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SUBMISSION PROCEDURE

Manuscripts should be submitted on the journal's website www.cyprusreview.org. Should you encounter any difficulties, do not hesitate to contact the Editorial Team of *The Cyprus Review* at <cy_review@unic.ac.cy>.

FORMATTING REQUIREMENTS

- Articles should range between 8,000-10,000 words.
- Documents should be submitted in **A4 format, 1.5-spaced lines, in a 12-pt type-face, Times New Roman font.**
- Pages should be **numbered** consecutively.
- An abstract of no more than **150 words** should be included together with a **maximum of ten (10) keywords** to define the article's content. The abstract and keywords should be placed at the beginning of the first page just after the article's title and before the main text.
- **Policy Papers:** Policy Papers on subjects relating to Cyprus should range between 4,000 and 7,000 words in length.
- **Book Reviews** are normally 2,000 words maximum in length. The **reviewer's name** should appear at the end of the review. Guidance notes are available for book reviewers. Headings should appear as follows:

Title

Author

Publisher

(Place, Date), number of pages [pp.]

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SEPARATE FILES

- As manuscripts are sent out anonymously for editorial evaluation, the **author's name should appear on a separate covering page.** The author's **full academic address and a short bio of no more than 50 words** detailing current affiliation, areas of research interest and publications should also be included in the said cover page.
 - **Images, Tables, Figures, and Photos**
- *The Cyprus Review* has adopted a **strict BnW/no-more-than-three policy** regarding images and/or photos accompanying submitted articles. More than three (3) items can be accepted at the editorial team's discretion, **if (and only if)** they are deemed absolutely necessary for the sake of scientific completeness.
- In any case, the images should be submitted in **high resolution and black & white format.** The editorial team **retains the right** to place the images, photos, tables etc. in

a **separate annex, following** the end of the **article's main body**. References to such images etc. within the article should be made in a **footnote** citing the item's title and the word Annex, e.g. ¹ Photo 1 'Vision of Cyprus' Annex.

- Images, tables, figures, graphs, and photographs should be **numbered consecutively** with **titles**, and submitted in **separate file(s)**. A **copyright credit should be added, if mandatory, under a permissions agreement**.

GENERAL STYLE AND FORMAT

- *The Cyprus Review* uses **British spelling**, '-ise'/'-our' endings (e.g. 'organise' and 'organisation', 'labour' and 'honour'), and strongly supports the **Oxford comma**.
- Possessives of words (nouns and proper names) ending in -s (such as Cyprus, politics, Descartes etc.) should be formed by the addition of an apostrophe (' ') at the end of the word, e.g. Cyprus', politics', Descartes'.
- We would ask authors to use the following **formula in the headings (full capitals, as in CAPITALS, in headings are to be absolutely avoided)**.
- **Headings and subheadings** should appear as follows:

1. Part One

A. First Subheading

1. Second Subheading

(a) Third subheading

(i) Fourth subheading

- All **nouns, verbs and adjectives** on the **first three levels** should **begin** with **capital letters**.
- The word '**state**' should begin with a **capital 'S'** when it denotes a polity, e.g. the international community of States; **but** the state of play.
- **Acronyms** should be **capitalised** in full.
- **Basic legal material** (e.g. the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, United Nations Charter) and their **short titles or abbreviations** should begin with **capital** letters (TFEU, UN Charter). The same rule applies to the **titles of books, chapters, articles** etc. cited in the footnotes and in the references section.
- Sources written **in languages other than English** (for instance French or German) follow their own rules regarding the **use of capital letters**. In such cases, it is preferable to follow the **rules** applicable in the **source's original language**. For instance:

Christopher Staker, 'Public International Law and the Lex Situs Rule in Proprietary Conflicts and Foreign Expropriations' (1987) 58(1) *British Yearbook of International Law* 151.

Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Maarten Bos, 'Public International Law and Private International Law: Two Well Distinct Identities' ('Droit international public et droit international privé: deux identités bien distincte') in Jerzy Makarczyk (ed.), *Theory of International Law at the Threshold of the 21st Century: Essays in Honour of Krzysztof Skubiszewski* (The Hague/Boston MA: Kluwer Law International 1996) 89 (in French).

Georg Jellinek, *The Legal Nature of State Conventions: A Contribution to the Legal Construction of International Law* (*Die rechtliche Natur der Staatenverträge: Ein Beitrag zur juristischen Construction des Völkerrechts*) (Wien: Hölder 1880) (in German).

