, political and historical space has been detached from the mental spatiotemporal reality. Therefore, such a polycentric revolution aims at liberating space and time from solidified power-produced meaning and to reappropriate it as the place of urgent movement, thought and action not dominated by the social, economic and political realm. When the mental world inscribes itself in social space, it produces its own space and makes reality more inclusive.

mechanisms producing islands of functionality that condense real existential and mental conditions should gain dominance over the established ontological constructions that unfold themselves on the Cypriot land. The possibility of correction of this distortion within the Cypriot spatiotemporal setting, is to be traced through the examination of the tendencies of the present and with the mediation of an analysis spirited more with time, as understood from the point of view of philosophy of history and less as one that follows the emergencies of the linear, homogeneous, calendar time. The rhythmic pace of the Cypriot environment, subjected to mutability, will create a field spirited with another mode of historical energy. Within this field, the reflective and existential ground that produces islands of functionality will prevail over the inactive ontological barriers that disable thought to conceptualise its real emancipatory dialectic.

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ESSAY AND  
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NOTES

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# World Values Survey in Cyprus 2006: A Research Note<sup>1</sup>

BIROL YEŞİLADA, CRAIG WEBSTER,  
NICOS PERISTIANIS, HARRY ANASTASIOU

## Abstract

*This paper provides an overview of the authors' recent extension of Ronald Inglehart's World Values Survey (WVS) in Cyprus. Whereas the WVS is in its fifth wave of study (Inglehart et al., 1981, 1990, 1995, 2000, and 2006-2007), Cyprus is included for the first time. Currently, the WVS comprises 99 countries around the world and is designed to enable the most comprehensive cross-national comparison of values and norms on a wide range of topics and to monitor changes in values and attitudes across the globe. The comprehensive survey of Greek and Turkish Cypriots' attitudes, values, and beliefs will certainly enrich the WVS collection and contribute to valuable comparison between the two ethnic communities on the island as well as comparison with their ethnic kin in Greece and Turkey.*

## Significance of Cyprus as a Case Study and Its Value for the WVS

There is little empirical analysis of attitudes, values, and beliefs of Cypriots in the literature. Instead, much of the academic literature explores the Cyprus problem using a positioned approach, as Demetriou (2004) outlines, and qualitative methods. In recent years there are some who have published quantitative analysis of the Cyprus problem and Cypriot politics (Georgiades, 2006, 2007; Webster and Lordos, 2006; Papadakis, Peristianis and Welz, 2006; Webster and Timothy, 2006; Webster, 2005a; Webster, 2005b; Lordos, Kaymak and Tocci, 2009). This represents to a large extent a novelty in the analysis of Cypriot society as the WVS is one of the most extensive surveys that provides researchers the opportunity for cross regional and cross national comparisons.

In recent years, the European Union sponsored multiple Eurobarometers in Cyprus and has been active in collecting data on the political, social, and economic data from the populations on both sides of the Green Line. There have been many surveys undertaken by academics, political parties, governments, and individuals to learn more about the opinions of Cypriots on various political, social, and economic issues.<sup>2</sup> Some of the most interesting recent forays into public

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1 This survey was funded in part by the Jubitz Family Foundation of Portland, Oregon, USA.

2 A notable one is the International Social Survey Programme, of which the European University of Cyprus (formerly the Cyprus College) is a part of. For further information on this see [<http://www.cycollege.ac.cy/cycollege.44.44.menu44.en.4.html>].

opinion analysis are the projects by Alexandros Lordos, Erol Kaymak and Nathalie Tocci who carried out public opinion polling in both of the major entities on the island. In their comprehensive survey of public opinion toward the peace process, the authors concluded that an agreement in Cyprus is indeed possible but it will be a 'hard sell' to the people of both communities (Lordos, 2005; Lordos, Kaymak, Tocci 2009, p. 87). More recently, the International Peace Research Institute of Oslo has also supported research that is publicly available (Hatay, 2007; Sitas *et al.*, 2007).

The significance of Cyprus for WVS is found in the island's complex political and social realities that make data collection on this case important for scholars of social sciences. Given its long history of intercommunal conflict, Cyprus presents the opportunity to test theoretically important hypotheses surrounding the clash of civilisations, post-industrial values versus ethnic and religious nationalism, the impact of protracted conflict and war on peoples' lives, the colonial/post-colonial/civil war environment's affect on values and beliefs, as well as the impact of external involvement by outside powers on the people. As such, Cyprus represents a rare case study that will enrich the WVS collection for valuable comparative research. Cyprus also serves as a laboratory for systematic testing of ethnic tensions. Unique to the study of Cyprus is also the fact that Cypriot society includes both the modern and traditional worlds. Here is a list (not exclusive) of crucial issues that make the Cyprus survey interesting and crucial:

1. Cyprus has a population that is multiethnic (Greeks, Turks, and a much smaller number of Armenians, Maronites, and British), and multi-religious (Greek Orthodox, Muslim, Armenian Orthodox), multi-lingual (Greek, Turkish, Armenian, English).<sup>3</sup>
2. Even though, the two main communities, Greeks and Turks, lived side by side throughout the island since 1571, there was very little intermarriage and they certainly failed to create a Cypriot nation distinct from their ethnic kin in Greece and Turkey. They did, however, interact socio-economically and unashamedly borrowed from each other's languages, values and attitudes (Yeşilada, 1989).
3. Physical separation between both main ethnic groups presents a valuable opportunity to measure the impact of the flow of two-way communication on peoples' belief systems. The older generation of Cypriots had far more contact with their counterparts than the younger generations did. Prior to the first intercommunal strife in 1963, the two communities lived mainly in mixed urban and rural settings and worked side by side. This period was a chapter of most intimate interaction for the Cypriots. Between 1963 and 1974, the Turks lived in small enclaves and the two communities had limited contact with each other. Finally, since 1974 – when the island was divided into two almost ethnically pure parts (Greek south and Turkish north) – there has been almost no interaction between the two major Cypriot communities until 2003 when the crossing point was partially reopened permitting some contact between them.

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3 For a full discussion on Cypriots who are neither Greek Cypriot nor Turkish Cypriot, see Akçali (2007).

4. In these two ethnically homogenous regimes, socio-economic and political developments have not kept pace with each other. The Greek controlled part of the island, being the internationally recognised Republic of Cyprus, maintained a close association with Western Europe and joined the European Union in 2004: Its level of development is on a par with the EU. The Turkish controlled part of the Island, under the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' (TRNC) which is only recognised by Turkey, has been under an international embargo since 1974 and survives on economic and military assistance from Turkey: its level of economic development is far lower than the Greek side. Moreover, developments that were not part of the Turkish Cypriot social scene before 1974 have begun to take hold in the 'TRNC' (e.g. the entry of Islamic fundamentalist institutions and organisations from Turkey). Thus far, this development has not affected the political landscape in the 'TRNC' – a vivid contrast to experiences in Turkey. Yet, the gradual entry of Islamic fundamentalists into Turkish Cypriot social and political life should remain under close observation to determine its future impact on the Turkish Cypriots' belief system. Future waves of World Values Survey in Cyprus could facilitate an opportunity to test the impact of Islamisation efforts on Turkish Cypriots.

## Methodology

Representative samples were taken covering both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities of Cyprus. In the WVS-Cyprus study, a sample of 1,200 people (600 people from both urban and rural areas of each community) was collected out of the Island's total population of 900,000. The samples included individuals aged from 18 to 70+ years old. The samples chosen were based on a 95% confidence interval and a sampling error of  $\pm 4.0\%$ . The response rate was 95% – higher than the expected rate of 85%. Two Survey companies carried out the study. On the Greek side of Cyprus, the University of Nicosia (formerly Intercollege) Survey Research Centre administered 600 face-to-face surveys in teams of five surveyors headed by a team supervisor. On the Turkish side of Cyprus 550 surveys were carried out by KADEM. The samples are representative of all the major geographic areas in Cyprus. The general population was divided into subsets, or strata, according to gender, age and place of residence covering all districts of the north and south of Cyprus. After stratifying the population, the samples were randomly selected within the various strata. The next step was the actual field work which took place during February-March 2006.

The teams conducted the surveys in accordance with the method described above. The response of residents was quite enthusiastic with many individuals wanting to continue talking with the survey team members as no one had ever asked them detailed questions on diverse aspects of their lives. Team leaders and supervisors verified interviews by randomly selecting 20% of the surveys and making telephone calls to the households involved. Electronic copies of data entries and hard copies of the surveys were sent to Portland State University for editing/check for errors/data entry. Following the careful review of the hard copies a sample size was drawn up of

n = 1,050 error free study (with 550 interviews from the Greek Cypriot community and 500 interviews from the Turkish Cypriot community). The Turkish Cypriot sample was weighted to reflect the difference in population size between the two communities.

### Description of Some General Findings

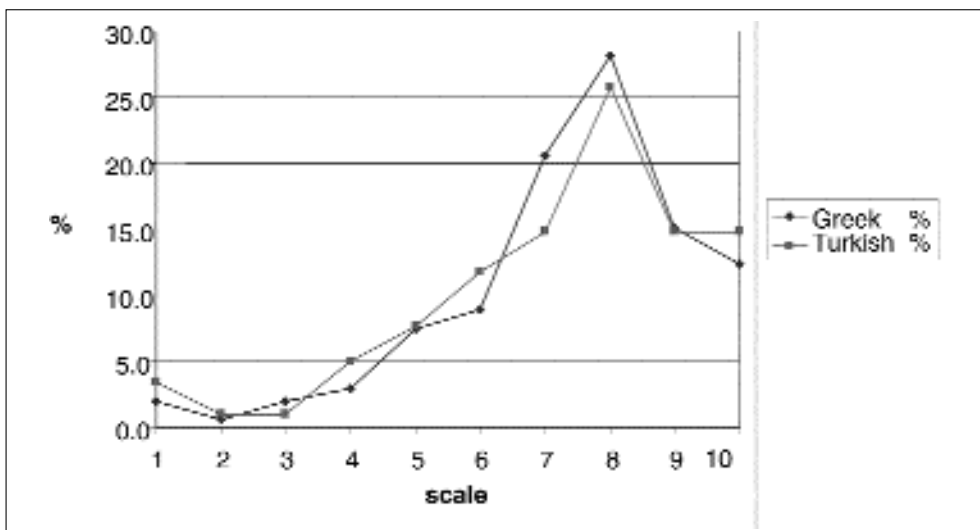
The purpose of presenting the survey's general findings is to present preliminary observations on the social values of Greek and Turkish Cypriots. It is simply a research note and not a detailed statistical analysis of causal relationships. These general observations, however, are valuable in displaying similarities and differences of social values of the two Communities.

