

THE CYPRUS REVIEW

A Journal of Social, Economic and Political Issues

Matt Qvortrup

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THE CYPRUS REVIEW

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The Cyprus Review is an international bi-annual refereed journal which publishes articles on a range of areas in the social sciences including primarily Anthropology, Business Administration, Economics, History, International Relations, Politics, Psychology, Public Administration and Sociology, and secondarily, Geography, Demography, Law and Social Welfare, pertinent to Cyprus. As such it aims to provide a forum for discussion on salient issues relating to the latter. The journal was first published in 1989 and has since received the support of many scholars internationally.

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Formatting Requirements:

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Articles and chapters in books:

Jacovides, A. J. (1977) 'The Cyprus Problem and the United Nations' in Attalides, M. (ed.), *Cyprus Reviewed*. Nicosia, Jus Cypri Association.

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Articles

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FAIR VOTING? THE REGULATION OF REFERENDUMS IN CYPRUS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Matt Qvortrup*

Abstract

Using examples of regulation of referendums in advanced democracies, the article provides an account of the administrative framework regulating the two referendums on the Annan-Plan in Cyprus in 2004. While there is no legal international consensus on what constitutes a free and fair referendum, a number of conditions are necessary to ensure the legitimacy of the outcome. The conclusion for Cyprus is that in the Turkish Cypriot community (TCC), the regulation of this referendum broadly met the international standards, whereas the level of regulation in the Greek Cypriot community (GCC) fell short of these. Had the Greek Cypriot (GC) referendum not suffered from these perceived shortcomings it seems likely that much of the post-referendum debate about the legitimacy could have been avoided.

The two referendums in Cyprus held in April 2004 follow a general worldwide trend towards a greater use of referendums. Direct democracy is increasingly used to provide greater legitimacy for momentous social and political change, beyond that of the elected government. Recent examples have included major policy issues such as European integration, sovereignty, and ethnic divisions.

However, judging the fairness of referendums can be problematic. In theory, they ought to express unmediated majority will. But referendum campaigns have been accused of demagoguery, one-sided spending, and inappropriate government interventions, raising doubts about their integrity. This section compares the referendums in Cyprus with those in other democracies to determine the overall context of fairness in Cyprus.

Regulation of referendums is relatively rare outside the United States. Even in France, which frequently uses the referendum as a constitutional tool, they are virtually unregulated except for small practicalities,¹ and in America, direct democracy tends to be restricted by legislators mainly (ostensibly) to prevent overuse. In Europe, the typical lack of regulation may reflect the fact that

governments tend to initiate referendums, and in the effort to win, may be reluctant to restrict their room for manoeuvre.

Nevertheless, referendums have recently been subject to regulation in Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand and the UK, among other places. There is no one set of international standards yet, but the general trend may be moving towards a “typology” of sorts. The regulations that have been generated so far are frequently quoted in the ongoing attempt to ensure a fair outcome and process.

We have selected a set of laws, acts, and regulations that together provide a relevant framework of comparison for the Cyprus case. Those regulations include:

- The Local Authorities (Conduct of Referendums) (Wales) Regulations 2004;
- The New Zealand Citizen Initiated Referenda Act 1993;
- The UK Political Parties, Elections, and Referendums Act 2001 (PPERA);
- The Québec C-64.1 Referendum Act (1978 with amendments);
- The New South Wales Government (Elections) Regulation 1998;
- The Ireland Referendum Act 2001;
- The Queensland Referendum Act 1997.

Provisions for Referendums in Cyprus: The Greek Cypriot Community

The administration and general conduct of the referendum in the Greek Cypriot community was, in general, an ad hoc response to a unique event.

- In 1989, referendum legislation was passed – ‘A Law Providing for the Declaration and Conduct of Referendum Law ’ (1989, No. 206);
- In 2004, it became clear that the referendum would not be held under these provisions, as the poll was only to be held within the Greek Cypriot community – and therefore not overseen by the Republic as such;
- Consequently, on 13 April 2004 Parliament passed legislation governing this unique referendum, barely two weeks before the vote was to take place. According to Interior Minister Andreas Christou, the primary aim of the legislation was to give the leader of the Greek Cypriot community the power and assistance to carry out the task, and to provide the funding by a loan from the Central Bank (estimated at CYP £2m.). As in regular Cyprus elections, voting in the referendum was compulsory.

Provisions for Referendums in Cyprus: The Turkish Cypriot Community

While no referendum had been held in the GCC before 2004, two previous polls were held in the TCC.² The authorities in the TCC have provisions for referendums

– in the Election and Referendum Law,³ each individual referendum is regulated by special legislation, in this case, the Law on Referendum With Regard to the Solution of the Cyprus Problem (Special and Transitional Provisions).⁴

International Provisions for Fair Administration

Electoral Commissions: A neutral Electoral Commission is considered necessary in order to prevent governments from interfering with the referendum process. Australia, New Zealand, Ireland the UK and Canada have all established permanent non-partisan Electoral Commissions to regulate the referendum, and adjudicate fair conduct.

- In Ireland, a Referendum Commission is established with every referendum, and consists of a former High Court judge, the Clerk of the upper house of the legislature, the Ombudsman and the Comptroller and Auditor General, all selected for their neutrality;⁵
- In Québec a Conseil du référendum is established with three judges of the Court of Québec. The Conseil has exclusive jurisdiction to hear any judicial proceeding relating to a referendum, and its decisions are final;
- In Australia the Electoral Commission is a permanent body, as in the UK;⁶
- In New Zealand, the electoral system is administered by three separate bodies: The Chief Electoral Office of the Ministry of Justice is responsible for the conduct of general elections, by-elections and referendums. The Electoral Enrolment Centre is responsible for the continuous enrolment of voters. Finally, the Electoral Commission is an independent statutory body that registers political parties and logos, supervises financial disclosure, allocates election broadcasting time and funds to eligible parties, and conducts public education and information campaigns on electoral matters.⁷

All commissions mentioned have the task of preparing and distributing information. The UK Electoral Commission also oversees expenditure limits and the administration of grants to political parties and non-party bodies. In other places, the referendum is administered by an ad hoc body.

TCC

The TCC has a standing, independent commission, Yüksek Seçim Kurulu or YSK (Higher Electoral Council), which oversees referendums and information campaigns.

The “Council” is made up of five members, all from the “Judiciary,” and is thus similar to those in the countries cited above whose members are also

representatives of neutral bodies. The president of the “Council” is also the “Chief Justice” of the “Supreme Court.” Appointments are made by the “Supreme Court.”

Thus, in the TCC, the membership and structure of the electoral commission is in line with emerging international standards.

GCC

Responsibility for the administration of the referendum was vested in a General Returning Officer who was appointed by President Papadopoulos, but no profile or capacity of that appointee was specified. However, this position has traditionally (in election law) been assumed by the Director of the Ministry of the Interior. In April 2004 this position was vacant, and the President asked the previous officer to fulfil this specific role.

Overall, the Greek Cypriot community therefore did not quite meet the emerging international standards in this respect.

Government Spending

The use of public funds by the government to support a favoured position is considered problematic when the perceived goal is for people to decide without political bias. In 1994, the Austrian government spent considerable sums on a pro-EU campaign, but without violating Austrian election and referendum laws. The same has been true, more recently, in Spain where the government is reported to have spent considerable amounts of public monies on a (successful) campaign in support of the European Constitution.⁸

In other countries – most notably in Ireland – similar examples of government spending in support of a proposition have been ruled illegal by the courts.⁹

In 1995, an Irish MEP argued that the government had breached the Irish Constitution by spending public funds on aspects other than the impartial organisation of the process.

While the Supreme Court allowed that the government should be allowed to spend money to provide information, and members of the government have the right to campaign, it held that:

“the Government must stop short of spending public money in favour of one side which has the consequence of being to the detriment of those opposed to the constitutional amendment”.

Although legally non-binding, this judgment has inspired legislation both in Ireland and elsewhere. There is an emerging consensus that it is illegitimate for

governments to spend taxpayers' money on partisan information, or other partisan activities using state apparatus.

TCC

The "Election and Referendum Law" in the TCC explicitly invalidates any form of public financing for campaigns (paragraph 77, sections 1 and 2) that promote or endorse any one side.

GCC

There was no regulation of government spending in the GCC.

Public Information

Alongside the opposition to public funding, there is a general acceptance of the need for funding to provide the public with neutral information about the issue and referendum process. However, the task of regulating this information typically falls to the Electoral or Referendum Commission, as in the following examples:

- While criticising public spending for partisan information, the Irish Supreme Court held that it is necessary to ensure that public information is distributed to the voters;
- Queensland Referendum Act 1997: The Electoral Commission in the State must prepare a 1,000 word description of the proposals authorised by legislators representing the particular view (S.10);
- Ireland Referendum Act 2001: The Commission must prepare a statement of the proposal (There is no provision that both sides be consulted over this text, though in practice they are.);
- Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act 2001 (PPERA UK): Each umbrella organisation prepares a booklet to be distributed to all households (Sec. 110);
- Quebec Referendum Act: The Chief Electoral Officer must send the electors a single booklet explaining each of the options submitted to the referendum. The text is established by each national committee. Equal space, as fixed by the chief electoral officer, must be given in this booklet to each option (S. 26).

The norm is thus that the Electoral Commission or an equivalent body administers the distribution of a pamphlet, with representatives of each side responsible for the text.

TCC

The "YSK" was given the task of distributing material about the referendum, though its chief role was to act as a referee in cases of dispute. This aspect of regulation on the Turkish side generally met international standards.

GCC

The legislation did not provide for public information to be generated or distributed by public or state bodies. Neither the respective campaigns nor parties used established mechanisms to distribute information. However, the Public Information Office did distribute an A4 booklet that was a Greek translation of the principle body of the Plan. The booklet was not widely circulated or effectively advertised. The United Nations filled the gap partially, publishing the full text of the Annan Plan on its website in Greek, Turkish and English. Thus, on the issue of neutral information, the GCC only marginally met emerging international norms and the only way citizens could receive information was to search through an external source.

Political Advertising in Broadcast Media

Political advertising in the broadcast media is an integral part of election and referendum campaigns in the USA and Canada. However, it is not the norm in many other western societies; in fact it is banned in the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Scandinavian countries and France. Opponents of electoral advertising say it gives the biggest spenders an unfair political advantage, in effect allowing them to buy the results – ‘a blight to democracy’.

In 1991 in Australia, the federal government introduced legislation to proscribe political advertising on radio and television, which was then amended to restrict advertising only during election and referendum campaigns. However, in 1992 the High Court nullified the legislation on the grounds that limiting such communication is a restriction of free speech, which the Constitution implies is guaranteed.¹⁰

It is too soon to know whether the same principle will be applied to other countries that presently ban political advertising. At present, there does not appear to be any trend towards limiting the right to use political advertising in the broadcast media.

There is, however, a growing consensus that disclosure laws are necessary, so voters know who is behind a proposal. In Australia the Referendum (Machinery Provisions) Act 1984 (Sect. 111), requires broadcasters to give details to the Electoral Commission of who paid for the advertisement.

GCC

There were no specific regulations on political advertising during the debate about the Plan and during the referendum campaign period. More generally, there are regulations of media conduct during elections that stipulate equal treatment of state and government, local authorities, trade unions and social forums, presidential and parliamentary candidates and citizens in general. This was probably interpreted as a right to equal access – a free market approach – which guided media on this issue during the referendum period.

TCC

There were no restrictions on paid advertising in the electronic media in the TCC regarding the Plan or the referendum vote.

Equal Broadcasting

While it is difficult to ensure parity in the quality or bias of news reports, public or private (commercial) broadcasters are generally expected to strike a balance of quantity (i.e. print space or air time) between the contending sides for referendum-related content.

- Equality of access was pioneered in the first UK-wide referendum in 1975, when each side was allocated four ten-minute television spots;¹¹
- In the 1979 referendums on Scottish and Welsh Devolution, the Independent Broadcasting Authority decided to allocate broadcasting time to political parties (rather than to the two sides). This proved controversial, since three out of four parties favoured devolution, and the decision was subsequently successfully challenged;¹²
- In UK referendums now, the two designated ‘YES’ and ‘NO’ umbrella organisations are allocated equal broadcasting time;¹³
- A similar policy was adopted in Australia in 1999 and in the Québec referendum in 1995. No other countries have adopted such rules.

TCC

There was no requirement that broadcasters grant equal access to advocates and opponents. In practice, political parties individually took positions on the plan. Notably the DP abstained from taking a position, telling voters to vote their conscience. According to the law regulating elections and referendums in the TCC, all parties to an election or referendum are granted equal time on state-run radio and television. Consequently, there is no guarantee that both sides in a referendum get an equal hearing, but in 2004, with both parties relatively evenly divided between the two positions, the lack of a “50:50” rule was of little consequence.

GCC

The referendum legislation made no reference to the conduct of the broadcast media during the referendum; no time was officially allocated to contending parties or groups for campaign broadcasts. In practice, the state channel (CYBC) along with other channels allocated prominent broadcasting slots to the President, whose explicitly aligned ‘NO’ message led leaders of the ‘YES’ camp to protest.

In the GCC, the lack of regulation meant that the ‘NO’ side was granted more air time than the ‘YES’ side. Had a “50:50” rule been in place, this would have been avoided.

Campaign Spending

The issue of whether there ought to be a ceiling on campaign expenditure is contentious. Some argue that expenditure ceilings keep costs within manageable limits, ensure that referendums cannot be 'bought' by the richer side, and increase public confidence in the result. Further, limits assure equality of communication capability, particularly in paid broadcasting. Others contend that ceilings prevent a truly effective information campaign.

This is not a conclusive debate. Many argue that the outcome of the referendum seems to be driven by other structural factors, such as the economy, the length of tenure of the respective governments and other factors.¹⁴ Some doubt on the importance of money in ballot campaigns, though it has been reported that 'negative' spending in many cases has been successful.¹⁵

Still, restrictions on expenditures in ballot campaigns are fairly common:

- In 1970, in the run-up to the first Québec referendum on 'sovereignty association', the provincial Parliament restricted campaign expenditure, and mandated that two campaigns be established representing each side of the argument.¹⁶

Quebec's Minister of State for Electoral and Parliamentary Reform, in a 1977 paper, noted that the regulations it had passed were inspired by Great Britain's experience with a referendum in 1975, which it held up as an "invaluable guide," reflecting a "deep-rooted sense of fair play."

- In the more recent past the UK Labour government has in turn enacted legislation based on the Québec Act, namely The Political Parties, Elections and Referendum Act 2001 (PPERA). PPERA also introduced limits on campaign spending, and due to its comprehensiveness, this Act is often cited as a key reference point in debates about referendum regulation, internationally.¹⁷ The restrictions on campaign spending are as follows (Sections 117-118):
 - Political parties may spend money in proportion to its percentage of votes in the last general election. Parties receiving more than 30 per cent receive £5 million, those with between 20-30 per cent receive £4 million, between 10-20 per cent (£3 million), and so on;
 - For other permitted participants the limit is £0.5 million;
 - Individuals may not spend more than £10,000;
 - Designated umbrella organisations may spend a total of £5 million.

Following a referendum, all participants are required to submit a very detailed expenditure report to the Commission:

- Each individual expense must be itemised;
- Reports must be submitted within three months of the referendum, if the permitted participant incurred expenditure of £250,000 or less, or within six months of the election if more than £250,000 was spent;
- Permitted participants that spent more than £250,000 must submit a statement from an independent auditor with their report.

The first example to see the results of this legislation will be in early 2005, as the expenditure reports for the referendum in South-East England on regional governance are to be presented.

Similar provisions exist in New Zealand under the Citizen Initiated Referenda Act 1993. Under this act, it is an offence to spend more than \$50,000 promoting the petition (at the qualification stage), and to spend more than \$50,000 promoting an answer to the referendum. As in the UK and Australia, an organisation's spending on advertising in relation to the petition or referendum must be reported to the Chief Electoral Officer.

TCC

All expenditures were to be reported, approved and published by the electoral commission. While disclosure of sums paid to a campaign is only available after the result, the hope is that such laws may prompt wealthy groups to think twice before bankrolling a campaign disproportionately. Disclosure laws do tend to restrict the overall level of expenditure in campaigns; therefore, the TCC made credible attempts to limit the impact of financial influence.

GCC

While there are limits on campaign spending in candidate elections, no such rules apply to referendums. In 2004, there was no requirement that expenditure be disclosed after the referendum. In the absence of disclosure laws, groups on both the 'Yes' and the 'No' side made claims that the other side had received funds from wealthy backers both from Cyprus and from overseas. These accusations significantly soured relationships, and could have been avoided had disclosure laws been in place.

Disinformation

Information issues are complex both legally and politically. In the democratic context of free speech, the danger of disinformation is real. There is relatively little legislation on this issue:

- The New South Wales Local Government (Elections) Regulation 1998, establishes (Section 109) “A person must not ... print, publish or distribute a ‘how to vote’ card, electoral advertisement, notice, handbill, pamphlet, or card, containing an untrue or incorrect statement intended or likely to mislead or improperly interfere with an elector in or in relation to the casting of his or her vote”. However, there has been no litigation over the regulation, and it consequently, remains to be seen how it will be enforced;
- The Local Authorities (Conduct of Referendums) (Wales) Regulations 2004 does not deal specifically with the issue, except for allowing local authorities to publish material, which “refute or correct any inaccuracy in material published by a person other than the local authority” (Sec.5.3);
- The British Political Parties, Elections and Referendum Act 2001 does not regulate disinformation, nor does the Québec 1978 Referendum Act.

The traditional response to disinformation is to ensure that a campaign period is long enough so that false information can be countered and proven wrong. On this count the referendums in Cyprus were ill served by the very short campaign period. Average referendum campaign periods around the world range between one to six months, but the Cyprus campaigns began less than one month before the vote. By most campaign standards, this is considered insufficient time for debating, refuting or challenging allegations made by the different campaigns.

The Cyprus campaigns were not, however, unique in this respect. The campaign in Slovakia (on EU membership) in 2004 was shorter (only one week!), as were those in Malta and Slovakia (respectively two and three weeks). The UK Political Parties, Elections and Referendum Act – often regarded as the cutting edge of fair referendum regulation – prescribes only 28 days of campaigning.

Moreover, even a long campaign cannot prevent one side from presenting disinformation late in the process. The question is whether legal mechanisms can prevent the dissemination of deliberately false information; precedents are scarce.

TCC

There was no regulation of disinformation in TCC.

GCC

There was no regulation of disinformation.

Conclusion: International Standards of Referendums

There is no legal international consensus on what constitutes a free and fair referendum; there is not even consensus on whether regulation is needed at all. A number of Commonwealth countries and Ireland have introduced regulations, while

others remain unregulated. However, based on the international experience, we find that referendums are most likely to be free and fair when the following conditions are met:

- An Electoral Commission is established (either permanent or ad hoc):
 - 1) The Commission oversees the information campaign (e.g. the production and distribution of a voter pamphlet – in consultation with both sides),
 - 2) Its members are representatives of neutral bodies (e.g. members of the judiciary, the Office of the Ombudsman, and/or similar figures whose neutrality is beyond dispute).
- Public and Commercial Broadcasters strike a 50:50 balance between sides (not political parties);
- No public funds (i.e. taxpayers' money) are spent to endorse or promote one side;
- Equal sized grants are provided for both sides in the referendum;
- Umbrella organisations are established for each side, and both receive equal grants from the government;
- All expenditures must be reported, approved and published by the Electoral Commission;
- There is a campaign period sufficient in length to assure open and robust debate. In particular that this campaign period be long enough so that false information can be countered and proven wrong.

How Cyprus Compares

The two parts of the island had different levels of regulation. The referendum process was comparatively well regulated in the TCC, but subject to practically no regulation in the GCC. The extent of regulation can be summarised as follows:

- **Referendum Commission:** In the TCC an independent Commission (consisting of five members of the judiciary) – “YSK”, oversaw the referendum. In the GCC no such body existed, and the process was overseen by the General Returning Officer;
- **Government campaign spending:** Government spending supporting either side was prohibited in the TCC. The GCC had no similar provision;
- **Information campaign:** In the TCC, “YSK” was tasked with distributing information about the referendum. In the GCC there were no provisions;
- **Political Advertising:** Neither side placed restrictions on political advertising;
- **Neutrality of Broadcast media:** Neither side made provisions to ensure 50:50 coverage of the campaign;
- **Disclosure laws:** The TCC implemented expenditure disclosure laws; the GCC did not.

Overall, in the TCC, the regulation of this referendum broadly met the emerging international standards. The level of regulation in the GCC fell short of the emerging international standards, but this does not make it unique internationally. Other democratic countries, such as Denmark and France, similarly do without an independent referendum commission, and other countries, such as Spain and Austria, allow government spending in the campaign. Yet, few other countries (with the possible exception of Malta) are as unregulated as the GCC. Though it is difficult to measure the degree to which the lack of regulation affected the actual voting results, our basic observation is that it may have compromised the legitimacy of the result.

Had the GC referendum not suffered from these perceived shortcomings it seems likely that much of the post-referendum debate about the legitimacy could have been avoided. This would arguably have eased relations between the communities on the island generally, but also the internal tensions between parties in the GCC. In the absence of these regulations the referendum entrenched existing tensions between political groups.

Notes

* I am grateful for comments suggestions and help from Dr Gary Sussman, University of Tel Aviv, Dr Erol Kaymak, Chair of International Relations at Eastern Mediterranean University, Famagusta, and Dr Yiouli Taki, Senior Researcher at INDEX. The usual caveat applies.

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1. See Décret no 200-667 du juillet 2000 relatif à la campagne en vue du referendum for an example of this. It should be noted, that France prohibits commercial publicity (D 2000 -667) Art. 2 and Code Électorale L52-1.
 2. The first was on the Constitution in 1975 and the second on a Constitution following the declaration of independence in 1985.
 3. Seçim ve Halkoylaması Yasası.
 4. Kıbrıs Sorununun Çözümüne İlişkin Halkoylaması (Özel ve Geçici Kurallar) Yasası, (22 March 2004, Sayı 2/2004).
 5. Referendum Act, 2001 (Ireland).
 6. The Australian Commission was established under Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918; The UK Electoral Commission was established in 2001 under The Political Parties Elections and Referendum Act 2001.
 7. This was established on the recommendation of a Royal Commission on the Electoral System reporting in 1986.
 8. El País 5 January 2005, "Periodistas, futbolistas y actores abren el viernes la campaña

del referendum europeo”.

9. The most cited case internationally is The Supreme Court ruling in McKenna v. An Taoiseach, an Tanaiste and ors 1995.
10. Australian Capital Television Pty Ltd. The Commonwealth and New South Wales v. The Commonwealth (No. 2) (1992) 66 ALJR 695.
11. House of Commons Research Reports 00/3 – Referendums the New Rules.
12. Wilson v. Independent Broadcasting Authority.
13. See The Funding of Political Parties in the United Kingdom, Cm 4413, July 1999, Chapter 9.
14. M. H. Qvortrup, (2001) ‘How to Lose a Referendum’, The Political Quarterly , Vol. 72, No. 1.
15. Elizabeth Gerber, an American political scientist, has found that campaign spending in support of a proposition was ineffectual. However, negative campaign spending, i.e. spending against a proposition was often effective. See E. Gerber, (1999) The Populist Paradox. Group Influence and the Promise of Direct Legislation, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
16. In a 1998 amendment, contributions were limited to \$3000 per donor to each campaign. (1978 Québec Referendum Act 1978.) The 1998 Amendment states “The total of contributions to each national committee by the same elector in the same referendum shall not exceed the amount of \$3,000” (Section 91).
17. See also: The Local Authorities (Conduct of Referendums) (Wales) Regulations 2004.

REPATRIATION ISSUES IN CYPRUS

Niki Christodoulou and Pavlos Pavlou

Abstract

This paper examines the problems and challenges that Cypriot returnees are expected to deal with upon their return to Cyprus after a sojourn abroad. A brief history of immigration and repatriation from and to Cyprus is presented and the Cypriot immigrants' linguistic repertoire in their host countries is described. The study chiefly focuses on the educational issues returnees face in Cyprus as well as on some linguistic and social aspects of their life. The study shows that returnees' limited competence in Greek poses a major obstacle in their education and is a factor that permeates all domains of their lives as they attempt to adjust and function as productive members of Cypriot society. Finally, the paper proposes ways in which some of the returnees' problems can be alleviated and overcome.

Introduction

Immigration is an international phenomenon, which has affected most nations at a certain point in history. People have immigrated for social, economic, political, religious and other reasons in search of a better life. Large waves of immigration have occurred throughout history as a result of social unrest, wars, religious persecutions and adverse economic circumstances. Although immigrating to a new country is often a rewarding experience, the homeland always remains alive in the immigrants' hearts and minds. Consequently, returning home is often the ultimate wish of these immigrants. When the factors that forced people to emigrate cease to exist in their country of origin, many immigrants opt to return to their homeland. Coming home is not an easy process and it is often accompanied by many problems. Returnees must adjust to a culture unknown to them or re-adjust to a culture and society they left long ago and which, in the meantime, may have changed enormously

Repatriation Issues in Other Countries

Reports on how various nations have dealt with returnees' issues are scarce or often not available in English since they are written in the language of the country in question, i.e. Japanese and Hebrew. Greece and Japan constitute examples of countries that have experienced waves of repatriation and who have had to deal with returnees who faced various socio-cultural, linguistic and primarily educational

issues. Greece has traditionally been a country from which thousands of people emigrated to various developed countries in the world such as the USA, Canada, Australia, South Africa and Germany due to harsh socio-economic conditions. In the last twenty years, these conditions have changed for the better in Greece and, therefore, many of these immigrants have returned to their homeland. Many Greek immigrants from Western Europe and the New World have decided to return as a result of the improved political and socio-economic conditions in Greece. On the other hand, Soviet citizens of Greek origin have settled in Greece after the collapse of the Soviet Union and its concomitant economic hardships. returnees who had great expectations from the Greek state, especially with regard to education (Tressou and Mitakidou, 1997), have faced great financial hardships, prejudice and numerous difficulties while trying to adjust to Greek society. Children of these returnees attend schools in different parts of the country forcing the state to modify educational policies in order to accommodate the needs of these children (Damanakis, 1997). The two major steps undertaken were the creation of Admission Classes and remedial courses in Greek as well the establishment of elementary and secondary schools for returnee children. According to Hadjidaki (2000), these attempts failed because the teaching faculty was not trained to teach Greek as a second/foreign language to bilingual children. Moreover, materials are insufficient and do not correspond to the learning needs of this group. The policy as a whole aims at the assimilation of these students and ignores their cultural and linguistic identity. Hadjidaki (2000) warns that this policy may lead to further marginalisation of these students.

Japan is another nation with a large population of expatriates. As in the case of immigrants of other nationalities, a number of these Japanese immigrants have decided to return to Japan. Their return to Japan has brought with it many problems, especially cultural and linguistic ones. One study investigating these problems focuses on a specific group of returnees who lived abroad over one year and then returned to Japan within three years (Yashiro, 1995). This group includes elementary, senior high-school students, university age students, adult returnees and professionals who lived and worked abroad for Japanese companies. Yashiro focuses on linguistic and cultural issues which returnees face overseas as well as in Japan after their return. She also examines the maintenance of Japanese language and culture as another important issue for Japanese people overseas who eventually decide to return to their home country.

Yashiro points out that if maintenance activities in Japanese are not pursued while overseas, Japanese children will face great difficulties with the language when they return. More specifically, the writing and reading ability of children who do not maintain their Japanese deteriorates very quickly and their speaking ability deteriorates rapidly.

Yashiro states that returnees with Japanese language problems need special instruction in Japanese and are often accepted into special classes after screening. According to Yashiro, “many need to learn to write and to learn when and how they should express themselves appropriately in various situations” (1995, p. 149). In addition, the Ministry of Education in Japan strongly promotes education adapted to individual needs and returnee education is part of that movement.

From the psychological point of view, returnee children only recently have managed to get support and understanding from their teachers and classmates and this attitude of acceptance is very important to returnees who often feel “left out” or think they do not “fit in”. Japanese teachers encourage returnees to share their knowledge of foreign languages and cultures while they encourage non-returnee students to accept them. Yashiro also examined parents’ attitudes towards foreign language maintenance and found out that 73 per cent of the parents believed that re-adaptation to Japanese culture should go hand-in-hand with foreign language maintenance.

In general, the main goal of Japan’s returnee education programme was to help returnees with the acculturation process. Then in the late 1970s, Japanese educators began to regard the returnees as a valuable human resource. Yashiro concludes that returnees help promote multilingualism and multiculturalism in schools and help make Japan a linguistically and culturally diverse society. Finally, Yashiro quotes Sussman who recommends that “sojourners need to have a pre-departure, in-country as well as re-entry training” in order to cope effectively with the cultural and linguistic problems in the host and their home country.

Repatriation Issues in Cyprus

From time to time in the twentieth century, Cyprus too, like many other Mediterranean countries, has witnessed large waves of immigration to various developed countries such as Great Britain, Australia, USA, Canada, and South Africa. Like in the cases of Japan and Greece, in the last twenty years, a lot of Cypriot immigrants have chosen to return home.

The aspiration to return “home” has always remained a strong dream and became a reality after certain positive social, political and economic developments had taken place. A thriving economy, the strengthening of democratic institutions and a decision to resolve national issues through peaceful means were among the main reasons that led to the repatriation of many Cypriots. In Papapavlou and Pavlou’s (2001) study focusing on UK Cypriot returnees, the subjects gave reasons for a possible relocation to Cyprus. The major reasons included: a desire to be closer to their relatives (36 per cent), good weather and healthier living (33.2 per

cent), a more enjoyable life-style (29.9 per cent) and living among Cypriots (23 per cent).

The repatriation wave to Cyprus began in the mid-eighties and has continued to the present time. According to the Department of Statistics and Research the data indicates a higher immigration flow since 1989. It is estimated that on average the net immigration gain has been 2000-3000 every year since 1989. In 1992, this figure reached 6000. The main reason for the return of Cypriot immigrants is the prospering Cypriot economy coupled with the economic and political problems in their countries of residence such as the UK, Australia, South Africa, the USA and Canada. Unfortunately, this repatriation has brought on other problems, which force many repatriated Cypriots to leave Cyprus once again. Every year a substantial number of them, 20-30 per cent (Paschalis, 2000) choose to re-emigrate because of their unsuccessful attempt to adjust to Cypriot society, educational problems of repatriated children and unexpected financial hardships. The aim of this study is to investigate why such repatriation attempts often meet with failure by looking at the linguistic issues that Cypriot returnees face upon repatriation. Particular emphasis, however, will be given on the educational problems of repatriated students.

The Cypriot Diaspora

The three principle reasons that forced Cypriots to leave their homeland and emigrate to various countries were adverse socio-economic conditions on the island, promising financial and living opportunities abroad, as well as political developments such as the Turkish invasion of 1974. The desire to maintain strong ties with their Greek cultural heritage led to the creation of large immigrant communities in the host countries (see Table 1).

Table 1 The Cypriot community abroad, 1988 (Paschalis, 2000)

United Kingdom	180.000
Australia and New Zealand	40.000
United States and Canada	30.000
Africa	20.000
Greece and Europe	30.000
Total expatriate community	300.000
Total Cyprus population	675.000

The Greek and Greek Cypriot immigrant communities of the Diaspora have been the focus of many studies. In particular, the Greek-Cypriot community in the UK which is the largest and most compact Cypriot community abroad, has been studied by many researchers. Sociologists, economists, linguists and anthropologists focused on various aspects of the lives of UK Cypriots, especially those who live in

the Greater London area. Some of these include the ethnic and cultural identity of Cypriots in the community (Constantinides, 1977; Anthias, 1990, 1992), linguistic behaviour (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001; Gardner-Chloros, 1992 and Anaxagorou, 1984), the educational policies and practices of the community (Ioannides, 1990) and the economic growth of the community (Constantinou, 1990). With regard to immigrant communities in other countries there is not much available information. While some studies make reference to the Cypriot community in Australia (Tamis, 1990), however, this research primarily focused on the entire Greek-speaking community and not only on the Greek-Cypriot immigrants.

The Linguistic Profile of Cypriot Immigrants

Previous studies on returnees to Greece and Japan have shown that these people face primarily linguistic and acculturation problems. Therefore, in order to better understand the language-related problems Cypriot returnees face after repatriation, it is useful to examine the extent to which the Greek language is maintained among Cypriots in the Diaspora. The two major Cypriot immigrant communities abroad, which have been studied extensively from the linguistic point of view, are those of the UK and Australia.