- Use **italics** for the following:
 - The **names of cases and judgments** either domestic or international:
Attorney General of the Republic v. Mustafa Ibrahim & Ors
Military and Paramilitary Activities in and Against Nicaragua
Distomo case
 - The titles of published books, e.g. Professor Emilianides' *Constitutional Law in Cyprus*
 - The titles of periodicals, journals, and review e.g. *British Yearbook of International Law*, *American Journal of Legal History*, *The Cyprus Review*
 - **Short foreign phrases**, names or individual words, e.g. *Areios Pagos*, *Cour de Cassation*, *sui generis*.
 - However, **Latin abbreviations or words commonly used** should not be italicised: cf., e.g., ad hoc, i.e., per se.
 - Words or phrases which the author wishes to **emphasise**. Emphasis added by the author in a quoted passage should be explained in the corresponding footnote as follows:

'[...] gender equality in *every* aspect of economic and social life is a *basic* obligation for *every* state which ensures equal treatment for *all* citizens irrespective of their gender'.¹
 - ¹ Konstantinos Dimarellis, Christina Ioannou, 'Equal Treatment of Women and Men in Employment: An Analysis of the Cypriot and the Greek Legal Frameworks' (2018) 30(1) *The Cyprus Review* 259, 273 (emphasis added).
 - In a likewise manner, when the author wishes to **omit an emphasis** in a quoted passage, this should be explained in the corresponding footnote adding (emphasis omitted).
 - Emphasising by use of **Bold** is to **be absolutely avoided**. Exceptions may apply strictly for quoted passages where the original text already contains certain

emphasised passages in italics and the author wishes to add more emphasis in another part. The corresponding footnote should then contain the explanation: (italic emphasis in the original, bold emphasis added).

PUNCTUATION, FOOTNOTE INDICATORS, NUMBERS, AND ABBREVIATIONS

- **Quotations** must correspond to the original source in wording, spelling, and punctuation.
- Any **alterations** to the original should be noted (e.g. use **brackets [...]** to indicate omitted information).
- **Single quotation marks (‘ ’)** are to be used to denote direct quotes and **double quotation marks (“ ”)** to denote a quote within a quotation.
- The **closing full stop** should be **outside** the closing quotation mark (‘ _____’.)
- **Footnotes** should be placed **after the closing quotation mark** (‘ _____’1), unless a specific reference to a term within the quoted passage is made.
- In general, **footnote numbers should be placed after the punctuation marks**. Footnote indicators should follow full stops, commas, semi-colons, quotations marks, and brackets or parentheses (_____ .1 _____ ,1 _____ ;1 etc.).
- **Footnotes** should be used to provide additional comments and discussion or for reference purposes, and should be numbered **consecutively** in the text.
- **Acknowledgements, references to grants etc.** should appear within the footnotes.
- **Passages of more than three lines** should be printed as a **separate paragraph, indented, without quotation marks (11-pt, Times New Roman, Indent: Left 2,00 cm, Right 2,00 cm)**
- **Hyphens** joining composite words should be short [-] without spaces.
- **Em-dashes [—]** should be used as punctuation devices, introducing parenthetical phrases, **without a space in either side**.
- It is preferable **not to use hyphens**, when such a choice is **grammatically** available (e.g. coordination, transnational, intergenerational etc.).
- **Single parentheses ()** should be used for all comments, remarks, and explanations either in the main text or in the footnotes.
- **Brackets []** should be used in the following cases:
 - For the **publication year of reports/reviews lacking a volume number**, e.g. *A. Christodoulides v. The Republic* [1967] 3 CLR 356; Paul Craig, ‘Theory, “Pure Theory” and Values in Public Law’ [2005] *Public Law* 440.
 - For **modifications and explanatory remarks** within quoted passages.

- **Other parenthetic indicators and quotation marks**, such as **braces { }** or **Guillemets « »**, are to be **absolutely avoided**, even if preferred in the original language of a given source (e.g. French, Greek, or German).
- **Numbers one to ten** should appear **in their written form**, whilst numbers **above ten** should appear in **Arabic numerals**, e.g. one, nine, 11, 20, 100, 10,000).
- The **period sign (.)** should be used as a **decimal separator/radix** (e.g. 2.02 cm), while **comma (,)** as a **groups of thousand's separator**, e.g. 100,000,000.
- **Dates** should follow the **day month year format**, as in 1 January 2000.
- **Months** should not be abbreviated in any case (e.g. February; not Febr.).
- **Decades** should be referred to as the 1930s, the 2000s etc.
- **Centuries** can be written in numerals, e.g. the 21st century.
- **Abbreviations** should be followed by a full stop, e.g. Doc., Cf., Appl., Suppl.
- The abbreviated form of the word **'number'**, i.e. **No**, should not be followed by a period.
- The word **'editors'** should be abbreviated as **eds** (without a period); the word **'editor'** should be abbreviated as **ed.** with a period.
- The word **'edition'** (i.e. 1st edition, 2nd edition etc.) should be abbreviated as **edn** (**without a fool stop**, while the word **'translator'** as **tr.** (followed by a full stop).
- **Abbreviations/Latin indicators**, such as 'Op. cit.' and 'Loc. cit.' should be avoided. The use of Latin bibliographic location indicators, such as *supra* or *infra* is also discouraged.
- The Latin abbreviation **'Ibid.'** (ibidem, the same) may be used where there are two or more consecutive references to a source.
- The moderate use of the Latin indicator **Cf. / cf.** (compare) is encouraged.
- When **two or more works of the same author** are cited, the indicator **'Id./id.'** can be used instead of repeating the name of the author.
- **Acronyms and law report abbreviations** should **not** be followed by **full stops**, e.g. UN, EU, NATO, CLR, EWCA Civ, WLR.
- It is preferable to **avoid abbreviating the title of journals, reviews, yearbooks, and other periodicals**. Titles should be written **in full and italicised** accordingly, e.g. *Journal of European Legal Studies* instead of JELS. However the **word 'and'** can be **replaced** with the ampersand sign (**&**), if and if only the ampersand is used in the official name of the respective journal, e.g. *The Law & Practice of International Courts and Tribunals, Law & Contemporary Problems, International & Comparative Law Quarterly, Science & Education*.