#### 1 Satisfaction with Life

Using cross tabulation controlling for the language of the interview (Greek or Turkish) the authors first reviewed how satisfied the Cypriots say they are with their current lives and financial situation. Figure 1.1 displays the result on life satisfaction and figure 1.2 on financial satisfaction.

**Figure 11: Life Satisfaction**

Where 1 = completely dissatisfied and 10 = completely satisfied



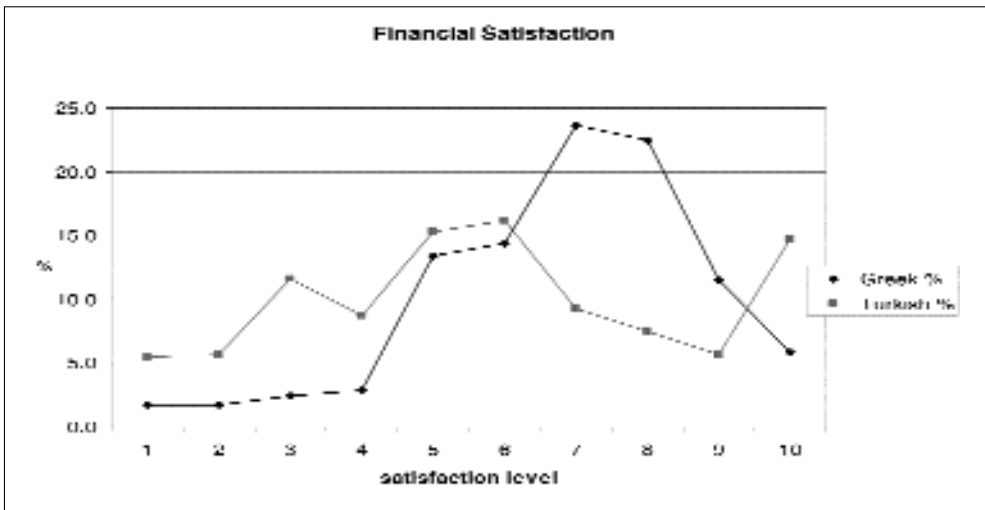
Both communities seem to be fairly satisfied with their lives with a slight difference in the means where more Greek Cypriots fall in the 5-10 range than the Turkish Cypriots. When it comes to financial satisfaction, however, more Turkish Cypriots express dissatisfaction with their

household's financial situation than their Greek Cypriot counterparts. It is important to note that whereas the Greek Cypriots' response displays a bell shaped curve with most people in the range of 5-8, the line graph for Turkish Cypriots hints at a serious financial discrepancy with most respondents being dissatisfied and only a small minority (n=72) expressing complete satisfaction with their financial situation.

The data suggests that while life satisfaction between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots is on even parity, there is discrepancy between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in the way they experience financial satisfaction. The discrepancy between the two is understandable. The bottom line is that Greek Cypriots, in relation to Turkish Cypriots, are a more upper middle class community with fewer poor/lower income classes. Nevertheless, for the Turkish Cypriots, a lower income level does not translate to overwhelming dissatisfaction with their financial state. Perhaps, personal security carries greater salience for the Turkish Cypriots despite a lower living standard than the Greek Cypriots. Future analysis should take note of this point and investigate causality. Furthermore, the current financial state of the Turkish Cypriot community is far better than the shocking conditions they experienced between 1963 and 1974.

**Figure 1.2: Financial Satisfaction**

Where 1 - completely dissatisfied and 10 - completely satisfied



## 2 Tolerance

Tolerance is an important measure of social values that can hint at the willingness of Cypriots to live together in peace and harmony. To this end, WVS included the following question: "Could you please mention any [category of individuals] that you would not like to have as neighbors?"

With regards to the latter, figure 21 shows considerable similarities between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Overall, on the question of tolerance a great affinity is observed between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots but with some notable differences. The groups mentioned by Turkish Cypriots that portray the largest measured attitude difference in the category of ‘undesirable neighbour’, are people with AIDS, unmarried couples, and homosexuals. There are some fairly diverse feelings toward these groups: first, the Turkish Cypriots have a noticeably more conservative attitude towards non-heterosexuals and those with aids. The lower levels of tolerance that Turkish Cypriots display towards unmarried couples might be explained by the presence of stronger traditional values. Among the Greek Cypriots, a higher level of acceptance is detected of unmarried couples, which is not unforeseen as engagement is viewed as a license to live together.

When it comes to trusting people, the Cypriots seem to be quite cautious. When asked whether “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?”, the majority of respondents from both communities indicated caution (table 2.1).

Figure 21: Measure of Tolerance in Cyprus

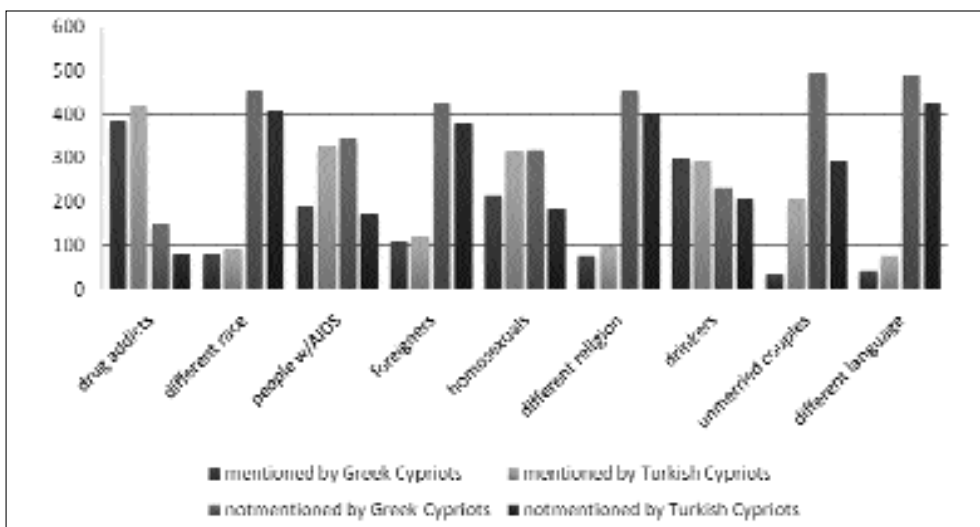


Table 2.1: Measure of Trust of People

	Greek	Turkish
Trust (% of total)	6.52	19.60
Be careful (% total)	93.48	80.40
Total %	100.00	100.00



It can be seen that clear majorities are cautious in both major communities in terms of trusting other people. Comparatively, Turkish Cypriots seem to be more trusting than their Greek Cypriot counterparts by 3:1. Further analysis of trust provides important observations about Cypriots' views of their neighbours, people of different religion, nationality, and who they meet for the first time (table 2.2).

**Table 2.2: Measure of Trust by Greek and Turkish Cypriots**

**2.2.1: Your family**

		language of interview	
		Greek	Turkish
trust: family		% response	% response
	Completely	82.87	94
	Somewhat	14.75	4.6
	not very much	2.00	0.6
	not at all	0.36	0.8
Total % responses		99.98	100

With regard to family members, both communities indicate a high degree of trust toward them. This is expected given the strong ties between members of traditional family units in Cyprus.

**2.2.2: People of another religion**

		language of interview	
		Greek	Turkish
trust: people of different religion		%	%
	Completely	0.73	5.4
	Somewhat	21.17	39.4
	not very much	45.80	34.6
	not at all	32.48	20.6
Total		100	100

In this category, we witness that the Greek Cypriots are much less likely to trust people of other religions than Turkish Cypriots (21% to 44.8% respectively) – this might be indicative of the closer attachment of the former to the Orthodox church and religion whereas the Turkish Cypriot community has been heavily influenced by the secular Kemalist revolution in Turkey.

**2.2.3: People of another nationality**

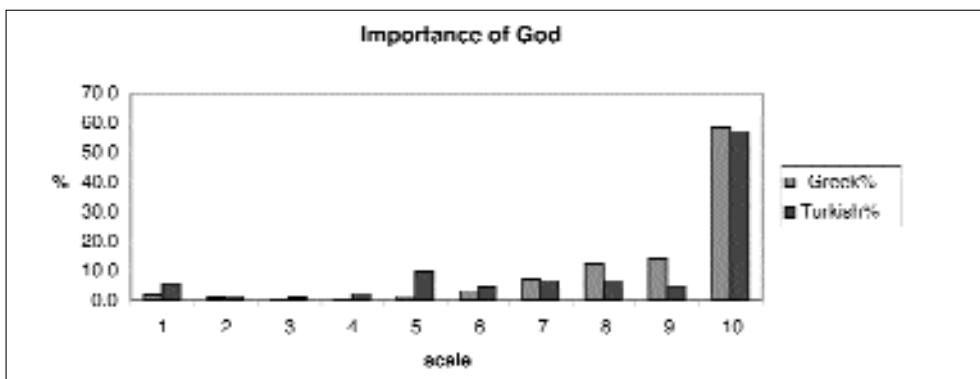
		language of interview	
		Greek	Turkish
trust: people of different nationality		%	%
	Completely	0.91	7.60
	Somewhat	23.18	36.00
	not very much	45.44	35.20
	not at all	30.66	21.20
Total	100	100	

Finally, when it comes to trusting individuals of different nationality, Greek Cypriots once again seem to be much more cautious than Turkish Cypriots.