United Kingdom

The linguistic repertoire of UK Cypriots consists of the Cypriot Dialect (CD), Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and English. The speakers' competence in these three linguistic codes depends on what generation they belong to. The term **first generation** refers to Greek-Cypriots who were born in Cyprus and later emigrated. These people are almost exclusively speakers of the CD with very few speakers of other Greek dialects including SMG. The group spoke little or no English when they immigrated to the UK and the various other host countries. The members of this generation kept close ties with each other, maintained traditional Cypriot social values and used their often limited English with native speakers only. Since they lived in self-contained communities, there was little need to interact with English speakers. Such interaction was often confined to using public transportation, shopping outside the community or formal interaction with British authorities (Zarpetea, 1996). This is why first generation Cypriots in the UK speak the Cypriot dialect differently from Cypriot immigrants in other countries. In other countries Cypriot immigrants live in large Greek-speaking communities where numerous other varieties of Greek are spoken. The members of these communities have gradually adopted SMG as their language of communication. Therefore, the Cypriot members of these communities are more likely to speak both SMG and Cypriot Greek.

The term **second generation** refers to those born to Cypriot parents in the UK also known as British Born Cypriots. The members of this group have received

more formal education than their parents. Although second generation immigrants are familiar with both CD and English, the use of English predominates. This is expected and results from formal schooling in the English educational system and the development of social contacts outside the Cypriot community. Moreover, overall competence in SMG is not as good as in CD and varies depending on their contacts with SMG speakers (Karyolemou, 2000).

Children born to British-born Cypriots constitute the **third generation** of the Cypriot community residing in the UK. The speakers of this group are mostly native speakers of English who also have limited command of CD. For this reason, their spoken Greek is characterised by strong interference from English at all linguistic levels. When the situation calls for the use of CD, third generation immigrants use fixed, so-called, Greenglish expressions.

According to Karyolemou (2000), the British educational system has been reluctant to support the teaching of ethnic minority languages. As a result, the responsibility to teach Greek has shifted to the Cypriot community (church and other community institutions) with the help of the Cypriot government. Even though parents acknowledge the importance of maintaining Greek and encourage their children to attend Greek language schools, only 50 per cent of the second and third generation immigrants attend a community school. Consequently, those who do not receive any formal instruction in Greek are not competent in standard Greek even though they can use the CD orally. Papapavlou and Pavlou (2001) found that the subjects in their study consider themselves more competent in CD than in SMG as shown in the following table.

Table 2: Self-rating of proficiency in CD and SMG (Papapavlou and Pavlou, 2001)

Self-rating	Cypriot-Dialect	Standard Modern Greek
Excellent	20.8	15.0
Very good	39.4	8.7
Good	38.7	29.9
Poor	5.1	3.6

Australia

The second largest Greek-Cypriot community in the Diaspora is found in Australia. This community is situated within a larger Greek-speaking community and its speakers have greater contact with SMG than those in the UK. Consequently, Cypriots in Australia are perceptibly more competent in SMG than Cypriots in the UK. According to Tamis (1990) the Greek language spoken in Australia, which is numerically the second strongest mother tongue, shows the highest rate of language maintenance among all other community languages spoken in Australia.

With regard to the linguistic repertoire of the Australian community by generations, there is a similar pattern to that of the UK. Tamis (1990) also states that the Cypriot Dialect is among the few Greek dialects that show a certain vitality.

Educational Issues after Repatriation

The linguistic profile of the returnees remains the same after their repatriation. The degree of linguistic competence they exhibit depends, in general, on what generation they belong to. First generation returnees are fully competent in Cypriot Greek and/or Standard Modern Greek. Second generation returnees are in general unbalanced bilinguals with English being their dominant language. Finally, third generation returnees, who are young children and teenagers, are basically native speakers of various varieties of English with very limited knowledge of CD or SMG. These third generation returnees are the least competent in Greek and many of them have not concluded their schooling in the host countries. It should only be expected that these Cypriots will complete their education in the various institutions of Cyprus. School age returnees may find themselves in a vastly different educational setting in which they are not equipped to function as students mainly due to their limited competence in Greek. Although studies focusing on this issue are few in number, the existing ones provide adequate evidence of the role that limited competence in Greek plays in young returnees' education.

A study on returnee students in nursery, elementary and secondary levels of the educational system in Cyprus was conducted by the Educational Psychological Services of the Ministry of Education and Culture in Cyprus in 1994 (Paschalis, 2000). This study reveals that a significant percentage of school age returnee children had distinct language problems as well as difficulties adapting to school life. One of the most important findings was the high number of returnee students (2556) within the state educational system. It should also be noted that a large number of returnee children attend private English schools since their limited competence in Greek prevents them from attending public schools. The number of returnee students in both public and private schools was so high that the Educational System was not able to cope with the needs of these students.

For the study conducted by the Educational Services of the Ministry of Education and Culture, teachers at all levels of the Educational System in Cyprus were asked to report on the problems of returnee children in the areas of spoken language, written language and adjustment into the Cypriot society. The results show that returnee children have serious problems in all three areas. These findings portray an alarmingly negative picture of how teachers perceive these children. Similar issues regarding returnee children were the focus of another study (Paschalis, 2000). In this study teachers were asked to identify school subjects in which returnee children exhibited poorer or better results when compared to the average

student in the school. Also, teachers were asked to indicate whether returnee children presented more problems of attitude and adjustment than other children and whether they present more positive attributes compared to other children. Greek was identified as the area of greatest difficulty and English was the main subject in which most children performed better. With regard to these children’s adjustment into Cypriot society, the findings indicate that there is a problem, but that it is not as acute as had been detected in the study by the Educational Psychological Services. Moreover, teachers started to identify numerous positive attributes on the part of returnee children and recognised that the problems do not stem from the children themselves, but rather from the inability of the State and system to provide facilities for returnees and to cater to their needs. A final conclusion of the study is that the source of these problems may be the absence of a specific migration policy on the part of the state.

Returnees Students in Secondary Education

Another study conducted by Pavlou et al., (2000) identified other major language related problems returnee students face in secondary education. The 107 students who participated in the study were enrolled in six private schools in Nicosia where the medium of instruction was English. Most returnee students of this age attended private schools since their limited competence in Greek prevented them from attending a Greek public school. The data for this study was elicited through questionnaires addressed to the students, their teachers and their parents.

Linguistic Profile

The majority of the 107 secondary students in the study consider themselves more proficient in English than in Greek in all four language skills as revealed in a self-assessment task. Tables 3 and 4 show the students’ self-assessment in each skill in both Greek and English. It is clear that the majority of the students consider themselves to be by far more proficient in English in all skills.

Table 3 Secondary Students’ self assessment in Greek

	Poor	Good	Very Good	Excellent
Reading	22	44	32	9
Writing	36	50	19	2
Speaking	18	37	28	24
Listening	4	28	38	37

Table 4 Secondary Students' self assessment in English

	Poor	Good	Very Good	Excellent
Reading	-	13	39	55
Writing	1	15	54	38
Speaking	-	5	30	72
Listening	1	10	23	73

A more careful look at tables 3 and 4 reveals that students consider their reading and writing skills in English to be significantly superior to their corresponding skills in Greek. Since reading and writing are considered more academically oriented skills than speaking and listening, the results from the self-assessment clearly support Cummins' distinction between Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and may account for possible language related problems in Greek.

Cummins (1980, 1981) made the distinction between BICS and CALP with regard to what exactly constitutes proficiency in a language (both in L1 and L2). Cummins defines CALP as "those aspects of language proficiency, which are closely related to the development of literacy skills in L1 and L2." (1980, p. 175). Along the same lines, Brown (1987, p. 199) considers CALP as "that dimension of proficiency in which the learner manipulates or reflects upon the surface features of language outside the immediate interpersonal context. It is what learners often use in classroom exercises and tests which focus on form." On the other hand, BICS is the communicative capacity that all children acquire in order to be able to function in daily interpersonal exchanges. Later on, Cummins added another dimension to this distinction of CALP and BICS, namely the notion of context-reduced and context-embedded communication. In this new framework that focuses on the context in which language is used, CALP resembles context-reduced and BICS resembles context-embedded communication. A great deal of classroom oriented language is context-reduced, while face-to-face communication with people is context-embedded (Brown, 1987, p. 199).

Students' Views

Students identify problems both in and out of the classroom. In the academic environment of the classroom the biggest problem encountered is comprehension of the subject matter taught (especially understanding difficult concepts). This occurs because the language presented in academic textbooks is more difficult than spoken language and written language lacks the redundancy of spoken language. Moreover, academic reading requires knowledge of precise technical vocabulary and appropriate grammatical structures such as the passive voice and technical writing. This is more evident in subjects such as Religious Instruction, Greek

History and Greek Language and Literature, subjects that are obligatorily included in the curriculum of English private schools and taught in Greek as specified by the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Finally, students refer to the difficulty they face in understanding instructions and essay and exam questions. Repatriated students may know the subject (content) very well but feel unable to exhibit their knowledge because of their limited proficiency in Greek. Since success on a test is considered to be the ultimate evidence of someone's knowledge, inability to perform adequately, despite being in command of the subject, leads to great disappointment and frustration on the part of repatriated students. These feelings are manifested in the comments of some students.

"I cannot express myself very well in the Greek language, therefore my marks are very low even though I know the theory of the subject."

"I find it difficult understanding test and exam questions. This occasionally brings down grades."

"I have great difficulty understanding the lesson; therefore, it tends to affect the results in my report."

Students report difficulties in the four language skills and predominantly with reading and writing. Academic reading poses problems for students since it requires a good understanding and application of the various reading techniques such as recognising context clues, finding the main idea, inference and prediction which lead to a more thorough understanding of the text.

Teachers' Views

The teachers' assessment of the situation reinforces the students' perception of the matter. More specifically, teachers notice that students respond negatively to subjects taught in Greek, especially towards grammar courses, and often withdraw into themselves. According to the teachers the main problems students face are comprehension of the content of the subject matter often due to technical vocabulary and the use of advanced language, as well as lack of participation and lack of interest on the part of the students. In addition, teachers indicate that many students encounter moderate to great difficulty in reading, writing and technical vocabulary whereas the areas of listening and speaking are perceived to be less problematic.

Teachers feel the need to address students' language problems by adopting certain practices in their classrooms. Teaching is modified in order to accommodate the needs of bilingual students in many ways. More specifically teachers report that

they use simplified language and vocabulary in the classroom and that they translate scientific vocabulary into the students' dominant language. Some teachers also give handouts and booklets containing information on the subject taught in the students' dominant language. However, most teachers choose not to provide teaching materials in the students' dominant language because it is not always easy to find such material, and because such practices seem to be discouraged by the schools. Out of the classroom, teachers report that they provide individual help during breaks and that they direct students to reference material in the library. In addition, they try to give extra and easier homework to these students and simplify homework directions.

By adopting all these practices teachers hope not only to help their students cope with their academic problems but also aim at making students feel at home by eliminating the 'distance' between the teachers and the students.

Both students and teachers offer suggestions on how to deal with the problems mentioned above. More precisely, students ask for extra hours in Greek and extra tutoring after class and also express the need for more psychological support and understanding on the part of their teachers. The students also expect the language used in class to be simplified by slowing down the pace of the lesson, improving the existing way of explaining vocabulary, using more English in class and tailoring homework to the students' level. It is interesting to note that teachers attempt to make the necessary adjustments to their teaching and introduce the necessary policies to alleviate these problems. The students' suggestions partly reflect current teachers' practices.

Teachers recognise the need to simplify their teaching and provide psychological support to the students. They also see the need for students to speak Greek more frequently and to get extra practice in essay organisation and punctuation and suggest that students take private lessons in Greek to enrich their vocabulary. Out of the classroom teachers encourage students to have more contact with the Greek language by reading more books in Greek, by listening to the radio and watching TV and by studying more. Finally, teachers expect the students to assume more responsibility for their learning and progress. Also, teachers feel it is necessary to raise awareness among their colleagues regarding the needs of these students.

Parents' Views and Recommendations

In order to get a more complete picture of the nature and the magnitude of the problems repatriated students face in secondary private education in Cyprus, the parents' perception and assessment of the situation was also examined. The role of parental involvement in the returnee children's education, ways of dealing with the perceived problems, and the parents' suggestions with regard to these

problems were explored by means of questionnaires and interviews (Pavlou et al., 2000).

Parents believe that most of their children's academic problems are the result of insufficient knowledge of the Greek language in the areas of vocabulary, spelling, grammar, writing, oral and reading comprehension. According to the parents these problems exist for a number of reasons. First, these students had limited exposure to Greek schooling while abroad. Secondly, upon returning to Cyprus, they attend only English schools and they use predominantly English at home. Furthermore, parents regard current teaching approaches of Greek as a foreign language in Cyprus as inadequate. Also, they report that their children reject learning Greek because of the difficulties they encounter when attempting to learn it. Finally, the fact that both Standard Modern Greek and the local variety (Cypriot Dialect) are used simultaneously by the members of the Cypriot speech community interferes with their children's learning of Greek. Parental involvement and assistance with their children's academic problems becomes indispensable due to the limited competence these children have in Greek and their negative feelings towards the language. Moreover, some parents report that schools do not offer enough help to this group of students while, at the same time, setting the same expectations for both repatriated and local students with regard to their language skills in Greek.

Parents also report on the various ways they help their children. Parents most often correct their children's homework, which often involves activities such as paraphrasing and simplifying the language found in textbooks. In addition, parents report that they need to support their children psychologically by making it clear to them that their problems are partially attributable to the limitations of the private school system and not to their low academic abilities. These limitations include a lack of bilingual teachers, lack of financial means to provide extra tutoring and the decision by the Ministry of Education and Culture to make the teaching of Greek, History and Religious Instruction mandatory in all secondary English speaking schools. Finally, parents have presented some suggestions addressed to schools (teachers and administration) and to the state which aimed at improving the situation. The suggestions offered focus on the psychological support that these students may need as well as the methodological approaches that should be applied in schools for a more effective teaching and learning environment. Parents believe that repatriated students need more encouragement, attention and support from their teachers in order to better cope with their problems. Moreover, they believe that the creation of bilingual classes would help boost students' self-esteem and motivation.

The parents' recommendations appear to be valid and cogent with regard to their children's problems. From the educational point of view further measures can

be taken in three categories according to the parties involved: parents, school and state.

In general, there should be more communication between school and parents. This is something that can be concretely achieved if parents become more involved with parent-teacher associations (PTA). These associations can constitute a forum where parents can voice their concerns regarding the linguistic, educational and social problems of their children. A smooth integration of repatriated students into the school system could be achieved through the interaction between the repatriated and local students. Parents can play a crucial role in creating conditions that promote this interaction, and encourage repatriated students to socialise more with local students than with other repatriated and non-Cypriot students, the current case. Since repatriated students seem to exhibit some negativity towards learning Greek, parents feel they should persuade their children that learning Greek will prove to give them advantages in many ways. These include finding a job, better understanding of Cypriot society, and improved communication with the extended family and other Cypriots. Parents can serve as role models for their children by using more Greek at home and with friends and family.

Returnee Students in Tertiary Education

The problems repatriated students face in secondary education continue at the tertiary level. Evidence for this is provided in a study conducted by Pavlou and Christodoulou (2001) which focuses on the prospects repatriated students have in tertiary education in Cyprus. More specifically, the study elicits repatriated students' opinions with regard to the following issues: (a) the likelihood and prospects of attending various tertiary level institutions in Cyprus and abroad, (b) factors that would prevent them from attending specific institutions (with special emphasis on the students' linguistic ability as determining factor), and (c) student views of the quality of education in several tertiary level institutions in Cyprus and abroad.

Linguistic Profile

The linguistic picture that emerges regarding tertiary level students is very similar to the picture obtained for secondary level students. This is expected because subjects in both levels belong to the third generation of returnees. Tables 5 and 6 show that the 37 subjects believe they are much more competent in English than in Greek in all four skills, with the dichotomy between BICS and CALP being confirmed.

Table 5 Tertiary Students' self-assessment of their language skills in Greek

	Excellent	Very good	Good	Poor
Reading	9	9	16	3
Writing	3	4	20	10
Speaking	11	12	12	2
Listening	19	12	5	1

Table 6 Tertiary Students' self-assessment of their language skills in English

	Excellent	Very good	Good	Poor
Reading	27	8	2	
Writing	22	11	4	
Speaking	32	4	1	
Listening	34	3		

In this study, repatriated students' possibilities of pursuing tertiary education in Cyprus and abroad are assessed and the intentions of two groups of students are elicited. The first group consists of graduating secondary education students who are enrolled in schools where the medium of instruction is English. The second group consists of students who are currently enrolled in institutions of tertiary education in Cyprus. Upon graduation from high school, the majority of the students intend to pursue studies at the tertiary level given that they will not be restricted by factors such as financial, language, grades or other personal circumstances.

It is apparent that the overwhelming majority of the subjects intend to study in a university in an English-speaking country. In addition, the second most preferred choice is attending a university in their country where they were born. Knowing that the majority of repatriated students come from the U.K., Australia, South Africa, Canada and the USA and given the fact that English is their dominant language, it is not surprising that these students opted to study in an institution where the medium of instruction is English. Even when for any reason the subjects choose to stay in Cyprus, they still prefer an institution where the medium of instruction is English. These choices are probably the result of various considerations on the part of the students. Such considerations could be the quality of education in a given institution, the cost of attending such institutions, the subjects' ties to a certain country, the language of instruction at this institution (in this case English) and the feeling of being accepted by a particular society.

With regard to students' opinions of the quality of education in various institutions, it seems that education offered by universities in English speaking countries and in the subjects' countries of origin is highly appreciated by the subjects. As for universities in Greece, education offered in these institutions is

considered quite good. Similarly, English medium institutions in Greece are in general considered quite satisfactory. Finally, the quality of education at the University of Cyprus (UCY) is considered to be rather good.

Given the recognised quality of the UCY and the minimal cost of studying there, it is surprising that none of the subjects intended to study there. These facts lead to the conclusion that the subjects' limited command of the Greek language is a major deterrent from studying at the UCY. From the student perspective, repatriated students have no choice but to attend an English speaking institution either in Cyprus or abroad.

It is interesting to note that some subjects state that they would choose to study at UCY if they are not restricted by the factors named above i.e. grades, language, and parents given that education at the UCY is free. Moreover, the students rank the reasons that would prevent them from studying at a university of their choice. Table 7 shows their responses.

Table 7 Reasons according to importance

	1 st most important reason	2 nd most important reason	3 rd most important reason	4 th most important reason
Grades	12	5	5	
Parents	1	5	4	2
Financial	17	3	1	
Language		1	2	9
Other	2			

The most frequently cited reasons that would prevent the subjects from studying at a university of their choice are financial constraints and grades. Language is never cited as the first most important reason. Only one subject ranks it as the second most important reason, two as the third most important reason and nine as the fourth most important reason. It seems that language is not a major obstacle to their future educational plans and this is not surprising since 28 of the subjects (Table 1) intend to study in an English speaking country. However, it appears that language is after all the major obstacle in many subjects' decision. The subjects rank financial constraints as the major obstacle to their future plans. Theoretically, this should not have been a consideration since they have the option of studying at the UCY without having to pay tuition. However, this does not seem to be an option at all for most of them. At the same time the subjects consider the quality of education at the UCY to be high. Therefore, we can safely conclude that language is a major obstacle in their educational plans since this excludes them from studying at an admittedly reputable and inexpensive institution.

The subjects explicitly state whether they feel disadvantaged, in any way, as far as their university education prospects are concerned. The majority of the students (30) claim that they do not feel disadvantaged and only six (6) of them feels that they are disadvantaged in that respect. On the contrary, with regard to their future educational plans the students seem to consider themselves to be in an advantageous position over Cypriots who have lived all their life in Cyprus. The major advantage they mention is the fact that they are bilingual with English being their dominant language. Their excellent knowledge of English will make it easier for them to be admitted to a college or university abroad. Twenty-four subjects take this view. Another advantage that students mention is their ability to easily adapt to various environments, i.e. Cyprus and the host country. This is mostly due to their exposure to and wider understanding of other cultures.

Another issue under investigation is the repatriated students' perception of the state's obligations towards them. Even though, in general, returnee students do not think that they are disadvantaged, the majority believe that they should be offered help regarding their university/college education. Only two of them think that they do not need any help and one has no opinion.

Students' Views

The second group in the study consists of students already attending tertiary level institutions (colleges) in Cyprus where the medium of instruction is English. This is because as mentioned earlier in the discussion of the secondary students' assessments of the situation, repatriated students have very few possibilities to attend the UCY. The few positions reserved for repatriated students require excellent academic performance at the secondary level.

The majority of the subjects state that they choose to attend a college in Cyprus where the medium of instruction is English because of the fact that their command of Greek would not allow them to study in an institution where the medium of instruction is Greek. In addition, they express their desire to work, study and be with their families in Cyprus. Finally, social, political and economic instability in their countries of origin is a factor that deters them from studying abroad. A smaller group of students state that they would rather study in an English speaking country. Students in both groups consider education in English speaking countries to be of better quality than the education offered in institutions in Cyprus. Moreover, according to the students a degree from universities in English speaking countries is more appreciated in Cyprus. Also, the subjects regard the education in Greek universities to be of high standard despite the fact that they cannot attend these institutions. Overall, the subjects see greater possibilities of studying in universities in English speaking countries and fewer possibilities in universities in their countries of origin. Possibilities of studying in Greek speaking universities are very limited

because the medium of instruction in these institutions is SMG. In addition to language, the students' choice of institution is determined by financial constraints, academic qualifications, safety and the influential role of parents on their children's decision with financial constraints being the most crucial factor. In summary, repatriated students have fewer choices with regard to tertiary education in comparison with other Cypriot students.

As a result, there is a feeling of discontent among repatriated students since they feel that the educational system is not completely fair towards to them. They believe that the state should tend to their special needs by providing psychological, moral and financial support to them and their families upon and after their repatriation.

Conclusion – Recommendations

It is apparent that school age returnees in Cyprus experience various problems upon repatriation. These young returnees face such problems at all levels of the educational system on Cyprus. In general, the returnees' inability to perform adequately in an academic setting due to their limited competence in Greek, often hinders their smooth transition and acculturation into the school community and consequently into the Cypriot society as a whole. This alienates them from their cultural identity and language and makes them return back to the countries they came from.

With regard to the language related problems repatriated students face, a study by Pavlou et al., (2000) provides the following recommendations: First, there should be a timely detection of the problems through the development and administration of appropriate placement tests and/or the improvement of the existing placement tests. These new testing instruments should cover all four skills and assess the degree to which the students can use BICS and CALP. The results of such tests could determine the nature of courses offered to those students. Second, classes for Greek as a foreign language should be created in which a designated bilingual teacher should assist students with their individual problems during or after class. This would be especially beneficial for courses that are taught entirely in Greek such as History, Religious instruction and Greek language. A third suggestion is that students could be pulled out of mainstream classes, again, especially for the classes taught entirely in Greek. Such a choice would prevent students from feeling uncomfortable or disadvantaged in a classroom with native speakers of Greek. In addition, it is suggested that for those courses taught in Greek, students should have a choice in what language they should be tested. Transitional bilingual schools could be created in Cyprus so that repatriated students would have a chance to prepare as quickly as possible to pursue studies in Greek. Such policies already

exist in countries such as the USA, Canada and Germany. The acculturation process in the new environment is a factor, which could play a significant role in the academic performance of those students. Therefore, it is important that private English schools in Cyprus incorporate extra-curricular activities that would bring together repatriated and local students and help them function better in both their social and academic environment. Finally, the Ministry of Education and Culture could play a major role in the implementation of the above suggestions by training teachers to tend to the needs of this special group of students by developing the appropriate materials and placement tests and promoting a closer co-operation with the individual schools.

In addition, parents through school associations can apply pressure on the state and demand that the state subsidise the education of repatriated students in the same way the education of various religious and ethnic minorities in Cyprus is subsidised. Moreover, parents should demand the Ministry of Education and Culture increase the number of Greek language classes that are currently offered in a few schools as well as improve teaching materials and methods. The Ministry of Education and Culture should also appoint teachers of Greek in the English medium schools where these students' needs could be addressed more thoroughly.

Finally, the state should disseminate information on issues of repatriation before repatriated students decide to return to Cyprus. This kind of enlightenment on educational matters, tax issues, military service and job opportunities can play a vital role in the parents' decision. Finally, Cyprus could consult with countries such as Greece and Israel that have faced similar problems regarding repatriation issues and who seem to have dealt to a certain extent with them successfully.

It is a firm conviction of the authors that Cypriot returnees constitute a valuable human resource for Cyprus because of their linguistic and cultural experiences. Their experiences greatly enrich the schools and community in which they function. In fact, returnees play a decisive role in Cypriot society's effort to operate as a multilingual and culturally diverse nation. Returnees should not be perceived as a problem but rather as an asset that can be positively exploited. The Cypriot state should embrace returnees by assisting them in their acculturation effort through constant and genuine interest in them before and after repatriation.

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RECREATING RURAL BRITAIN AND MAINTAINING BRITISHNESS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN: THE TROODOS HILL STATION IN EARLY BRITISH CYPRUS

Andrekos Varnava

Abstract

Britain occupied Cyprus in 1878 for strategic reasons, but while these reasons were being questioned, it was decided to establish a hill station. This was the one thing that the British could agree on, namely that they wanted a space safe enough to protect them from the harsh summer, unhealthy towns and marshy plains of Cyprus. The Troodos Hill Station became the summer capital of the Cyprus Colonial Government within a year of the occupation of Cyprus. At Troodos, the officers of the civil and military establishments, expatriates and travellers, spent the sultry summer months. This paper will explore the original and changing role of the hill station and situate it within the colonial structure and imaginary. I will contend that it was vital in creating and maintaining British identity, namely the rural life of country Britain. It was only at the isolated confines of Troodos that the British could recreate the social and cultural setting of home, because it was only there where they could disengage from the social, political and cultural conditions of the cities. Thus, it comes as no surprise that the Cyprus Government had a protective attitude to its position there against the demands of the military authorities for land rights.

Introduction

The Lord Beaconsfield (Benjamin Disraeli) Government occupied Cyprus in the Anglo-Turkish Convention of 4 June 1878, which ceded the occupation and administration of the island (but not sovereignty) to Britain. Cyprus was chosen as the place from which to protect imperial interests in the Near East and India, interests, both strategic and economic, that Russian expansion threatened and Ottoman weakness undermined. The architects of this policy saw Cyprus as strategically located and ideal for stationing troops and sent there a 10,000 strong army of occupation. They saw Famagusta Harbour as the perfect naval and commercial station in the eastern Mediterranean. But within months of the

occupation, uncertainties developed over the military and naval value of Cyprus. The decision to build the Troodos Hill Station stood in stark contrast to the uncertainties over the military and naval value of the island and the uncertainties over whether to act as if Cyprus was a British or Ottoman territory.¹

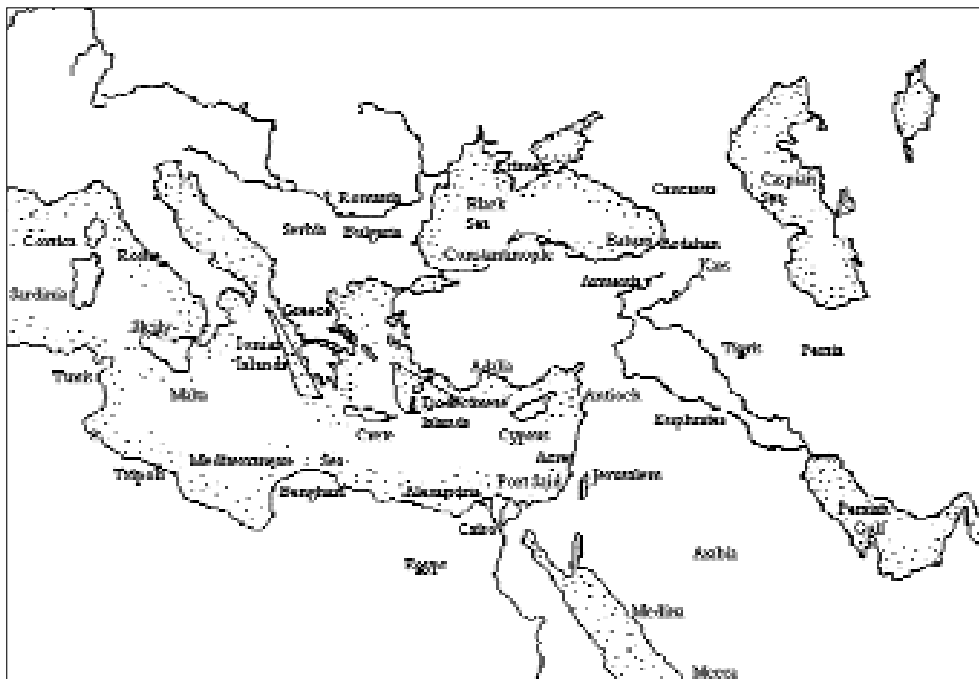


Figure 1: The Location of Cyprus. **Source:** ©Andrekos Varnava.

Only Cyprus, of the British possessions in the Mediterranean, could have had a hill station, with Gibraltar and Heligoland being too small, Malta and Egypt too flat, and the Ionian Islands were given to Greece before the hill station craze. The place of the Troodos Hill Station within the British colonial structure and imaginary will be explored through the views and representations of members of the Cyprus government and the government in London, the military authorities and personnel visiting and/or serving in the island, and the newspaper reporters and visitors. In addition to what was said about the hill station, how it was represented in image – sketch, painting and photo – will also be explored and this will show how vital visual representations are to understanding colonial structures and imaginaries. This means that aside from conventional written sources, such as government records, newspapers, traveller accounts and diaries, the images in newspapers, traveller accounts and postcards, will also be analysed.

This article is structured into four segments: how the British justified the establishment of a hill station at Troodos; the political, military and social value of the hill station to the British in Cyprus; the importance attached to and how British rural life was recreated and British identity maintained; and finally the battle between the Cyprus government and the military authorities over the granting of rights over a section of land to the War Office.

The Decision on a Hill Station and Choosing Troodos

By 1878 hill stations were already an important feature of British colonialism. The Sub-Continent and South-East Asia were famous for them, with almost eighty hill stations in India alone and others in Burma and Malaysia.² In 1864 Whitehall recognised Simla, in the Himalayan foothills of northern India, as the summer capital of the Raj.³ By the early 1870s almost all of the local governments in India migrated to the highlands for the summer and their political importance was highlighted by the construction of government buildings, including grandiose official residences in the late 1870s.⁴

Lieutenant-General Sir Garnet Wolseley, the first high commissioner of Cyprus, knew well the system of hill stations in India where in 1877 he served as a member of the Council of India. He decided that Cyprus needed a hill station within two months of arriving.

Uncertainties over the military and naval value of Cyprus developed as the extremes of the Cypriot summer affected the British. While Whitehall and Wolseley denied that anything was wrong in or with Cyprus, the Liberal opposition questioned its value as a naval station and as a station for troops. As the reports about fever decimating the forces increased, the strategic value of Cyprus was questioned. The excessive heat, insalubrity and poor choice of camping grounds had resulted in fever and ague.⁵ The extremes of the summers of Cyprus justified Wolseley's decision to found a hill station in September 1878, while uncertainties over Cyprus military and naval value remained unresolved.

Wolseley's uncertainty over where to establish his headquarters led to his decision on a hill station. British imperialism traditionally concentrated civilian and military establishments together. Wolseley wanted this continued in Cyprus, but found Nicosia, the capital during Ottoman times, unsuitable. He wrote to his wife on 31 July 1878 that Nicosia was "one great cess-pit into which the filth of centuries has been poured".⁶ Wolseley rejected the house selected for him in Nicosia and took up the offer of Archbishop Sophronios III to establish his temporary headquarters at the isolated Metochi of St. Prokopios, about a mile beyond the walls of Nicosia.⁷ A few weeks later, he reiterated his views on Nicosia to Lord

Troodos Range,¹⁴ and in January 1879 travelled there and chose the campsite where the government, garrison and married families were encamped in May 1879.¹⁵ A sketch of the encampment appeared in the supplement to the Illustrated London News and this shows the use made of the overhanging branches to shade the tents.