- The same rules apply to **publishing houses and university presses** (avoidance of acronyms, use of ampersand when adopted by the publisher), e.g. Harvard University Press, Taylor & Francis.
- In judgments and secondary sources with **more than three parties or authors** the abbreviation ‘& Ors’ or ‘et al.’ can be used respectively.
- When **introducing an abbreviation or short title of an entity’s or a source’s name**, the abbreviation should be stated **after the first mention of the entity or the source**.
- **Abbreviations of entities’ names** can appear **either in the main text or in a footnote**.
- **Sources** should be **abbreviated in the first footnote** citing them. Afterwards, the short title or abbreviation can be used in both the main text and the footnotes.
- **Avoid forming the possessive of a noun, when it is followed by an abbreviated or short form in parentheses**, e.g. the Third Post-Program Monitoring Discussions Staff Report of the International Monetary Fund (henceforth IMF) on Cyprus.

REFERENCES IN FOOTNOTES

- As a general rule, if a secondary source is authored, edited etc. by **more than three scholars [in which case the formula Name, Name & Name is applicable]**, it is advisable to write **just the first name** of the author/editor etc., as it appears in the original source, and add **et al.**
- If the source’s **original language is not English**, both the **title** and possible **quotes** should be **translated** into English.
- When a book, book chapter, or article is written in a **language other than English**, its **original title** should be stated in **eclipses ()**, **following the translated version**, using the **alphabet** (Latin or other) utilised by its **original** language. At the end, the **name of the language should be indicated** within **eclipses, i.e. (in)**.

Christina Ioannou, Demetris P. Sotiropoulos, Achilles K. Emilianides, *Cyprus in a New Era: Geostrategic Parameters, Economy, Foreign Policy (Η Κύπρος στη Νέα Εποχή: Γεωστρατηγικές Παράμετροι, Οικονομία, Εξωτερική Πολιτική)* (Nicosia: Hippasus, 2014) (in Greek).

Achilles C. Emilianides, ‘State and Church in Cyprus’ (‘Staat und Kirche in Zypern’) in Gerhard Robbers (ed.), *Staat und Kirche in der Europäischen Union (State and Church in the European Union)* (2nd edn, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005) 231 (in German).

Georges Ténékidès, ‘The International Condition of the Republic of Cyprus’ (‘La condition internationale de la République de Chypre’) (1960) 6 *Annuaire Français de Droit International* 133 (in French).

- When a book has **more than one edition**, the **number of the cited edition** should be mentioned, **before** the rest of the **publication details**. The **translator** of the book, if existing, should be **mentioned before** the said details too. If the book has **several editions and different publishers** etc. (especially older books or classic works), the **date of first publication** should be mentioned. For instance:

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (first published 1651, London: Penguin 1985).

Charles de Visscher, *Theory and Reality in Public International Law* (Percy Ellwood Corbett tr., 1st edn, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).

Achilles Emilianides, *Family and Succession Law in Cyprus* (2nd edn, The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2019).

- **Books**

[Author], [*Title*], [Vol. if from a series] [Volume’s number] [if applicable: *Volume’s title*] ([edn/tr.], [Place of Publication]: [Publisher, if not applicable omit], [Date]) [exact page if a direct quote or paraphrase].

When the **place of publication** is in the **United States**, it is advisable to state **both the city and the abbreviated version of the respective State’s name**, e.g. Boston MA, Cambridge MA, Chicago IL. The abbreviated version of the State’s name should follow the **USPS rules**, available at <https://pe.usps.com/text/pub28/28apb.htm>.