**3. Religiosity**

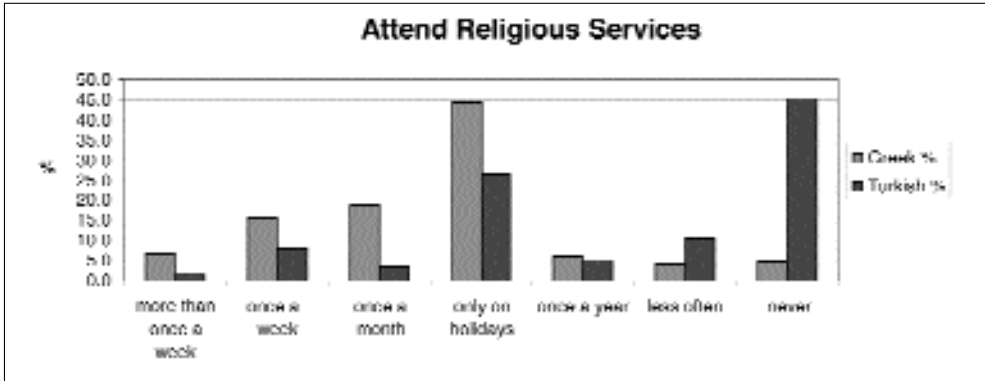
We next turned our attention to religiosity. The following figures and table provide descriptive statistics on this topic in Cyprus. The first point that should be apparent from these outputs is how very similar the two Cypriot communities are in terms of their attitudes toward God, but in their approach toward institutionalised religion they differ greatly.

**Figure 3.1: - Importance of God in One's Life**



For 91% of Greek Cypriots and 75% of Turkish Cypriots, God is very important in their daily lives (range 7-10 on the above scale where 1 = not at all and 10 = very important). The high levels of importance that Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots attribute to God in their lives did not take the authors by surprise given the rather recent modernisation of Cyprus' society and economy. In many respects, high levels of belief in God would be expected in traditional societies. When it comes to following organised religion, however (i.e. attending church or mosque services), the two communities significantly drift apart as shown in the next figure.

Figure 3.2: Attendances of Religious Services



There is a marked disparity between the two communities in terms of religious practices. While Greek Cypriots regularly attend church services this is not found to be the case among Turkish Cypriots, who view themselves as being some of the most secular Muslims in the world. To further investigate religiosity, we studied their attitude towards religious institutions (church or mosque) in order to gain insight into various issues of concern. Table 3.1 again illustrates a significant variance between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot positions in this regard.

Table 3.1: Attitudes of the Greeks and Turks on Religious Institutions

Issue of concern:		Greek %	Turkish %
<i>Moral Problems</i>			
	yes	47.8	32.4
	no	52.2	67.6
<i>Family Problems</i>			
	yes	49.5	19.4
	no	50.5	80.6
<i>Spiritual questions</i>			
	yes	62.7	17.4
	no	37.3	82.6
<i>Social problems</i>			
	yes	44.3	22.6
	no	55.7	77.4

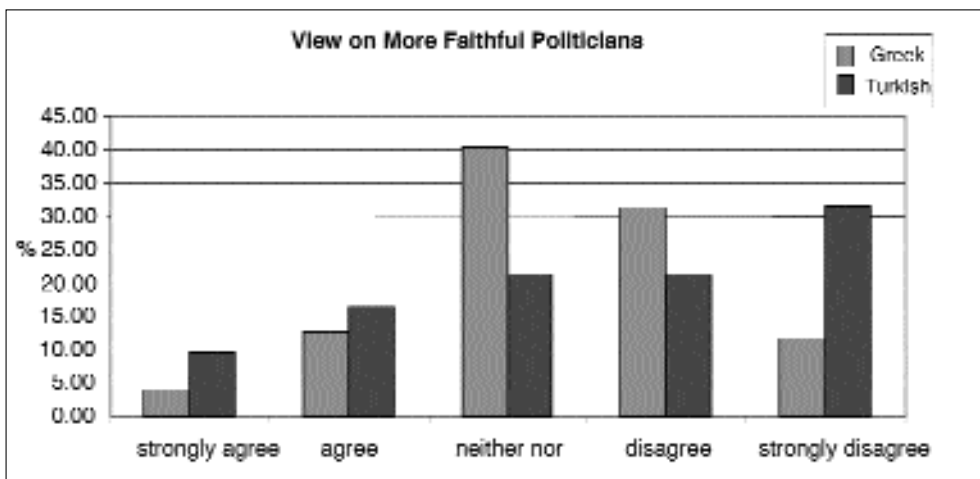
The Greek Cypriots are almost evenly divided in their view on the relevance of religious institutions to provide answers to moral, family, and social problems. On the other hand, Turkish

Cypriots overwhelmingly reject the relevance of religious institutions in moral and social issues. The differences on religion surface further when we consider how the two communities responded to the statement “religious institutions provide answers to spiritual questions”. While Greek Cypriots agreed with the statement by a 2:1 margin, Turkish Cypriots rejected it by over 80%. This does not, however, mean a rejection of religion by Turkish Cypriots as demonstrated in their belief in God.

#### 4. Religion and Politics

When asked whether Cyprus would be better off if more people with strong religious beliefs held public office, respondents tended to hold the neutral-disagree position (figure 4.1). However, there seem to be certain differences of opinion in Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot responses. A large percentage of Turkish Cypriots used the most “atheistic” response possible in the Likert scale presented to them in comparison with a U-shaped pattern among Greek Cypriots. While only a small percentage of Greek Cypriots are prepared to have politicians with no strong religious beliefs, this formed the most frequent response by Turkish Cypriots. Although both have congruent mean scores, the Turkish Cypriot responses show a greater willingness to embrace political leadership with few or no religious beliefs. Again, this stresses the more secular aspects of the Turkish Cypriot society in contrast with Greek Cypriot society in which religion and the Church still play an important role in politics.

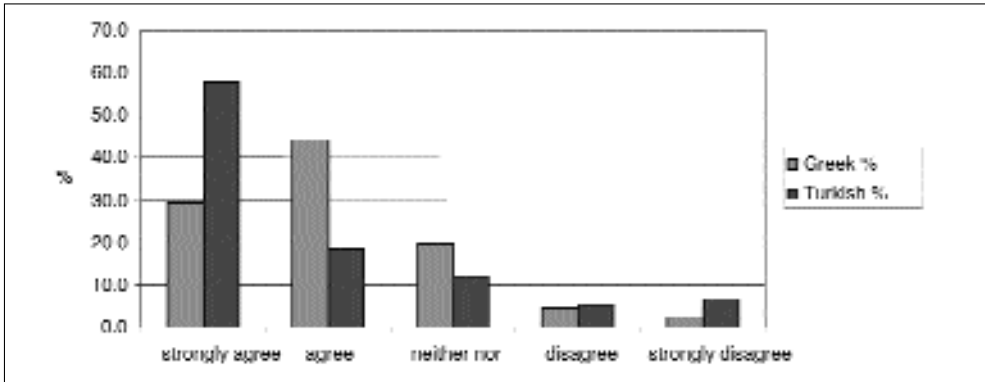
Figure 4.1: View on More Faithful Politicians



The majority of people similarly place a strong emphasis on limiting the religious leaders’ influence on politicians (figure 4.2), with Turkish Cypriots revealing the strongest views on this subject. Consistent with the position of politicians and their religious beliefs, there is a great deal of support for a limitation of religious leaders’ influence in politics. The most resolute “atheist”

response to the question is strongest among the Turkish Cypriots, with the majority of responses indicating that they would like a secular government. While most Turkish Cypriots were in agreement that politics should be secular, the Greek Cypriots were much more likely to respond with a more moderate response, which suggests that they are more willing to accept influence from religious leaders.

**Figure 4.2: Limiting Religious Leaders' Influence in Politics**



### 5. Social Values

The World Values Survey also gives significant insight into peoples' values in everyday life. In order to obtain a sense of how the Greek and Turkish Cypriots compare on such matters, the authors asked respondents to judge various behavioural traits as being either acceptable or unacceptable. Although figures 5.1 to 5.6 display remarkable similarities they also highlight considerable differences between the two groups at the same time.