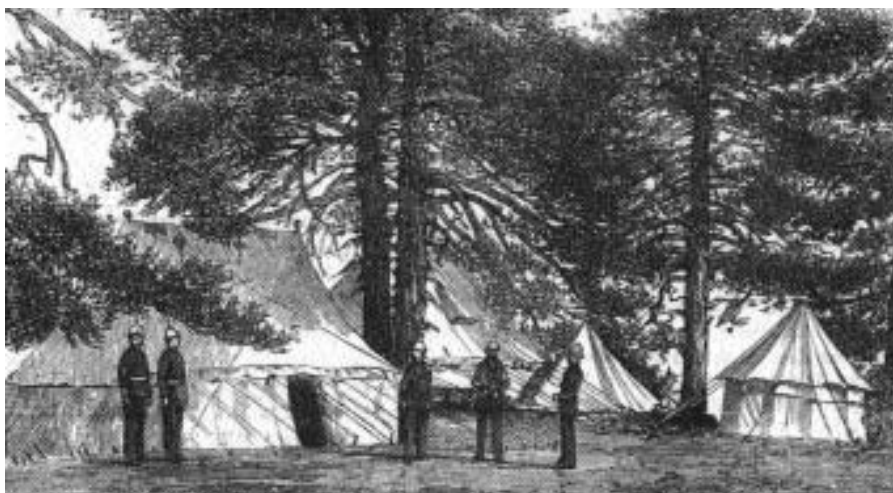


Figure 3: Summer Encampment at Mt Troodos. **Source:** Supplement to the Illustrated London News, 18 October 1879.

Troodos was chosen before a decision was made on whether Famagusta Harbour would be developed into a naval or coaling station. When Stanley and Smith visited Cyprus, they had accompanied Wolseley to Famagusta where they entered and anchored in the outer harbour, joining Vice-Admiral Sir Geoffrey Phipps Hornby, the Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Station. Stanley noted that a reef running parallel with the shore constituted a breakwater “almost as good as Plymouth within which large ships can lie in perfect safety”.¹⁶ Wolseley believed that Famagusta would make a “good coaling station for a fleet watching the northern end of the Suez Canal”, but its insalubrity needed remedying.¹⁷ Hornby opined that with dredging and a new pier Famagusta would make a fine coaling station for a fleet watching over Egypt.¹⁸ Captain Harry Rawson, a naval officer who had raised the British flag at Nicosia, and John Millard, a surveying officer from Malta, reported on the anchorages of Cyprus. They proposed to dredge Famagusta’s inner harbour to twenty-four feet and construct a breakwater (with rock from the old quarries) a mile long beyond the reef allowing warships to anchor in fifty feet of water in the outer harbour. Millard considered that Famagusta had “very great” natural advantages “for both a mercantile and imperial harbour”.¹⁹ But in March 1879 Lord

Salisbury told the House of Lords that the Government wanted to build the harbour, but would not do so before Famagusta was made salubrious, and that was a local affair, and at the moment local revenue was focussed elsewhere.²⁰ Thus, the question was deferred.

The choice of Troodos was obvious, however. The elevation of Troodos ranged between 4,000 and 6,400 feet, compared with 1,800 to 2,100 feet at Kantara. Although Kantara would have served British military aims better, the camp at Troodos was beside Mount Olympus, the highest peak on the island at 6,404 feet, proving perhaps that the symbolism of ruling from the highest peak outweighed practical factors.

The Hill Station's Value to the Cyprus Government

The Troodos Hill Station had a unique political significance because of the organisation of the Cyprus Government. The norm of locating the civil and military establishments together was dispensed with during winter because the civil headquarters were at Nicosia and the military headquarters at Polemedia, three miles from Limassol. Thus only at Troodos were the civilian and military establishments united, giving the hill station a greater symbolic power than Nicosia, a power unique for hill stations. The symbolism can be taken further since Mount Troodos was one of the Olympi of antiquity and in British times, it was referred to as "the Cypriote Simla"²¹ and "the Simla of Cyprus".²²

The local government wasted no time in establishing an official presence at Troodos. The second high commissioner of Cyprus, Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Biddulph, commenced a summer residence in September 1879.²³ Tradition has it that the young twenty-four-year-old French symbolist poet Arthur Rimbaud supervised its construction.²⁴ Rimbaud had landed at Larnaca in December 1878 and worked for £6 a month quarrying stone near the villages of Oroklini and Liopetri,²⁵ but contracted typhoid and returned home. He returned in March 1880 and obtained the £200 a month job to construct, what he called, "The Palace of the Governor".²⁶ But Rimbaud did not oversee its completion, suddenly leaving Cyprus in June 1880. Rimbaud claimed that he left because of "arguments with the paymaster", but Ottorino Rosa, his Italian travelling companion claimed to have heard Rimbaud say that he fled for Egypt after accidentally killing a native with a stone.²⁷ Nevertheless, a future governor of Cyprus, Lord Winster (1946-1949), formerly a Labour MP, affixed on the front door a plaque in French, which reads:

Arthur Rimbaud, French poet and genius, despite his fame contributed with his own hands to the construction of this house, 1881.²⁸

Given that Rimbaud was not famous then, built nothing with his own hands, and did not even oversee the project's completion, Winster's choice of words were a prime example of a colonial governor (even a Socialist) inventing a local identity and tradition for the colonisers.

Sir Harry Luke, who served in Cyprus in various roles on and off between 1911 and 1920, described Government House Troodos as "an unpretentious affair".²⁹ To be sure it was not an opulent building, but it was a more fitting residence for a high commissioner than Government House Nicosia. The latter was a wooden prefabricated structure designed for the subcontinent and sent to Wolseley by the War Office. Wolseley sketched a plan of it for his wife, showing the single-story structure arranged like a barrack block to form three sides of a square.³⁰ The design was a standard military type, quickly thrown together by unimaginative army barrack draughtsmen.³¹ Although Government House Nicosia was also put together by a famous figure, Sir Basil Zaharoff, the famous arms dealer, a later Governor, Sir Ronald Storrs, thought that it was put together "like a child's box".³² When Wolseley arrived to move in on Christmas Eve 1878 a wind during the night had smashed most of the windows.³³ In 1889 William Mallock, the traveller, novelist, and political and social philosopher, predicted that it would not last. "It is not only entirely modern, but it will never become old. It will never become old, for it will have fallen to pieces first."³⁴

The fact that it was rarely photographed, let alone painted, reflected the British embarrassment with it. A photograph (Figure 4) by John P. Foscolo, a French-Levantine photographer enticed to Cyprus from Smyrna by the British and appointed official photographer of the army, shows the building and grounds from a distance.³⁵ The sky dominates the photo, a feature of Foscolo's panoramic photographic style, minimising the importance of Government House. A photograph by Theodoulos Toufexis, published as a post card in 1907, focuses on the attractive aspect of the beautifully manicured courtyard.³⁶ In 1898 Ann Villiers, the daughter of William Haynes-Smith, the High Commissioner (1897-1904), made a rare painting of Government House. Her focus on the garden, admired for its collection of plants imported from Britain,³⁷ and the fact that only a corner of the building enters the frame of her painting, reflected the British view of the building. Almost thirty years later, in 1926, when Storrs arrived to start his term as Governor, his wife commented upon sighting the building: "the stables look good".³⁸ Ironically, it was only when five years later the Cypriots, under Storrs, burned down Government House that *The Illustrated London News* published the first pictures of it: before and after shots (Figures 5 and 6). Government House Nicosia may not have fallen to pieces as Mallock had predicted, but it suffered a far more humiliating fate in burning to the ground.



Figure 4: Government House, Nicosia. **Source:** Andreas Malecos, “J.P. Foscolo”, Popular Bank Cultural Centre, Nicosia, 1992. Courtesy of the Laiki Group Cultural Centre.

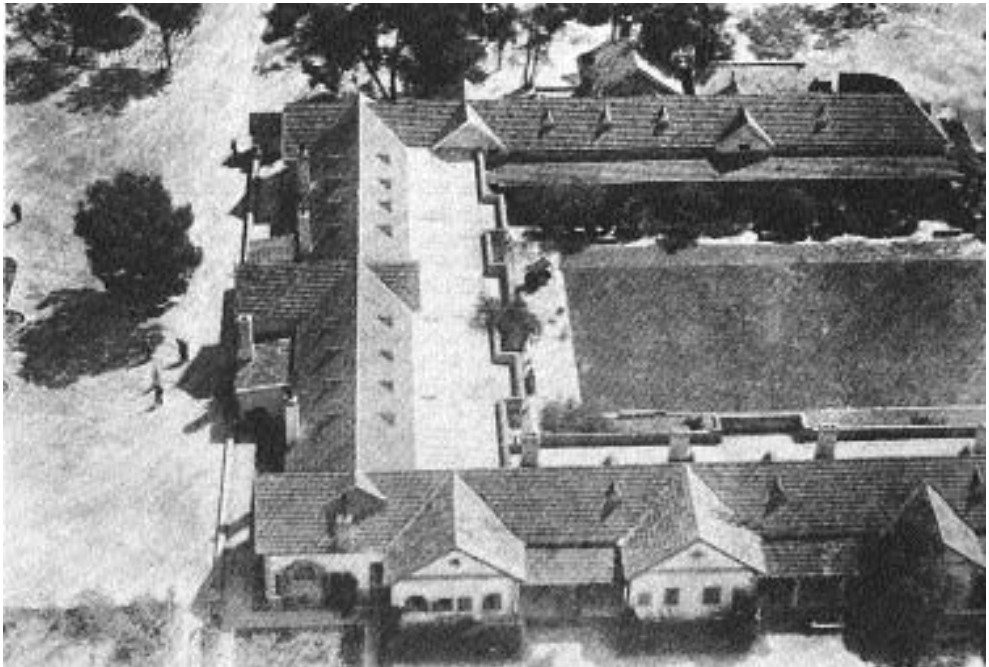


Figure 5: Aerial Photograph of Government House Nicosia. **Source:** The Illustrated London News, 7 November 1931.

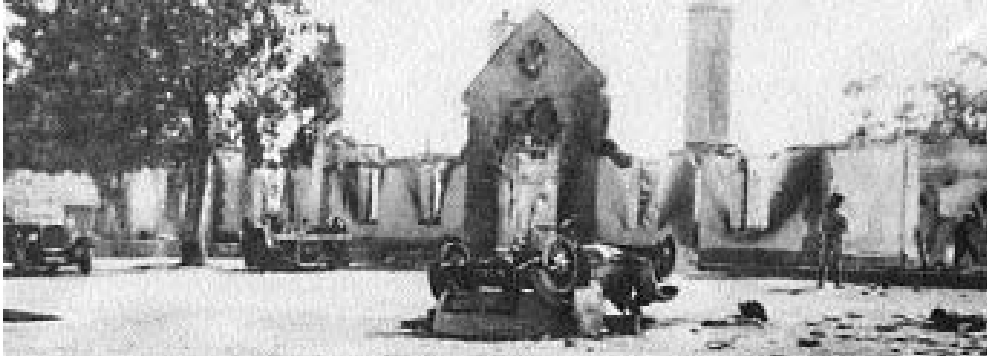


Figure 6: Government House Nicosia after its Burning. **Source:** The Illustrated London News, 7 November 1931.

On the other hand, a man on the spot designed the summer residence, Lieutenant G.A.K. Wisely³⁹ of the Royal Engineers, and others made alterations as the construction of the building progressed.⁴⁰ It was substantially constructed of local blue limestone with rusticated freestone dressings and mouldings.⁴¹ French tiles were used instead of local red tiles, while a cellar was also added.⁴² These and other additions and alterations resulted in an excess over the original estimate of £1,500 by 100 per cent.⁴³ One traveller characterised its style as Cairngorm (a part of the Grampians of Scotland), which literally means “blue stone”.⁴⁴ No doubt the summer residence was designed like a Scottish lodge: something not inappropriate to Troodos’ thick pinewoods. William Forwood, travelling through Cyprus in the early 1970s, believed that the summer residence must have given the high commissioners a “comfortable sense of being at home”.⁴⁵

Government House Troodos was repeatedly photographed and painted, reflecting its architectural appropriateness and the appealing natural scenery. Photographs by Foscolo reveal the rustic, rural, cottage and pastoral atmosphere of the hill station and a setting dominated by the mountains and woods.⁴⁶ One of these photographs (Figure 7) shows that, although the civil officers were at Troodos to work, the proximity of a (rather hastily constructed) tennis court to Government Cottage must have made relaxation attractive.⁴⁷ Sport and government work went hand-in-hand. A painting by William Collyer in 1886 shows Government Cottage (renamed that year to distinguish it from Government House Nicosia)⁴⁸ from a height and includes the mountainous backdrop.⁴⁹ Importantly, however, Collyer includes the British flag⁵⁰ emphasising the official British authority. Two years later, Captain Rudyerd painted Government Cottage, also from a height, capturing the fine old pines and the mountainous and cloud-enshrined background. Rudyerd’s painting includes an inactive Cypriot native.⁵¹ The European myth of the lazy native,

explored by Hussein Syed Alatas in the case of the Filipinos, Javanese and Malays, was very much a part of the British perception of the Cypriot – Orthodox and Muslim alike – and was exemplified in this representation.⁵² In this painting the native clearly faces away from Government Cottage, reflecting perhaps the native indifference to the imperial ruler and the structures constructed by it. In 1898 Ann Villiers also painted Government Cottage and in contrast to her painting of Government House Nicosia, she does not shy from including the entire building in the frame.⁵³ This perhaps reflects the British embarrassment at Government House Nicosia, rather than any pride in Government Cottage.

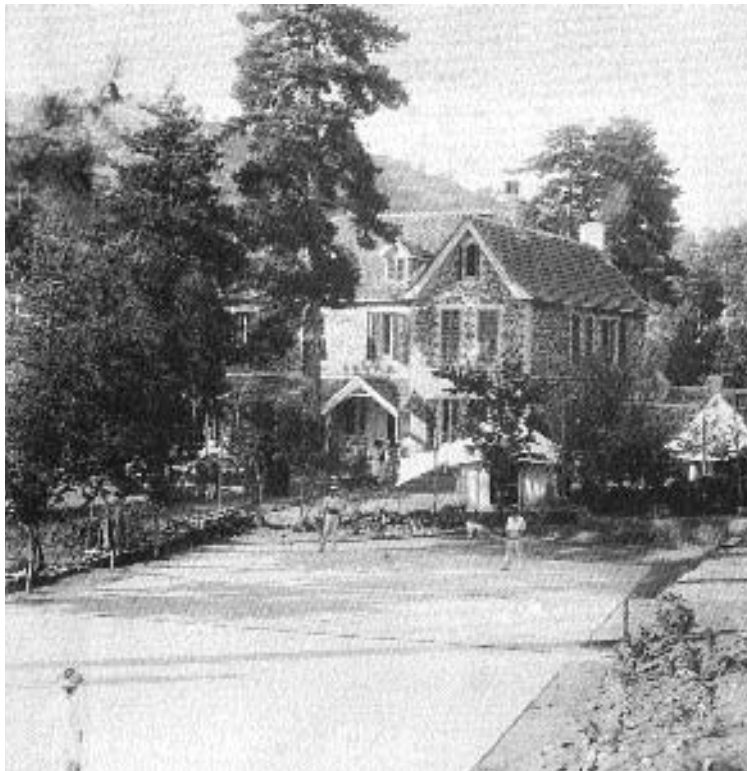


Figure 7: Government Cottage, Troodos. **Source:** Andreas Malecos, “J.P. Foscolo”, Nicosia, 1992. Courtesy of the Laiki Group Cultural Centre.

Troodos was equally important for the military and the men of the garrison who arrived before the civilian officials. Encamped under canvass, they formed the bulk of the community (at least until 1895 when the force was drastically reduced)⁵⁴ and given that the garrison was changed every year, the constant flow of new men must

have given the civil officials an added social incentive. The troops also provided much of the light entertainment. Sketches in *The Graphic* in November 1879 show them organising photo sessions, conducting plays and loitering around the camp.

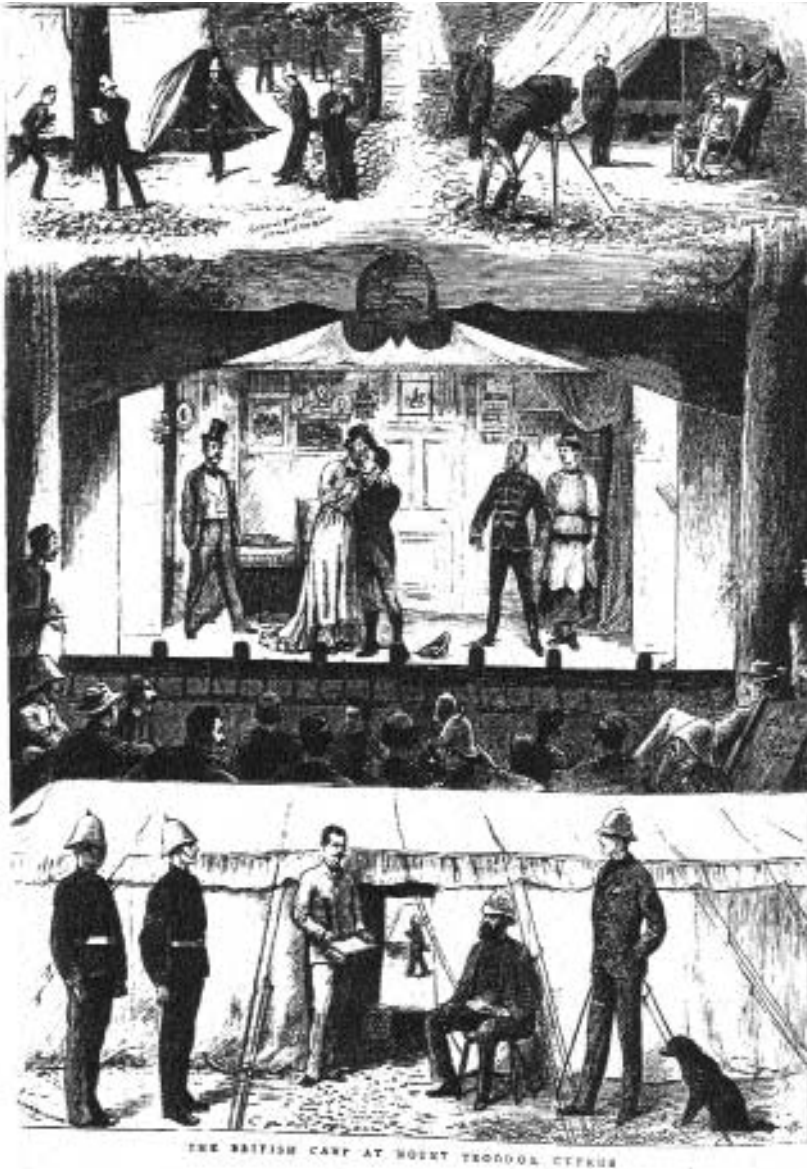


Figure 8: The British at Mount Troodos. **Source:** *The Graphic*, 15 November 1879.

During the Egyptian Wars (1882, 1885), Troodos became a base for troops and being away from the battle was a convenient place to sketch the forces for the public at home. In September 1882 The Graphic printed a sketch (Figure 9) of a parading regimental transport corps at Troodos, which captured the sloping mountains and thick old pines.

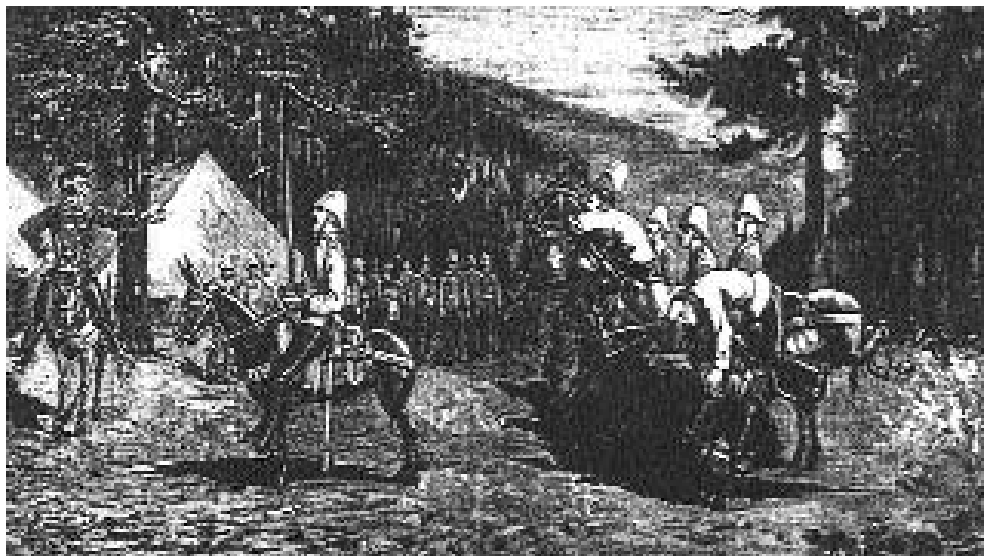


Figure 9: Parading a Regimental Transport Train for Egypt, Mount Troodos, Cyprus. **Source:** The Graphic, 23 September 1882.

There are numerous photographs taken by Foscolo of the encampments and the forces. The photograph (Figure 10) of the Connaught Regiment shows the troops playing polo on donkeys; indicating that sport figured prominently in the life at Troodos; and that even though there were not enough horses, the British were able to adapt to the conditions, because they wanted to play polo so much.⁵⁵ Another photograph (Figure 11) illustrates the pristine tents of the 1st York Regiment encamped at Troodos, revealing (as do others by Foscolo) that trees were cleared for the camps.⁵⁶ Some of the men were fine painters, including Colonel Hugh Montgomery Sinclair, of the Royal Engineers, who arrived in Cyprus in 1878 and became Biddulph's private secretary; Colonel Benjamin Donnisthorpe Donne, who came to Cyprus with his Royal Sussex Regiment in October 1880 and became commandant of the Military Police for Limassol; and Captain Rudyerd.⁵⁷ In an 1888 watercolour, Rudyerd depicts the precisely ordered white tents of the 1st York Regiment.⁵⁸ He emphasises the surrounds; the sky and pines dwarf the soldiers organising the camp. In 1887 the 1st Battalion of the Royal Berkshire Regiment served in Cyprus,⁵⁹ and received from General Simpson Hackett, the Officer

Administering the Government (in the absence of the high commissioner), their Egyptian Medals at Troodos (Figure 12).⁶⁰ Moreover, the Cypriot muleteers that had served at Suakim were also informed to present themselves to the Commissariat at Troodos to collect their medals.⁶¹ Troodos clearly served as the official summer-capital of British Cyprus and was even the preferred capital.



Figure 10: General view of S[outh] Camp (Connaught Rngrs), Mt. Troodos.
Source: Andreas Malecos, “J.P. Foscolo”, Nicosia, 1992. Courtesy of the Laiki Group Cultural Centre.



Figure 11: View of Camp, York Rgt., Mt. Troodos. **Source:** Andreas Malecos, “J.P. Foscolo”, Nicosia, 1992. Courtesy of the Laiki Group Cultural Centre.

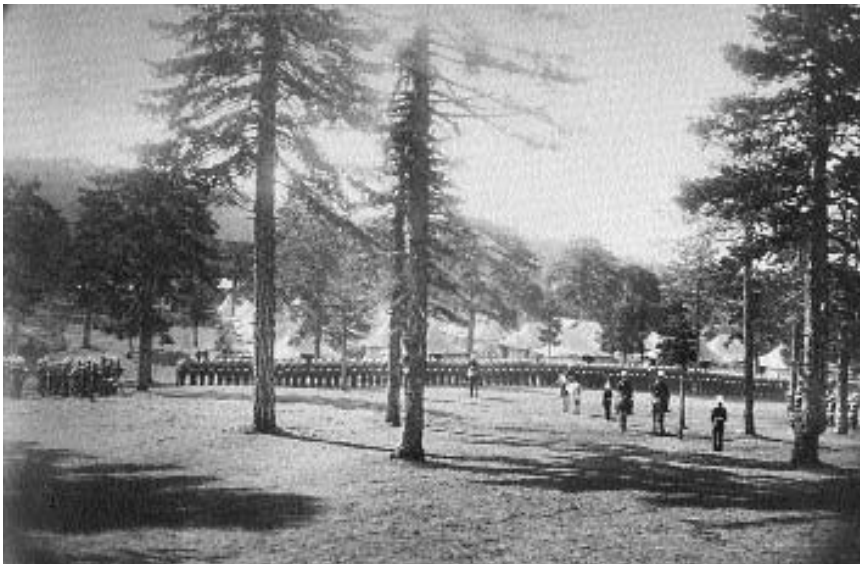


Figure 12: “View of North Camp, Troodos, presentation of Egyptian Medals to $\frac{1}{2}$ Bt. Berks. Rgt, by General Hackett.” **Source:** Andreas Malecos, “J.P. Foscolo”, Nicosia, 1992. Courtesy of the Laiki Group Cultural Centre.

Recreating British Rural Life and Maintaining Britishness

Dane Kennedy argues that the British “established close communities of their own kind in a setting of their own design” at the Indian hill stations.⁶² Thus, the hill stations acquired a greater significance than the therapeutic attraction originally attached to them and from the political value officially credited to them. This was certainly the case with Troodos.

The hill station gave an official sanctioning to the English desire for the rural retreats and society, which Martin Weiner believed was at the heart of English society.⁶³ Society life in Cyprus was very limited, beyond the few official gatherings and celebrations, compared to Egypt, where a season of balls and other entertainments gave women something to anticipate. The men had it better. They had English clubs in Nicosia, Larnaca and Limassol, which provided relief from the natives and the latest news from home in a familiar, masculine and group environment. Troodos had an added significance in the early years since the English club in Nicosia was not established until 1884, and did not move into an acceptable place until 1896.⁶⁴ While travelling on duty in the winter, men also had the chance to engage with nature, and pursue activities like climbing mountains and hunting (often together). But during the winter season these pursuits were much more personal and less communal. Troodos offered a cloistered natural and untamed environment for the British to recreate a familiar setting and pursue familiar pursuits together.

The annual trip to Troodos was an event that the British on the island looked upon with much anticipation. The Hill Station was reached only by a long, gruelling, steep climb entirely by means of human and animal (mule and horse) exertion, after a thirty-five mile and six-hour trip from Limassol without stop on the military road specifically connecting Polemedia with Troodos,⁶⁵ or three times that from Nicosia. Unlike India, where Kennedy found the emotional resonance of a religious pilgrimage,⁶⁶ in Cyprus the theme resonating was the anticipation of travelling to a Shangri-La. Mrs E.A.M. Lewis regretted not having the chance to visit Troodos before leaving Cyprus in 1893 because she was told of its:

pleasant social footing when all, who are usually separated by long and difficult journeys, meet together from the various distant districts for once in the year: the impromptu tea-parties organised under the tree: the tennis-courts; the presence of the whole military staff, and their excellent band playing at the afternoon receptions at Government Cottage; these, and many other pleasant things make the annual migration to Troodos a very cheery time, to be looked forward to with a good deal of enthusiasm.⁶⁷

A photo of one of the impromptu tea-parties taken in June 1882 reveals the women enjoying the company of a sizeable society and the men without military uniform.⁶⁸

Foscolo's photo (Figure 13) of a tennis scene shows the women and men enjoying a game of mixed doubles, surrounded by Troodos' pines.⁶⁹ For women the annual migration was exciting because the life created at Troodos provided the socio-cultural invigoration that was lacking during the winter season when their lives were in the alien and lonely cities.



Figure 13: “Lawn Tennis Scene, Mt. Troodos.” **Source:** Andreas Malecos, “J.P. Foscolo”, Nicosia, 1992. Courtesy of the Laiki Group Cultural Centre.

The rural environment of Troodos attracted the men because it was invigorating. Anton Bertram, the Puisne Judge of Cyprus (1907-1911), best captured this feeling in the October 1909 edition of *Travel and Exploration*.⁷⁰ He structured the article to create anticipation in the reader. He continuously referred to Troodos, but did not start the section on it until six pages into the article and stated that he feared to have left himself no space, but wrote over three pages on it – a third of the article.⁷¹ Troodos was the “culmination of Cyprus in more ways than one” and twice refers to “the enchanting hill-tops of Troodos”.⁷² The anticipation begins with the packing and sending of the luggage and furniture in mule-carts. Then speeding across the Mesaoria plain, past the “humming threshing floors”, until the landscape changes and running water and hills covered in poplars, rosy oleander blossoms and red tiled roofs captivate the travellers. The speed exemplifies the escape from the natives to where a “new scene” of pines and panoramas awaits.⁷³ John Thomson, the famous Victorian photographer, fabulously captured such a scene in 1878.



Figure 14: Pines of Troodos. **Source:** John Thompson, *Through Cyprus with the Camera in the Autumn of 1878*, Sampson Low, London, 1879.

Hunting was pursued all-year-round and across the island, but more energetically during the Troodos season. With areas reminiscent of the Scottish highlands, the British hunted hare, mouflon (wild sheep indigenous to Cyprus), partridges, francolin and woodcock. During the first few years of British rule, army officers imported packs of hounds for hunting.⁷⁴ One anonymous writer lamented in 1892 that the Cypriots had so taken to hunting and it was very hard to find game.⁷⁵ The British even built a rest house at Stavros tis Psokas in the Paphos Forest in the heart of mouflon hunting territory to facilitate this activity.⁷⁶ Hunting tends to be instilled with concepts of manliness, but even women visitors to Troodos favourably commented on the hunt.⁷⁷ Although the British did not need to hunt to survive, it had vital socio-cultural significance. The activity at Troodos provided the opportunity to re-engage with nature in a collective activity. The hunts were also about proving a mastery over nature. Thus, when Hamilton Goold-Adams, the High Commissioner (1911-1914), took his private secretary, Harry Luke (then Lukach), on a mouflon hunting expedition, Luke went, as all good British officers did, but later privately expressed relief at missing his target.⁷⁸ His appreciation of the mouflon did not, of course, stretch to refusing to shoot at it. The hunt was vital in reasserting British identity in an alien place and reasserting a power over nature in a foreign environment, by recreating a pastime that was an intrinsic component of British rural life.

Both sexes enjoyed the idleness and recreation Troodos offered without worldly distraction. One principal pastime at Troodos was viewing the scenery and summit. The much-travelled Sir Harry Luke claimed that:

on their peaks and slopes and among their valleys there is scenery which, I maintain, cannot be surpassed elsewhere in colour, in romantic outline, in fragrance of vegetation.⁷⁹

Climbing Olympus became one of the binding social events. Major Benjamin Donne revealed that it was “the favourite promenade of Troodos Society to walk to the Summit of an evening”.⁸⁰ William Butler, who accompanied Wolseley to the summit in 1879, basked at its immeasurable skyline and horizon;⁸¹ Horatio Kitchener, who surveyed the island, adored it;⁸² and Esme Scott-Stevenson, the wife of a government official, marvelled at it.⁸³

Early artists and photographers who visited Cyprus were enthralled by the view from the summit. Tristan Ellis sketched it and Rudyard painted it.⁸⁴

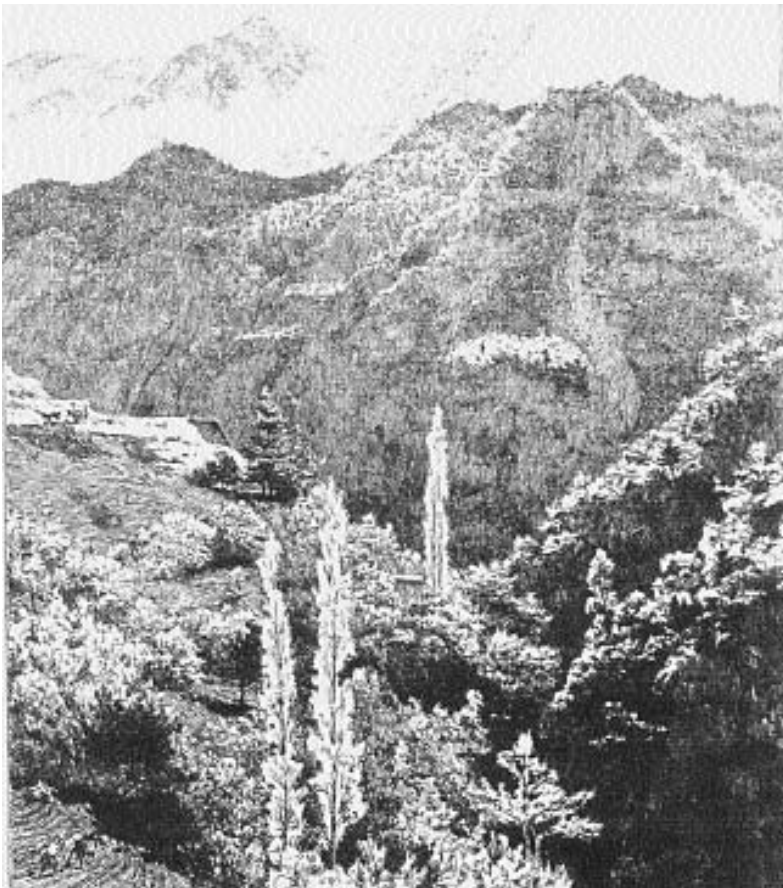


Figure 15: Troodos Summit. **Source:** Tristan Ellis, Sketch, Twelve Etchings of Principle Views and Places of Interest in Cyprus, London, 1879.