Furthermore **places of publication** which are **not major cities** may be accompanied by a **country indication**, e.g. Basingstoke UK or Harmondsworth UK.

Antônio Augusto Cançado Trindade, *The Access of Individuals to International Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Jean-Marie Henckaerts, Louise Doswald-Beck, *Customary International Humanitarian Law*, Vol. 1 *Rules* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Polyvios G. Polyviou, *The Case of Ibrahim, the Doctrine of Necessity and the Republic of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2015).

- **Edited Books**

[Editor (ed./eds)], [*Title*], [Volume, if from a series] ([edition], [Place of Publication]: [Publisher], [Date]).

Achilles C. Emilianides (ed.), *Religious Freedom in the European Union* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011).

Emilios Solomou, Hubert Faustman (eds), *Colonial Cyprus 1878-1960: Selected Reading* (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2010).

- **Journal & Yearbook Articles**

[Author], [‘Article Title’], (date) [Volume number](issue number) [*Full Title*] [first page of article], [page number if a direct quote or paraphrase].

Christina Ioannou, ‘The Problem of Collective Action: A Critical Examination of Olson’s Solution of “Selective Benefits”’ (2012) 2(3) *International Journal of Business & Social Research* 151.

Alain Pellet, ‘The British Sovereign Areas’ [2012] *Cyprus Yearbook of International Law* 57.

Jacques Ballaloud, ‘The Operation of the United Nations in Cyprus’ (‘L’operation des Nations Unies à Chypre’) (1976) 80 *Revue Générale de Droit International Public* 130, 161 (in French).

- **Chapters in Books**

[Author], [‘Chapter Title’] in [Editor (ed./eds)], [*Book Title*] ([Date]) [first page of chapter in book], [page number if direct quote or paraphrase].

Angelos Syrigos, ‘Cyprus and the EU: Sovereign State, Negotiations and Objections from an International Law Point of View’ in Andreas Theophanous, Nicos Peristianis & Andreas Ioannou (eds), *Cyprus and the European Union* (Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 1999) 91.

Nikos Skoutaris, ‘Legal Aspects of Membership’ in James Ker-Lindsay, Hubert Faustmann & Fiona Mullen (eds), *An Island in Europe: The EU and the Transformation of Cyprus* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011) 42, 60.

- **Unpublished Theses**

[Author], [Thesis title] ([Date, if available]) (LLM/PhD Thesis, [Name of the University], [Date]) or

[Author], [Thesis title] ([Date, if available]) (LLM/PhD Thesis, [Name of the University], [Date]), available at [insert full URL] (last accessed day month year).

Javan Herberg, ‘Injunctive Relief for Wrongful Termination of Employment’ (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1989).

- **Internet Sources**

[Author (individual author/s if named, organisation if authors unnamed)], [*Title*], [date of publication (in parenthesis if year only)], available at [insert full URL] (last accessed day month year), at [page number if a direct quote or paraphrase].

UN Global Compact, UN Environment Programme, *Business and Climate Change Adaptation: Toward Resilient Companies and Communities* (2012), available at http://www.unglobalcompact.org/docs/issues_doc/Environment/climate/Business_and_Climate_Change_Adaptation.pdf (last accessed 1 December 2019), at 3.

- **Blogs**

[Author], '[Title]' ([*Name of the Blog etc.*], [Date of Publication in day month year format or just year if further details are unavailable]), available at [insert full URL] (last accessed day month year)

Dimitrios Kourtis, 'The Rohingya Genocide Case: Who is Entitled to Claim Reparations?' (*OpinioJuris*, 21 November 2019), available at <https://opiniojuris.org/2019/11/21/the-rohingya-genocide-case-who-is-entitled-to-claim-reparations/> (last accessed 1 December 2019)

- **News Papers**

[Author], '[Title]' [*Name of the Paper*] ([Place of Publication], [Date of Publication]) [page number]

Jane Croft, 'Supreme Court Warns on Quality' *Financial Times* (London, 1 July 2010) 3.

- **Cross-references**

Cross-references within the same work should be made as follows:

[Author – only surname], [number of the footnote where the work was first cited in the form of (no)] [page number]

If two different works of the same author are cited in the same footnote, it is advisable to use a short title.

¹⁴ Manley O. Hudson, 'The Proposed International Criminal Court' (1938) 32 *American Journal of International Law* 549.

...

²⁸ Hudson (no 14) 550.

OR

¹⁴ Manley O. Hudson, 'The Proposed International Criminal Court' (1938) 32 *American Journal of International Law* 549; id., 'Membership in the League of Nations' (1918) 24 *American Journal of International Law* 436.

⁴⁰ Hudson, 'The Proposed ...' (no 14) 550.