**Figure 5.1: Cheating on Taxes**

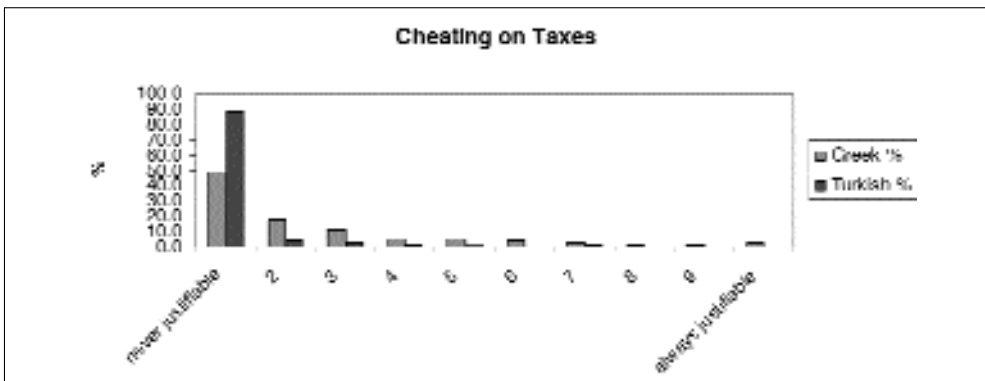


Figure 5.2: Accepting Bribe

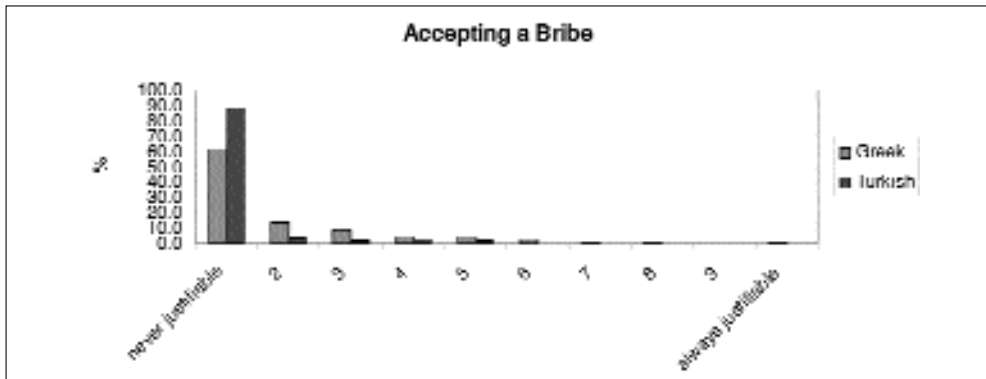


Figure 5.3: Homosexuality

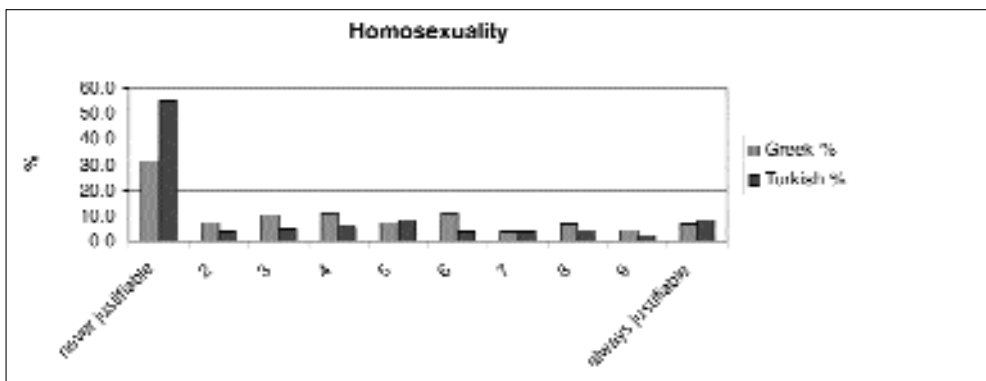


Figure 5.4: Prostitution

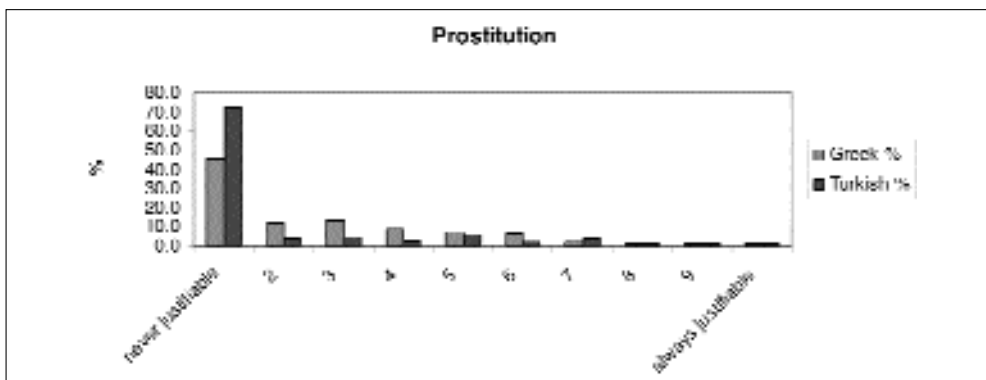


Figure 5.5: Abortion

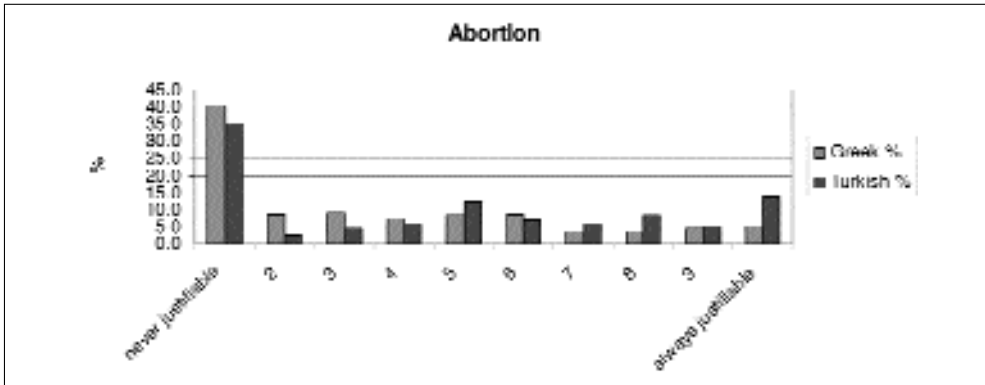
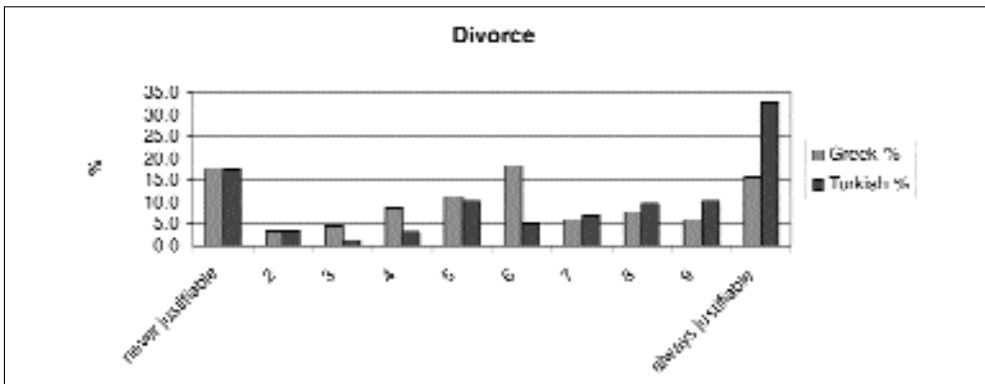


Figure 5.6: Divorce



It is hard to ignore the fact that some degree of hypocrisy appears to be present when the responses among Greek and Turkish Cypriots are reviewed on bribery and cheating. In relation to taxes it is widely known that these behaviours are regularly practiced in Cyprus. On abortion we also perceive similar attitudes between the two communities; however, with regard to homosexuality and prostitution, the Turkish Cypriots are more vehemently negative than the Greek Cypriots.

Having noted these points, the one area where a significant variation is found in the above behavioural traits of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots is on the issue of divorce. Almost 40% of the Turkish Cypriots view divorce as always justifiable. It would appear that this might be the result of a more liberal approach to marriage as an institution. Despite the law that allows civil marriages, the vast majority of Greek Cypriots have religious weddings. Secular weddings among Greek Cypriots tend to involve partners from different religions or nationality. Among Turkish Cypriots, religious weddings are almost unheard of. While Orthodox Christianity has made divorce a

difficult task, Islam has a much more liberal approach towards it. Since marriage is linked far more with religious institutions than with taxation, corruption, sexual practice, prostitution, and abortion, it is not particularly surprising to detect contradictions between how the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots approach the question, especially given the very notable differences in the ways that Orthodox Christianity and Islam perceive the topic. Therefore, it is likely that religion has greatly influenced the approaches of the ethnicities towards divorce.

## Conclusions

Preliminary observations of the first World Values Survey in Cyprus show that Greek and Turkish Cypriots are more similar in their values and views than many of them may realise. In this paper, the authors have barely scratched the surface of the rich data obtained in 2006. The findings, however, demonstrate extraordinary similarities between the two communities in their tolerance of others and in social values. One area where significant controversy is detected between the two communities is religiosity. Whereas the large majority of Greek and Turkish Cypriots believe in God and His place in their daily lives, they differ appreciably on the importance of organised religion – attending religious services and the role of religious institutions in providing answers to personal, family, and social problems. In this regard, institutionalised religion holds a vital role in the lives of Greek Cypriots whereas it is conspicuously absent in the Turkish Cypriot community. More detailed causal analyses would undoubtedly shed light on the similarities and differences outlined above and on the degree of compatibility with their kin in Greece and Turkey. That comparison in itself may reveal whether or not the myth of “close affinity” with Greeks and Turks from the respective main lands is real or simply a legend.

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## *The Broken Olive Branch: Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and the Quest for Peace in Cyprus*

HARRY ANASTASIOU

Syracuse Press (New York, 2008)

from the series - Studies on Peace and Conflict Resolution

Vol 1: The Impasse of Ethnonationalism, 256 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8156-3196-5

Vol 2: Nationalism Versus Europeanization, 312 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8156-3197-2

### **An Anatomy of the Protracted Cyprus Crisis**

I read Harry Anastasiou's two-volume book *The Broken Olive Branch, Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and the Quest for Peace in Cyprus* at a time when I had started losing sight of solution prospects. On having read it, I said to myself: As long as there are Cypriots with such a clear mind as the one shown in this book, we cannot lose hope for a leap forward in Cyprus.