Both capture and emphasise the extraordinary panoramic view. The exception was John Thomson's photograph (Figure 16): the summit was flat, rocky and overgrown with shrubs. Very realistic and very bare: waiting for rejuvenation. Nevertheless, he still managed to describe its brilliance in words.

... enveloped in gloom, drenched with rain, and benumbed with cold, the scene around us was weird and foreboding rather than extensive. Far down beneath our feet, clouds in grey masses hung over the glens, pierced here and there by the dark pine tops, and lit up at intervals into dazzling brilliancy by the lightning as it flashed.⁸⁵

The summit had spellbound even Thomson and made up for his failure to capture it with his brilliant photo (Figure 17) of the forest and fine sketch of the sloping mountains.



Figure 16: Summit of Troodos. **Source:** John Thomson, *Through Cyprus with the Camera in the Autumn of 1878*, Sampson Low, London, 1879.



Figure 17: Troodos, Engraving from John Thomson Sketch. **Source:** The Illustrated London News, 16 November 1878.

Troodos provided the social, cultural and rural invigoration that both men and women craved after the bustle, alien and lonely life in the cities and towns. The establishment of the Troodos Hill Station was therefore about retaining the socio-cultural identity of British rural life back home, as a way of preserving ‘Britishness’ in a foreign colonial setting.

The march from Troodos to the plains for the winter season was unmentioned in accounts, but there was one representation, a sketch in *The Graphic* in 1880 (Figure 18). The march seems a rather slow, methodical and gloomy departure. Paradoxically, the people do not look very invigorated and their despondent appearance gives the impression of the sadness at the end of most holidays.



Figure 18: Marching from Mt Troodos to Winter Quarters. **Source:** The Graphic, 2 October 1880.

The desire for a haven was a major attraction of Troodos for the British. In 1879, the first summer the British encamped at Troodos, the famous explorer, traveller and engineer Sir Samuel White Baker and his wife spent more than three months at Trooditissa Monastery, five miles from the British camp.⁸⁶ Baker and his wife developed a close attachment to the monks and the sole native family.⁸⁷ The seclusion offered them the peaceful life that many English families experienced in rural Britain, but in a setting not of their own design. Baker wrote of his time there:

It was a very peaceful existence. I shall often look back with pleasure to our hermitage by the walls of the old monastery, which afforded a moral haven from all the storms and troubles that embitter life.⁸⁸

The retreat from “the storms and troubles” of life was Troodos’s major attraction, but unlike Baker, who preferred to stay with the natives away from the British encampment, the colonial and military officials retreated from the natives. Kennedy argued that the British headed for the hills in India “for seasonal relief not merely from the physical toll of a harsh climate but from the social and psychological toll of an alien culture”.⁸⁹ Hill stations have two aspects in common: they are a retreat to

something, and a retreat from something. The “retreat from” was from the heat and disease of the plains, the bustle and disease of the cities, and, whether intended or not, from the natives. Edward Said’s phrase “imaginative geography”, refers to the minds of the colonisers intensifying and reinforcing the importance of their own sense of identity by dramatising the distance and difference between it and the native.⁹⁰ The reinforcing of difference results in the “retreat to” being a retreat to a community space created to preserve British identity.

A space conducive to recreating British socio-cultural identity had to be untamed and away from the natives on what Butler called a “lonely Troodos”.⁹¹ William Hawkins captured the loneliness in an oil painting. The pines seem to take on a human form, thus the emptiness of Troodos was attractive.⁹² As Forwood remarked “it was the British who ‘discovered’ Troodos”.⁹³ Indeed, although Troodos became a resort, it never became a village. The British needed a blank canvass to recreate home.

The buildings that enclose home and community life were pivotal in the formation of a comfortable and familiar environment. The British lived under canvass although the Cyprus Government built about a dozen huts for officials. Some government officers built two-floored houses at Platres (the village south of Troodos) with broad balconies that commanded picturesque views of the sea horizons.⁹⁴ Two photographs (Figures 19 and 20) by Foscolo provide examples of these houses, and possibly one of these belonged to Falkland Warren, the first Chief Secretary of the Cyprus Government (1879-1891), who built a house near Platres. The house in Figure 19 had a commanding position of surveillance over Platres, as does the camp of soldiers on the side of the mountain. The British houses there were constructed outside the village in the northern environs close to Troodos. The British houses did not resemble the typical dwellings of the inhabitants of Platres, as was evident in Rudyerd’s watercolour of 1888.⁹⁵ Platres had 126 native inhabitants according to the census of 1881.⁹⁶ The “part-time” homes of the British were evacuated and closed-up when it came time to leave the hill station for the winter season. Tourists, like Rider Haggard,⁹⁷ purchased tents from the “Army and Navy”⁹⁸ and by the turn of the century a Miss T. Young from Nicosia operated a popular tent hotel at Troodos,⁹⁹ a feature that continued into the twentieth century.¹⁰⁰ The huts built for use by officials were also hired to travellers.¹⁰¹ In 1905, an Egyptian, N. Houry, opened a small hotel at Troodos to cater for Egyptian officials.¹⁰² By 1908, the Olympus Hotel had opened at Troodos,¹⁰³ and the Platres Hotel at Platres,¹⁰⁴ both belonging to the Cyprus Hotel Company.¹⁰⁵ During and after the First World War there was a hotel boom with more hotels constructed at Troodos and Platres, and others at Pedhoulas and Prodromos.¹⁰⁶



Figure 19: British House Overlooking Camp and Village, Mt. Troodos (mine).
Source: Andreas Malecos, “J.P. Foscolo”, Nicosia, 1992. Courtesy of the Laiki Group Cultural Centre.



Figure 20: View of Troodos looking towards the Salt Lake.
Source: Andreas Malecos, “J.P. Foscolo”, Nicosia, 1992. Courtesy of the Laiki Group Cultural Centre.

Another requirement necessary to create the right socio-cultural setting was the imagined familiar location — both natural and architectural. This was the major difference between the Cyprus and India hill station experiences. In India Dane Kennedy reveals that the dominant architectural motif for houses was the Swiss chalet style because the British wanted to re-create the physical appearance of their homeland.¹⁰⁷ Although this contention seems rather questionable, it is not the place of this article to question it, but rather to provide a comparison with Cyprus. In Cyprus the British found the natural scenery, villages and monasteries, familiar. In 1879 Baker found that approaching Troodos was like entering “one of those picturesque vales for which Devonshire is famous”.¹⁰⁸ He described Trooditissa Monastery as “a family of English barns that had been crossed with a Swiss chalet”,¹⁰⁹ providing apt words to Rudyerd’s 1888 watercolour.¹¹⁰ Wolseley wrote in his diary that the villages in the area had a “Swiss air about them”,¹¹¹ while Kitchener wrote that when approaching Troodos from the north, the villages of Pedhoulas and Prodromos resembled villages in Switzerland.¹¹² A photograph by Foscolo of Pedhoulas shows that this observation does not seem to reflect the houses, given their thatched roofs, although the church of the village does resemble Swiss-style chalet architecture.¹¹³



Figure 21: Village of Pedhoulas. **Source:** Andreas Malecos, “J.P. Foscolo”, Nicosia, 1992. Courtesy of the Laiki Group Cultural Centre.

Once the hill station was created, some British saw other more exotic (Oriental) places in Troodos. At the turn of the century, Major D.G. Prinsep observed that the

scenery from Platres to Troodos was “very like that on the road to Murree in the Himalayas”. Either he had fused in his mind the Indian and Cyprus hill stations, not being able to distinguish one from the other, or the British had created in Cyprus an imitation of the Indian hill station experience. Yet as he sat sipping tea on the grass with his party at Platres, he was reminded of picnics in England.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, Harry Luke imagined that the view of the sunset over Paphos was “like the sunset of a Japanese print”. The shapes created by the weight of the snow on the pines and their green, contrasted with the deep crimson of the setting sun, combined to “produce effects in colouring and design such as are seen in the works of [Ando] Hiroshige”, the famous Japanese master painter.¹¹⁵ There was a strange fusion of the Far East and the Indian Sub-continent in the way the only Mediterranean hill station was described and characterised by the British once it was built.

The Cyprus Government versus the War Office

The Cyprus Government’s recognition of the importance of the Troodos Hill Station was reflected by its sensitive and protective attitude towards any granting of land rights to the War Office to establish an exclusive sanatorium.

The War Department desire for land rights at Troodos to establish a sanatorium for the troops in Egypt brought to the fore the Cyprus Government’s protective attitude over the hill station. Biddulph had advocated the potential of Troodos as a summer resort for Europeans wanting to avoid the Levantine heat,¹¹⁶ but the capitalists that formed a company in Alexandria to construct an establishment were crippled by the war of 1882.¹¹⁷ But when during the Egyptian and Sudan wars Troodos became valuable as a rearguard hospital,¹¹⁸ its therapeutic attraction increased. Regiments returning from the Suakim were invigorated by the climate.¹¹⁹ In 1885 the War Office decided to establish a military station there for the troops in Egypt and the Sudan and requested rights over an area of land.¹²⁰

The Cyprus Government was reluctant to cede land rights to the War Office. The Chief Secretary, Falkland Warren, advised the High Commissioner, Henry Bulwer (Biddulph’s successor), that the sites the War Office selected to build a hospital and a bazaar would result in the contamination of the springs, which supplied water to the civil government and civilian and garrison camps. Bulwer also wanted more camping ground for the civil administration.¹²¹ In April 1887 the War Office proposed that if it had the exclusive right to occupy land, it would “always be open to the Officer Commanding to allow civilians to camp within the lines, if feasible, but it...considered [it] essential on sanitary and other grounds that no such right should exist”.¹²² This incited Edward Fairfield, the Cyprus expert in the Colonial Office, to opine:

Conclusion

The importance of the Troodos Hill Station to recreating British rural life and preserving British identity outweighed its initial therapeutic attraction. At Troodos the British grafted an image of their own society and culture, imagined as it was, onto a bare canvass. It was only at the isolated confines of the hill station that a British community could be sustained, because only at such highlands could the British replicate the remembered socio-cultural world they left behind.¹²⁶ So because the hill station was so vital to the British on the island, the local government challenged the WO over its demands for land there.

In the 1930s H.V. Morton travelled the route set down in the Acts of the Apostles and wrote a wonderfully entertaining and very popular travel book *In the Steps of St. Paul*. The significance of what Morton thought of Troodos may have escaped the reader of the 1930s and indeed today's reader, but it is an apt way of ending this article.

Mount Troodos dominates the island of Cyprus. It stands up in the west like a green tower lifted towards the cloudless sky. In the autumn it is on the mighty head of Troodos that the first wisp of grey gathers, a sign that rain is about to fall on earth parched since May.

The guide-book says, with unconscious humour, that 'Mount Troodos, the ancient Mount Olympus, on whose heights gods and goddesses once met in its solemn conclave, is now the summer seat of the Cyprus Government'.

This suggests that the gods and goddesses were either officially evicted, or had departed of their own free will as soon as they heard of Queen Victoria and Disraeli. And the words contain, perhaps, a faint hope of warning. They seem to warn the traveller that he should not expect to turn a corner and suddenly come upon Persephone playing among the grape hyacinths, but that he should, on the other hand, be prepared at any moment to encounter Mrs. Browne-Jones, whose husband is in the audit department.

As the sun fell towards the west, we climbed up out of the plain through vineyards and past villages clinging like wild bees' nests to the ledges of mountains. We entered a cool world of bracken and hushed woods, where every footfall is silenced on yielding paths of pine needles, and the mind wanders far away to the combs of Bournemouth.

How strange that clear-eyed Athene, that Artemis with her bow and quiver, that the lady Aphrodite herself, should have haunted groves which seem designed by a benevolent providence to prepare the mind of a Government official for retirement to a house called 'Pine View'. And the strangeness of it grows, for, climbing to the top of the great mountain where Zeus once assembled his

thunderbolts, the surprised traveller comes suddenly on hard tennis-courts. Glades once sacred to the escapades of pagan gods are now sacred to the decorous games of Her Majesty's Servants.¹²⁷

Notes

- * An earlier version of this article was published in *Exploring the British World*, (eds.) Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw, Kiera Lindsey and Stuart Macintyre, RMIT Publishing, Melbourne, 2004, pp. 1102-1133, an e-book that comprised selected papers from the British World Conference III, hosted by the University of Melbourne, 2-4 June 2004.
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THE DIFFERENTIAL EMBODIMENT OF HOME: CONSTRUCTING AND RECONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES AMONG REFUGEES

Costas Constantinou

Abstract

It has been twenty years since the first refugees moved to the new-built refugee estate in Tahtakallas, within the walled city of Nicosia, near Famagusta Gate. The attempt of the government in the 1980s was to renovate and rehabilitate the area. The present study¹ aims to explore the attitudes of these refugees towards their new place of residence eighteen years after their resettlement. Was a common place a sufficient factor to construct Tahtakallas as a new community in its residents' minds? This question is rigorously analysed in this paper following interviews taken from twenty-five Tahtakallas' residents aged from nine to eighty-six years old.

Introduction

Previous studies on Greek-Cypriot refugees have not focused on an in-depth exploration and contextualisation of the variety of 'refugeenesses' and the strictly associated term of 'home'. As analysed in this study,² varied experiences of 'home', its embodiment and more importantly its re-embodiment, shape and reshape the framework of understanding dislocation and the need for relocation.

While some scholars who have written extensively on Greek-Cypriot refugees, like Loizos (1977, 1981, 2000), have stressed the importance of the fluidity of the term, others have speculated on it as a static, uncontextualised and thus fetishised term that can be embodied and transferred from generation to generation (Hadjiyanni, 2002; Zetter, 1998). In other words, refugeeness is a social product under constant revision that cannot be understood outside the framework in which it is produced and reproduced.

Tahtakallas as Non-community and “Non-place”

Marc Auge (1995) asserted that “non-places” are those areas in modernity where interactions are performed by anonymous people. In such areas any cultural attributes or symbols become trivial. In genre of Auge’s idea, I argue here that one of the most basic reasons why Tahtakallas has not become a community or a place in the discourse of the older participants of this study,³ has not been the consequence of the strict anonymity among its residents but of the little knowledge they had for each other and for the place. As I discuss below, this low level of knowledge has been determined by various structural and individual factors.

Why do most of the older participants of this study dislike Tahtakallas? What are their arguments? Generally, they do not seem to like the area because it does not resemble their village in the north in both physical and social terms. Below I discuss in more detail three missing aspects of Tahtakallas based on the older participants’ claims:

- (a) the land
- (b) the deep knowledge about people and the place, and
- (c) the importance of the house.

The Land

The older participants emphasised that the lack of land in the area engenders negative feelings towards Tahtakallas. However, it is not merely the existence of land that counts but whether the participants own it and what relationship they have with it. Maroulla, a refugee from a village outside of Famagusta stressed: “In my village, I owned land, I had fields with olive trees and trees in my garden. We cultivated fruit and we did not [need to] buy anything”. Another refugee, Stella, supports Maroulla: “When I became a refugee and I went to the market to buy fruit I started crying, Na ayoraso frouta? [To buy fruit?], that was something I could not accept”. Most of the older participants, especially the women, spent much of their time in the fields, tilling the land and cultivating crops for the market so as to provide food and money for their family. The relationship between them and the land was direct not only in physical terms but also in emotional terms. To make and support a family in Cyprus was – and still is – something crucial, and what was even more important was the fact that owning and using land was for many families the sole source of income. Respectively, therefore, people’s strong feelings towards the land were reinforced.

There are other reasons as well, as to why these people had a strong relationship with their land. First, land and property were very important a few decades ago as the prerequisites for weddings and the dowries of brides (Loizos,

1975b, 1981). The dowry was the bride's contribution to the wedding, as the groom contributed his job (Argyrou, 1996). Many families accumulated goods, clothes, money and property (usually a house) in order to present them to their daughter at marriage. Having a house available to pass on to the bride, made her more attractive to potential grooms (Loizos, 1975b). Owning land was also vital, as it was the vehicle to the event that was considered to be the most important in a person's life at that time. Coming to the south as a refugee after 1974 and owning nothing, not even the house they resided in, in Tahtakallas, equated to losing one's sense of belonging and 'self' (Hirschon, 1998). When parents married off their children but later on had little to give them, was hugely disappointing. Also, marrying off their children at a time and in a place where strangers were dominant, appeared to be devastating. Thus Harithea complained that her children's weddings did not make her "feel better", after her dislocation in 1974, because the congratulations she received came from strangers.

Secondly, the significance of land and ownership was magnified because the owners' merits were acknowledged by fellow villagers and they were thus regarded socially as more respectable. The knowledge of who owns which piece of land or property together with recognition as owner, were fundamental niceties in villages in the past. Here is what Maroulla said when she explained why it would have been better if all the current residents of Tahtakallas had originated from her village:

The only thing I wish I had here was a sihoriano [a fellow villager] even if [s/he] was my worst enemy. We would understand each other. We would say that we had that piece of land and we would know that it was true. He or she would believe me. Somebody from another village would think that I was a liar.

The lack of shared knowledge about bygone facts and events, i.e., ownership and weddings appears to be influential in the perception of how people observe others and the place. Being familiar with a place and its residents is what makes the older participants feel more comfortable and more at home. This lack of awareness and the impact it has had on their lives is discussed below in more detail.

The Deep Knowledge about People and the Place

Most interviewees from Group 1 claim that one of the basic reasons why they do not like Tahtakallas and why they do not feel comfortable there, is because they do not know their fellow residents. Maroulla, for instance, has contact with only two other older ladies, Harithea and Prodromou. Harithea and Anastasia do have more contact with their children who also reside in the area. Yiannis does not have any friends in the area as he has problems with his voice and vision and Vasilis prefers to visit a coffee shop in the suburbs where he lived prior to moving to Tahtakallas.

Knowing little about the people and community is a significant factor as to why these respondents feel they are xenoi. For example, Maroulla complains that she knows nothing about two of her neighbours apart from where they came from. These three women (Maroulla, Harithea and Anastasia) together with some of the participants from Group 2, stressed that knowing who is bad and who is good in the community is essential. They felt that they ought to be aware of any members in their community with bad reputations so that they would know how to behave towards them. They again compared their current situation in Tahtakallas with their memories of the past and the north and remarked that in their villages they knew one another very well and accepted each other like siblings. This egalitarianism is, according to Cohen (1985, p. 35), “a powerful symbolic process in the community”. It is, I argue, what keeps people integrated. However, it is not merely being equal in status (e.g., being kin, having similar financial resources, getting married and having children) but also being equal in knowledge. To put it more clearly: knowing, for example, ‘who married who’, and sharing this knowledge in a ritualised form is a symbol to which people may ascribe different meanings (Cohen, 1985). But this is not the end of the story. In the past, many people in the villages did not simply want to know about the weddings of others but also needed personal recognition for the same reason. Cohen (1985), talks about this when referring to the coexistence of commonality and individuality. So it is not the mere sharing and practicing of the commonalities that count and keep people together, but that this sharing, very often ritualised, comes back to the “self” (through the other and the community) where the individual identity is constructed. Arguably, no such self-affirmation occurs in Tahtakallas because the older residents are unknown to each other and are thus not acknowledged for what they own or for how they behave in the community.

Nevertheless, not knowing about an area and its people and their place of origin is fundamental, but being deprived of developing a strong relationship with the land is also another factor of alienation from both the place and other people. To illustrate this point, many houses in Tahtakallas do not architecturally offer many opportunities for social interaction despite the fact that the dwellings are very close to each other and the area resembles a small village. The houses where Maroulla, Harithea, Anastasia, Kostis and Marilena (from Group 2) reside have one door only which has access to the road. There is no garden at the front and there is nowhere to sit outside of the house where human contact can be developed. This, according to the interviewees is crucial, because although their doors may be open they are unable to see any human being. Cars pass by despite the pedestrianisation of the area. They also feel that the lighting and airing of the house are unsatisfactory because of ineffective windows. The garden at the back of some houses is too small and is surrounded by high walls which prevent any social interaction with neighbours.

But what problems do the architectural characteristics of these homes create for the residents there? They are problematic for two basic reasons. First, the older participants previously had a great deal of contact with their fellow villagers in the north. The houses there, they claim, were built differently and had gardens. The homes incorporated many key windows for lighting and airing. Secondly, the interviewees characterised the houses as dark. It is hardly surprising that they do not like dark houses or places when their past relationship with the land, sunshine and air more than likely shaped their identity to empathise with natural resources.

The Importance of the House

Zetter (1998, p. 5) maintained that what is mythologized in Cyprus is not “return per se but the home”. It is not ‘home’ in its restricted geographical position that counts most, but its social position in the village and the community. If it was only the physical existence and location of the house that was significant then the rehoused refugees would probably integrate themselves into their new place and community. However, things are not so simple and the reason why many refugees passionately orient themselves to the return is not to reclaim property but to reclaim the “self”. Rapport and Dawson (1998, pp. 8-9) defined home as the place “where one best knows oneself”. In support, Simmel (cited in Rapport and Dawson, 1998, p. 8) stressed that home is a “unique synthesis [...] an aspect of life and at the same time a special way of forming, reflecting and interrelating the totality of life”.

The importance of the house and its loss appear to vary in older participants’ attitudes basically according to gender and to previous experiences. With regard to gender, older female participants were more likely to mention the loss of the house and the fields whereas the males were more likely to mention the loss of the community and the jobs. Not surprisingly, women were more likely than men to emphasise the loss of their social relations. Men stressed the loss of the house in physical and property terms rather than in social terms. Let us try to explain these gender differences.

The social location through the house was practiced daily by women and very often ritualised. Maroulla, like Harithea, for example said: *sto horkon eixame ta terkasta mas, tous founous mas tze kamname psoumia tze fai* [in the village we had what we needed in the house, our stoves and we made food and bread]. The house was the female domain and it was not something that women were likely to experience as boring or hard work. They were happy, as they clarified, in serving their family. But they were happy for another reason as well. As Dubisch (1986) explained in her study in rural Greece, being a bad housewife received negative comments from fellow villagers. It was a kind of social control through gossip but it was also a way to reaffirm the “self” and to receive social support and affirmation for being a good mother and housewife. However, despite the fact that in

Tahtakallas gossip may well exist, it would only be effective if carried out among familiar people.

The importance of the house to men lay in the reality of ownership and control over the family, whereas for women it lay in the construction of the “self” through the social relations with other females. Conclusively, it is not a surprise that in the older participants’ eyes Tahtakallas is not perceived as a real community or place and for this reason they dislike the area. Tahtakallas, for the older interviewees, becomes a “heterotopia”, using Foucault’s (cited in Soja, 1995, p. 15) terminology which means “the space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs, the space that claws and gnaws at us”. For the older female residents of Tahtakallas the house is there but the people who would reinforce its significance and how the housewife manages it, are absent. The sharing and formalisation of previously important events such as making bread, celebrating and cooking at Easter, Christmas and weddings do not exist in Tahtakallas. Similarly, men do not enjoy many of the things that previously were important to them. Quite a number have different jobs from what they used to do before 1974 or their wives now work too. They do not own the houses they reside in because they are refugees and the houses are built on Turkish-Cypriot land.

The Politics of Memory as another Influential Factor

The refugees in Tahtakallas like all refugees living on estates have been rehoused temporarily until the Turkish troops leave Cyprus and their properties in the north become available for them. The Greek-Cypriot government put into practice a plan to preserve people’s memory of the north. The media used to air pictures and documentaries on the occupied area of Cyprus under the slogan *Dhen Xehno* [I don’t forget]. The politicians claimed that all refugees would return and the ongoing attempts by the United Nations to solve the Cyprus problem kept the hope of return alive. In addition, schools teach the children about the Turkish invasion in 1974, the brutality of the Turks, and the Greek-Cypriots’ right to return. Many students have participated in demonstrations against the declaration of the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus”, nationalist festivals and parades (Gillis, 1994; Zerubavel, 1995; Spillman, 1997; Papadakis, 1993b), and in ‘reinvented’ ceremonies (Hobsbawm, 1983) such as the 1st October commemoration. Students have learnt to identify themselves with the north and orient themselves toward the solution of the political problem.

The question here is what does this mean for people? Theoretically speaking, it means that hope for return has kept the refugee’s imagination back in the village in the north and dwelling in the past. This has happened because, as Zetter (1998) successfully put it, refugees want to return home, and home does not merely mean a physical space but the “self”. So through the politics of memory the refugees’ “self”

is redirected towards the north (Halbswachs, 1992) and not towards Tahtakallas or other refugee estates. This deprives them of developing a deep physical and social experience with their current place in the south.

This theoretical argument is supported empirically by some examples on refugees from other countries who left their homeland, with no strong hope for return, to search for better luck in European and American countries. The Caribbean female migrants in Canada are one such example. Smith (1999), found that the women she interviewed in Canada survived in a productive way through 'home'. They basically resorted to some strategies such as education and social networking amongst other Caribbean and community activism.⁴ It seems that the reason why they resorted to such strategies was because they found themselves in a place very different from home and the hope for return did not exist. They did not resort to these strategies simply because they wanted to keep their customs alive in Canada but because they also needed a social location as they did not intend physically to return. In effect they returned socially and this may have produced a new identity. For instance, the Cambodian refugees in the United States formed a new identity over time. On the one hand they wanted to keep their past identity alive but on the other hand they were looking for a new identity (Mortland, 1994). Mortland noticed that his participants emphasised the transitional period from their past identity to their current one.

Based on these two examples, there are two implications for Tahtakallas. First, the older refugees in Tahtakallas, unlike the Caribbean women, could not really locate themselves socially because they strictly associated the social location with the physical one. I would suggest that they could not return socially because the hope for the physical and thus social return was – and still is – very strong which reinforces the sense of national belonging (Renan, 1994; Searle-White, 2001; Smith, 1991, 1999). Secondly, and in line with the Cambodian case, the older participants of Tahtakallas do not refer to 1974 as a transitional point in time between their past and present identity. Instead, they refer to 1974 saying that they have not become something else and still identify themselves attached to the north and to the past. Therefore, 1974 does not appear to be a transitional reference point but a point of social and physical fixity. Furthermore, the Cambodians were in a different place in a different country and they integrated themselves into Cambodianess. In Tahtakallas, and in Cyprus in general, the refugees were unable to integrate themselves into "Cypriotness" because they were in Cyprus. They could only integrate themselves into their "villageness", however, they were unable to do this because they came from different villages.

Conclusively, the strong hope for social and physical return due to the politics of memory and coupled with the impossibility of the production of a new social identity,

contributes to the production of negative feelings towards Tahtakallas. Interestingly, below I discuss why some other older participants together with younger members enjoy Tahtakallas, and how Tahtakallas has become a community and a social place and therefore 'home' to some.

Tahtakallas as a Community and a Place

There are two female participants, Anastasia and Loukia from Group 1, who like Tahtakallas. Let us examine these two cases in more detail.

The Place and the Reaffirmation of the Self

Anastasia is seventy years old and identifies herself only with her town, Morfou, in the north. However, she likes Tahtakallas and whether or not she would return to Morfou upon a solution to the Cyprus problem depends on where her children ultimately decide to go:

It will hurt me if they tell me to leave in case the Cyprus problem is solved. Where are they going to take me? If I go to Morfou I will not mind only if one of my children is close to me. Here in Tahtakallas I have one daughter. I am getting older and less able to support myself; if I go somewhere else I will not have somebody close to me.

In Tahtakallas, Anastasia has frequent contact with three other ladies and with her daughter's family. There are two basic reasons why she does not have many friends there and why she likes Tahtakallas. Foremost, and unlike the other older participants, she does not like talking about her property in the north because she does not want to remember:

Maroulla always talks about her village. I tell them to forget. I forgot. It is done now; only our health is important. With my friend Xenia, we talk about our current life, our children and about the current issues of the Cyprus problem and what is going to happen to us.

Anastasia, therefore, appears to be more likely to orient herself to the present and the future rather than to the past. This leads to the second reason as to why she likes Tahtakallas. It appears that before 1974 Anastasia lived in a town and had neither fields of her own nor a close relationship with the land. Furthermore she was not used to having many friends in Morfou or to visiting their houses on a regular basis either to make bread or talk. She is the only older participant who claimed that having fellow villagers in Tahtakallas would not make a difference. I suggest that it seems that living in a town has contributed towards a better adaptation to living in the south.

Anastasia ceased to feel herself a refugee because of her accepted adaptation:

I used to feel a refugee. To me, I do not feel I am a refugee now. I lost what I lost; I just wish my children to be healthy and I do not mind. I wish not to suffer anything else and I do not care. Nobody will take things with him or her [upon death].

Anastasia's case reveals that having past experiences similar to those experienced in Tahtakallas has made her adaptation easier as well as eliciting positive feelings towards the place. Interestingly, because Anastasia likes Tahtakallas she bases her argumentation only on the positive aspects of the area stressing that the place is quiet, convenient, and the Churches are very close. Finally, she also orients herself towards the condition of her house in a more positive fashion.

To support Anastasia's experiences and opinions is Loukia's case. Loukia is sixty-three years old and she was born and grew up in Ayios Ioannis, which is about two hundred metres away from her house in Tahtakallas. She is not a refugee and has been living in Tahtakallas since 1985. She does not differentiate Tahtakallas from Ayios Ioannis because they are very close and she feels that she originates from Tahtakallas. She likes the area very much plus she prefers the architectural differences to the area even better. Loukia does not have many friends there but does not mind this because her daughters are near by. Her arguments below show that she emphasises those positive and negative aspects of Tahtakallas that are important to her and are similar to her life experiences in the area:

I like it here because it is nice, quiet, schools are close and we can pick up our grandchildren from school without stress and traffic. Here, we can hear the school bell. Children can play safely. If one gives me the most beautiful house outside Nicosia I won't accept it. The churches are close, we have markets, we have everything. The problems are with the foreigners. Nicosia has changed a lot because of that. They are not bad, they are actually very quiet but it is hard to walk around and hear somebody speaking Greek. I do not like that because it changed the character of Nicosia.

There was no reference by Loukia to either land, social relations with other residents or any customs that are not practiced anymore. Arguably, and based upon the views of both Anastasia and Loukia, Tahtakallas is of primary importance for those residents who are able to "find themselves" in the area. Anastasia, for instance, asserted that it would be better if the government gave her the house where she currently resides. In other words, and unlike the other older participants, the importance of the house in town was – and still is – different from its significance in the villages.

In the mind of Anastasia the place, therefore, becomes important. In general, a place usually appears to be important if it reaffirms people's personal and social identity. This affirmation and reaffirmation appear to be more salient in the attitudes of two of Tahtakallas' workers (from Group 2) and strong enough in the young residents' minds to strictly identify themselves with Tahtakallas as discussed below.

The "Place" and the "Self"

Dimos is fifty-nine years old. He has been living in Tahtakallas for fifteen years and has been working there since 1957. Yiannakis is fifty years old. He lives outside of the walled city of Nicosia and has been working in Tahtakallas since 1963.

Both men identify themselves with Tahtakallas saying passionately that they love the area. Specifically, Dimos's words are striking: "I am from Mia Milia but I feel that I was born in Tahtakallas. I was raised here. I spent more time here than in Mia Milia [...]. I was here for 12 hours a day and 2 hours in Mia Milia. I was going to Mia Milia to sleep and come back". Dimos also maintains that he and other workers in the area are like brothers. In the event of a solution to the Cyprus problem, both Dimos and Yiannakis would go back to their villages in the north. The reason why Dimos would like to return is because he grew up in the north and he has property there. On the other hand he emphasises the good social relations he has with his current fellow villagers and says that he would much prefer it if the residents of Tahtakallas were from Mia Milia. Similarly, Yiannakis said:

I have Tahtakallas in my heart [...] It takes a part of my life. I have been coming here since 1963. It is a neighbourhood that we love. It is more than a second home.

I have many friends here. The whole neighbourhood is friends. We have our daily problems but we never stop helping each other. When we meet we talk about everything, kouventes tou kefene, gossip, politics, our problems. We talk about our village in the north. This is the first thing we discuss. We come from different villages but we talk, it does not matter. We talk about how we lived in our village, our customs during the big celebrations of Easter and Christmas.

Yiannakis further stressed that should he ever have to leave Tahtakallas for any reason he would feel that he had become a refugee for the second time despite the fact that Tahtakallas is not his place of origin.