....

⁴⁵ Hudson. 'Membership ...' (no 14) 438.

REFERENCES (BIBLIOGRAPHY) SECTION

- For the **references (bibliography) section**, the same rules apply, provided that the surname of the authors, editors etc., precedes the name and other particulars. Names of the authors, editors etc. should be initialised. Diphthongs (St, Ch etc.) should be

preserved. The total number of an article's or book chapter's pages should be mentioned too. For instance:

In the footnotes

Lefkios Neophytou, Stavroula Valiandes & Christina Hadjisoteriou, 'Interculturally Differentiated Instruction Reflections from Cyprus Classrooms' (2018) 30(1) *The Cyprus Review* 397.

In the References

Neophytou L., St. Valiandes & Ch. Hadjisoteriou, 'Interculturally Differentiated Instruction Reflections from Cyprus Classrooms' (2018) 30(1) *The Cyprus Review* 397-408.

For the **citation of legal authorities**, *The Cyprus Review* strongly endorses the use of the **OSCOLA Reference Guide** (4th edn, 2012), available at:

https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/oxlaw/oscola_4th_edn_hart_2012.pdf.



CONTENTS

Indexing: The contents of *The Cyprus Review* are indexed in the following publications: Bulletin Signalétiques en Sciences, Humanités et Sociales; International Bibliography of the Social Sciences; PAIS-Public Affairs Information Service; Sociological Abstracts; Social Planning, Policy and Development Abstracts and Reviews; Peace Research Abstracts Journal; ICSSR Journal of Abstracts and Reviews; Sociology and Social Anthropology; International Bibliography of Periodical Literature; International Bibliography of Book Reviews; International Political Science Abstracts; EMBASE, Compendex, Geobase and Scopus and other derivative products such as Mosby Yearbooks. In addition, *The Cyprus Review* is available internationally via terminals accessing the Dialog, BRS and Data-Star databases. *The Cyprus Review* is disseminated via EBSCO, in their international research database service and subscription network of academic journals. It is assigned to EBSCO's EconLit database with full text. The journal's material is also distributed via ProQuest's products and services worldwide and is listed in the DEST Register of Refereed Journals.

Contributors	21-24
Letter from the Editor-in-Chief	27-28
ARTICLES	
NICOLAS KYRIAKIDES Cyprus Civil Justice System Reform: Developing a National Identity	31-52
MENELAOS APOSTOLOU Desire for Sexual Variety in the Greek Cultural Context	53-100
GUEST-EDITED SECTION	
THE SOCIOLOGIST CAESAR MAVRATSAS: CYPRIOT SOCIETY, POSTCOLONIALITY, NATIONALISM, MODERNITY, AND IDENTITY	
Guest Editorial	67-72
COSTAS M. CONSTANTINOU Transgressing the Nation: In Defence of Cypriot Peasantry and Rustic Politics	73-97
THEODOROS RAKOPOULOS Short Commentary: The Return of the Horkatoi (and of a Sociology of Class)	99-104
MARILENA ZACKHEOS Labour Migration, Diasporic Intimacy and Belonging in Maren Wickwire's Documentary <i>Together Apart</i>	105-132
NICOS TRIMIKLINIOTIS 100 Years of Sociology in Colonial and Post-Colonial Cyprus: Mapping Public Sociology and Critical Thought of a Small Divided Island-Country	133-192
ELLADA EVANGELOU Theatre Beyond Nationalism: Participatory Art in the Cyprus Buffer Zone	193-208
GREGORIS IOANNOU Social Activism and the City: Cultural Sociology and Radical Politics in 21 st Century Cyprus	209-238

EVANTHIA (EVI) TSELIKA State Housing, Social Labelling and Refugee Identities in Cyprus	239-264
STAVROS S. KARAYANNI Polaroid Vision: Thoughts on Nicos Philippou's Sharqi	265-278
POLICY PAPER	
ANDREAS THEOPHANOUS The Intercommunal Negotiations after 1974 and Future Prospects	281-310
BOOK REVIEWS	
ACHILLES C. EMILIANIDES <i>Biographical Dictionary of Cypriots: 1800-1920, Vols I-II</i> by Aristides Koudounaris	313-315
SPYROS SAKELLAROPOULOS <i>Cypriot Nationalisms in Context: History, Identity and Politics</i> by Thekla Kyritsi and Nikos Christofis (eds.)	317-322
Call for Papers	323-324



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Stavros S. Karayanni, Associate Professor of English, European University Cyprus. He is author of *Dancing Fear and Desire: Race, Sexuality and Imperial Politics in Middle Eastern Dance* (2004, reprinted 2010), co-author of *Sexual Interactions; The Social Construction of Atypical Sexual Behaviors* (2006), and co-editor of *Vernacular Worlds, Cosmopolitan Imagination* (Brill, 2015). Since 2007, he is the Managing Editor of the multilingual journal *Cadences: A Journal of Literature and the Arts in Cyprus*.