The first and foremost asset of the book lies in the fact that it demythologises and demystifies Greek Cypriot (GC) and Turkish Cypriot (TC) as well as Greek and Turkish ethnonationalisms. In a cohesive and comprehensive analysis of unrivalled academic standard and integrity while worded in simple straightforward language that makes a capturing narrative, the author maps the trajectory of ethnonationalism in Cyprus, Turkey, and Greece, by bringing to the surface its birth and complex development path, and by elaborating in its impasses in all three countries, and more particularly among the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. In the core of the author's analysis of ethnonationalism is its ethnocentric, monoethnic vision, which he rightly considers to have been at the heart of the protracted Cyprus crisis, and which still weighs on the soul of Cyprus; first, by its exclusivist totalitarian concept of ethnic identity, and, second, by the incompatibility of the ethnocentric political objectives of large sections of GCs and TCs. In the author's words,

... once the basic parameters of nationalism are laid bare, the Cyprus conflict not only becomes understandable as a political problem but it also becomes intelligible as a major factor that has shaped, structured and conditioned the culture, the psychology, the communication process and the anthropology of Cypriot society. [...] Given the history of the Cyprus conflict, a solution appears viable and sustainable only to the degree that an agreed political settlement is processed and mediated through the deconstruction and dissolution of the nationalist mind.

Nonetheless, despite repeated failures to reach a settlement, owing to the strong roots of nationalism in all three countries involved, Harry Anastasiou sees, in the earthquake diplomacy

and the Helsinki strategy of the late 1990s, in the TC uprising against Denktaş (2000-2004) and in Cyprus' EU accession process, and above all in the EU framework encompassing all three countries, a genuine start that permeates potentially influential civil society groupings in a process of demythologising and deconstructing nationalism.

A second important asset of the book is that it demythologises GC national figures that are still held as taboos among certain sections of the GC community. Makarios' and Grivas' strands of nationalism come within the author's critical approach. The differentiation he makes between them does not leave Makarios free of responsibility for the course historical events have taken in Cyprus.

A third substantial contribution of the *Broken Olive Branch* is that it challenges the conventional approach which connects nationalism exclusively with the Right. By bringing forth conclusive evidence, Harry Anastasiou suggests that, in the course of history, nationalism has vaccinated both Right and Left. With regard to Cyprus, he goes as far as to suggest that even AKEL, with its long history of cooperation with the TCs, cannot be exempted from nationalist influences. As a case study of such influences, he brings forth AKEL's alliance with Tassos Papadopoulos in the course of events that led to the rejection of the Annan Plan.

The second volume explores the shifts away from ethnocentric nationalism and examines the dynamics of peace-enhancing post-nationalist politics that began to emerge since the late 1990s, and which, during the historic juncture of 2000-2004, gave rise to an unprecedented convergence of interests of TCs, GCs, Turks, and Greeks. At this point, the author brings in the Annan Plan, which was submitted by the UN secretary General on 11 November 2002. "The Annan Plan", he states from the outset, "may be characterized as a masterpiece of conflict resolution diplomacy". And through an astute comparative analysis of the Plan's provisions, he proves the above statement to be a challenging hypothesis.

In unfolding the course of events towards the referendum, Harry Anastasiou does not mince his words on Tassos Papadopoulos' and AKEL's responsibility for the rejection of the Annan Plan while he is particularly critical of Papadopoulos for the unrestrained methods he employed in carrying through the NO campaign. Writing on the "negative reversibles" following the GC resounding NO to the Annan Plan, Anastasiou sadly remarks: "If and when the noise of nationalist rationalizations subside, April 2004 may appear, in hindsight, as the most tragic of missed opportunities for a final Cyprus settlement." And, in the form of postscript, the author concludes:

President Christofias [is] now confronted with a historical paradox, namely of fundamentally undoing the outcome of the Papadopoulos presidency that he and his party had helped bring about and sustain since 2003. [...] The great challenge for the new president is to free GC policy and public opinion from the legacy of the Papadopoulos administration and supersede the erroneous notion that the Cyprus problem can be resolved merely as a legal issue in the EU framework and outside the UN process.

Finally, he warns that “the UN and specially the EU ought to assume a more proactive role, reinvigorating their leadership and mediation efforts in pursuit of a Cyprus settlement”. And he pointedly remarks that “this is imperative as it is doubtful whether the Cyprus disputants will be able of themselves to initiate a substantive peace process”.

The critical point the Christofias-Talat negotiation has reached makes this last comment of Harry Anastasiou sound as a prophetic warning to all political leaders and peoples involved.

**CHRYSOSTOMOS PERICLEOUS**



## *British Imperialism in Cyprus 1878-1915: The Inconsequential Possession*

ANDREKOS VARNAVA

Manchester University Press (Manchester, 2009), xiv + 321 pp.

ISBN: 978-0-7190-7903-0

Varnava's book is a wonderful addition to our knowledge and understanding of a crucial period in Cyprus' history, namely that of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The book analyses the British take-over of Cyprus in 1878 from the Ottoman Empire primarily "for strategic reasons" (p. 18), a myth that it debunks effectively. Spanning a period of over thirty-seven years, the book covers this event, up to 1915 when the island was offered to Greece: a decision taken following "the outcome of years of seeing Cyprus as strategically useless and a pawn" (p. 265). Varnava emphasises how Cyprus, given its geographic location "on the periphery of Europe, Asia and Africa" (p. 26) and population (its majority being Greek Orthodox Christians), was different than other "traditional imperial settings" (p. 26). He argues that for London, the island "belonged to the unitary ideal of the modern Greek world that Europeans had fashioned after creating a unitary ideal of ancient Greece during the Enlightenment" and that this prevented the British from implementing co-optation strategies with the locals. Alternatively, it led the way for the British introduction of "modern structures and approaches in Cyprus – as far as they did not impinge on their control of affairs – and in doing so assisted in importing the national identity being created in the Greek state" (p. 26). For Varnava, "British rule not only created the space for the introduction of Hellenism, it planted its seeds. This divided Cypriot society and made British rule difficult" (p. 33). The latter has been a contested issue in the literature for some time, but Varnava presents convincing arguments to support a much more nuanced approach to the 'divide and rule' processes analysed thus far. As to the question of whether Cyprus was useless and why it was not returned to the Ottoman Empire, Varnava highlights the 'Liberal view' that perceived Cyprus as belonging to the 'modern Greek World', which prevented "[r]eturning Cyprus to the Porte – an Empire with pre-modern systems – was contrary to political modernity" (p. 37).

Once Varnava establishes the contexts within which he sees his thesis developing (ch. 1), he goes on to devote seven well-written chapters based on his diligent archival work and excellent review of secondary literature. He traces how Cyprus, from the Crusades onwards, was visualised as a land of desire in line with that of the Holy Land for the British (ch. 2) and then moves to the British justifications for its occupation (ch. 3). He then proceeds to show how Cyprus was "crushed from a 'gem' to a 'millstone'" (p. 120) when the power of the initial British 'Eldorado' effect ran out within the first two years of British occupation (ch. 4). He then focuses on British rule in

Cyprus from 1880 to 1912 whereupon the British effort to turn the 'millstone' into a 'gem' yielded results neither for the British nor the islanders, who on the contrary suffered heavily (ch. 5).

With a twist in chapter 6, Varnava then delves into the details of local identity formation and politics under the influence of British rule, which he claims paved the way for the evolution of a 'multi-nationalist' society out of the former multicultural Ottoman culture. For Varnava, "the imposition of political modernity replaced the religious, civic and regional identity of Cypriots with the imagined ethnic identity, making British rule problematic" (p. 152). His analysis of the Greek Orthodox Church and its role in local politics and identity formation as an institution, which was co-opted by the Ottomans but left out of the ruling structures of the British, is illuminating and supports earlier findings (e.g. Katsiaounis) in the argument for the late arrival of nationalism (p. 157). In chapter 7, Varnava returns to the argument that – contrary to what is widely believed – Cyprus was not a 'strategic', but rather an 'inconsequential' possession of the British, occupying a space in the 'backwater' of 'the British imperial structure'. In his final chapter he analyses various settings within which this 'inconsequential' possession was used as a 'pawn' by the British to safeguard their wider imperialistic interests. The book ends with a short but succinct conclusion in which various formerly espoused myths about British colonialism in Cyprus are discredited.

Varnava's book is a well-written and well-documented account of the first four decades of British rule in Cyprus. It heightens our knowledge and exposes the problems surrounding some of the accepted 'truths' regarding this period. On one hand the book is brimming with historic data (primarily based upon work with British colonial archives) that the readers can utilise for future research. In addition, there are powerful analysis and conclusions that challenge historic norms that were created (invented) in an environment of contesting nationalist claims and antagonism that still prevail on the island. On the other hand, the readers may sometimes sense an absence of in-depth analysis of the local socio-economic and political conditions as perceived and lived by ordinary locals and linkages to regional analysis – particularly with respect to the late Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic. The work might have included a more in-depth analysis of its local influences on the lives of Cypriots in general, and Turkish Cypriots in particular. But this has been attempted by others (e.g. Nevzat) and poses questions for future research.

This book would be an excellent addition to student reading lists as well as providing new material for seasoned researchers in the history, colonial studies, sociology, and political science of Cyprus.

**MURAT ERDAL ILICAN**

## *Democratisation and the Prevention of Violent Conflict: Lessons Learned from Bulgaria and Macedonia*

JENNY ENGSTRÖM

Ashgate (Surrey, UK, 2009), 190 pp.

ISBN: 978-0-7546-7434-4

Jenny Engström examines the relationship between democratisation in divided societies and the risk of inter-communal conflict, offering an alternative view of the impact of democratisation on inter-ethnic relations. The author challenges the notion that democratic principles and institutions in post-communist states, if established at all, are likely to have destructive consequences for countries harbouring inter-communal grievances amongst different ethnic groups. Rather, Engström argues that democratisation can help prevent violent conflict and even have a stabilising effect on states that are divided along ethnic lines, given certain conditions. The book draws lessons from a comparative analysis of the post-communist experiences of Bulgaria and Macedonia, two Balkan countries that managed to avoid violent conflict despite the multi-cultural character of their societies, the lack of democratic legacy, and internal and external insecurities during transition.