What these two cases show is that it is not age per se that matters but the quality of experience in a place. And by "quality" I mean that what is important for these two men is their job of work and the approval they receive from others either in their village as the basic providers of the household or in Tahtakallas as successful

workers. Tahtakallas has been the place that constructed their identity and their sense of “self” through their working life. Because they are still working in the same area, they have constructed a sense of continuity with both the past and the “self”. It seems that for them, Tahtakallas is a place full of memories (Hayden, 1996), through which they reaffirm the “self” under their social and personal identity. They lost both their property and social networks in the north but they still retained their jobs and their professional and social networks in the south. Memories from Tahtakallas gather together when these workers meet at the small coffee shop in Ermou street to share their experiences, make jokes, and this illustrates the main difference between men and women (also see Loizos, 1981). The women lost almost everything that reaffirmed their sense of “self”. They lost the household in its social and symbolic context and their female social networks. It was, therefore, harder for females to adapt to the south and it was not easy for them to find other aspects of social life in the south whereby they could reconstruct their identity. In view of this, it seems that personal and social identities go hand in hand with a place, identity, and people’s preferences for an area. Theoretically speaking, would an ambiguous identity elicit ambiguous feelings towards Tahtakallas and the place of origin?

Belonging to Nowhere

Interestingly enough, those participants from Group 2 aged thirty-five to forty years old who did not experience the north over a long period of time and thus their ‘socialization was disrupted’ (Ahearn, Loughry and Ager, 1999, p. 217) appear to have ambiguous feelings towards both Tahtakallas and the north and towards their sense of belonging.

This ambiguousness was expressed by four participants (two women and two men). Christalla, aged thirty-five years old, identifies herself with her village in the north. She feels that she knows little about Tahtakallas in spite of her fifteen-year experience there and as a result feels that she would be able to live anywhere. Further, she asserts that she does not come from Tahtakallas despite the fact that she likes the area because it is close to the centre of Nicosia and her work. However, when I asked her to say whether or not she would return to the north upon a solution, and whether she feels she is a refugee, she contradicted herself:

If there is a solution I will not go back. Because I was too young, Aggastina is a military zone. My mother will go, I will not. En eho tipota na riso [my roots are not there] ... I feel it like my topos but I do not know, I was very young and Aggastina did not remind me of anything when I visited it recently. If I had to choose between Aggastina and Tahtakallas, perhaps I would prefer Aggastina.

I feel I am a refugee because I do not have anything here to own. Nothing belongs to me here. If they give me the house I do not think that I will stop

feeling a refugee. But it is good if they give it to me. I have nothing to own and I am not from here.

Christalla did not orient her refugeeness towards the north and the past but towards Tahtakallas and the present. For her, refugeeness means the lack of ownership. She visited the north recently but did not feel Aggastina to be her topos. Christalla's husband, Pavlos, identifies himself with his village in the north. Nonetheless, he asserted that Tahtakallas is his place and he likes the area because it is close to Nicosia and has many workshops where he can find anything he wants for the house. Pavlos' ambiguousness was apparent when he was asked what it meant for him to be a refugee:

To me, being a refugee means to be away from your roots. You cannot forget easily. I feel a refugee because I was uprooted from my topos. I was born there, grew up, went to school, I had my friends, people were together and separated upon Turkish invasion. We are here for 15 years and we are strangers, people here do not even say good morning. We are not close to each other.

Despite the fact that Pavlos wants to go back to the north should there be a solution to the Cyprus problem, he was disappointed when he visited his village recently because, as he explained, he went to see it as an adult but remembered it as a child.

Yiorgos, aged thirty-five years old, expressed similar feelings to that of Pavlos but the reason why he would prefer to return to the north is because of his property rights in the former place. Finally, Niki, a thirty-seven year old hairdresser who has her shop in Tahtakallas, expressed her feelings towards the place that she comes from:

From the three places I have experienced I do not feel any of those as my topos. I feel Ayios Dometios more than Tahtakallas because I spent my childhood there. I do not feel Zodia close to me especially after I saw it. The passion to return was there but when I saw it felt like something cut it. I found everything too small and narrow. I remembered it as kid, I saw it again as an adult.

Niki likes Tahtakallas with its advantages and disadvantages but she emphasises that she is a refugee orienting herself to what she lacks in the present and not to what she lost thirty years ago:

I feel I am a refugee because I do not feel that there is a place that is mine. For example, I saw Zodia, but I do not see it as my topos, I felt as a xenos in my village. Economically also, we do not have anything that belongs to us. If

they give this house to me it may help me because I will feel that something belongs to me and that I belong to somewhere.

It is interesting to note that these four individuals lack a physical and thus a social location. This deficiency has blurred their feelings and attitudes either towards Tahtakallas or the north. They have each experienced at least three different places at different ages in their life cycle without having the opportunity of developing their sense of belonging. Of course, the politics of memory, and the lack of ownership as discussed earlier in this paper, have played their role in cultivating contradictory feelings. Conversely, the adolescents of Tahtakallas and the children who were born and raised there, appear to be constructing their identity through the physical and social space of Tahtakallas.

“I am from Tahtakallas”

The above words were used by all the young participants of the study aged between nine and eighteen years old. This subsection is based upon the participants from Groups 3 and 4.

Three of the participants, Petros, Mihalis and Leandros from Group 3, asserted that they originated from both the village of their parents in the north and Tahtakallas. They also claimed that they like the area they currently reside in and they do not want to leave. If Mihalis and Leandros had a choice they would prefer to have a house in both the north and Tahtakallas. All three, however, visited the north recently and did not really feel any pangs of belonging toward their parents' villages. This is what Leandros said:

These days I have gone to Dikomo. I basically tried to support my parents when they saw their places. I was moved because they were moved. My feelings were mixed. In the event of a solution, I would prefer to have a house here, one in Dikomo and one in Aggastina.. I love this place, I like it. Wherever you have experiences you like it, I just cannot leave. But if it were for the common good, surely I would agree to leave.

On the other hand, despite the fact that Petros said that he also originates from the north, he stressed that he does not want to return because he does not know anybody there: “No, I will not go to Morfou because when I did I saw everything destroyed. I do not know anybody there, I will stay here”. Similarly, Melani identifies herself with Tahtakallas in all aspects, emphasising that she does not even want to visit her parent's village in the north because she does not feel that it belongs to her. Furthermore, Melani does not feel that she is a refugee.

Leandros also does not feel like a refugee because he has no experience of it and does not know what it feels like. Nonetheless, Mihalis and Petros maintain that

they are refugees. Petros went on to say, “I feel I am a refugee because my father is from Morfou”, and Mihalis:

I feel I am a refugee because I do not have the right to go to the place my parents were born and grew up there. If they allow us to go and live in Kerynia then I will stop being a refugee.

Mihalis and Petros perceive their refugeehood through their parents’ experience and their right to reside freely in any part of the island. It is interesting that the older participants of this study define refugeehood as being forced to leave one’s house and losing everything, whereas the younger participants from Group 2 perceive refugeehood as being deprived of ownership and the sense of belonging, and some of the young⁵ blame it for preventing them from visiting and staying where their parents were born. This reveals that refugeehood is a subjective concept based upon people’s past and current experiences.

Tahtakallas, similarly, is full of memories for the children of this study who also appear to strictly identify themselves with this area. Five children, two boys and three girls, aged nine to twelve years old (Group 4) were asked some key questions about their experiences in Tahtakallas. They were also required, along with another five children who attend Ayios Kasianos School, to write a brief essay on Tahtakallas. All of these children identified themselves with Tahtakallas despite the fact that some also said that they came from the north. Two of them also said that they were refugees:

I am a refugee because my father is and I would like to visit the place where he grew up. I want to go now but it is not right because we do not have to show our passport to visit our topos.

I feel I am a refugee because I did not experience the places in the north. I visited the north and I liked it. I would like to stay here and have another house there.

All the children stressed that they like Tahtakallas because they have many friends there and can play frequently together. This is actually the prime reason why they do not want to move away at all, and why they do not want to move to their parents’ villages in the north. They would miss or lose their valued friendships. In addition, the children asserted that should they have to move to the north they would do so, but they would also return to visit Tahtakallas very often.

The children of Tahtakallas, both boys and girls, usually play football and other games, ride their bikes and gather together to talk. Tahtakallas, therefore, has become the place where these children can find their memories and their “self.”

The relationship between space and children is strong as the former brings them together in a way that is important to them. Playing and socialising are important elements in the construction of the children's identity.

The strong relationship appears to be immune to the politics of memory as presented earlier in the study. The children learn a great deal about the Turkish invasion in 1974 and they actively engage themselves in anti-1974 activities. For example, in grade 4 they are required to make a small book full of photos from the north clarifying what the Turks did to the Greek-Cypriots. The title of the book is Gnorizo, dhen xehno kai ayonizome [I know, I do not forget and I struggle]. The book begins with the refugees, the destruction caused by the invasion, the dead and the missing persons. Then, it continues with the declaration of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" and what it means. The book ends with a prayer to Apostle Andreas, the life of Makarios and the basic EOKA fighters. Children learn about the Turkish invasion and the Cyprus problem at both elementary school and high school. One might expect to see these children more likely to identify themselves with the north thus reducing the importance of the home-place of Tahtakallas. In effect, the exact opposite is true. When I asked the ten children to write down whatever they wished about Tahtakallas in an attempt to explore their spontaneous feelings, children wrote positive things about the area. Only three boys mentioned that there are many houses in Tahtakallas that are close to collapse, and two of these boys said that Tahtakallas is close to the Green Line, associating it indirectly with the Turkish invasion. However, two of them, when interviewed, said that they liked Tahtakallas and did not want to leave. The children who described Tahtakallas in positive terms utilised arguments such as:

The neighbourhood is a place where many tourists visit and many married couples come here to be photographed. Also, there are three ancient churches and old houses.

Our neighbourhood is very beautiful. Tourists and married couples come here. Also, there is a mosque here. There are many ancient things here. Many kids gather together and play.

Tahtakallas is a neighbourhood in the old city of Nicosia. I will be sad when I will leave some day.

If I have to leave one day I will be sad. I hope I will not have to.

It seems that the politics of memory has not really worked for the children of Tahtakallas in the sense that experiencing a place has been much stronger than teaching them that Tahtakallas is a Turkish neighbourhood where they are refugees who must fight for their return to the north. It is not so easy, however, to understand

the impact of the politics of memory, especially on some children as the case of Georgia reveals.

Georgia, aged nine years old, is the youngest participant of this study. When I asked her to tell me about her experiences in Tahtakallas and whether or not she likes the area, she expressed a similar attitude to that presented above. Interestingly enough, when she wrote about Tahtakallas she utilised reverse arguments. Here are her exact words:

Turks used to live here in Tahtakallas. Here, there is a church of the Turks. I do not want to see it in front of me because they took half of our land. I do not like Tahtakallas much because Turks used to live here.

When Georgia talks about her experiences in Tahtakallas with other friends, she stresses that she likes the area a lot and does not want to move to the north. She, however, associates the name “Tahtakallas” as being that of a Turkish neighbourhood. This, together with the Turkish invasion, cements her negative feelings towards the area. This contradiction supports the previous argument that the politics of memory appear to be relatively ineffective when compared with the actual experiences of the children in Tahtakallas.

Conclusion: The Differential Embodiment of Home

The present paper has rigorously analysed Tahtakallas’ refugees’ experiences and attitudes towards the place and the home in particular. ‘Home’ is not a static term which has its own external reality acting like a fetish shaping people’s attitudes. Instead, ‘home’ is a fluid term that is relative to time, generations, past and present experiences. Rapport and Dawson (1998, p. 9) assert that home reflects self knowledge and memory. Most of the older refugees in Tahtakallas do not like the area in which they currently reside because they cannot reaffirm their personal identity through self knowledge, community recognition and the sense of continuity. The reason this is so is because Tahtakallas does not reflect their past identity and experiences. However, in some cases where Tahtakallas reflects the older refugees’ past experiences, Tahtakallas is seen as a second home probably because it has been perceived as a second context of the “self”. This argument appears to apply to the next generation in Tahtakallas. It seems that those who have not experienced the north over a long period of time, and those children who have been born and raised in Tahtakallas, enjoy living in this area and identify themselves respectively with it. ‘Home’, therefore, pertains to the physical, social, and more importantly, imagined context where, what I call, “the personal-identity continuum” is preserved. It is a place that allows people to preserve continuity, not merely with the past as an epoch, but with the past ‘self’. The past ‘self’ resembles

what Bourdieu (1992) calls “the habitus” which “whispers” to people imparting how they should behave in very specific ‘fields’ or contexts. This habitus functions as a psychological map which secures the individual in terms of his or her present and future intent.

The question here is why identity and the past are so strong that they cannot easily change when the fields change (in this case forced dislocation)? Arguably, people do not merely experience home or the community and the construction of their personal identity. ‘Home’ is embodied through the construction of personal identity. There are scholars who have stressed the importance of embodiment (Jenkins, 1996; Cohen, 1994) but such approaches appear to lack continuity. That is, if only embodiment is stressed, then there must be a threshold of internalisation that establishes the experience. Nonetheless, the existence of such a threshold would be a simplistic way of understanding the process of embodiment. I suggest here that what is crucially important and what eventually constructs people’s personal identity is found in a twofold dialectic relationship. First, it is not the embodiment of home that counts most, but its constant re-embodiment within a series of social and physical contexts. Re-embodiment needs to be consistent in order to produce either positive or negative feelings. Secondly, embodiment and re-embodiment are not individual or structural processes. They are highly influenced by individual biological factors such as the role of the senses. For example, how is re-embodiment influenced by a vision that elicits memory when an older refugee in Tahtakallas sees a picture from his or her village in the north; listens to a song which he or she listened to in the north during the 1960s; touches an object that has been brought to the south; applauds his or her grandchild in a parade? Re-embodiment may occur every minute without a direct comparison between home in the south or the north, at an unconscious and imagined level, and the individual as a biological entity plays a role in how re-embodiment is shaped.

Nonetheless, this is not to say that constant re-embodiment only strengthens the sense of ‘home’ in the north. Re-embodiment may function to produce positive attitudes towards the south if the field in which it occurs reflects the habitus or individuals’ current needs. For example, Anastasia feels that what currently matters for her is to have her children close by in order to have some company and be taken care of. In other words, perceptions of home change over time according to one’s needs and current self reflection.

The embodiment and re-embodiment of home has been experienced by younger generations as well. The re-embodiment of home in this case includes Tahtakallas and not the north. The children’s identity, therefore, has been constructed along with the place of Tahtakallas and as a result they identify themselves with this area. The re-embodiment of home, however, may differentiate

when for example, it occurs outside the context of Tahtakallas, such as when protesting against the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus', listening to grandparents' narratives about the north or watching a documentary about the Turkish invasion. In these contexts the feeling towards Tahtakallas as 'home' may weaken, but the embodiment and re-embodiment of Tahtakallas' space along with children's personal identity, is an everyday and powerful actual experience that makes it stronger than embodying knowledge and attitudes about the north.

Conclusively, 'refugeeness' is a fluid term. It means different things to different people and the way it is perceived directly relates to how 'home' is perceived, and has been experienced, in the past. Arguably, if 'home' is the place where the personal-identity continuum is preserved, then refugeeness is the physical, social and imagined place where this continuum is disrupted.

Notes

1. This study was initiated within the context of Medvoices Project (www.med-voices.org) which is under the coordination of London Metropolitan University.
2. This paper has been generated from a Master of Sociology thesis (Intercollege, 2004), supervised by Dr. Peter Loizos and Dr. David Officer.
3. See appendix for more details on methodology.
4. Other cultural elements such food and music played their role.
5. These younger participants identify themselves with Tahtakallas because it has been the place where their identity has been constructed and is, therefore, full of memories.

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Appendix

Method and Procedure

The method followed in this study utilised semi-structured interviews* and observation. The purpose was to explore residents' attitudes towards Tahtakallas and how they experience and use space. Therefore, twenty-five people (twelve male and thirteen female), aged between nine and eighty-six years old were interviewed in May 2003, one month after the opening of the Green Line. The participants were grouped into four sociological categories based on age. Group 1 included those interviewees who had spent the greatest part of their lives in the north; those who became refugees at the age of forty to fifty and had children either in jobs, married or in late adolescence. Group 2 included those refugees who settled in the south at the age of twenty-five to thirty-five, single or just married with babies. Furthermore, Group 2 included four individuals who had no long-term experience of living in the north because they moved to the south when they were less than twelve years old. The youths aged sixteen to eighteen years old who were born in the south and spent the majority of their lives in Tahtakallas comprised Group 3. Finally, Group 4 included five children aged between nine and twelve years old who were born and raised in Tahtakallas.

The participants from Group 3 were asked very similar questions but some themes such as personal past experiences in the north were not applicable to them. The questions and the procedure employed to explore Group 4 differed. Initially, I visited Ayios Kasianos elementary school in the heart of Tahtakallas and asked ten students (five boys and five girls) between nine and twelve years of age, who were born in Tahtakallas and grew up there, to write a short essay. Basically, I asked each child to write down on a piece of paper whatever they wanted to in relation to Tahtakallas, as though they were describing the area to a friend who had not yet been there. The reason for this was to observe their spontaneous feelings and attitudes and to allow the children to express themselves freely without being shy to divulge things. Then, I selected five children and asked each of them key questions about their experiences in the area, for example:

- a) whether or not they liked it there,
- b) what would they change if they could, and
- c) whether they would like to go and live in the places where their parents had come from.

These short interviews took place on different days, because it was necessary to obtain parental permission.

* The interviewees were firstly identified on a door-to-door basis and then through the snowball method.

RECENT STRATEGIES TOWARDS THE MEMBERSHIP OF CYPRUS TO THE EUROPEAN UNION: A CASE STUDY ON TRADE *

Stéphanie Lauhé Shaelou**

Abstract

The present article draws on the theory developed in international relations and political sciences addressing the issue of the resolution of the Cyprus problem through EU involvement, referred to as the 'catalyst proposition', in particular in its 'subversion' version. Although it will be argued that the relevance of the catalyst effect of EU membership for Cyprus becomes more remote after 1999, this theoretical approach is nevertheless of great significance to explain issues related to Cyprus in a European context, as well as to examine the EU-Cyprus relations, at least until the Helsinki Summit. In particular, the legal dimension of the 'subversion' approach of the catalyst effect of EU membership will be examined with respect to Turkey's EU membership prospects. It will however be shown that the absence of any political reform in Turkey's policy towards Cyprus could well mean that the 'catalyst proposition', even in its 'subversion' version, has become inappropriate to address issues related to Cyprus within a European context. It would appear that there is a need for a new method of analysis of the integration of Cyprus into the EU. It is contended that socio-legal studies can offer this method of analysis of issues related to Cyprus in a European context, providing a link between law and policy and proving useful for Cyprus' successful integration into the EU. Socio-legal studies acknowledge the existence of new modes of governance, which produce regulations, which interact with the social field. In the case of Cyprus, there exist several social interactions created by European integration, due in particular to the island's specificities associated with the Cyprus problem. The EU has therefore built up a pluralistic approach leading to the European integration of Cyprus, of which EU general policies, but also Community primary and secondary legislation as well as ECJ case law are the main components. It is argued that the integration of Cyprus into the EU could provide a particular model of integration, based on the specific need to fully integrate Cyprus despite its unsolved conflict. Trade can be used as a case study in order to validate this hypothesis.

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to analyse the *acquis communautaire* (the ‘*acquis*’)¹ specific to Cyprus, relating to the application of the principle of free movement of goods, and its impact on the EU-Cyprus’ trade relations. It is argued that there exists a set of rights and obligations created at EU level forming part of the *acquis* and focusing on Cyprus, composed mainly of the Community general policies, of primary and secondary sources of Community legislation as well as of case law from the European Court of Justice (the ‘ECJ’). An important part of this *acquis* was finalised during the period immediately preceding Cyprus’ accession to the EU on 1 May 2004. It is contended that a case study on the specific *acquis* governing the application of the principle of the free movement of goods in Cyprus provides a good illustration of the EU strategy towards Cyprus during the period leading to accession and beyond. A more systematic analysis of the EU attitude towards Cyprus from a socio-legal perspective can be extracted from this case study, focusing in particular on whether the EU strategy has been coherent and efficient throughout, on the road towards the integration of Cyprus into the EU. This analytical exercise will reveal some variations in the scope and the position adopted by the EU institutions regarding Cyprus during the period leading to accession. It is argued that this relative degree of inconsistency between the EU institutions is the manifestation of the low level of legal legitimacy of the current EU policy towards Cyprus. The conclusion of this paper will explore whether this lack of legal legitimacy or ‘*ratio*’ identified in the *acquis* on Cyprus, is in fact due to the presence of a stronger political will at supra-national level, or ‘*voluntas*’ expressed within the EU for the integration of Cyprus as a whole into the EU. The balance between the *ratio* and *voluntas* elements of law, specific to Cyprus, could serve as a socio-legal justification for the current EU strategy towards Cyprus.²

Socio-Legal Studies as a Conceptual Framework

The ‘Catalyst Proposition’ of EU Membership for Cyprus

This article draws on the theory developed in international relations and political sciences addressing the issue of the resolution of the Cyprus problem through EU involvement, referred to as the ‘catalyst proposition’. Diez³ has identified three main versions found in the literature, namely the ‘carrot catalyst’⁴ and the ‘stick catalyst’, sometimes considered together,⁵ and finally the ‘subversion catalyst’.⁶ The ‘catalyst proposition’ has been widely used in the literature on the Cyprus problem and on the EU-Cyprus relations. Adherence to a particular version of the ‘catalyst proposition’, or to a combination thereof, is dependent upon the underlying assumptions as to “the nature of the conflict and the actors involved”.⁷ In this article, the conflict is considered merely to the extent that it interacts with the process of European integration of Cyprus and, to that intent, is approached from

the perspective of socio-legal studies. It is believed that the EU is playing a major role in Cypriot national affairs, guiding Cyprus towards full integration into the EU, and as such, is an important actor to the conflict (as opposed to a party). As a result, the 'subversion' approach to the catalyst effect is preferred for the purpose of this paper. Taking into account the existing literature on this concept, the 'subversion' approach can be defined as the process of satisfaction of technical requirements linked to the accession negotiations and EU membership, serving the underlying political purpose of improving relations between the parties affected by the negotiations.

Many observers have adopted either this latest version of the 'catalyst proposition', or a combination of approaches including the 'subversion' one. They all tend to agree that the EU pre-accession strategy, both with Cyprus and Turkey, as well as EU membership for Cyprus, could potentially have played a constructive role towards the resolution of the Cyprus problem, mainly through the satisfaction of the membership criteria and the compliance with the accession negotiations.⁸ Whether Cyprus' EU membership and the accession negotiations have in fact acted as a positive catalyst on the Cyprus problem is however highly debated among scholars, their positions being largely determined by their underlying assumptions.⁹ Overall, it can be said that the limits of the catalyst effect of Cyprus' EU membership have been uncovered,¹⁰ as outlining a new dimension to the Cyprus problem, which challenges the existing status quo, thereby increasing its complexity¹¹ and, perhaps worsening the prospects for a settlement.¹²

It seems clear that there has been a catalyst effect of EU membership for Cyprus, the nature of which remains controversial. In any case, it is argued that the relevance of the catalyst effect of EU membership for Cyprus becomes more remote after 1999, following the conclusions of the Helsinki European Council Summit, where the link between a solution to the Cyprus problem and Cyprus' EU membership was effectively lost.¹³

The above theoretical approach is nevertheless of great significance to explain issues related to Cyprus in a European context, as well as to examine the EU-Cyprus relations, at least until Helsinki. In particular, it is contended that the 'subversion' version of it outlines the legal dimension of the catalyst effect of EU membership, to the extent that it requires the Member States and candidate countries to comply with the Accession *acquis* at all times, through the satisfaction of various legal requirements. For example, Cyprus found itself in the past under an obligation to lift a ban on Turkish goods because this was not in line with the EU customs union arrangement with Turkey.¹⁴

Following the accession of Cyprus to the EU, it appears that the EU continues to apply the 'subversion' technique for matters associated with the island. The

'grace' period given to Turkey to sign the Ankara Agreement¹⁵ with the ten new Member States, including Cyprus, until the actual start of the accession negotiations in October 2005, could just have been an illustration of such a technique. Instead of putting added political pressure on Turkey to grant recognition to the Republic of Cyprus through diplomacy,¹⁶ the EU opted for a technocratic approach, based on the satisfaction by Turkey of technical requirements deriving from binding instruments of Community law.¹⁷ The EU executive hoped to achieve the ultimate political result of the recognition of the Republic of Cyprus and the normalisation of the Cyprus-Turkey relations through the satisfaction of legal requirements, deriving in particular from the Ankara Agreement and its Additional Protocol. To this end, the Commission produced a Negotiating Framework with Turkey,¹⁸ which had to be adopted unanimously by the Council before the start of the accession negotiations in October 2005. The document was indeed accepted in Luxembourg on the day of the opening of the accession negotiations with Turkey, i.e. 3 October 2005. The final version of the Negotiating Framework reiterates in section 6 that the advancement of the negotiations with Turkey will be dependent upon its progress in preparing for accession, to be measured in particular against its efforts towards the normalisation of bilateral relations between Turkey and all EU Member States, including the Republic of Cyprus, as well as the fulfilment of its obligations under the Ankara Agreement, its Additional Protocol and the Accession Partnership, as amended.¹⁹

Turkey signed the Additional Protocol to the Ankara Agreement with the ten new Member States on 30 June 2005, but immediately issued a unilateral statement reaffirming its long-standing policy on Cyprus.²⁰ The EU had to address the legal implications of this unilateral statement, in particular whether it affects the proper fulfilment of Turkey's obligations under the Ankara Agreement and its Additional Protocol. After weeks of negotiations and several COREPER meetings, at which the EU ambassadors²¹ discussed the contents of the EU 'counter-declaration' to Turkey, a compromise was reached and a declaration adopted by the Council on 21 September 2005.²² In this Declaration, the Council states that it expects "full, non-discriminatory implementation of the Additional Protocol, and the removal of all obstacles to the free movement of goods, including restrictions on means of transport".²³ It further states that "... the opening of negotiations on the relevant chapters depends on Turkey's implementation of its contractual obligations to all Member States. Failure to implement its obligations in full will affect the overall progress in the negotiations".²⁴ Whereas this Declaration falls short of making the recognition of the Republic of Cyprus a precondition for the start of the accession negotiations with Turkey, it does confirm however the link between the recognition issue and Turkey's accession negotiations with the EU and strongly reiterates Turkey's legal obligations towards the twenty-five Member States. As an illustration of the 'subversion' technique of membership analysed above, this Declaration

comes to confirm that the issue of the recognition of the Republic of Cyprus is to be addressed, albeit indirectly, during the course of the accession negotiations and not only through the course of diplomatic negotiations on the Cyprus problem. This Declaration remains however non-binding in strict legal terms, as it is a political statement. Nevertheless, it denies any legal effect to Turkey's unilateral statement.²⁵ In the meantime, Turkey has reiterated on several occasions that it will not recognise Cyprus in the absence of a comprehensive settlement within the framework of the United Nations, thereby clearly indicating a strong linkage on its part of the issue of recognition to a settlement of the Cyprus problem.²⁶

A legal reading of the catalyst effect through the 'subversion' technique would seem to indicate that a significant step has been achieved towards the normalisation of the bilateral trade relations between Turkey and Cyprus. The signing of the Additional Protocol to the Ankara Agreement effectively extends the benefits of the customs union with Turkey to the ten new member states, including Cyprus. Hence, direct trade between Cyprus and Turkey within the framework of the EC-Turkey Custom Union agreement should, in principle, be possible, having potentially as a practical implication the recognition of the Republic of Cyprus by Turkey. This is however subject to the full implementation of the terms of the Ankara Agreement by Turkey, which has not been the case so far. The EU Declaration of 21 September 2005 however refers to Turkey's contractual obligations to fully implement the principle of freedom of movement of goods with the twenty-five Member States, including Cyprus, thereby promising rather optimistic prospects.²⁷ However, the absence of any political reform in Turkey's policy towards Cyprus could indicate the limits of the use of legal techniques to serve political goals, when there is no consensus between all parties involved on the policy to follow. It could well mean that the 'catalyst proposition', even in its 'subversion' version, has become inappropriate to address issues related to Cyprus within a European context, as it is only suited to the Cyprus problem and to issues of conflict resolution. It would seem rather that the focus has now shifted towards analysing the European integration of Cyprus, of which specific issues related to the Cyprus problem, such as the recognition of the Republic of Cyprus, form an integral part. Thus, the need for a method of analysis of the integration of Cyprus into the EU has arisen.

Diez has argued that the 'subversion' technique developed by the EU to address the Cyprus problem is a variation of the traditional 'Community method', which he defines as a "functional co-operation in seemingly technical matters [which] helps to overcome political divides".²⁸ His approach seems limited to conflict resolution and does not embrace the European integration of Cyprus. It is argued that the concept of 'Community method' could be expanded to analyse the integration of Cyprus into the EU from a socio-legal perspective. In this case, the concept of

‘Community method’ should be understood as addressing the wider issue of EU governance and national strategy in the context of European integration.

Community Method of Integration of Cyprus

The legal analysis of the ‘subversion’ technique of membership under the ‘catalyst proposition’ has outlined the instrumental role of law to policy, which can result in the creation of a divide between law and policy. The drawbacks of such a divide have been illustrated above through the consideration of the triangular relationship between the EU, Cyprus and Turkey. It is argued however that this phenomenon derives from the flawed assumption under the ‘catalyst proposition’ that law is merely a policy instrument.

Should one consider the role of law within the European context as a bridge between policy-making, originating mainly at a supra-national level, and the society, located at a national level, it is argued that new prospects may arise, as far as issues relating to Cyprus in Europe are concerned. It is contended that socio-legal studies can offer a new method of analysis of issues related to Cyprus in a European context providing an unbroken link between law and policy and proving useful for Cyprus’ successful integration into the EU. Socio-legal studies can be defined as “a group of disciplines that applies a social scientific perspective to the study of law”,²⁹ thereby taking into account the “broader social and political concept” surrounding legal doctrine.³⁰ It is believed that this research method is particularly suited to the study of the integration of Cyprus into the EU, given the specificities of the process of integration for Cyprus, resulting mainly from issues associated to the Cyprus problem.

The underlying assumptions of the present article are drawn from the legal pluralism movement within socio-legal studies, which promotes a looser link between law and government.³¹ It is argued that the law-government approach has to be revisited in the context of EU integration, as the underlying assumptions differ from the ones applicable to a central government model.³² In particular, two assumptions come to widen the scope of regulation in the context of EU integration: firstly, the decision-making process in the European model is decentralised, to the effect that the concept of government is replaced by the notion of governance. Secondly, the Europeanisation process adds a major new dimension to national affairs. Legal pluralism takes its full meaning within the European context: there are regulations outside the strict legal field,³³ which influence national affairs. The relevance of socio-legal studies to this study lies in the above finding.³⁴

The idea that the EU is a genuine supra-national polity, armed with a very powerful decision-making power, has greatly contributed to the analysis of the EU as a system of governance of EU integration, as opposed to the mere analysis of the integration process itself. The theorising of new modes of EU governance,

which come to supplement the traditional Community method of regulation through legislation normally structuring the integration process, has been developed as a result.³⁵ From a socio-legal perspective, these new modes of governance are seen as regulations “spontaneously developed through social interaction within a particular field”.³⁶

In the case of Cyprus, there exist several social interactions created by EU integration, due in particular to the island’s specificities associated with the Cyprus problem. As a result, the EU has built up a pluralistic approach leading to the integration of Cyprus into the EU, of which EU general policies, Community primary and secondary legislation as well as ECJ case law are the main components. It is contended in this paper that the integration of Cyprus into the EU could provide a particular model of integration, based on the specific requirement to fully integrate Cyprus despite its unsolved conflict. Trade can be used as a case study in order to validate this hypothesis.

Case Study on the Implementation of the Principle of Free Movement of Goods in Cyprus

The de facto division of the island has a double impact on trade in Cyprus. Firstly, it affects the intra-island trade between the Republic of Cyprus and northern Cyprus, which had been non-existent for the past thirty years (the internal aspect of trade). Secondly, it also has implications on the possibility of direct trade between northern Cyprus and the rest of the EU, which should not, in principle, be possible due to the lack of recognition of the northern part of the island in international law (the external aspect of trade). This paper focuses only on the external aspect of trade between Cyprus and the EU, leading to the identification of some variations in the EU strategy towards Cyprus in this area.