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**LETTER
FROM THE
EDITOR-
IN-CHIEF**

Dear Readers,

This year the main challenge before us as a Journal is to respond to the continuous flow of articles submitted to the *Review*, as well as to successfully deal with the internal goals we have set, most important amongst them being that of publishing an additional third (Special) Issue in December 2019. Towards this end, this year is marked by the strengthening of our Editorial Team even further.

Allow me first to introduce my Publications Editor, Dimitris Kourtis. Dimitris is currently the Research Assistant of the School of Law at the University of Nicosia. He is a PhD candidate at the School of Law of the Aristotle University, Thessaloniki. His field of expertise includes public international law, criminal law, international humanitarian law, human rights and genocide. I am delighted to welcome Dimitris to *The Cyprus Review* Editorial Team, and with this opportunity thank him for his very hard work in bringing this issue to its publication phase.

The Team has also been reinforced by two Book Editors, namely Drs Michalis Kontos and Giorgos Charalambous – both members of the Department of Politics and Governance of the School of Law of the University of Nicosia. I am confident that Michalis and Giorgos will be valuable additions to our team. The increased volume of articles coming our way has also led to the recruitment of two Copy Editors, namely Ms Mary Kammitisi and Mr Cosmas Georgallis. Finally, Mr Thomas Costi has been utilised as our Publications Designer, having done a remarkable job under extremely tight deadlines, and for this I am most thankful.

This issue sets off with an article by Nicolas Kyriakides addressing the current stakes of modernising, transforming, and developing the local rules on civil procedure, a contribution to the on-going debate on the future of civil litigation's norms and processes. This is followed by an article by Menelaos Apostolou on a highly interesting and intriguing topic that touches upon the perennial question of what human beings long for regarding stability, monogamy, and/or sexual variety.

The Guest-Edited Section, by Nicos Trimikliniotis, hosts a Tribute to the late Dr Caesar Mavratsas – a renowned sociologist and public intellectual, who passed away prematurely in 2017. At the time of his passing he was an Associate Professor in the Department of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Cyprus, where he worked since 1995. It must be pointed out that the original idea for this

Section came from Prof. Yiannis Papadakis, a colleague of the late honouree at the University of Cyprus and for this I wish to thank him.

Moreover, the issue hosts a Policy Paper by Andreas Theophanous that discusses topical aspects of the Cyprus Problem and assesses the results and repercussions of successive rounds of intercommunal negotiations under the auspices of the UN since 1974, making certain suggestions for the future. The issue concludes with the Book Review section and our Spring 2020 Call for Papers.

Christina Ioannou
Editor-in-Chief

ARTICLES

Cyprus Civil Justice System Reform: Developing a National Identity

NICOLAS KYRIAKIDES¹

Abstract

This article first outlines the existing problems of the Cypriot civil justice system. It then explains the improvements recommended by the recent report published by a committee under Lord Dyson, which are mostly drawn from the system of England and Wales. These proposals are then critically evaluated, arriving at the eventual conclusion that, while foreign systems may serve as positive examples, they too are affected by their own problems and must not be followed blindly.

Keywords: civil justice reform, civil procedure, civil procedure rules, Cyprus law, Lord Dyson

Introduction

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, António Guterres, during the Crans-Montana Conference on Cyprus in 2017 said that Cyprus should one day become ‘a fully-normal state’.² While Guterres was referring to issues of sovereignty, it is suggested that his statement could also apply to other public matters in the country, such as the area of civil justice, and law in general. Although Cyprus is a new state, founded only 60 years ago, it must create its own legal tradition reflective of its characteristics and further develop its own jurisprudence.³

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² A. Guterres, ‘Near-verbatim transcript of the press point on the Conference on Cyprus by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, António Guterres’ (UN Cyprus Talks.org, 20 June 2017), available at <http://www.uncyprustalks.org/near-verbatim-transcript-of-the-press-point-on-the-conference-on-cyprus-by-the-secretary-general-of-the-united-nations-antonio-guterres/>, last accessed 7 July 2019.