Engström outlines the preconditions necessary for democratisation to effectively mediate tensions between opposing ethnic or national communities non-violently. She convincingly demonstrates that the process is conditioned by the existence of a general consensus by political elites on the political community and national unity. In this context, Engström demonstrates that the process of consultation is “an important ingredient of peaceful, consensual and inclusive transition to democracy” (p. 164). Bulgaria, she explains, managed to peacefully transition from communism to democracy by establishing a national roundtable that included the Turkish minority and restored its rights. In the case of Macedonia, however, not consulting the non-Macedonian minorities in the process that led to the ratification of its constitution prompted mistrust among the communities in the country.

Engström then addresses the need to understand the type of conflict between different communities sharing the same territorial and political space. She explains that the experiences of Macedonia and Bulgaria have shown that outstanding issues over the gratification of fundamental non-negotiable needs (territory, national belonging, security, and state-building) in multi-ethnic societies render the democratic project, which is based on negotiating competing interests, excessively difficult to realise.

The author also argues for the selection of the right institutional features of the democratic system under development. While inter-ethnic conflicts manifest themselves at the level of ethnicity, their root causes are to be found primarily in historical, economic, political and socio-psychological legacies. She maintains that the main features of democratisation – the formation of a multiparty system, regular and free elections, and civil and political rights – render possible the

political organisation of previously suppressed peoples and allow for inclusion in society. Yet, the Balkan cases demonstrate that for the process to be successful, the political elite of the given country must consistently and deliberately opt for the democratic choice. A limited definition of democracy constrained in the remit of competitive multiparty elections is thus insufficient.

Fourthly, Engström considers the significance of the internal security environment during the initial transition phase following the breakdown of a regime and the influence of external security threats in compromising successful democratisation. Macedonia's experience with democratisation and conflict prevention highlights the interconnectedness of domestic political transformation and international political forces. The author illustrates that following its decision to leave the Yugoslav federation, Macedonia's political leadership managed to maintain a relatively moderate line in national politics and with neighbouring states, in order not to provoke any aggression from within (ethnic Albanian community) or from external actors (Kosovo spillover). Furthermore, Engström points to the role of international actors in encouraging the development of democracy in a given state. Faulty international policies and a lack of understanding of the cultural and historical legacies of the Balkans led to an absence of political and economic support to the region (including Macedonia) at a time of dire need. In Bulgaria, however, the process of democratisation and the development of a minority rights framework was significantly influenced and supported by the Council of Europe and the European Union.

This study offers poignant lessons for democratisation and conflict resolution, which could apply to the Cyprus conflict. While it does not share the communist legacy of the Balkan cases, the Cyprus case is also proof of the premise that the formation of new states in heterogeneous societies is a primary risk factor for ethno-political conflict. As with Macedonia, in 1960 the newly established Republic of Cyprus suffered from a weak political system that was not yet consolidated, a legitimacy deficit and destabilising power struggles that led to violence and extremism. Engström also pertinently points to the need for leaders to publicly address past conflicts and mistakes between the different communities and to strive towards reconciliation between them, an element lacking from efforts to resolve the Cyprus stalemate. Moreover, the author reminds us of an important lesson that could serve Cyprus well: where a parliamentary system was chosen in multi-ethnic Balkan countries (Slovenia, Bulgaria and Macedonia), democratisation progressed relatively peacefully, while in those countries where power became vested in the office of a president – Croatia, Serbia – the democratisation process was stopped in its tracks at an early stage by political leaders.

Engström makes an important contribution to our understanding of the political dynamics of ethnicity and democracy, combining a well-conceptualised theoretical frame-work with two fascinating case studies into an insightful comparative analysis that is relevant far beyond the Balkans. This book would be of interest to a wide range of experts, political scientists, scholars in international relations, and policy-makers on the domestic and international scene, interested in the concept of democracy and political pluralism in ethno-nationalist disputes.

ISABELLE IOANNIDES



## *Mediterranean Crossings: The Politics of an Interrupted Modernity*

IAIN CHAMBERS

Duke University Press (Durham, NC, 2008), xi + 181 pp.

ISBN: 978-0-8223-4126-0 (cloth)

ISBN: 978-0-8223-4150-5 (paper)

The essays that comprise Iain Chambers' new book are a heady mix. Indeed, I am tempted to describe the book as an effervescent cocktail of a work. Eclectic, evocatively written, often superficial, the author attempts to evoke a more plural Mediterranean in the way that certain drinks or musical mixes "evoke" the tropics or the Caribbean. The work aims not only to replot a northern Mediterranean history that (re)captures its absent, Southern other, but more importantly to give an open-ended account of Mediterranean modernity that does not employ a teleology of European progress. But the examples that the author uses for this purpose are not only heterogeneous and largely disconnected but also decontextualised. The result is one that unfortunately resembles a fruit cocktail with too much juice and too little punch.

The essays open with musings on the meaning of borders, "both transitory and zones of transit" (p. 5). Repeating the oft-invoked idea that critical theory is a "border discourse" (*ibid.*), Chambers lays out his aim to exhume what has been "historically marginalized and culturally excluded", "to recover the hidden dependency of Occidental modernity on what remains in the dark, over the frontier in the silenced territories of alterity" (p. 8). The book aims, then, to recover a more fluid past – hence the repeated invocation of the sea, as well as the reference in the title to "crossings". Chambers aims to do this by employing a number of metaphors – "the fold", "the baroque", "the arabesque" – all of which are intended to reclaim the unruly in history. With "the baroque logic of 'the fold'" (p. 17), Chambers refers to topology rather than geography, to the unpredictable deformations of the landscape rather than its writing. These he calls "uprooted geographies", in which local detail displaces an abstract universalism.

The aim of the book, then, is an admirable one, though hardly a new one. It has some resonances with the multicultural nostalgia that has grown in prevalence throughout the (especially eastern) Mediterranean in the past decade. But like the nostalgia for a prelapsarian multicultural past that we now find in places as disparate as Turkey, Egypt, and Tunisia, the author's romantic quest for a suppressed "other" never goes farther than a few verses of music or a few puffs on a metaphorical *nargile*. Instead, the author tends to repeat his good intentions throughout the book in different forms, as though the disparate examples that he presents in each instance may lead the reader closer to the heart of the matter. We skip through examples from the music of 'Oum Khulthum to the novels of Assia Djébar, from the film "Lion of the Desert" to the

ingredients of a pan-Mediterranean cuisine. None of these subjects is dealt with in any depth, becoming instead one more ingredient in the cocktail. We are given somewhat more detail when it comes to the cultural legacies and historical contradictions of Naples, the author's adopted home. But then, too, the "folds" seem more like tiny bubbles that burst before making a proper fizz.

The collection consists of five essays. After laying out his intention to describe "uprooted geographies" in the first chapter, "Many Voices," the author then moves, in "Postcolonial Sea," to a declaration of the need for a more fluid history. "The house of history", he notes, the site of the West's teleology, "is conceived not as a finished edifice but as a ruin" (p. 27). The past is not only what we have constructed but also what we have discarded, not only what we choose to remember but also what we have tried to forget. This is also why, he remarks, the sea may be a more fitting metaphor for describing history, in that it consists of an always receding horizon and boundaries that can never be fixed. The sea, he notes, is the site of mixing and encounters, of currents and crossings. He believes that we are accustomed to imagining the Mediterranean primarily through its northern and eastern shores, the sites of the nineteenth-century "Grand Tour", and he argues that correcting this view is not simply a matter of adding in what has been marginalised, i.e. the sea's south. "I am proposing to think", he remarks, "of the Mediterranean in a more malleable and unsettled manner, as a continual interweaving of cultural and historical currents" (p. 34).

So far, so good. But rather than adding substance to these claims, rather than giving us some specific historical accounts of such currents and mixing, the author instead gives us superficial examples and simply repeats his abstract point in numerous different ways. On p. 39, he remarks that "the Mediterranean as a sea of migrating cultures, power, and histories continues to propose a more fluid and unstable archive, a composite formation in the making, neither conclusive nor complete". And only two pages later he notes that "a fixed image of the Mediterranean disciplined by the Northern gaze – its romanticism, classicism, nationalism, and 'progress' – can unexpectedly open up to expose a series of interrogations that refuse to disappear". But the examples that he uses to demonstrate this are a few anecdotes from Braudel, a reference to the Crusades as an invasion by the undeveloped periphery, the novels of Assia Djebar (a recurring theme), and the possible Arab roots of Neapolitan song. The theme of music is one to which he then returns in the third chapter, as "a 'home' that fluctuates, travels, and is perpetually uprooted" (p. 55). Returning us again to Assia Djebar, as well as to Israeli/Palestinian cinema, Chambers then remarks yet again that he is "seeking here to propose a different geography; an *uprooted geography* articulated in the diverse currents and complex nodes of both visible and invisible networks, rather than one that merely follows the horizontal axis of borders, barriers, and allegedly separated unities" (p. 68).

The book, then, flits across the surface, never alighting anywhere long enough to give the reader a concrete sense of direction in this "uprooted geography". Food and music – recurrent themes of the book – are certainly ripe for understanding histories of knowledge and practice that produce habituses not easily reducible to national(ist) geographies. But in the form in which they are presented here, they become simply exotic buffets or compilations filed under "Mediterranean". "Both the African and the European shores are rendered proximate, and mutually translatable, as

subaltern musics (dub, reggae, Neopolitan dialect, rai, and urban Arab mixes) mingle in a shared sea of sounds" (p. 47), he remarks, in a characteristic romanticisation of the capacity for cross-cultural musical fertilisation. Or, "Dishes that are the distillation of centuries of cooking, of culture, of historical composition and combination not only evoke the aroma and tastes of a place; they also register what elsewhere has been brutally canceled and institutionally ignored" (p. 131). While as a statement this may be true, it does not address the complex cultural ways in which this erasure is reproduced. In Cyprus, for instance, the "national" cheese, *halloumi* or *hellim*, has Arab origins that are suppressed and denied in pursuit of a European patent and future. Simply to state the cheese's "Oriental" origin and history is hardly enough to achieve the displacement of Western hegemonic discourse that Chambers claims to want. Although I think most of us at this point can agree without argument that Orientalism and teleologies of European "progress" are discourses of power, Chambers provides no new insights to understand the workings of those power relations and hence no real clues as to how he thinks such a history can be rewritten once it is displaced.