ECJ Intervention through the ‘Anastasiou Saga’: The Various Scenarios of Direct Trade from northern Cyprus to the EU (1992-2003)

The initial reference to the ECJ for preliminary ruling was made by the High Court of Justice (Queen’s Bench Division)³⁷ under Article 234 EC Treaty. This followed proceedings brought in the UK by producers and exporters of citrus fruits established in the Republic of Cyprus against the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, in connection with the export to the UK of citrus fruits and potatoes from northern Cyprus.³⁸

Anastasiou I:³⁹ A Case of Direct Trade from northern Cyprus to the EU

In the early 1990s, the ECJ gave its interpretation of the issue of direct trade between the northern part of Cyprus and the EU in accordance with the Community principles and rules. The Court took the view that the interpretation of the fundamental principle of non-discrimination embodied in the EC-Cyprus Association

Agreement ('the Agreement') had to be balanced as against the "proper operation" of the Agreement and "the need for uniformity in Community policy and practice".⁴⁰ This resulted in the exclusion of the northern part of Cyprus from the enjoyment of the preferential treatment of goods originating from Cyprus, granted under the Agreement. The Court interpreted the relevant Community law strictly, concluding that "the exclusive competent authorities to certify the origin of products in Cyprus are the ones of the Republic of Cyprus, when exports to the Community are involved".⁴¹ The ECJ also made the point that "the special situation of Cyprus, which is the result of its de facto partition ... is not such as to alter, with regard to exports of products from its northern part, the conclusions reached on the interpretation of the provisions concerning [...] certificates".⁴² Through this statement, the Court expressly rejects the possibility of justifying the exclusion of products originating from the northern part of the island from the preferential treatment, on the basis of Article 297 EC Treaty, which allows Member States to deviate from Community law on grounds of public security of a wider scope. On the contrary, the Court sticks to the instruments of Community law governing the EU-Cyprus relations and confirms the proportionality of the restrictions of legitimate trade to the Republic of Cyprus.

Anastasiou II:⁴³ A Case of Indirect Trade to the EU through Turkey

Following the ECJ's ruling in *Anastasiou I*, it did not take long for the traders⁴⁴ to find an alternative to the prohibition of Turkish Cypriot imports, which were not accompanied by the required certificates issued by the competent authorities of the Republic of Cyprus. The traders subsequently arranged for the goods to be imported via Turkey and for the required certificates to be issued in Turkey, where the ship carrying the goods would stop for one day at most. The appellants therefore sought an order from the UK courts to restrain the import of citrus fruits produced in the northern part of Cyprus through Turkey.

The case reached the House of Lords, who decided to refer to the ECJ⁴⁵ several questions, with respect mainly to the interpretation of Directive 77/93/EEC on protective measures against the introduction into the member states of organisms harmful to plants or plant products.⁴⁶ The ECJ ruled that Directive 77/93/EEC permitted the importation of plants which were accompanied by certificates from a consignor country, provided three conditions were satisfied, namely that (i) the plants had been imported into that country prior to import into the Community, (ii) that they had been there for such time and under such conditions that proper checks could be carried out, and (iii) that the plants were not subject to special requirements which could be satisfied only in their place of origin. The ECJ therefore appeared to pave the way to indirect trade from the northern part of Cyprus to the EU through Turkey, provided certain technical requirements were satisfied.

On the cooperation between the importing and the exporting states, the Court ruled that it is not for member states to impose further conditions on the importer who has resorted to such a procedure,⁴⁷ as this would imply the taking into consideration of the reasons for which the requested certificate has not been issued by the country of origin.⁴⁸ The ECJ thereby gave a clear confirmation that any political dimension of the case was excluded from the judgment, in line with its prerogatives under the Treaty.

Looking at the judgment in more details, it appears that the Court remained on technical grounds in order to justify this case, as opposed to its teleological approach in *Anastasiou I* where it relied on general principles of Community law. This approach seems to be indicative of the very special nature of the case raised in *Anastasiou II*. It remains however that this ruling is difficult to reconcile with *Anastasiou I*, as it can be said to have qualified the conclusions reached in the earlier ruling. In particular, the ECJ did not follow the Attorney General's Opinion in *Anastasiou II*, who had argued that two of the special requirements to be reported on the certificate, namely that the produce be free from stalks and that their packaging bear an appropriate mark of origin, could not be satisfied outside the country of origin.⁴⁹ The Attorney General believed that the Turkish authorities simply relied on the certificates of origin issued in northern Cyprus, since Turkey recognises this entity. The Court, on the other hand, merely assumed that compliance with these two special requirements could be checked in the importing state, on the basis of the shipping documents. As a result, it considered that the certificates were in fact issued by the Turkish authorities themselves, to the full satisfaction of the requirements under the Directive, as amended. Thus, the Court avoided any problem of non-recognition of the issuing authorities arising in *Anastasiou I*. This has been seen as a mechanical application of *Anastasiou I*, which gives rise to difficulties.⁵⁰ In particular, why would 'indirect reliance' (through a consignor country) on the certificates issued by non-authorized authorities be acceptable, whereas 'direct reliance' on the very same certificates has been condemned? The Court nevertheless escaped such considerations, since the House of Lords did not expressly request a preliminary ruling on whether these two special requirements could be satisfied outside the country of origin. Thus, the issue of certification remained only partly addressed.

Anastasiou III:⁵¹ A Case of Direct Trade through the Republic of Cyprus? Following *Anastasiou II*, the House of Lords had to give its judgment on the case.⁵² In particular, the question of the fulfilment of the two special requirements for citrus fruits outside of the place of origin was left for the national court to decide. In the meantime, however, Directive 77/93/EEC was further amended by Directive 98/2/EC,⁵³ which was enacted shortly before the ruling of the ECJ in *Anastasiou II* and, therefore, had not been taken into consideration by the Court. The new

Directive introduced an additional special requirement, with respect to citrus fruits originating in third countries, where certain diseases had occurred, that an official statement confirming that the fruits are free from such diseases be issued.⁵⁴ The House of Lords considered that the amendments were relevant to its eventual decision⁵⁵ and found it necessary to make a new reference to the ECJ under Article 234 EC Treaty. They submitted questions regarding the satisfaction of the special requirements, in the event that citrus fruits originating in a third country have been shipped to another third country, and also relating to the place of issuance of the official statement.⁵⁶

The ECJ ruled that the certificates required in order to bring citrus fruits into the Community must be issued “in their country of origin by, or under the supervision of, the competent authorities of that country”.⁵⁷ The Court took the view that one of the special requirements, mainly that an appropriate origin mark be affixed to the plants’ packaging, could only be fulfilled at the place of origin.

It appears quite clearly from this judgment that the Court has retreated from its interpretation in *Anastasiou II*. In *Anastasiou III*, the ECJ develops a line of argumentation, which seems to be the mere continuation of *Anastasiou II*. Had the right questions been referred to the Court earlier, such issues would have been addressed in the previous ruling. But does it mean to say that *Anastasiou III* automatically refers us back to *Anastasiou I*? It is rather doubtful.

Unlike *Anastasiou I*, *Anastasiou III* does not close the door to trade with northern Cyprus, for two reasons at least. First of all, it seems that, like *Anastasiou II*, this judgment is based on the specific nature of the produce itself, which justifies the satisfaction of special technical requirements and their strict interpretation under the Directive. One is therefore entitled to wonder whether this approach can be extended to all the produce exported from the northern part of Cyprus to Europe. The answer should most probably be negative. Thus, it would appear that this judgment is not susceptible of generalisation to the trading relationship between the northern part of Cyprus and the EU.

Nevertheless, it seems that the consideration of such special technical requirements, forming an exception, has put the Court in the position to consider the wider socio-legal issues pertaining to the case and to establish a principle. The Court confirms the exclusive competence of the country of origin in order to issue the requested certificates as well as the legitimacy of the role of the authorities in this process, by referring the matter to the authorities legally authorised to carry out this task, in accordance with the principles established in *Anastasiou I*. The novelty compared to the two previous rulings is that the Court clearly excludes ‘indirect trade’ through Turkey as an invalid option, as it does not comply with the latest

requirements of Community law for this specific product⁵⁸ and, as a result, encourages the parties to search for trade links within the country of origin, Cyprus, through the cooperation of the competent authorities.

It is argued that the Court through its doctrinal approach has established the judicial foundations towards the regularisation of the trade relations between the northern part of Cyprus and the EU. By requiring that the competent authorities within the country of origin be involved either themselves or through supervision, the ECJ has reminded all parties that the possibility of 'cooperation' between the various authorities could exist. In line with the current situation, the wording of the judgment suggests that the competent authorities of the government of the Republic of Cyprus would be the supervisory authority, which could then delegate the exercise of its competence to another authority. Within this framework, the cooperation could then take several forms and the ECJ leaves it up to the parties to determine who the competent authorities should be as well as the rules governing their relationship.

At the time of the judgment, the competent authorities to issue the certificates required for import into Europe were exclusively the ones authorised to do so in the Republic of Cyprus and they have remained so up to today. But following Cyprus' accession to the EU in 2004, the Community prerogative in trade matters under the Common Commercial Policy ('CCP') has come to modify the parameters of allocation of competences. As a result, the EU involved itself with the issue of intra-state trade and authorised the Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce to issue the necessary documents accompanying the goods, which will cross the Green Line to the Republic of Cyprus.⁵⁹ More recently, the Commission also became the responsible and accountable authority for the management of financial aid to the Turkish Cypriot community.⁶⁰ The EU executive is also quite eager to get involved with respect to direct trade between the northern part of Cyprus and the EU. But whereas the Republic of Cyprus agreed with the Commission to the granting of issuing powers to the Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce with respect to intra-island trade, its position on direct trade does not seem to be supportive of the Commission's proposal.⁶¹

ECJ Ruling V. EU Policy on Direct Trade from northern Cyprus to the EU

Throughout the Anastasiou saga, it appears that there is a growing, but cautious, trend on the part of the ECJ to recognise a trading relationship between the northern part of Cyprus and the EU, in line with the EU official position of the exclusive recognition of the government of the Republic of Cyprus as the authority exercising control on the island. The latest pieces of Community primary and secondary legislation, namely (i) the Treaty of Accession,⁶² (ii) the Green Line Council Regulation⁶³ (the 'GL Regulation') and the corresponding Commission

Regulation⁶⁴ regulating the conditions for intra-island trade, as well as (iii) the so-called 'July Package' comprising of two proposals for Council Regulations⁶⁵ on financial aid to the northern part of the island and on direct trade respectively, seem to indicate however a certain shift in the EU strategy towards Cyprus, or at least an acceleration of the above trend. It is clear that the EU, both at the judicial and political level, had no choice but to accept to consider separately the legal and economic implications of Cyprus' accession to the EU for territories not under the effective control of the government of the Republic of Cyprus (the 'Areas'). Although such a shift in the EU strategy towards Cyprus should not be interpreted as implying recognition of the northern part of the island as a separate legal entity,⁶⁶ there are strong indications that some sort of recognition of northern Cyprus as an economic entity and a trade partner of the EU is being granted.

It seems that the Court has preceded the EU executive in a highly volatile and unexplored area of European integration, and has potentially facilitated the task of the Council and the Commission in the case of Cyprus. The onus however lies with the Commission and the Council to take further steps towards the integration of Cyprus into the EU through regulation in particular. With respect to direct trade, it would appear that the Commission's Proposal is rather radical and may not fully accord with the position of the ECJ in *Anastasiou III*.

EU Executive Action through Instruments of Primary and Secondary Legislation (2003-2004)

Given that no settlement of the Cyprus problem had been reached by 2003, it became necessary to address the situation of Cyprus at Community level through special rules.

Terms of Accession under the Treaty of Accession 2003: Suspension of the Acquis
In particular, a Protocol on Cyprus relating to its de facto partition had to be annexed to the Treaty of Accession, namely Protocol 10.⁶⁷ Article 1(1) of Protocol 10 provides for the suspension of the acquis in the Areas. A formal affirmation of the suspension of the acquis, expressly provided for in the Treaty of Accession, was rendered necessary to avoid any confusion as to the status of the northern part of the island upon accession without a settlement.⁶⁸

It should be noted that Article 1(2) of the Protocol provides that the suspension can be lifted by a unanimous decision of the Council on the basis of a proposal from the Commission. It is not made explicit however whether the suspension can be withdrawn partially, in stages. It could therefore be assumed that a gradual lifting of the suspension in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article 1(2) of the Protocol would be possible, leading to the partial and phased application of the *acquis communautaire*. It has been argued that the preamble of the Protocol

supports such an assumption, to the extent that a “solution” as opposed to a “comprehensive settlement” could trigger the partial lift of the suspension.⁶⁹ But beyond the interpretation of the concepts of “settlement” and “solution”, the real question is whether and to what extent the withdrawal of the suspension of the *acquis* is conditional upon a full settlement of the Cyprus problem or not. There is nothing in the text to indicate so. One is actually entitled to wonder whether the Commission’s proposal on direct trade is not in itself a partial lift of the suspension of the *acquis*, leading to the application of the *acquis* in the area of the free movement of goods in the northern part of the island. In any case, since a political settlement seems very difficult to reach in the near future, could a partial solution derive from the establishment of a trading relationship between Cyprus and Europe, based on the ‘cooperation’ between the competent authorities on both sides of the island, as envisaged in Anastasiou III? This would have the merit of enabling a partial implementation of the *acquis* in the northern part of Cyprus, at least in trade related matters, which the government of the Republic of Cyprus may not oppose in this form.

Article 2 of the Protocol deals with the practical implications of the suspension of the *acquis* and provides the legal basis for the enactment of secondary legislation regulating the regime applicable to the Green Line itself and to the territories beyond it through a unanimous decision of the Council. If applied to the issue of direct trade, one may therefore wonder why this special legal basis set up for Cyprus was not used by the Commission when creating its Proposal. One obvious argument, also used by the Commission, is that direct trade does not concern the Green line itself or the Republic of Cyprus, but the Areas and the rest of Europe and does not therefore fall within the scope of this special legal basis but rather under the general provisions of EC law applicable to trade as set out mainly in Article 133 EC Treaty (CCP). But given the special nature of the Protocol in the Community legal order, it would seem that unanimity should prevail notwithstanding the fact that some of the areas of policy concerned are normally subject to majority voting, such as matters of CCP. The difference of legal basis between the Protocol and the CCP could however have dramatic implications for Cyprus, as the procedure for voting on the proposed measure will vary from unanimity under Protocol 10 to Qualified Majority Voting under Article 133 EC Treaty; the latter approach having as a consequence the potential neutralisation of the vote by the Republic of Cyprus, should a majority of member states vote in favour of the measure.⁷⁰

It is argued that Article 2 of the Protocol should be read in conjunction with Article 3, so as to fully appreciate the exceptional nature of the whole regime. The justification underlying the above framework is set out in Article 3(1) of the Protocol, which provides that nothing in this Protocol “should preclude the application of measures favouring the economic and financial support to the northern part of

Cyprus". The Commission's Proposal on direct trade is apparently justified by this provision, although it is debatable whether the mandate of the EU institutions under Article 3(1) should extend to measures of such a wide scope, usually envisaged under Article 181a EC Treaty.⁷¹ In any case, Article 3(2) seems to act as a safeguard clause by providing that "such measures shall not affect the application of the *acquis* in the Republic of Cyprus". So, in so far as the Proposal on direct trade from the Commission potentially sets aside the Republic of Cyprus as the competent authority to deal with trade when exports to the rest of the Community are involved, could there be a deviation from the *acquis* on Cyprus, in view in particular of the ECJ ruling in *Anastasiou III*? It is clear that the official position of the EU has always been based on the exclusive recognition of the government of the Republic of Cyprus as the competent authority in Cyprus and this position is deemed to form part of the *acquis* on Cyprus. So the answer would very much depend on whether one considers that direct trade from northern Cyprus to the rest of Europe amounts to effectively partially withdrawing the suspension of the *acquis* imposed in accordance with Article 1(1) of Protocol 10 or not. Thus, the real issue at stake might be one of interpretation of the Proposal on direct trade itself.

Regime Applicable to the northern part of Cyprus: Relationship between Existing and Draft Secondary Legislation

A special regime for goods, services and persons was rendered necessary by the fact that, while the Green Line is not considered as an external border of the EU, the Areas beyond it are temporarily outside the EU customs and fiscal territory as well as outside the EU area of freedom, justice and security.⁷² The GL Regulation,⁷³ as amended, together with the Commission Regulation on the implementation of Article 4 of the GL Regulation,⁷⁴ set out a special regime for the crossing of goods, services and persons through the Green Line, for which prime responsibility lies with the Republic of Cyprus.⁷⁵

As far as trade between northern Cyprus and the rest of Europe is concerned, the Commission argues that it ought to fall under the CCP, which is the exclusive competence of the EU, since the Areas have been found to be outside the EU customs territory on the basis of the Community's customs code. Consequently, the Commission submitted trade with northern Cyprus to the rules applicable to third countries⁷⁶ and addressed this special trade relation in a different instrument of secondary legislation, the so-called Proposal for a Council Regulation on direct trade.⁷⁷ Under this Proposal, the goods originating from northern Cyprus are subject to the Community rules on non-preferential origin (Article 3) and to specific tariff quotas (Article 4). There seems to be therefore no application of the *acquis* in the Areas, which would mean that the Commission's Proposal on direct trade would not amount to a withdrawal of the suspension of the *acquis* in the Areas.

Whereas the GL Regulation not only refers to the primary responsibility of the Republic of Cyprus in intra-state trade but also promotes cooperation between trade authorities in Cyprus under Article 4, the Proposal on direct trade does not reflect such concerns directly. Recital (9) of the Proposal on direct trade provides that certain provisions of Community law, in particular of the Commission Regulation on the implementation of Article 4 of the GL Regulation, “ought also to apply in the framework” of the Proposal. Nevertheless, Article 2 of the Proposal expressly refers to the Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce (or another body duly authorised for that purpose by the Commission) as the competent authority to issue the accompanying documents certifying the origins of the goods. No reference to the competent authorities of the Republic of Cyprus or to the possibility of cooperation between authorities is therefore expressly made in the Proposal. This appears to be justified by the fact that direct trade from northern Cyprus to the rest of Europe does not concern Cyprus, but rather the twenty-four other Member States.

But such an approach seems to be contradicted by Article 8(3) of the Commission Regulation implementing Article 4 of the GL Regulation, which refers to the monitoring and reporting obligations by the authorities of the Republic of Cyprus for goods, the final destination of which had been a Member State other than Cyprus. This paragraph would seem to indicate that the possibility of direct trade from northern Cyprus to the rest of Europe was envisaged within the framework of the GL Regulation, but through the Republic of Cyprus. Such an interpretation of Article 8(3) of the implementing Commission Regulation would be in line with the ECJ ruling in *Anastasiou III*. In this case, however, the communication of information on such goods remains limited to the authorities of the Republic of Cyprus and the Commission. There is no tripartite reporting exercise under the Commission Regulation implementing Article 4 of the GL Regulation, which would involve a certain degree of cooperation between the various authorities in Cyprus and in Europe. This could be explained by the fact that the Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce cannot and should not be considered as a governmental body exercising public authority in Cyprus, as it does not derive its power from any recognised source of authority. As a matter of fact, the Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce should be considered as a private body, which provides services to Member States by issuing legally non-binding trade certificates, thereby avoiding any issue of constitutionality arising out of the delegation of powers from the Republic of Cyprus to the Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce.⁷⁸ Thus, a bilateral reporting exercise between the authorities in the Republic of Cyprus and the Commission should be deemed sufficient, provided the exercise by the Republic of Cyprus includes the reporting activities of the Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce for the Areas.

The willingness on the part of the EU to create separate instruments of secondary legislation, addressing the issues of intra-island trade and direct trade respectively, may be justified by the fact that northern Cyprus has been technically categorised as a special territory within the EU and that its relationship with Member States other than Cyprus must be addressed distinctly. Consequently, as far as direct trade is concerned, no obligation to provide expressly for any form of supervision or cooperation between authorities in Cyprus seems to be imposed on the EU, provided some sort of Turkish Cypriot administration is in place. It is however debatable whether this legal mechanism promoting the distinction between the external and internal aspects of trade in Cyprus is feasible, whereas the two are in fact inter-related, from a political, social and legal point of view at the very least. The current legal basis of the Proposal on direct trade should also be subject to strong reserves. Thus, one may question the legitimacy of Community secondary legislation dealing exclusively with the external aspect of trade in Cyprus, especially in the light of the ECJ ruling in *Anastasiou III*.⁷⁹

Conclusion

The mechanism for direct trade from northern Cyprus to the EU can be said to be a complex one, where the Commission plays an active role. In the light of the GL Regulation and its implementing Regulation, it is however debatable whether the Proposal on direct trade, in its current form, is an absolute necessity. From a strict legal viewpoint, it would appear that the current regulatory framework set up prior to accession is sufficient, even if amendments may be required. Hence, the justification for the creation of a specific regulatory framework for direct trade from the northern part of Cyprus to the EU lies elsewhere.

It appears that a socio-legal approach to the integration of Cyprus into the EU would offer a justification for the EU strategy towards Cyprus and a way to advance further towards its full integration. Such an approach would allow for an interpretation of the rule of law more reflective of the actual social and political context in Cyprus. Speaking about the 'ratio/voluntas dichotomy', Cotterell writes that "legal values underpin legal doctrine's political authority".⁸⁰ He adds, however, that "... the extension of law's political authority has a seemingly inevitable tendency to weaken or deny [law's] moral authority and hence, in an important sense, to undermine law itself".⁸¹ This is rightly illustrated in the case of Cyprus, where the balance between the ratio and the voluntas element of law seems to be favouring the latter. As a result, the relationship between law's moral and political authority in Cyprus seems to be grounded in the supra-national interest expressed at EU level for the promotion of the economic and financial support to the northern part of Cyprus, with the intent to eventually facilitate a possible reunification of the island.

It should be remembered, however, that the ratio element of law need to be present, or else the supra-national policy may face legal obstacles in its implementation. Such obstacles can be anticipated in particular with respect to the legal status of the northern part of Cyprus. How can the same territory be considered, on the one hand, as falling under the regime of the CCP applicable to third countries and, on the other hand, comply with the *acquis*, even partially, as this territory is within the EU and belongs in fact to a Member State? There seems to be a gap in the legal status of the northern part of Cyprus, which perhaps could be partially addressed through the issue of trade, should an approach along the lines of Anastasiou III be adopted.

At present, however, the legitimacy of the EU strategy towards Cyprus seems to lie in the normative value of 'order', perhaps to the detriment of the one of 'justice'.⁸² According to Cotterell, the doctrine of the rule of law is merely "a technical attempt to equate both values"⁸³ and it is the reconciliation of these two values in the law's ratio which "provide legitimacy for the coercive power of law as *voluntas*".⁸⁴ It is clear in the case of Cyprus that the EU strategy seems to be based on a logic of maintenance of peace, public order and of improvement of the current situation, rather than pure legal considerations of justice. The legitimacy of such an attitude on the part of the EU is therefore grounded in the specific relationship between law and policy justified by the social and political context in Cyprus, thereby creating a specific model of integration of a Member State into the EU. Socio-legal studies can offer a justification for the EU strategy towards Cyprus, which an analysis from the monistic perspective of law or international relations would not offer.

Notes

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1. The term *acquis* has been traditionally part of the Community vocabulary, although it has never been given a technical definition in primary sources of Community law. The Commission has however defined the Accession *acquis* in its Opinion on the application for accession on 19 February 2003 (COM (2003) 79 final), as the acceptance by the applicant states "... without reserve, [of] the Treaty of European Union and all its objectives, all decisions taken since the entry into force of the Treaties establishing the European Communities and the Treaty on European Union and the options taken in respect of the development and strengthening of those Communities and of the Union". The Commission even gave a detailed list of the elements composing the Accession *acquis* in its Negotiating Framework on Turkey adopted by the Council on 3 October 2005 (section 10). Similarly, it is generally accepted that the term *acquis* cannot be isolated from other concepts, such as Accession or the Union, and that the Union *acquis* in particular entails all the body of principles, norms and rules deriving from Community law and European policies, including the case law of the European Court of Justice.
2. The *ratio/voluntas* dichotomy is one of the paradoxes of law identified by Cotterell in Cotterell, R. (1995) *Law's Community*, Clarendon Press. Cotterell defines law's *voluntas* as the "political authority of law (its power to decree)" and law's *ratio* as its "moral authority, unity, and integrity (its power to persuade)", p. 318.
3. Diez, T. (ed.) (2002) *The EU and the Cyprus Conflict*. Manchester University Press, p. 144.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Bourne, A. (2003) 'European integration and conflict resolution in the Basque Country, Northern Ireland and Cyprus', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 391-415, see p. 395.
6. Diez, see note 3 above, p. 145.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
8. See Baier-Allen, S. (ed.) (2003) *Exploring the linkage between EU accession and conflict resolution: the case of Cyprus*, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, p. 170.
9. Baier-Allen draws a quite optimistic view of the 'catalyst' effect of EU membership, which has not been supported by many authors, but considers that the EU is a third party to the conflict (*ibid.*, p. 213). See Bourne who argues that "the EU has been unsystematic and piecemeal in its approach to the conflicts, and has rarely directed its efforts at the complex core of issues causing conflict" (see note 5 above, p. 395).
10. Diez has provided a very detailed analysis of the assumptions upon which the concept of the catalyst effect of EU membership negotiations is based, concluding that such assumptions are flawed and that "... membership negotiations may well serve as a catalyst, but as one towards deepened division" (see note 3 above, p. 157).
11. "... [W]hile the EU context brings with it the potential for change, it is not a guarantee that such a change will happen and that it will happen peacefully" in Diez, note 3 above, pp. 203-204.
12. See Hatay, A.S. (2001) 'The contribution of European integration to ethnic conflict resolution: the cases of Northern Ireland and Cyprus', *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 13,

- No. 1, pp. 31-57, who emphasises the “asymmetry” between both parties to the conflict, which has affected the status of the EU as an interlocutor and has prevented it from acting as a catalyst, see p. 46. See also Mavratsas, C. (1998) ‘Greek-Cypriot political culture and the prospect of EU membership’, *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 67-76 and Richmond, O. (2001) ‘A perilous catalyst? EU accession and the Cyprus problem’, *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 123-132.
13. “If no settlement has been reached by the completion of accession negotiations, the Council’s decision on accession will be made without [a settlement of the Cyprus problem] being a precondition”, para. 8(b) of Helsinki European Council Conclusions, 10-11 December 1999.
 14. See note 5 above, p. 400.
 15. EC-Turkey Association Agreement signed in 1963 establishing a customs union with Turkey in three stages. The last stage was reached in 1995 with the signature of a Customs Union agreement.
 16. It has been argued by politicians that the signing by Turkey of the Ankara Agreement Protocol, which effectively extends the EU-Turkey customs agreement to the ten new Member States, including Cyprus, will entail the recognition by Turkey of Cyprus as a Member State of the EU and, thereby, of the government of the Republic of Cyprus. The issue of recognition of a state is however a complex one in international law and falls outside the scope of this paper.
 17. The EU decided at the European Council meeting on 17 December 2004 that accession negotiations with Turkey would only be opened on 3 October 2005, provided Turkey brought into force six pieces of legislation reforming the Turkish legal system. The six pieces of legislation are the Law on Associations, the Penal Code, the Law on intermediate Courts of Appeals, the Code of Criminal Procedure, legislation establishing the judicial police and on execution of punishments. On 1 June 2005, Turkey fulfilled this condition. See (www.eu-coordinator.gov.cy), 23 August 2005. This was a way for the EU to lead Turkey to undertake major internal reforms leading to a more democratic balance of power.
 18. The draft Negotiating Framework was presented by the Commission on 29 June 2005. It laid down the guiding principles and the procedures for the accession negotiations with Turkey. Section 4 of the draft document set out the criteria against which Turkey’s progress in preparing for accession will be measured, including “Turkey’s continued support for efforts to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus problem within the UN framework ... and progress in the normalisation of bilateral relations between Turkey and all EU Member States, including the Republic of Cyprus”.
 19. On the basis of the political agreement reached by the Council on 12 December 2005, the Council adopted a Decision on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the Accession Partnership with Turkey (Council Decision 2006/35/EC of 23 January 2006 on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the Accession Partnership with Turkey (OJ L 22/34, 26 January 2006)). The revised Accession Partnership includes a set of priorities defined in the Negotiating Framework adopted by the Council on 3 October 2005.

20. Turkey's unilateral statement prompted an immediate reaction from the EU Presidency, which recalled in a statement that "the Government of the Republic of Cyprus signed the Accession Treaty on 16 April 2003 and the Republic of Cyprus became a Member State of the [EU] on 1 May 2004, and that the established position of the [EU] is that it recognises the Republic of Cyprus, only, as a subject of international law" (www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio), 23 August 2005.
21. See in particular the contribution on behalf of the Republic of Cyprus contained in the Opinion on Turkey's signature of the Protocol, Declaration and Exchange of Letters, drafted by Brownie I. QC, Crawford J. SC, Pellet A. and Wyatt D. QC, 22 August 2005.
22. Declaration by the European Community and its Member States on Turkey, Brussels, 21 September 2005, 12541/05 (press 243).
23. Para. 3 of the Declaration, *ibid*.
24. *Ibid*.
25. Para. 2 of the Declaration, see note 22 above.
26. Cyprus declaration paves the way for Turkey talks (www.euractiv.com), 22 September 2005.
27. Cyprus Government Spokesman Kypros Chrysostomides stated that the Declaration has "adopted Nicosia's three basic demands, for recognition and full implementation of the customs protocol and to allow Cypriot ships and planes to use Turkish ports", in *The Cyprus Weekly*, 23-29 September 2005, p. 1.
28. See note 3 above, p. 145.
29. Tamanaha, B. (1997) *Realistic socio-legal theory: pragmatism and a social theory of law*. Clarendon Press, p. 2.
30. Bradney, A. (1998) 'Law as a parasitic discipline', *Journal of Law and Society*, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 71-84, see p. 82.
31. See Roberts, S. (2005) 'After government? On representing law without the state', *Modern Law Review*, Vol. 68, No. 1, pp. 1-24.
32. See the work of Cotterell in this respect, note 2 above.
33. Cotterell speaks about the process of 're-regulation' as opposed to de-regulation, see note 2 above, p. 301.
34. Cotterell concludes that "socio-legal studies today should stand, in a sense, between policy and community, providing necessary knowledge about law's effects in society which can be used to show how law's significance and relevance in the lives of ordinary citizens might be enhanced", see note 2 above, p. 310.
35. See Eberlein, B. and Kerwer, D. (2004) 'New governance in the EU: a theoretical perspective', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 1, pp. 121-142.
36. See note 2, above, p. 300.
37. Case-432/92: reference for a preliminary ruling made by the High Court of Justice, Queen's Bench Division, by order of that court dated 2 December 1992, in the case of *The Queen v Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, ex parte SP Anastasiou (Pissouri) Ltd and Others* (OJ 1993 C31/9).
38. Para. 2 of the reference for a preliminary ruling made by the High Court, *ibid*.

39. C-432/92, *The Queen v Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, ex parte SP Anastasiou (Pissouri) Ltd and Others* [1994] ECR I-3087 (Anastasiou I).
40. Para. 43 Anastasiou I, *ibid.*
41. Para. 54 Anastasiou I, see note 39 above.
42. Para. 67 Anastasiou I, *ibid.*
43. C-219/98, *R v Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, ex parte SP Anastasiou (Pissouri) Ltd and Others* [2000] ECR I-5241 (Anastasiou II), para. 38.
44. *Cypruvex (UK) Ltd and Cypruvex Fruit and Vegetable (Cypruvex) Enterprises Ltd.*
45. Case C-219/98: reference for a preliminary ruling by the House of Lords, by order of that court of 20 May 1998, in the case of *R. v MAFF ex parte Anastasiou (Pissouri) Ltd and Others*.
46. In the meantime, Directive 77/93/EEC had been amended by Council Directive 91/683/EEC and Commission Directive 92/103/EEC, to the effect that special requirements are imposed on a group of products (including citrus fruits) originating from a non-member state, for which a phytosanitary certificate must be issued in the country of origin, save “to the extent that the special requirements can be fulfilled also at places other than that of origin”, article 9(1) of Directive 77/93, as amended.
47. Para. 40 Anastasiou II, see note 43 above.
48. Para. 42 Anastasiou II, *ibid.*
49. As the Court did not have to in accordance with the preliminary reference. Also, it should be remembered that an Opinion is not a binding instrument of Community law and therefore, the Court is under no legal obligation to follow it in its judgment.
50. Koutrakos, P. (2003) ‘Legal issues of EC-Cyprus trade relations’, *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 52, pp. 489-498, see p. 496.
51. Case C-140/02, *Regina v Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, ex parte SP Anastasiou (Pissouri) Ltd and Others*, 2003, OJ 2003 C275/20, 15 November 2003 (Anastasiou III).
52. *Regina v Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, ex parte SP Anastasiou (Pissouri) Ltd and Others*, 17 December 2001, [2001] UKHL 71.
53. 8 January 1998.
54. That “the fruits originate in areas known to be free from the relevant [harmful] organism’ or if this cannot be said, that ‘no symptoms had been shown at the place of production during the period prescribed or that they have been subject to testing”.
55. See Opinion of the Lord of Appeal in the Cause, Lord Slynn of Hadley, in the judgment of the HL, note 52 above.
56. Para. 34, 36 and 62 of the Lords’ Opinions in the judgment of the HL, *ibid.* See Case C-140/02: Reference for a preliminary ruling by the House of Lords, by order of that court date 17 December 2001, in the case of *Regina v Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, ex parte SP Anastasiou (Pissouri) Ltd and Others* (OJ 2002 C144/23).
57. Para. 75 Anastasiou III, see note 51 above.
58. Para. 65 Anastasiou III, *ibid.*
59. Decision of 7 July 2004 (OJ L 272/12, 20 August 2004).