³ The Republic of Cyprus is a quasi-common law jurisdiction, drawing influence mainly from English and Greek law. In 1960, when Cyprus became independent, practical and wider considerations advocated the preservation of the English legal system in most areas of the law. See Yiannakis Constantinides and Takis Eliades, ‘The Administration of Justice in Cyprus’ (2005) 1–9, available at https://www.legislationline.org/download/id/5398/file/administration_of_justice_in_cyprus.pdf (last accessed 2 December 2019). When not otherwise provided by applicable statutes, the courts of Cyprus apply the English common law and the principles of equity. Cyprus’ private law and criminal law is mostly common law codified in statutes. Procedural law is also purely common law. Its public law, however, is derived from the continental tradition and is largely influenced by Greek law, rendering Cyprus a mixed legal system. Moreover, upon Cyprus’ accession to the EU, the Constitution was modified so as to acknowl-

Civil justice in Cyprus is regulated by the 1954 Civil Procedure Rules (hereinafter referred to as the *Rules*),⁴ which have been amended and updated only in part. Essentially, since the Rules have not been revised in their totality, the English Rules of the Supreme Court, which were in force in 1960 when Cyprus gained its independence (i.e., the English Rules in the form in which they existed in 1958), as well as the White Book editions of that period,⁵ remain authorities to Cypriot civil procedure. In other words, the Cypriot system of civil courts is regulated by a set of rules of another state. In 2015, there were significant amendments⁶ to Orders 25 and 30 of the Rules in response to complaints relating to, *inter alia*, significant

edge the full supremacy of EU law. See S. C. Symeonides, 'The Mixed Legal System of the Republic of Cyprus', (2004) 78 *Tulane Law Review* 441; N. Hatzimihail, 'Cyprus as a mixed legal system', 2013 6 *Journal of Civil Law Studies* 37.

⁴ Achilles Emilianides refers to the following sources in his paper, 'Review Proceedings in the Supreme Court of Cyprus', to provide a general view of amendments made by the Supreme Court to the Civil Procedure Rules: 'see in general C. Satolias, *Judicial Practice* (Nicosia, 2014) [in Greek], C. Louca, *Civil Procedure*, Vol. I-V (Limassol, 1992-1996) [in Greek], C. Tsirides, *Pleadings and Questions Arising Out of them* (Limassol, 2013), [in Greek], A. Markides, *Lectures of Civil Procedure* (Nicosia, 2003) [in Greek], N. Koulouris, *Cypriot Civil Procedure* (Athens: Nomiki Vivliothiki, 2017) [in Greek], E. Odysseos, 'Civil Procedure in Cyprus', in *Symposium on Cypriot Juridical Issues* (Thessaloniki, 1974), 39–58 [in Greek], M. Nicolatos, 'Civil Procedure and Jurisdiction in Cyprus', *Cyprus and European Law Review*, Vol. 9 (2009), 435–444 [in Greek], S. Nathanael, 'An Overview of Civil Litigation as Practiced in Cyprus and Enforcement of Foreign Judgments', *Cyprus Law Review*, Vol. 26 (1989), 4034-4046'.

⁵ See R.F. Burnand, *The Annual Practice, 1958* (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1957).

⁶ The need for reform has been acknowledged since 1989 and the Judge Pikis Report. Other attempts followed with no result: Judge Stavrinakis' recommendations for amendments to the rules, which were based on the 1998 Woolf reforms in the United Kingdom, and Judge Kramvis report (2012). The recent amendments of Rules 25 and 30, which became fully effective in 2016, followed Judge Nathanael's suggestions in 2014. The amendments to Order 25 were extensive. The new Order 25 decrees that, after the filing stage and before the service, the plaintiff may amend the pleadings without the permission of the court, but if the pleadings have been served, the pleadings may be amended only once without the permission of the court before the summons for directions. After the summons for directions has been issued, the court will only allow an amendment in the case of a good faith omission, or in the face of new circumstances that did not exist during the pleadings stage, criteria which are stricter than the pre-existing Order 25. Finally, the amended Order 30 is broad in scope and covers the procedure for summons for directions, the new provision for a new two-tier track system, and a provision akin to the English 'overriding objective', a set of principles found in the very first section of the English Civil Procedure Rules ('CPR') which explains the way in which all other provisions should be read. See Constantina Zantira, 'The Civil Legal System in Cyprus: The Amendment of Order 30 of the Civil Procedure Rules and its Implications in Current Legal Practice' (*Michael Kyprianou Advocates – Legal Consultants Web Page*, 30 October 2014), available at <https://www.kyprianou.com/el/news/publications/view?publication=2014/civil-legal-system.html> (last accessed 7 July 2019).

delays in the administration of justice. The problems, however, remain, to a large extent, unresolved.⁷

This article will first set out the existing problems that plague the Cypriot civil justice system. It will then articulate the improvements recommended by the Review of the Rules of Civil Procedure of Cyprus (hereinafter referred to as the *Dyson Report*),⁸ which are mostly drawn from the system of England and Wales. These proposals will then be critically evaluated, arriving at the eventual conclusion that, while foreign legal systems, and especially those in the same legal tradition, may serve as positive examples, they too are affected by their own problems, rules, and legal, social, and economic backgrounds, and must not be followed blindly.