Even the fourth and longest chapter on Naples only succeeds in giving us the sense that life under a volcano is precarious and tinged with both past and future catastrophes; that following Benjamin, the city is the space of the *flâneur*; and that the aesthetic and ethos of particular cities produce affects in those who live in them. More generally, one recurring theme of this chapter (and indeed, throughout the book) seems to be surprise that societies with histories of emigration should fail to appreciate the trials of immigrants to their own countries today. And this is where his failure to address real power relations becomes especially acute. It is not enough to claim that "the sea constantly mocks the erection of such barriers, exposing the pretensions of territorial premises and cultural prejudices" (p. 147). After all, as anyone at the border of the Greek-Turkish territorial waters would know, watery claims can be just as real as ones on shore. Pointing out musical cross-fertilisation or the historical trajectory of the aubergine is not enough to get us to a critical politics. While the project that Chambers sets out for himself is an admirable one, then, we never reach the point of "crossing" and instead are left staring at a horizon on the water with little notion of how we might reach it.

REBECCA BRYANT



**Το Δημοψήφισμα του 2004:  
Το Περιφερειακό και Διεθνές Περιβάλλον, η Πρόσληψη  
της Λύσης και η Συγκυρία**

[THE REFERENDUM OF 2004: THE REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT,  
THE RECEPTION OF A SOLUTION, AND THE TIME CONJECTURE]

CHRYSOSTOMOS PERICLEOUS

Papazisi (Athens, 2007), 764 pp.

ISBN: 978-960-02-2111-4

published in English as *The Cyprus Referendum:*

*A Divided Island and the Challenge of the Annan Plan*

I.B.Tauris (London/NY, 2009), xvii + 430 pp.

ISBN: 978-1-84885-021-7

“The referendum of 2004” takes a comprehensive look at the history of the Cyprus problem examining the international as well as local processes leading to the 2004 referendum. It is a useful tool for students and researchers of the Cyprus problem as it provides a detailed analytical account of the geo-political context, the diplomatic developments in the long peace process, the Annan Plan and an interpretation of the Greek Cypriot “No”. The analysis is focused on political science perspectives, utilising published texts, books, reports and press articles. Although it is an essentially empirical rather than a theoretical attempt, the book does present theoretical insights through a thorough literature review. And although objectivity in the analysis constitutes a guiding thread throughout the book, the author remains free from presumptions of political neutrality and does not shy away from expressing his own position, namely that the “No” vote has exacerbated the danger of making the current partition of the island a permanent one.

The book starts with a reference to the European paradigm in an attempt to both situate the analysis in the current juncture of Cyprus’ EU membership as well as provide the conceptual framework in which to approach issues of state sovereignty and government. The narrative proceeds with an overview of the revision of Greek foreign policy *vis-a-vis* Turkey from antagonism to rapprochement, followed by a parallel analysis of the revision of US post-Cold-War foreign policy from focusing on short-term and narrow geo-political interests to considering both the interests of the regional powers and ‘international justice’.

Moving on to examine the great changes in Turkey, the author counters the conventional “static” perception of Turkey as untrustworthy and expansionist, adopted by Papadopoulos and in his attempt to justify the rejection of the Annan Plan. He thus proceeds to a historical analysis of

modern Turkey and explains the gradual erosion of Kemalist secularism and statism in terms of the survival of Islam and the creation of an independent business class with separate interests from the Kemalist establishment which he considers instrumental in the on-going modernization and democratization processes. Despite Özal's Turko-Islamic synthesis, it is claimed, the rise of political Islam at the end of his premiership was perceived by the Turkish army as a serious threat to the principles of Kemalism. The repression of political Islam and the promotion of nationalist parties by the army however proved untenable as the new moderate Islamists of the AKP embraced pro-Europeanism and through "a peaceful revolution" won a big electoral victory in 2002. This had significant repercussions on Turkey's policy on Cyprus which was radically revised with Erdoğan stating for the first time that "non-solution is not a solution".

The author then proceeds to an account of the historical developments within Greek Cypriot society charting the growth of irredentist nationalism and the specific role of Makarios in its culmination in the 1950s. The 1960 constitution and Makarios' attempt to revise it is re-evaluated in the light of new historical evidence which challenges the conventional "British trap" theory. Makarios' responsibility for the 1963 political crisis is acknowledged while he is credited for achieving in 1968 with his policy shift away from enosis a "joy break" for the people of Cyprus. The survival though of an underlying absolutist conception of a solution prevented him from compromising. It took the tragic events of 1974 to re-situate Makarios on a compromise path, which became thereafter a "painful" one. Yet again the concept of the post-1974 long term struggle was also his. Makarios' two-fold legacy is still relevant today corresponding to the two schools of thought regarding the Cyprus problem: the realists who are ready to compromise refer to the pragmatist Makarios who accepted the federal model, while the "patriotic" forces who in practice reject the compromise on the federal model refer to the long struggle he proclaimed after 1974. Electoral concerns though have historically influenced the political orientations of the pragmatist forces AKEL and DISI into alliances with the rejectionist forces represented by DIKO and EDEK.

In the Turkish Cypriot community, to which Pericleous turns next, nationalism evolved from the logic of autonomy to the logic of *taksim*. Rauf Denktaş is considered the catalyst in the partition process, in this sense, that led from the enclaves to the Turkish occupation and the proclamation of the TRNC. However the absolute power of Denktaş was eroded in the 1990s as Turkish Cypriots realised that his policy was keeping them in isolation while Greek Cypriots were marching towards the EU. Early in this decade the Turkish Cypriot revolt swept him out of power redefining the content of the community's interests for the first time in modern history converging with the broader Cypriot interest in reunification.

Having described the creation of the problem the book proceeds with an analysis of the long peace process in Cyprus examining the step by step accumulation of the body of work produced leading to the Annan Plan which is described in some detail with an evaluation of its philosophy, its main provisions and its projected impact on Cyprus. From then on the narrative moves to an account of the lead up to the referendum analyzing the international pressures on the Cypriot

communities as well as Turkey that derived from the historical conjuncture of Cyprus' EU entry and Turkey's accession negotiations. The significant role of Papadopoulos and Denktaş in undermining the process and preparing the ground for the rejection of the Plan is firmly asserted although the author argues that only Papadopoulos managed to follow through to the end, as Denktaş was forced to comply with Erdoğan's road map and abstain from the final negotiations in Burgenstock.

The Greek Cypriot "No" was engineered by Papadopoulos from early on in the negotiations and this explains, according to the author, his refusal to negotiate in Burgenstock. AKEL's inability to differentiate its position from Papadopoulos is severely criticized and Christofias' stance seen as indicative of his inability to take the lead and shape history. DISI's rapture with its nationalist past on the other hand was impressive and Anastasiades' refusal to consider the political cost of the "Yes" vote demonstrated, for the author, his boldness as well as his statesmanship. Finally the Church's role alongside that of the biased (pro-"No") media is seen as important because they, in concert with Papadopoulos, were able to direct the electorate overwhelmingly towards a rejectionist position.

In dealing with all these processes at once, the book is ultimately too broad in scope and too analytically ambitious. In his attempt to cover all the themes directly or indirectly relevant to the 2004 referendum, the analysis extends too far back in history and opens up side issues which are inevitably insufficiently addressed. Nationalism, for example, is examined in its political manifestations in different historical periods but its ideological impact through the educational system, which arguably constitutes an important social-historical factor in the production of the Greek Cypriot "No" is barely touched upon. The emphasis is ultimately on the geopolitical context which is seen as over-determining the peace process with the local dynamics having a secondary role. With regards to the Annan Plan the author focuses more on its provisions comparing them with previous plans and projecting on its implication and less on how these provisions were interpreted and evaluated by the Cypriots, political elite and electorate alike. Nevertheless the book succeeds in giving a holistic picture of the 2004 referendum and most importantly the processes which led us there. It is undoubtedly a useful book with a detailed historical account of the Cyprus problem at its most important juncture with a crystal-clear political position that needs to be taken into consideration.

GREGORIS IOANNOU





# *The Europeanization of Cyprus Polity, Policies and Politics*

[PALGRAVE STUDIES IN EUROPEAN UNION POLITICS]

ANGELOS SEPOS

Palgrave Macmillan (Houndmills, Basingstroke, 2008), 211 pp.

ISBN: 978-0-230-01946-1

Research on modern history and politics of Cyprus is dominated in similar fashion to the conduct of politics on the island by the overarching dominance of the Cyprus problem. The same way the latter has been to the detriment of a healthy and extensive discourse on other aspects relevant to Cypriot society, the former has led to the lack of sustained and extensive research on other aspects of modern Cypriot history, society or politics. As far as research is concerned this has started to change in recent years and Angelos Sepos book – though also dealing extensively with the Cyprus problem – is a welcome contribution to research on other aspects of Cypriot politics – many of them hardly researched or even unexplored.

The book deals with the relationship between Cyprus and the European Union, by looking at how and to what extent the accession process and the ensuing membership of the island since 2004 have “Europeanized” Cyprus but also – to a much lesser degree – how Cyprus has left its mark on the EU as an organisation. The process of Europeanization means that although “states download EU institutions, policies and procedures at the domestic level, they upload their national policies, institutions and preferences at the EU level, and they cross-load, that is, learn, mimic and socialise with each other, in the broader EU arena” (p. 7).