60. The Commission Proposal for a Council Regulation establishing an instrument of financial support for encouraging the economic development of the Turkish Cypriot community (COM(2004) 465 final, 7 July 2004) was finally adopted at the General Affairs Council meeting on 27 February 2006 (Council Regulation No 389/2006 (OJ L 65/5, 7 March 2006)).
61. The Republic of Cyprus has established a link between the issue of direct trade and the opening of the ports in the Areas as well as with the return of Greek Cypriot property located in northern Cyprus.
62. Treaty of Accession, Final Act of 16 April 2003.
63. Council Regulation 866/2004/EC of 29 April 2004 on a regime under Article 2 of Protocol No 10 of the Act of Accession (OJ L 161/128, 30 April 2004), as amended by Council Regulation 293/2005/EC of 17 February 2005 (OJ L 050, 23 February 2005).
64. Commission Regulation No.1480/2004 of 10 August 2004 laying down specific rules concerning goods arriving from the areas not under the effective control of the Government of Cyprus in the areas in which the Government exercises effective control (OJ, L 272/3, 20 August 2004).
65. Of the initial 'July Package', only the Commission 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 (COM(2004) 466 final, 7 July 2004) is pending.
66. This has been confirmed by the Legal Services of the Council and of the Commission over the Summer of 2004.
67. Protocol No 10 on Cyprus of the Act concerning the conditions of accession of the [candidate countries] and the adjustments to the Treaties on which the EU is founded (OJ L 236, 23 September 2003).
68. Uebe, M. (2003) 'Cyprus in the EU', German Yearbook of International Law, Vol. 46, pp. 375-400, see p. 382.
69. Ibid., p. 386.
70. The proposal is currently being discussed at the level of the Council's COREPER meetings. The Legal Services of both the Council and the Commission have expressed different opinions as to what the legal basis for the proposal on direct trade should be, having an impact on the extent of the EU competence in this matter and on the voting majority required to pass the said proposal.
71. This was a point of discussion between the Legal Services of the Council and of the Commission over the Summer 2004.
72. Recital (7) of the GL Regulation.
73. See note 63 above.
74. See note 64 above.
75. Recital (7) of the GL Regulation.
76. Explanatory Memorandum attached to the Commission 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.

77. See note 65 above.
78. Discussions on the possible delegation of powers to local Turkish Cypriot authorities or the local Chamber of Commerce were held both in Cyprus and among Member States on several occasions during the negotiations of the association between Cyprus and the EC. See in particular Tsardanidis C., (1984) 'The EC-Cyprus Association Agreement: ten years of a troubled relationship, 1973-1983' *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 351-376.
79. A direct implication of the ECJ ruling in *Anastasiou III* can nevertheless be found in Article 6(1) of the Proposal, which specifically provides for the appointment of independent experts by the Commission, who shall verify the satisfaction of the special requirements under Community law in the case of citrus fruits. Article 6 of the Proposal is however reproduced as such in Article 3 of the implementing Commission Regulation relevant to intra-state trade, which could demonstrate a certain degree of redundancy between the two documents.
80. See note 2 above, p. 320.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
82. The order/justice dichotomy of law is another paradox relating to law identified by Cotterell. See note 2 above, p. 317.
83. *Ibid.*
84. See note 2 above, p. 320.

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF E-COMMERCE IN CYPRUS

**George Christoforou and
Marios Katsioloudes**

Abstract

The work describes the current situation and future potential of e-commerce in Cyprus from a consumer perspective. It analyses the current condition of the e-purchase rate conducted by Cypriots and how that rate can be developed in the future. Within this work the researchers have obtained characteristics of Cypriots who either purchase or do not purchase from the Internet by giving a petition on gender, occupation and age. The research was then taken one stage further by analysing the underlying reasons that prevented or enforced Cypriots to make an online purchase. Lastly, the researchers examined certain case studies that might enforce Cypriots to purchase from the Internet. This has helped to define the possible constraints that Cypriots might face when conducting an Internet purchase, as well as obtaining solutions as to how to overcome those constraints.

Research Highlights

Through the various data gathered for the purposes of this research, a number of results are evident. There is a remarkable sample (34%) in the Cypriot community who have accepted the Internet as a mode by which to facilitate their electronic purchases. Cypriots between the ages of 21-25 and 26-30 constitute the core of online buyers with males showing a greater confidence toward online purchasing. Next, the research indicates that the majority of e-buyers and non e-buyers have access to a PC and Internet connection. Further, research has highlighted five constraints that prevent a proportion (64%) of Cypriots from making purchases via the Internet. These are:

- 1) Non e-buyers (76%) are unfamiliar or not educated by the state of Cyprus concerning Internet and e-commerce procedures.
- 2) 76% of the sample indicates that non e-buyers do not know which e-companies are credit-worthy to make online Internet purchases from.
- 3) 83% of the sample have not yet decided to purchase from the Internet.
- 4) 75% of the sample do not trust the companies that operate in the cyber market, due to their fear of corruption and deception by electronic

companies.

- 5) 78% of the sample do not trust the security of the Internet, because of fear of attack on their personal funds and private information, in addition to the fear of a virus attack.

Finally, the results show that the e-buyer rate should increase to 55% as long as the interested parties make certain contributions in terms of transaction safety, i.e., public awareness of the company's existence, the creation of a company web site, education on matters of purchasing and transacting with local and foreign companies, and the creation of a legal system that will aim to protect consumer rights in cases of fraud and deception.

Introduction

E-commerce Framework

E-commerce (EC) is a new and upgraded version of traditional commerce where the processes of buying, selling and exchanging products or services are conducted through a connection to the Internet. Kalakota and Whinston (1997)¹ defined E-commerce from these perspectives: From a communications perspective, EC is the delivery of goods, services, information or payments over computer networks or by any other electronic means; From a business process perspective, EC is the application of technology toward the automation of business transactions and work flow; From a services perspective, EC is a tool that addresses the desire of firms, consumers and management to cut service costs while improving the quality of goods and increasing the speed of service delivery; From an online perspective, EC provides the capability of buying and selling products and information on the Internet and other online services, (King, David, Lee, Warkentin and Chung, 2002, p. 4).²

Background

Related Work and Research Reports of the Proposed Subject Area

This research has revealed four pieces of related work which are summarised below:

- The first one is a thesis dissertation that focuses on the business perspective of e-commerce. The purpose of the project is to investigate the importance of the e-commerce idea in the business community. In a further step, the work, discusses different global companies that have adopted e-commerce. Similarly, the work provides research findings targeted at various local companies. It aims to define whether Cypriot companies are aware of e-commerce and if they have applied it in their business activities, (Zubair, 2000).³

- The second one is a research report conducted on behalf of the Bank of Cyprus. The purpose of this report is to define whether it is beneficial for the Bank of Cyprus to offer an Internet Visa to users and new customers. For this purpose, this report tried to define the Cypriot user's activities and usage of Internet, as well as to distinguish the number of those who do or do not buy from the Internet, (Bank of Cyprus, 25 November 2001).⁴
- The third one is a research report conducted on behalf of the Ministry of Finance in Cyprus. The purpose of this report is to present a clear picture of the use of e-commerce by both local companies and buyers. However, to obtain results, the researchers used a different approach from their previous work. They concentrated on a combination of business and users' perspectives. That is, their focal point was to determine how well prepared Cypriot companies are to offer their products or services to the user. Also, the report defines the impact of the Cypriot user for both Internet and e-commerce. In addition, a helpful indicator used to check the relation of Internet and Cypriot user has been the number of connections introduced from 1999 to 2002. This information has helped to characterise the popularity and dynamics of the Cypriot user, (Ministry of Finance, 2002).⁵
- A research report conducted on behalf of the Cyprus Information Technology Company Association (CITCA) in cooperation with the Department of Statistics and Research of the Government of Cyprus, aims to obtain results for both business and consumers' perspectives. Concerning the business perspective the results describe the progress and development of local companies in the area of Information Technology. In contrast, to the consumers' perspective, the results indicate the Cypriot consumer relation and buying rate via the Internet, (Cyprus Information Technology Companies Association, 2002).⁶

Methodology

Purpose

The purpose of the research was:

- To investigate the level of acceptance of e-commerce in the Cypriot community.
- To find whether Cypriots buy or do not buy from the Internet. This is an effort to determine whether there are opportunities to invest in e-commerce.
- To examine the characteristics of Cypriots who either purchase or do not purchase from the Internet.
- To investigate what encourages or discourages Cypriots from purchasing electronically.

Research Approach

The information presented here is derived mainly through research conducted during the period December 2002 to June 2003. In order to accomplish the purpose of the research, the researchers used the following methods:

Verification of Target population and Sampling units.

The target population is divided into two sampling units:

- Students from a Tertiary Education Institution
- Employees/Workers from diverse work fields

The selected sampling units have been split into various categories:

Tertiary Education Institute

- i) Undergraduates
- ii) Post-graduates (MBA)

Employees/Workers

- i) Private Sector
- ii) Public Sector
- iii) Semi-public Sector
- iv) Entrepreneur Sector

The researchers have selected the above sampling units, for the following reasons:

Youth: Based on the reviews from past-related literatures, the majority of the population utilising the Internet are youths whose ages range from 17-41. Thus, the researchers decided that it would be more appropriate to focus on young respondents who would facilitate the extraction of meaningful, interesting and specific results.

Convenience: The decision was taken to involve the two proposed sampling units (tertiary students and employees) in the research because they were considered the most conveniently accessible, and available to facilitate this research. The familiarity with both current tertiary school and the companies proposed enabled the researchers to complete their study easily and within a short period of time.

Representative: The researchers have centralised their research on the above sampling units, which are communal to all people from diverse geographical areas. The Result forms a representative target for the population of Cyprus as a whole.

Survey Questionnaire

The researchers designed a questionnaire and distributed it to 216 respondents. The target population was divided into two sampling units, where 108

questionnaires were distributed to college students and another 108 questionnaires were distributed to employees with diverse work backgrounds.

Methods Used to Execute the Sampling Units

The method chosen to select respondents to complete the questionnaires was the “Simple Random Sample without replacement, in which every individual had the same chances of being selected as everyone else. The selection of a particular individual did not affect the chances of any person who had been selected”, (Berenson and Levine, 1998, p. 14).⁷

Results

Based on the research findings, 34% of the total sample (216) made online purchases, whereas 66% did not, meaning that one in three people actually buy from the Internet.

Table 1: Do Cypriots purchase from the Internet: Vs Sample (216)?

Response	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	73	34%
No	143	66%
Total	216	100%

Cypriots Who Do Not Purchase from the Internet (Non E-buyers)

This group of people accounts for two-thirds of the total sample. They appear in both genders, although it is the females who make the difference, since 70 out of 90 do not make purchases compared to males of 73 out of 126.

Table 2: Do Cypriots purchase from the Internet Vs Gender?

Sex Type	Yes	No	Total
Males	53	73	126
Females	20	70	90

Non e-buyers do not gather in one particular age group since we can locate them in all ages ranging from 17–51+. The highlighted areas fall between the ages 21–25 when most do not buy from the internet. Translated into real numbers, this totals 67 out of 216 respondents who did not make an online purchase in this particular age group.

Table 3: Do Cypriots purchase from the Internet Vs Age?

Age	Yes	No
17 – 20	4	23
21 – 25	33	67
26 – 30	23	28
31 – 40	11	17
	2	7
51+	0	1
Total	73	143

In the societal area, non e-buyers can be located in both target samples (educational and business sector). It can be observed that a remarkable number of students hesitate to make online purchases, compared to employees.

Table 4: Do Cypriots purchase from the Internet: Employees Vs College Students?

Sample	Yes	No	Total
Employees	42	66	108
College students	31	77	108

Further, a substantial number of non e-buyers are equipped with a PC and have access to the Internet. As can be seen in Table 5, approximately 85% of non e-buyers have access to a PC and Internet. Cost is not a main barrier in obtaining a computer and Internet connection. The main reason cited for not owning a PC and Internet connection is “no need to use it”.

Table 5: Do Cypriots have access to a PC and connection to the Internet: Those who purchase Vs Those who do not purchase from the Internet?

Sample	Yes	No	Total
Those who Purchase	74	0	74
Those who do not Purchase	120	22	142

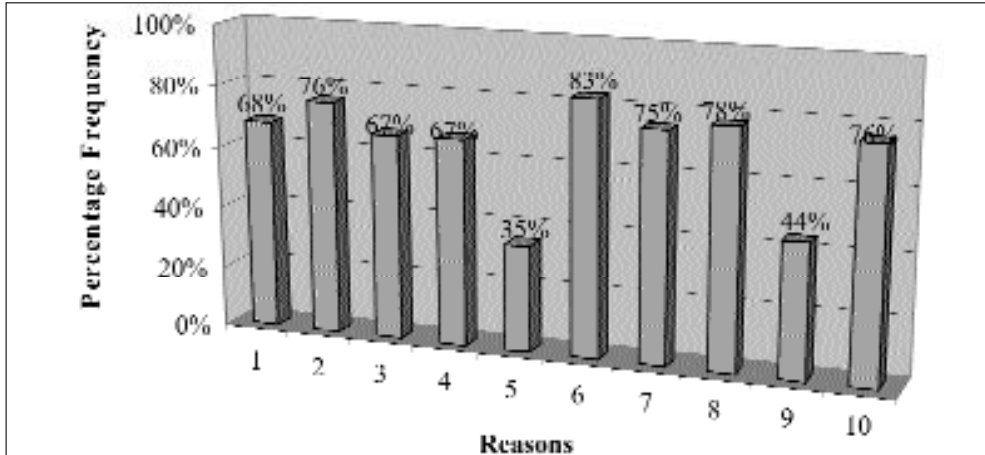
Moreover, we can observe that non e-buyer knowledge can range between varying standards. That is, there are citizens who are well aware of e-commerce, but they still do not purchase.

Table 6: What is the level of knowledge amongst Cypriots about Electronic Purchasing: Those who purchase Vs Those who do not purchase from the Internet?

Level of Knowledge	e-Buyers	Non e-buyers
Very Good	37	14
Good	26	37
Average	7	32
Little	2	37
None	0	24
Total	72	144

In the main focus of the paper, which is to define possible reasons or obstacles that might prevent non e-buyers from purchasing from the Internet, this research discovered ten factors that constitute the vital reasons which prevent Cypriots from purchasing via the Internet:

Figure 1: What are the reasons that prevent Cypriots from purchasing via the Internet?



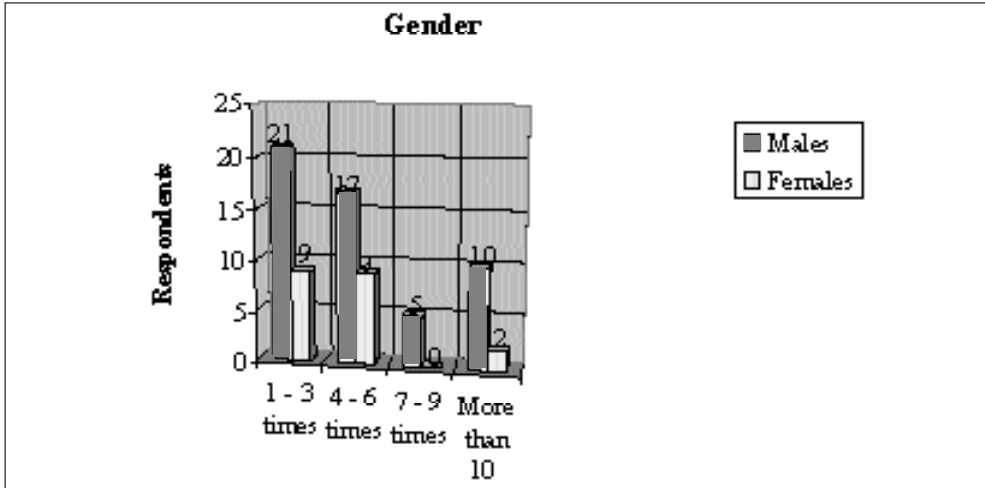
- 1) Inadequate influence from Banks to convince Cypriot clients about the security of their personal information and funds. This shows that banks are failing to convince their customers adequately with regard to the security of their personal funds and information. Cypriots do not, therefore, feel confident to make online transactions.

- 2) Lack of information and education from the state of Cyprus. This illustrates that Cypriots have neither been educated by the public schools about e-commerce, nor have they been informed by the public authorities about the methods of conducting an electronic transaction and how to protect themselves from cyber crime.
- 3) Lack of e-commerce education within Tertiary schools. Students are thus reluctant to make an electronic transaction, since the tertiary schools have not educated them in this area.
- 4) Non-attractive electronic advertisements. Electronic advertising does not seem to convey attractive and convincing enough images to entice Cypriots to make online purchases.
- 5) Lack of Financial resources which depict the Cypriots as not having the financial capability to purchase from the Internet.
- 6) Cypriots have not reached a clear decision as to whether they might purchase. It is assumed that this is an effect of the impact of the various reasons outlined in Figure 1.
- 7) Cypriots do not trust the companies that operate in the cyber market. The implication here is that Cypriots hesitate to make e-purchases due to their fear of being corrupted and deceived by electronic companies (Christoforou, 2003).⁸
- 8) Cypriots do not trust the security of the Internet. The reasons why Cypriots hesitate to enter into the cyber world are fears of attack on their personal funds and private information, and virus attacks.
- 9) Cypriots are discouraged to purchase online, because they have been affected negatively by rumours held by other users who have encountered bad experiences with e-transactions (Christoforou, 2003).
- 10) Lack of awareness of credible e-companies. This statement signifies that Cypriots do not know which e-companies are credit-worthy to undertake online purchases. Thus, they prefer not to take risks and make their purchases from local stores in the traditional way.

Cypriots Who Purchase from the Internet (E-buyers)

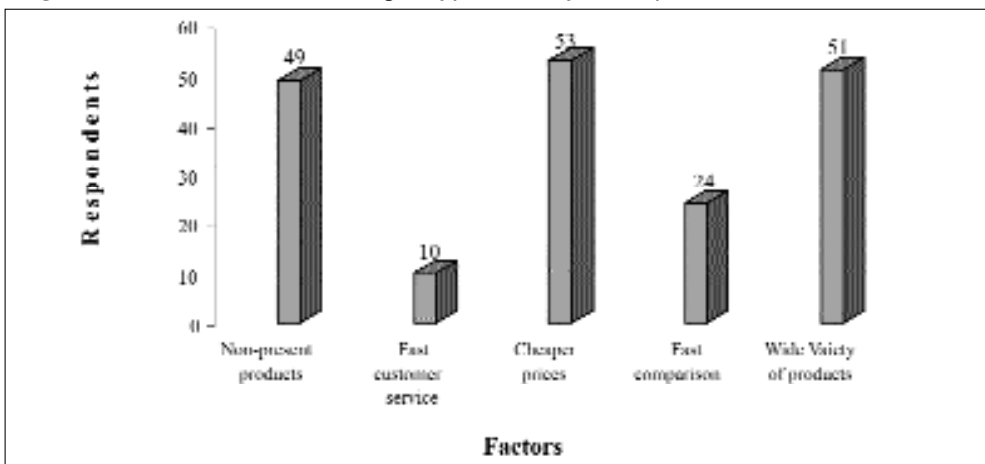
This group accounts for one-third of the sample. The majority are males (53:73) and constitute the bulk of users who make online purchases, compared to females (see Table 2). Similarly, we can observe from Figure 2 that males undertake more e-purchases within a year, compared to females. Next, as indicated in Table 3, the majority of e-buyers who purchase from the Internet are between 17-50 years old, with young people within the 21-25 and 26-30 age groups being the potential e-buyers. All e-buyers have access to a PC and Internet connection (Table 5). E-buyers are well informed about e-commerce (Table 6), meaning that they know where to buy from and how to take precautions against fraud. On-line purchases are made by both target samples (employees and students), with the number of employees surpassing students in terms of making purchases (see Table 4).

Figure 2: How often Cyriot e-buyers purchase annually from the Internet Vs Gender?



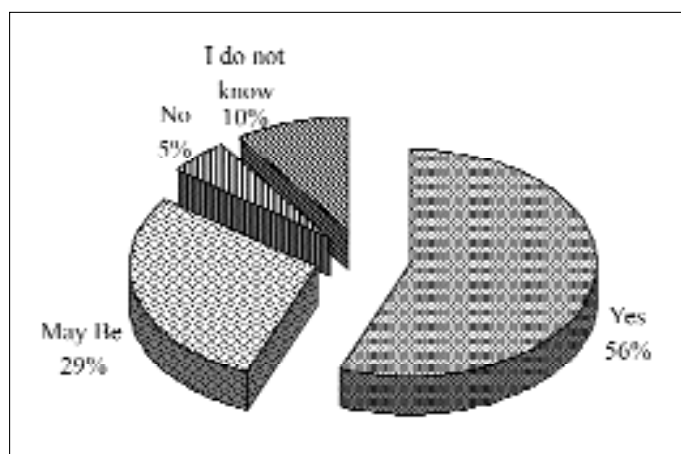
Furthermore, the survey found that Cypriots are encouraged to purchase mostly because: they discover products that are not available for sale in the Cypriot market; the prices of products are less expensive via the Internet compared to the local stores in Cyprus; they find a wider variety of products to choose from. In the next category covering 'low response rate', Cypriots are encouraged to purchase from the Internet because: Products or services can be acquired faster compared to the traditional way; the opportunity is available to compare a product's strengths, prices and specifications instantly.

Figure 3: Factors that encourage Cypriot e-buyers to purchase from the Internet.



The researchers continued to examine the e-buyer’s future performance. At this juncture the researchers wanted to assess the actual percentage rate of Cypriot e-buyers who might continue to make purchases from the Internet. This information would assist them to compute the future potential of e-commerce in Cyprus. Thus, the percentage rate of e-buyers who may continue to purchase online is precisely 56%, whereas 5% state that they may cease to make further online purchases. Following on, there are 29% who may purchase from the Internet and 10% who are still undecided.

Figure 4: Will Cypriot e-buyers continue at the same rate to purchase from the Internet?



Response	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	41	56%
May be	21	29%
No	4	5%
I do not know	7	10%
Total	73	100%

Based on the above results, it seems that there is a large proportion who will continue to purchase from the Internet, whereas one-third could purchase from the Internet.

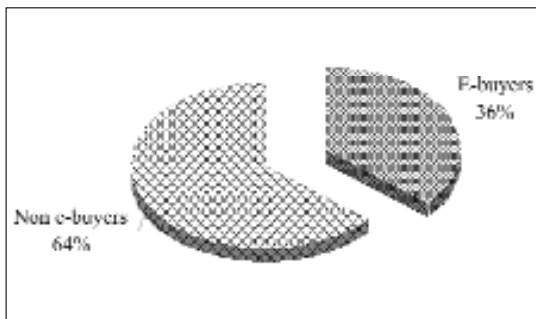
Looking at the above results, the researchers now take their investigation one step further and aim to project the electronic purchasing rate in Cyprus. In other

words, based on the current findings, the researchers will project whether there might be an increase or decrease in electronic purchasing in the future. In their projections, the researchers are not taking into consideration the possible external or internal factors which might affect the decision of the Cypriots. They assume that current circumstances prevail in both the local and foreign area. This indicates that the e-buyer’s opinion should not change, rather it should remain constant based on the research results, without bearing in mind socio-economic fluctuations i.e., unemployment, war impacts, inflation and pc viruses. This is because it would be difficult to speculate precisely on the future prospects of e-commerce activity in Cyprus. Further, the researchers have taken into account only the positive response from Figure 4. This information outlines the exact percentage of Cypriots who would continue to purchase from the Internet. The reason for this is that it gives accurate and specific outcomes concerning the potentials of e-purchasing in Cyprus. Lastly, the researchers have calculated cross-percentage tabulation between the positive response of Figure 4 and four case comments held by Cypriots who do not purchase from the Internet:

Case 1

Case 1, projects the future e-purchasing rate in the Cypriot community, by taking into consideration the number of Cypriot non e-buyers who may purchase from the Internet, if they accept the offer to purchase products and services from the store’s web site. The projection also calculates the Cypriot e-buyers who will continue to purchase from the Internet in the future. As a result, the outcome gives the total number of Cypriots who may, or may not, purchase, from the Internet. Therefore, research has discovered that 36% may purchase, whereas 64% may not purchase from the Internet.

Figure 5: The condition of the purchasing rate, if Cypriots accept the offer to purchase products and services from the store’s Web Site. It also calculates the e-buyers who may continue to purchase from the Internet.



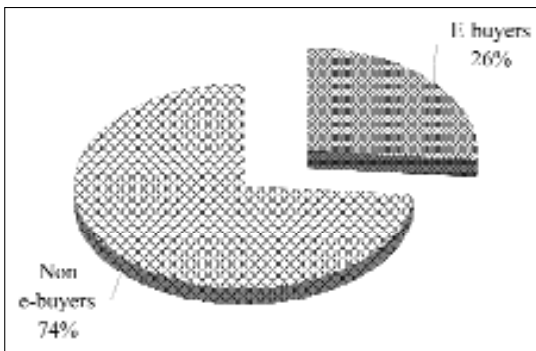
Comparison	
Category	Fig. 5 Vs Table 1
E-buyers	↑ 6%
Non E-buyers	↓ 4%

Further, if we compare the findings of Figure 5 with the findings of Table 1, we can observe that there may be an increase of 6% on e-buyers, whereas non e-buyers may decrease by 4%. The increase regarding the e-buyer’s rate does not seem encouraging enough for local companies to launch an e-business operation. This is because there are two-thirds of the sample that might not change their minds and decide to buy from the Internet.

Case 2

Case 2, projects the future e-purchasing rate in the Cypriot community, by taking into consideration the number of Cypriot non e-buyers who may purchase from the Internet, if they change their minds and decide to make online purchases. Also, the projection includes the Cypriot e-buyers who will continue to purchase from the Internet in the future. As a result, the outcome gives the total number of Cypriots who may purchase, or may not purchase, from the Internet. This research, therefore, has determined that 26% may purchase, whereas 74% may not purchase from the Internet.

Figure 6: The condition of the e-purchase rate in Cyprus, if non e-buyers purchase from the Internet in the Future. It also calculates the e-buyers who will continue to purchase from the Internet.



Comparison	
Category	Fig. 6 Vs Table 1
E-buyers	↓ 28%
Non E-buyers	↑ 11%

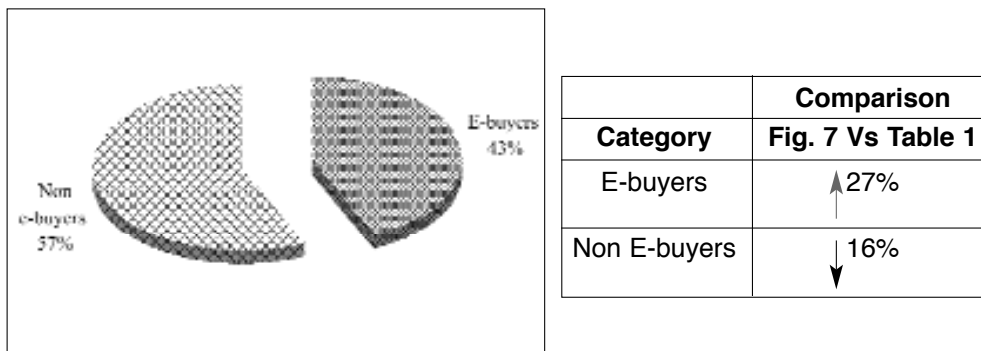
Further, if we compare the findings of Figure 6 with the findings of Table 1, we can observe that there may be a decrease of 28% on e-buyers, whereas non e-buyers may increase by 11%. This means that in the near future either a proportion of the e-buyer rate may cease to purchase from the internet, or the non e-buyers might change their minds and decide to purchase from the Internet.

Case 3

Case 3, projects the future e-purchasing rate in the Cypriot community, by taking into consideration the number of Cypriot non e-buyers who might purchase from the

Internet, if they choose to accept the offer held by companies to purchase those products whose prices are lower by 10-20%. Also, the projection counts the Cypriot e-buyers who will continue to purchase from the Internet in the future. As a result, the outcome gives the total number of Cypriots who may purchase, or may not, purchase from the Internet.

Figure 7: The condition of the e-purchase rate in Cyprus, if Cypriots accept the offer to purchase those products whose prices are lower by 10-20%. It also calculates the e-buyers who might continue to purchase from the Internet.

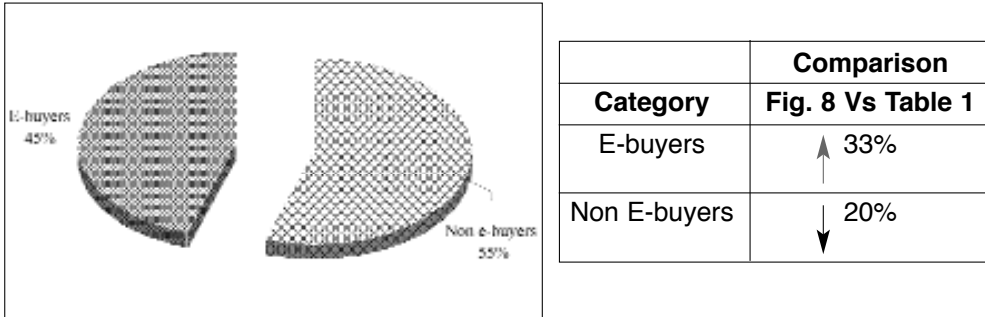


This research has, therefore, ascertained that 43% may purchase, whereas 57% may not purchase from the Internet. Further, if we compare the findings of Figure 7 with the findings of Table 1, we can observe that there may be an increase of 27% on e-buyers, whereas the non e-buyers may decrease by 16%. This seems to be an encouraging sign for companies to start lowering the prices on their products, since by doing so they might increase the possibility of attracting more e-customers, in addition to increasing their profit margins. Arguably, products or services that are in an antagonistic environment and highly priced might perform better if companies reduced their prices and endeavoured to attract an increase in their number of e-customers.

Case 4

Case 4, projects the future e-purchasing rate in the Cypriot community, by taking into consideration the number of Cypriot non e-buyers who may purchase from the Internet when the reasons mentioned in Figure 1, are overcome. The projection also counts the Cypriot e-buyers who will continue to purchase from the Internet in the future. As a result, the outcome gives the total number of Cypriots who may purchase, or may not purchase, from the Internet.

Figure 8: The condition of the e-purchase rate in Cyprus, if the obstacles mentioned in Figure 1 are overcome. It also calculates the e-buyers who may continue to purchase from the Internet.



The research has, therefore, uncovered that 45% may purchase, whereas 55% may not purchase from the Internet. This implies that almost one in every two people may purchase from the Internet as Case 4 is applied. Further, if we compare the findings of Figure 8 with the findings of Table 1, we can observe that there might be an increase of 33% on e-buyers, whereas the non e-buyers might decrease by 20%.

The outcome is that interested parties (state of Cyprus, companies, tertiary schools), have a significant role to play in supporting, facilitating and motivating the Cypriots to purchase from the Internet. This is an effort to elevate e-commerce activity in the Cypriot community together with raising awareness and an attractiveness of local companies in the cyber global arena.