The book, which is based on Sepos’ PhD, is divided into nine chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter provides the reader with an overview of the various aspects and concepts of Europeanization and thereby introduces the theoretical analytical framework used in the book.

Chapter two provides a historical overview of the relationship of Cyprus with Europe in the context of a short presentation of the history of the island. The chapter provides a balanced account largely devoid of a nationalist or one-sided presentation of the contentious issues in modern Cypriot history (the closest the author comes to a predominantly Greek Cypriot view of history is the alleged withdrawal of the Turkish Cypriots from government in 1963, which the Turkish Cypriot side presents as an expulsion. Arguably it was both). An interesting aspect on the events of 1974 is provided by looking at the reaction of the European Community (EC) to the Turkish invasion. At that time Cyprus had already been linked by an Association Agreement to the Community. The EC mainly supported the UN resolutions and the short lived negotiations in Geneva but also gave the lead to the UK to handle the crises and then supported Greece’s

aspiration to join the EC in the immediate aftermath of 1974. In the end it failed to take action on its own and therefore did not play a significant role in the crises but the account provides an often overlooked detail to the events of 1974.

The third chapter analyses the evolution of Cyprus' relations with the EU from the Association Agreement in 1962 to its accession in 2004. While generally being a fine and concise account, the chapter could also have added that since the 1990s Britain has been supportive of a Cypriot accession despite Turkish resistance; and in a similar fashion now supports a Turkish accession and therefore opposes Greek Cypriot attempts to utilise its membership as well as Turkey's membership aspirations in order to obtain concessions from Ankara.

Once the stage is set by covering the history of Cyprus and its accession process the newly researched part of the book begins. As promised in the sub-title it deals with the impact of Cyprus' accession on various aspects of the Cypriot polity, policies and politics. Many aspects within these chapters are analysed and presented for the first time in the academic realm. Structurally the chapters provide an initial overview of the relevant research debates on a European level for each respective chapter, followed by an analysis of the impact of Europeanization on the various institutions and actors in Cyprus, always placing the findings of the respective chapter within the framework of the Europeanization theories.

Chapter four looks at the transformation of the three branches of government (Legislative, Executive and Judicial Authorities) during the accession process and the period following 2004. Unsurprisingly, numerous new bodies and institutions have been founded since the signing of an Association Agreement in 1972. As far as the Executive is concerned, the main finding is that although European integration results generally in the shifting of power from the legislative to the executive, in Cyprus "the national parliament has increased its role in the policy-making process but its real impact is still limited compared to the executive" (p. 56). On a legislative level the fast track procedures which had allowed the Cypriot parliament the speedy adaptation of the *acquis communautaire*, were terminated in 2005 allowing better and "normal" procedures in the adaptation of laws related to or imposed by the EU within the parliamentary committees. The least affected were the courts whose structures, rules of procedure, practice and workload did not change much during or after accession (though the supremacy of EU law in relation to the national constitution led to a more active involvement of the Courts in the European judicial process). A particular strength within this chapter is that Sepos provides lucid criticism of various shortcomings on an institutional, administrative and political level as well as concrete, well thought through suggestions for improvements which are hopefully taken into consideration by the various bodies and actors concerned.

The next chapter is dedicated to political parties and public opinion. The chapter offers a fine short history of the political parties in Cyprus which is followed by an assessment of the impact of Europeanization on Cypriot political parties. In short, it has been significant: "The right-wing DISY has adopted a new ideological platform called 'Eurodemocracy' and the left-wing AKEL has adopted a more pro-EU stance compared to its pre-1990 position [...] while all parties have

addressed issues that are important for the EU". This is seen as a wider 'southern' phenomenon which is allegedly characterised by the absence of popular and party-based euro-scepticism (p. 66). Moreover, European integration worked also – and this seems to be rather unique – as a cohesive force for the political parties. The EU is seen by all parties as a factor that could promote a solution of the Cyprus problem and provide for additional security. As correct as wishful thinking is the author's criticism of the shortcomings of Cypriot parties: "more reforms are required, more particularly in dissolving the patron-client structures between parties and their voters and the way in which these parties exercise power, particularly in regards to selection of candidates. In a challenging European environment [...] the primary regards to the selection should be qualifications, experience, expertise and character and the competence of the candidate to integrate his/her community at the European level" (p. 69). The main finding of the public opinion part of the chapter is the considerable decrease of originally strong support for the EU after the failure of the Annan Plan "with the advent of negative effects of marked integration" and one should add the controversial role the EU played with respect to direct trade with the north and in the power struggle between the Republic of Cyprus and Turkey in the EU context.

The Economy chapter provides general research results on the impact of Europeanization on the economy of candidates' and members' states, a history of the economic development of Cyprus since the Ottoman times and the impact of Europeanization on the economy of the island. Needless to say, the structural changes in the economic sector were enormous but most, not all, were positive: "the strengthening of institutional ties of Cyprus with the EU led to the opening of the Cypriot economy and an increase in both exports and imports ... It also led to a qualitative shift of trade from agricultural to manufacturing products and a geographical shift of trade from the Middle East to European markets" (p. 95). Additionally the chapter offers a very interesting assessment of the economy in the north and the repercussion of the north-south development gap.

The Agriculture, Fisheries and Regional policy chapter is particularly interesting as far as regional policy is concerned, describing not only the beneficial effect of EU funds on the economic development in Cyprus but also criticising that "the principles of subsidiarity and partnership have not been absorbed and assimilated by Cypriot policy makers" (p. 117). Important here is the assessment as to what extent the *acquis communautaire* has actually been implemented in the context of regional policy where Cyprus is an example of "paper' partnership or 'thin' Europeanization whereby the Cypriot state has rationally established these mechanisms (delegating responsibility to local actors) but its officials have yet to normatively or sociologically adapt them" (p. 118).

The chapter on Foreign Policy is the most important as regards the Cyprus problem. It is the first systematic attempt to analyse how the Greek Cypriots have sought to influence the parameters of the Cyprus solution since 2004 using their increasing political weight as a member within the EU but also internationally. The record so far is mixed, with the EU – much to the frustration of Nicosia – largely refusing to be drawn into a confrontation with Turkey on the side of the Republic of Cyprus. The most notable exception to EU neutrality is the freezing of eight

negotiation chapters with Turkey as a punishment to Ankara for its refusal to open its ports and airports to the Republic. The Greek Cypriot veto right over Turkish accession guarantees a continuation of this power struggle until either the Cyprus problem is solved or Turkey's EU perspective comes to an end. Moreover, within and outside the EU the uphill struggle against the negative image resulting from the Greek Cypriot 'no' in the Annan Plan referendum is still going on. At the same time the Commission still tries to pursue its end of the isolation agenda towards the Turkish Cypriots, which has largely been thwarted by the Greek Cypriots so far.

The last thematic chapter deals with Justice and Home Affairs looking into issues such as migration and the significant impact of the EU on institutions and legislations in Cyprus. It also deals with the impact of Europeanization on the practice of clientelism. It might be petty, but one of the privileges of writing a review is that one can set a record straight when one's own work is wrongly presented. The author's claim that I argued that clientelistic structures were once and for all dissolved by British rule while "overwhelming contemporary evidence indicate otherwise" (p. 142) is wrong. The article 'Clientelism in the Greek Cypriot Community of Cyprus' (*The Cyprus Review*, Fall 1998) indeed claims that clientelistic structures based on economic dependency were largely dissolved by British rule but it states clearly that clientelism re-emerged in the form of personal and party patronage after independence, which is indeed endemic and all encompassing in Cyprus.

The short conclusion brings together the main findings within a theoretical framework and is therefore more relevant for the theoretical expert on Europeanization than for the "normal" reader.

Overall this book is a very good piece of work and a most valuable contribution. It is – with the exception of the theoretical parts of the chapters, which are stylistically too repetitive – well written. It provides for a fine and fair account of the topics related to the Cyprus problem though the main merits of the book are found in the less "juicy" and seemingly "boring" aspects of Cypriot policies (like fishery, agriculture, technical and institutional reforms): And these issues do matter as so little research is available on them. The book is a must read for anybody dealing with the European Union and Cyprus, or for researchers interested in domestic transformations of Cypriot society, economy and politics.

HUBERT FAUSTMANN

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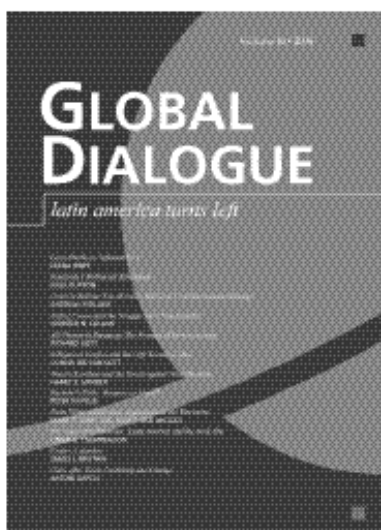
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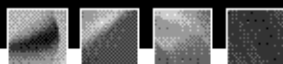
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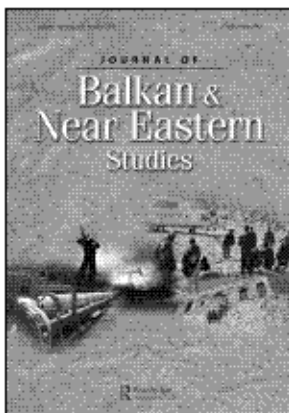


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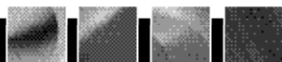
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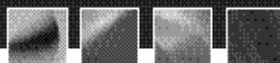
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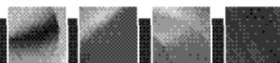
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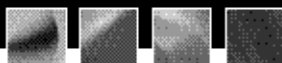
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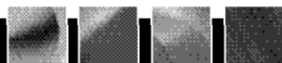
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