Discussion

Based on current findings the researchers conclude that there is a remarkable 34% sample, (Table 1) in the Cypriot community who have accepted Internet as a mode by which to make their electronic purchases. This equates to one-third, i.e., one in every three people purchase from the Internet. This is both a significant and an encouraging sign for businesses, which could profit by such investment, to consider introducing electronic transactions into the Cypriot community. Similarly, there is evidence from this research that e-commerce activity in Cyprus is increasing annually. The researchers have, in fact, made a comparison between the current research findings and two related research reports, such as:

- “Bank of Cyprus research which was conducted in year 2001”⁹ indicated that 18% of the population made e-purchases. This equates to one-fifth, which

denotes that one in every five people made purchases from the Internet.

- “CITCA (Cyprus Information Technology Company Association) research which was conducted in year 2002”¹⁰ indicated that 12% of the population made e-purchases. This equates to one-tenth, which shows that one in every ten people made purchases from the Internet.

Thus, if we compare the 34% (Table 1) with the above two findings, we conclude that year-by-year, there is an increase in the number of Cypriot e-buyers.

Furthermore, the research outcome enabled the researchers to conclude that younger people dominate electronic purchases in Cyprus and that Cypriots between the ages of 21-25 and 26-30 constitute the core online buyers (see Table 3). Within this outcome, employees account for the largest portion of those who make purchases (see Table 4). Similarly, highlighted e-buyers are males (see Table 2) who display a greater confidence in online purchasing from both college students and employees' target areas. In contrast, females indicate a negative to moderate level of acceptance for e-purchase. The researchers assume that this is due to a lack of interest to utilise the Internet as a mode of purchasing. This can be confirmed in Figure 2 where it shows that males purchase more frequently than females within a year. Specifically on all frequency levels, we can observe that males buy more often than females within a year. Next, the research indicates that the majority of e-buyers and non e-buyers have access to a PC and Internet connection, which means that the Cypriot community has the fundamental tools in order for e-commerce to grow and develop.

The analysis subsequently highlighted ten good reasons why Cypriot non e-buyers do not purchase from the Internet. Among these ten oppositions there are five reasons that stand out prominently from the others. Of primary importance, the majority of Cypriot non e-buyers (76%) are unfamiliar or not educated by the state of Cyprus concerning Internet and e-commerce procedures. This drives Cypriots to distrust e-companies and the Internet (see Figure 1), due to fear of the unknown, deception and corruption of personal information and private funds. As a consequence this affects the Cypriots' decision as to whether they might purchase from the Internet, since 83% of the sample are still indecisive about making electronic transactions (see Figure 1). On the other hand, research indicates that local companies have done little to motivate Cypriots to purchase electronically. This is borne out by 76% of the sample who indicate that they do not know which e-companies are credit-worthy to make online purchases from. The researchers assume that local companies have not taken seriously the importance of e-business. There are opportunities for high returns on investment using e-business transactions because there are no financial obstacles preventing Internet purchasing as 65% (see Figure 1) of the sample have indicated.

From the opposing view, Cypriot e-buyers prefer to shop online because the cyber-market offers the opportunity for them to seek out products which are unavailable in Cyprus as well as being more competitively priced to those in local stores. The cyber-market is also preferred because it offers a wider range of products to the Cypriot community, allowing a much greater freedom of choice (see Figure 3).

In addition, with regard to the future condition of e-commerce in Cyprus, it can be pointed out that the interested parties: the state of Cyprus, the tertiary educational schools, and the companies, do have a vital role to play in developing an electronic market. As shown in Case 2, the rate of e-purchases may decrease if no involvement is signified by the interested parties. Based on the findings in Case 2, we may actually experience a decrease of 28%. This means that a substantial number of Cypriots who purchase at the present time may cease to make e-purchases and this could drive the future of e-commerce towards its demise. In contrast, as interested parties imply their attention to invest in this new era of commerce, we can expect growth of e-commerce activity in Cyprus. This can be confirmed in Figure 1, points 1, 2, 3 and 4, where Cypriots expressed how inactive the interested parties are to improve e-commerce activity in Cyprus.

Subsequently, in Cases 1, 3 and 4, we have observed that as companies use different approaches to embrace Cypriots, we can experience positive correspondence. As a consequence, companies must think about what customers want or need and how it can be provided. This can be verified from Figure 1, where 76% (point 10) do not purchase, because they are unaware of which e-companies are credit-worthy to purchase from.

Another important observation is that Cypriots it seems will actually accept the Internet as a new way to shop. This is substantiated in Cases 3 and 4, where the increase in e-buyers is strong compared to Table 1. This indicates that as Cypriots are given motives such as security, e-company awareness, information and education from the interested parties (state of Cyprus and tertiary schools) plus the reassurance of reliable credibility, the future of e-commerce in Cyprus should produce a healthy growth.

Recommendations

The researchers have made comments below including recommendations in areas where there is a need for further research and immediate implementation to support the development of e-commerce in Cyprus:

State of Cyprus

The State of Cyprus must primarily implement the following aspects:

- To support those companies interested in developing e-commerce operation. The support could be in the form of education in subjects of e-commerce operation and regulation, as well as providing finance to boost companies to start an e-business operation.
- To create trustee standards for companies who wish to establish an e-business operation. This could encourage the customers to trust local companies for e-purchase transactions, and ensure that e-transactions are legally binding.
- To employ teachers with background knowledge and experience in e-commerce, in order to help students to understand and use e-commerce in their lives.
- To create a specialised governmental department that could deal with e-commerce developments. This could serve as a means to control, inform and educate citizens with the support of other governmental ministries and the EU.
- To create a modern and technologically advanced infrastructure in the Cypriot market, to form a link between Europe and the Middle East in terms of e-purchasing.
- To create a specialised court that could handle cases exclusively for cyber crime. The aim of the court would be to speed the process of customer complaints or compensate anyone deceived by a fraudulent e-company.

Local Companies

The local factor has not, however, been investigated. Notwithstanding this, and in order to give a clear picture of the possible deficiencies that prevail in the private sector, the researchers recommend the following points based on customers' opinions:

- Develop a web presence in the cyber market. The research outcome in the conclusion section illustrates that return on investment will be profitable.
- Become involved in the 'e-minder project'.¹¹ This project provides support to companies in terms of education and training to help implement e-commerce activities.
- Create awareness of the company's name in the local and global area through the media. Similarly, establish the EEA trustee seal, thus entrusting the confidence of customers to transact with companies.
- Concentrate on marketing tactics to provide customer satisfaction in terms of price, quality and credibility.

Institutions of Higher Learning

Based on the findings in Figure 1, the researchers believe that tertiary schools have a core role to play in preparing candidates to trade on the Internet, both for personal and business purposes. Therefore, the following points are recommended:

- Introduce IT and E-commerce courses, to facilitate candidates' awareness and knowledge of e-commerce applications.

- Employ lecturers with background knowledge and experience in e-commerce, so as to provide accurate, relevant and specific knowledge concerning the area of e-commerce.
- Offer seminars to students by researchers specialised in the field of e-commerce, to provide the additional education and practical skills required for today's e-commerce market.

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Commentary Article

VOLUME 17
NUMBER 2



Cyprus: The Way Forward

Nicos A Pittas

In the turmoil of an election campaign, it is hard for politicians as a class to avoid taking 'shots' at each other and engaging in the classic confrontations to which politicians are prone by their vocation. It is really too much to expect them to draw back from the cut and thrust of electoral politics, and to sacrifice potential advantage (or, what virtually amounts to the same thing, avert political damage) in the interest of the common good. And yet, that is what Cyprus really needs as we and the international community contemplate what may mature into another UN backed initiative to solve the long standing Cyprus problem, and bring about the reunification of our estranged Greek and Turkish communities.

Undoubtedly, the majority of Greek Cypriots felt they got the short end of the stick in the last initiative that resulted in their rejecting the version of the so-called Annan Plan put to them in the referendum two years ago now. On the other hand, our Turkish Cypriot compatriots saw the Plan as an acceptable comprehensive solution and supported it almost as overwhelmingly as we rejected it. One suspects, in a rather ironic way both their support and our opposition was based on the same factor: Cyprus's membership in the European Union.

For our community, EU membership clearly goes a long way to equalise the negotiating strength between us and the Turkish side. Accordingly, many Greek Cypriots must have felt that we could get a better deal as a full EU member than what was on offer after the negotiating debacle at Bürgenstock and the Secretary-general's arbitrated final version of the Plan submitted to the people in the referenda. For the Turkish community, on the other hand, the solution to the problem that for nearly thirty years had eluded us because of the intransigence of their leadership, and the policy of successive Turkish governments since 1974, offered the prospect of access to the benefits that EU membership would have brought to their community. One long isolated by the international community that refuses to recognise their unilaterally declared entity that relies almost entirely on Turkey for its economic sustenance and the Turkish army for its security and forced separation from the rest of the Island.

In essence, we saw the solution being offered as the product of a weak negotiating position that would soon be strengthened by EU membership, whereas the other side saw it as an acceptable compromise necessary to share in the benefits of membership.

But that is all water under the bridge now, or “history” as the Greek foreign minister Dora Bakoyianni recently described the Annan Plan. The international community seems ready to move forward and seek out new approaches for bringing about the desired rapprochement between the two sides. This was clearly the upshot of the joint communiqué recently agreed to between President Tassos Papadopoulos and the UN Secretary-general after their meeting in Paris. Recent statements out of Washington similarly seem to recognise the negative emotional reaction that the Greek Cypriot community has to the Annan Plan that was effectively anathematised for better or for worse by the ‘no’ camp in the referendum campaign.

What we must not lose sight of, however, is that if we want to maintain the aegis of the UN for any initiative to bridge the differences between the two sides, we cannot assume that our strengthened negotiating position since joining the EU entirely changes the negotiating context or makes possible a solution that will be radically different from earlier UN backed proposals. At the end of the day, the UN has to operate within the parameters of the relevant Security Council resolutions that make it clear that any solution has to be acceptable to both sides, as well as the High Level Agreements of 1977 and 1979 that prescribe a solution that is federal, bi-communal and bi-zonal. This effectively rules out any settlement on the constitutional aspect of the problem that is based on the 1960 unitary state constitution.

It also rules out a solution that would allow all Greek Cypriots displaced by the invasion and occupation of 1974 to return to their former homes under Greek Cypriot administration. One cannot imagine any Turkish Cypriot leadership, no matter how well disposed to reconciliation and trust between the two communities, agreeing to a settlement that would see them become a minority within their zone or ‘component state’

This means that a political settlement requires certain compromises that are not helped by absolutist declarations about human rights and the perception that one side is the victim and the other the perpetrator of a continuing crime that can easily be solved by the ‘criminal’ stopping the crime of invasion and occupation. Whatever the rights and wrongs of our recent history, there is more than enough blame to share among all the parties involved. We will not make progress simply by trying to address the issues on a legal basis asserting violations of human rights.

Undoubtedly, many on all sides have had their rights violated over the past half century. The final remedy however will not be found in a court or commission, but by political leaders on both sides engaging in good faith in sober and clear sighted negotiations aiming at a compromise solution that addresses the basic concerns of their communities fairly and realistically.

Adopting a rhetoric of fine sounding and high principles may make us feel good or flare up latent nationalistic tendencies, but it does nothing to actually bring us closer to the desired goal. What we need from our politicians whatever their position on the political spectrum is a conscious effort to avoid cheap shots and rhetorical flourishes for political advantage, and a reasoned and diligent effort to explore all the available avenues to break the log jam to a settlement.

Now is not the time to engage in typical politicking when it comes to our national question. All our efforts should be concentrated on cultivating good relations at all levels between our two major communities, and utilising effectively the good offices mission of the Secretary-general to narrow the perceived chasm between their respective positions. The main challenge right now is to work out the issues and other details necessary for the so-called technical committees to get down to work.

Of course, at the end of the day, in a democratic society politicians have a duty to respect the will of the people expressed in free and fair elections. This does not absolve them of the responsibilities of leadership, and politicians in Cyprus on both sides since at least the end of the Second World War have been woefully remiss in giving proper guidance to their communities and avoiding situations that served only to destroy inter-communal amity.

If we are ever to rise above the self-imposed mental chains that spawned the atrocities and violations of human rights that brought our two communities to fear and distrust each other, we must first be honest with ourselves and the sort of Cyprus we envision for succeeding generations.

If we truly want a federal solution we must accept that the other community through its elected representatives and appointed officials will have constitutionally entrenched rights to participate in all the institutions of the federal government, and at least in respect of fundamental rights and communal protections to have certain veto rights. Moreover, we cannot reasonably expect that in the event of disputes, any agreed to settlement procedures will not involve the participation of objective third party adjudicators. Neither can we expect Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots to give up the Treaty of Guarantee rights that Turkey has used to justify its invasion and occupation, at least not until all sides are partners in the EU and possibly NATO.

Life as they say is change. We have moved on since the referenda and all sides to the Cyprus problem have to re-assess the situation in light of the changes taking place not only on Cyprus but throughout the region and the wider Middle East. In one sense, President Papadopoulos is quite correct in stressing the need for any resumed talks to be well prepared. We can ill afford any more failures that do

nothing but confirm the views of many observers that the Cyprus problem has no solution and is best left alone to fester as a de facto partition or until there is another war.

We can do better than that, but it requires courage and honesty on the part of the politicians and at the end of the day by the people who will express their will democratically. Let us hope that these elections will produce a House of Representatives on the Greek Cypriot side that will prevail on the President the need to work diligently and to take bold initiatives and informed risks as he works to carefully prepare the ground for another initiative.

Book Reviews

VOLUME 17

NUMBER 2



The Ontology of ‘Cyprus Conflict Literature’

Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide

Yiannis Papadakis
IB Tauris, (London, 2005) 224 pp.

From the East: Conflict and Partition in Cyprus

Costas Yennaris
Elliott and Thompson, (London, 2003) 278 pp.

These two volumes highlight some basic methodological issues in conflict research and in work on conflicts more generally. In one, the Cyprus conflict represents a divide which comes to be understood not as an ontological given. In the other, this divide, though represented as the sum of one side’s strategy can now be accepted as ontological even if the other’s support for the divide were to be removed. One is a tale of a voyage of personal discovery involving meeting, trying to understand, and occasionally confronting the other, through which we learn that all barriers are simply produced and reproduced rather than ‘real’. In *Echoes from the Dead Zone* Papadakis presents his tale indirectly as being of universal significance for all of us and therefore more significant than one person’s experience of a conflict. For Papadakis, ontology suggests that the human subject and their relationships are more fundamentally positive than negative. In *From the East*, Yennaris, ontology dictates that the human subject is simply flotsam in the crushing oceans of international politics, driven by ‘good’ states and ‘bad’ states, this being a representation of truth, fact, and history, without the need for further reflection.

The juxtaposition of these two texts brings to light a little explored tension within the study of the Cyprus conflict, between ‘understanding’ and ‘explaining’, between methodological rigor and difference, between ‘social science’ and humanities, and of course between left and right political ideologies. These texts are so driven by these issues and problems, that it is difficult even to discuss them as being representative of a conflict without examining one’s own motives and interests and

taking up a problematic third party and omniscient stance. However, Papadakis' text is the more radical, striking, appealing, and original, and is a brave attempt in an otherwise often petty and politicised political 'research' environment. Yennaris' 'realist' text is unashamedly biased, strategic, conservative and ugly in what it says about the region and the Cyprus conflict. Both are deeply flawed, and demand deep, but inevitably subjective criticism on the part of the reader. For the purposes of this review, Yennaris' book offers little more than a foil for Papadakis' study, and is an exemplar of all that is wrong with so much of the 'research' on the Cyprus problem. Papadakis' text stands out as providing a much-needed anthropological and humanist insight into a conflict on which so much has been repeatedly and derivatively published over the years. Though I myself have been trained in positivist and inductive approaches to research such as that represented by Yennaris' text, and have received little formal training about debates in anthropology and ethnography, it is clear from the juxtaposition of these texts how much the study of international politics needs to be able to bridge this gulf if it is to gain an understanding of conflicts such as that in Cyprus which does not end up reproducing the dynamics of the conflict itself.

Yennaris' text is an attempt to illustrate (or construct) through a somewhat skimpy textual analysis a grand meta-narrative in which the 'enemy' betrayed its neighbours according to an historical enmity that had essentialised entire peoples to the extent that they had become, in comparison to the other, self-interested and even perhaps calculatingly evil. It aims to prove that all that has occurred on Cyprus has simply been the result of Turkey's conspiratorial leanings, and the nationalism of Turkish and Turkish Cypriot leaders. It represents and explains the mind and motives of the other without once questioning the interplay of subjectivities ever-present in such a task. It makes almost every problematic methodological statement (personalising states, assuming omniscience, assuming epistemological and ontological security for the Greek Cypriot 'view of the world') possible, and of course, for any critical reader, its 'orientalist' premise is deeply troubling. It is rare that one comes across such a blatantly nationalist reading of a conflict in the English language were it not published purely for propaganda reasons, and by an 'official' agency. Though there is a lot of interesting material referred to in this study, it is deployed and analysed in an often insensitive manner, which at times verges upon the crass. Indeed, while the notion that Cyprus and in particular the Greek Cypriot population have been a victim of regional machinations is to a large extent plausible, this is well-known. This text undermines this argument through its crude exposition, rather than reinforces it.

Papadakis' text offers much more of interest to the critical researcher. It operates in standard ethnographic fashion, representing many years of research in Cyprus and Turkey, which are outlined almost in field-note form relating to various periods

spent in Turkey (Istanbul/Constantinople) and in Cyprus on both sides of the Green Line, with an analytical overlay denoting the author's unwillingness to accept the stereotypes and assumptions prevalent in these environments (and represented in *From the East*). It is nicely written and makes some fascinating, at times serendipitous, connections between the author's discovery of events and his own emerging analysis of them. The author also allows the voices of the people he meets in the course of his fieldwork to explain why seemingly marginal events or innocuous realities are so significant in the Cyprus context. At the same time he is also clearly shocked when these are contradicted or reinforced, illustrating how difficult it is for the field researcher to both acknowledge his or her role in the field or to establish a distance through which to frame his or her interaction with the conflict environment itself. Occasionally, he lapses in a more mainstream representation of the Cyprus conflict, which may or may not be ironic (when referring to 1619 missing from 1974, or using inverted commas to dispute any assertion of Turkish-Cypriot officialdom).

As the text progresses, we see how Greek and Turkish identities have been constructed as opposites, and yet how difficult this binary is in reality to sustain in the face of ethnographic exploration. For example, he is perplexed by the fact that on his first visit to the hybrid city, Istanbul/Constantinople, he is regarded as little more than one would expect of a visitor, rather than as an enemy. Later he finds that there are other more significant identity distinctions that preoccupy the people he meets. When he crosses over the Green Line in Nicosia he is surprised to learn that he does not have to 'sign' anything in what might have represented a researchers'/ethnographers' Faustian Pact with sovereignty. Furthermore, he discovers that external depictions of a conflict environment often ignore the 'normality' that may often be found in them (as many other field researchers have also found), and that being assigned a local 'guide' is far from the liberation it is often represented as.

Perhaps the most significant discovery occurs when he is in Lefkoshia and hears for the first time about what the Turkish Cypriots called 'Kanli Noel' or 'Bloody Christmas' of 1963, which contradicts the Greek Cypriot notion that 'war' only occurred in 1974. Of course, any researcher who had examined primary sources would have known about this, but for the discovery to have been made ethnographically is indicative of both the barriers between Cypriots, the self-censorship that predominates, and the problems caused by disruptions in communication created by cease-fire lines and other political boundaries. Ironically, though this book is predicated upon the author's decade-long experience of not being able to move or think freely across or about the Cyprus divide, his surprisingly mundane depiction of the opening of the green line in April 2003 shows how much more there is to do in order to unravel the Cyprus conflict psychosis.

These many aspects of this study lead to ontological and methodological problems which are doubly-amplified by the fact that he is both alien and yet 'at home' in his chosen field sites. His text reinforces the premise that there is much in this conflict which is manufactured and a product of representational and discursive practices that can be overcome given the underlying ontological assumption that conflict is somehow abnormal. In juxtaposition to Yennaris' text this assumption is thrown into doubt, not necessarily because of the argument made that 'Turks' have always had designs on Cyprus, but more because this is such a dominant assumption amongst Greek Cypriots and indeed, may be hard to dispute in any concrete fashion. However, in general and in my view, more can be learned about the nature of the Cyprus problem and why it has continued for so long by reflecting upon Papadakis' text than the many standard omniscient and rationalist derivative analyses in the field of IR which rest upon politicised or ideological empiricism, of which Yennaris text is indicative.

These observations give rise to some interesting propositions about conflict literature more generally. Given that Cyprus has been identified as a conflict zone and has been subject to such study for so long, it is possible to see a series of patterns in research on it, as well as their benefits and pitfalls. Many attempts to work on Cyprus are clearly positivist (and indeed Copernican!), taking official actors as the key sites of power, and the contestation of their interests through their relative capacities as the modus operandi of the conflict itself. They represent the conflict as resting on an historical teleology in which past patterns explain current trends, and determine the future. This has become a common psychosis in conflict zones, understandably perhaps given the intensity of the experience of fear, threat, and violence. But such strategies are unable to contribute to any sort of meaningful settlement in terms of the norms that are increasingly expressed within the practical and discursive environment of domestic and international politics. Within a territorially bounded world, 'sovereign man' is destined to look for enemies and suspect the worst from them, as Yennaris explains. There are far fewer works extant on Cyprus that are notable because they endeavour to pioneer a way around the so-called immutable truths and enmities peddled in mainstream literatures. Papadakis' work represents perhaps one of the most concerted efforts at understanding this terrain in the context of the Cyprus conflict. If we do not develop new ways of understanding such conflict, they may well endlessly replicate themselves. Papadakis' superb study makes this point all too clear.

Oliver Richmond

Place of Refuge: A History of the Jews in Cyprus

**Stavros Panteli
Elliott and Thompson, (London, 2003) 191 pp.**

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean, after Sicily and Sardinia, with an area of 3,572 square miles (9,251 sq km). It is situated in the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean, at a distance of some 240 miles north of Egypt, 40 miles south of Turkey, and 500 miles east of Greece. The present (2001) population of Cyprus is estimated at 790,000, of whom about 150,000 (with settlers from mainland Turkey) belong to the Turkish Cypriot community, and 640,000 belong to the Greek Cypriot community. Other groups include Armenians, Latins, and Maronites. The long history of Cyprus may be one of invasion and conquest, but it is also one of an extraordinary cultural heritage. Throughout its history, Cyprus has endured the conquests of a succession of races and cultures, besetting its rocky shores with the regularity of tides. These have included the Phoenicians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Byzantines. They were followed by the Venetians, the Ottoman Turks, and, late in the nineteenth century, the British. To visit Cyprus is to journey to a rich and dense intersection of culture and history. It is indeed an experience in the "footprints on the sands of time" (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, A Psalm of Life).

In the history of Cyprus, certain dates and episodes are important for their impact on the island's history and therefore worth remembering: the fourteenth century BC, when the Mycenaean Greeks began to settle on the island; AD 1571, when it was captured by the Ottoman Turks from the Venetians; and 1878, when, under terms of the "Cyprus Convention", administration of the island was transferred to Great Britain. The Ottoman Turks, forebears of the modern Turkish Cypriots, dominated the island for three hundred years before they ceded control to the British. In 1914 Cyprus was formally annexed by Great Britain and became part of the British Empire. Nine years later, in 1923, by article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey renounced all claims on the island. In 1960 Britain grants independence under a power-sharing constitution between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

On 16 August 1960, Cyprus became an independent republic. On 15 July 1974, the ruling military junta of Greece staged a coup to overthrow the democratically elected government of Cyprus. But the Athens-backed coup fails. Turkish troops land in the north and occupy a third of the island. Thirty-one years later (1974-

2005), an estimated force of 35,000 Turkish troops are still in the occupied northern regions of Cyprus. On 1 May 2004, Cyprus was admitted in the European Union as one of the 25 member states. Alas, the historic accession of the island to the European Union left out the Turkish occupied northern area of Cyprus. A settlement of the “problem of Cyprus” seems so near, and yet so far. The outline of a likely settlement is clear – one federal state with a high level of autonomy for the two communities. In *De Republica* (Cicero), Rome’s orator-politician, wrote, “Nostra autem respublica non unius esset ingenio, sed multorum, nec una hominis vita, sed alignot constituta seculis et aetatibus” (II, 1, 2). A timely reminder to the leaders of the two communities of Cyprus from Roman statesman and former governor of the island. Indeed, the leaders of the two Cypriot communities, Greek and Turkish, should heed the words of Cicero (106-43 BC) in their efforts to reunify the island and end the continent’s last post-war conflict.

Stavros Panteli’s book *Place of Refuge*, is a study of the Jewish community of Cyprus in the longue durée of Cypriot history. In this small, but interesting, book, the author traces the “footprints” of the Jews in Cyprus from ancient times to the birth of the state of Israel on 14 May 1948. The seven main chapters argue the contributions of the Jews to the historical fabric and cultural mosaic of the island of Cyprus. There are four appendices, extensive notes, a map, some illustrations, a useful glossary, selective bibliography and index. The biographical section is a useful addition.

The earliest settlement of Jews in Cyprus “dates from around 587 BC ... “. Jewish presence on the island apparently began to develop (on a greater scale) beginning the “3rd century BC” (Panteli, pp. 16-17). The presence of the Jews in Cyprus is closely recorded prominently in episodes during the Roman era. Cyprus became a part of the Roman province of Cilicia (Strabo XIV, 6, 6). Christianity was introduced to Cyprus early in the first century AD, by “those who were scattered abroad” (Acts 11:20). The new religion was officially brought to Cyprus by St Barnabas, described as “Levite, of a Cypriot family” (Acts 4:36).

In the year AD 115, the prevailing peace on the island was disturbed. Towards the end of the administration of Emperor Trajan, AD 97-117, a wide spread insurrection of the Jews broke out in Cyrene, Egypt, and Cyprus. On the island the Jews, led by one Artemion, revolted against Roman rule. It is estimated that during the revolt the dead in Cyprus, mostly non-Jews, numbered 240,000, and the city of Salamis “utterly destroyed and the non-Jewish population exterminated” (George Hill, *A History of Cyprus, Volume I*, p. 242) also (Dio, 68.32). Roman forces despatched to the island crushed the revolt and expelled its Jewish population. No Jew was allowed to set foot on Cyprus. However, the presence of a prosperous Jewish community is recorded in the Middle Ages.

The Jews were particularly active in trade, commerce, and finance. In money-lending business they are “remarkable”, wrote one Elias of Pesaro in 1563 (Claude Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 74). The large Jewish community in Cyprus was well established by the ninth century AD. “Apud ipsos fides obstinate, misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium” (Tacitus, *History*, V, 5 – of the Jews). In 1160 Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, observed: “Besides the Rabbanitic Jews in this island, there is a community of heretic Jews called Kaphrosein or Cyprians. They are Epicureans, and the orthodox Jews excommunicated them” (*Excerpta Cypria*, p. 5). The Jews in Cyprus were prosperous and well respected. “A man is lucky if he knows medicine, for the Greeks respect the Jews as good doctors, and trust them” (*Excerpta Cypria*, p. 76).

“Ranking high amongst the world’s most tenacious and adventurous peoples are the Cypriots and the Jews”, according to author. “For centuries”, Dr Panteli writes, the Jews as with the people of Cyprus “suffered from a string of oppressive overlords, yet despite all odds, managed to survive with their identity intact. The Jews, uprooted over 2,700 years ago ... have also preserved their identity in the most testing of circumstances.”

Place of Refuge: A History of the Jews in Cyprus is a good book. It is a book that should be read by anyone interested in the history of Cyprus and in understanding the struggle of the Jewish people for a land to call home. In Place of Refuge Dr Panteli is aiming beyond academia and to a broad, educated readership. It is a book well written, richly documented and with challenging insight. This book may be recommended without reservation.

John Koumoulides

Sources for the History of Cyprus

Edited by Paul W Wallace and Andreas G Orphanides:

Volume CI: Enosis and the British: British Official Documents 1878-1950

**Selected and edited by Reed Coughlan
Greece and Cyprus Research Centre,
(Altamont, New York, 2004)**

**xiv + 252 pp. bibliography, index,
ISBN: 1-931226-11-3, ISBN set: 0-9651704-0-3**

This anthology of key documents relating to most of the period of British Colonial rule in Cyprus has the benefit of telling a complex story in simple and readable terms through the devices of a perspicacious introduction that sets the scene, and dividing the documents chronologically into thoughtful chapter titles, the fifth and final one being 'Prelude to the Struggle.'

In his introduction, Coughlan reveals what many less informed academics have tried to fudge, namely that the enosis campaign, or at least the build-up to it, existed long before World War One, even though there was a tendency on the part of the British to ignore it. He also provides insight into the mentality of English officials on the island, which appears to have included a certain degree of superciliousness; and he brings out the role of the education system and the Church leadership in pressing for enosis.

Chapter One, 'British Vacillation: 1878-1907' shows how, even at this early period of the Cyprus conundrum, bad blood between Greece and Turkey (the war of 1897) could affect intercommunal relations. It also demonstrates how Greek agitation for enosis: fermented in the schools; irritated the Turkish-speaking community. Fascinating insights into Greek and Turkish Cypriot political opinion is also revealed in newspaper articles. It is to Coughlan's credit that he has not confined himself merely to official correspondence.

Chapter Two, 'Churchill's Visit and the Aftermath: 1907-1927', includes his famous statement – some would say infamous – that it was "only natural that the Cypriot people, who are of Greek descent, should regard their incorporation with what may be called their Mother-country as an ideal to be earnestly, devoutly, and fervently cherished." The fact that despite such lip service, nothing happened, may

well have contributed to Greek Cypriot frustration and the riots of 1912. A tentative parallel can be drawn between another Churchillian statement – “It is the primary right of Man to die and kill for the land they [sic] live in” – and the later EOKA campaign.¹

By the time we reach Chapter Three, ‘British Debate and Rising Demand for Enosis: 1929-1931,’ the reader has been fully inculcated into enosis. We see a combination of internal British debate, characterised by subtle debate between liberal-minded Foreign Office officials and more rigid ‘Little Englander’ Colonial Office types. Notwithstanding the arguments, official British rejection of Greek Cypriot arguments led to yet more frustration, the outbreak of the 1931 riots and the burning down of Government House. We are left with a sense of impending doom.

This materialises in Chapter Four, ‘The Riots of 1931 and the British Response, 1931-1935,’ when direct rule, censorship and deportations were imposed by London, with, to quote one writer “The British and Greeks in Cyprus retreating into their respective social and mental compartments.”² The chapter intelligently includes a famous article by Arnold Toynbee in *Survey of International Affairs*, which the Foreign Office tried to suppress. By the end of this chapter, it becomes clear to the reader that it must only be a matter of time before a true crisis arises.

The final chapter, ‘Prelude to the Struggle: 1935-1950,’ is surprisingly short, but nevertheless pithy. Apart from again showing the tensions between different strands of thinking in the Colonial and Foreign Offices respectively, the chapter includes a fascinating British intelligence bulletin so clear and unbiased in its content, that it could be construed as putting the case for enosis!

Once one arrives at the end of the book, with 96 per cent of the Greek Cypriots voting in favour of enosis (a demand that was simply ignored by Britain), one is sufficiently interested to find out what happened, and how it happened, next.

The book would have been strengthened by at least some reference to Foreign Office documents, and to avoid this criticism, the editor could have included ‘Colonial Papers’ in the title. For example, a senior Foreign Office official wrote in 1947: “The views of the Colonial Office are not worth having on the subject.”³ Similarly, a quote by another senior Foreign office official would have come in useful:

In more normal circumstances, the early cession of Cyprus to Greece might well be a wise policy, justified by considerations not only of justice, but also of expediency. But present circumstances are not normal.⁴

Despite these – perhaps express – lacunae, they are documentary lacunae which would only add to the usefulness of this book, rather than alter its thrust. It is an indispensable reference tool for all historians interested in Cyprus, the Eastern Mediterranean and British imperial and foreign policy, particularly because it brings out oft ignored social factors.

William Mallinson

1. Quoted in Mallinson, William (2005) *Cyprus: A Modern History*. London and New York, IB Tauris, p. 1, PRO FO953/1708, PG11928/230.
2. Holland, Robert (1998) *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus 1914-1959*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 10. A rather tortuously written book, which omits some crucial documents.
3. Mallinson, William, (2001) 'A Partitioned Cyprus 40 Years after Qualified Sovereignty vs. Morality', *Defensor Pacis*, Issue 7, January 2001, Athens, PRO FO371/67084, R 13462/G.
4. *Ibid.*, Wallinger, 24 October 1947, memo on file jacket.

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