Existing Problems in Cypriot Law

One of the key challenges of the current Cypriot civil procedure is a linguistic one. The Cypriot Rules are ambiguous, internally inconsistent, and linguistically problematic. They were written in English in 1954 with no translation available, and since then several amendments have been made in Greek, resulting in a set of rules written partially in each language.⁹ This phenomenon is problematic for various reasons. First, it requires individuals wishing to make use of the Rules to have a strong understanding of English, despite English not being an official language of the Republic of Cyprus. Second, there are inherent semantic issues with provisions being partly written in two different languages, leading to fundamental interpretative obstacles for anyone who does not speak both. Moreover, Order 1 of the Rules contains a glossary of English terms, whereas there is no such glossary provided for the Greek terms. All of the above issues limit the clarity and accessibility of the law, and therefore undermine the rule of law.

In 2018, the Structural Reform and Support Service of the European Commission contracted a Functional Review of the Courts System of Cyprus. The project was conducted by a review team from the Institute of Public Administration in Ire-

⁷ See e.g. Agis Georgiades, 'The recent amendments to Orders 25 & 30 of the Civil Procedure Rules', Lecture organised by the Paphos Bar Association at Neapolis University (Paphos, 25 November 2014) 5; Achilles Emilianides, 'Review Proceedings in the Supreme Court of Cyprus', (2-18) 30(1) *The Cyprus Review* 189–206.

⁸ IPA Ireland, *Progress Report: Review of the Rules of Civil Procedure of Cyprus* (Dublin: IPA Ireland, 2018) [Dyson Report].

⁹ IPA Ireland, *Functional Review of the Courts System of Cyprus*, (Dublin: IPA Ireland, 2018) 22.

land, which published the Functional Review of the Courts System of Cyprus (hereinafter referred to as the 'Functional Review Report') in March 2018.¹⁰

A further scoping mission that focused on the Rules of Civil Procedure was also undertaken and an expert group, under the leadership of Lord Dyson, produced the Dyson Report, which was published in June 2018 after consideration and comments by a Cypriot Rules committee. Both projects focused significantly on the current problems of Cypriot civil procedure and the consequences that arose from them. For example, the average length of a first instance civil trial in Cyprus is more than 1000 days,¹¹ with the length of court proceedings and the level of backlogs in litigation being among the highest in the EU.¹² The length of delay ranges from one to seven years and varies between districts, with significant delays in the courts of first instance and a further delay of up to five years if the case goes to appeal.¹³ It was also identified that there is no method by which citizens of Cyprus can access information about their judicial system, making the law opaque and inaccessible for the average Cypriot.¹⁴

Other inefficiencies of the system that have been identified by the two aforementioned reports include the scarce usage of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR); the sometimes inefficient use of judicial and courtroom time with multiple adjournments; weak security in the courts; poor accommodation and courtroom infrastructure; the lack of standard processes and procedures; and inconsistent application of the rules.¹⁵ Additionally, the absence of an electronic registration system means that in the courts of first instance, case management is unwieldy and difficult, and up-to-date statistical and management information on the progress of cases is not readily available.¹⁶ Finally, the shortage of appropriately skilled staff in areas like stenography is negatively affecting judicial and court time, leading to serious delays in the production of official court records.

¹⁰ IPA Ireland, *Functional Review Report*.

¹¹ See EU Commission, *The 2019 EU Justice Scoreboard*, COM (2019) 198/2 (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2019) 12, available at https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/justice_scoreboard_2019_en.pdf (last accessed 7 July 2019).

¹² Dyson Report 8.

¹³ IPA Ireland, *Functional Review Report* 35.

¹⁴ See EU Commission, *The 2018 EU Justice Scoreboard*, COM (2018) 364 final (Brussels, 2018), 23, available at https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/justice_scoreboard_2018_en.pdf, last accessed 7 July, 2019.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 8, 13, 40.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 7.

The inefficiency of the judicial system undermines the rule of law as well as the right to a fair trial under the European Convention on Human Rights.¹⁷ It can also result in a negative perception of Cyprus as a place to do business, as noted in the Council Recommendation on the 2017 national reform programme of Cyprus.¹⁸

Recommendations of the Functional Review Report and the Dyson Report

Infrastructural Changes

The Functional Review Report recommends, *inter alia*, the establishment of a review group to specifically investigate the introduction of revised arrangements for the hearing of appeals, including the establishment of a second-tier Court of Appeal, which was first suggested in the Erotocritou Report of 2016 by the Supreme Court.¹⁹ The Functional Review Report also recommends the establishment of a Judicial Training School and the introduction of objective criteria for the recruitment, assessment and promotion of judges to improve the quality of the administration of justice. Additionally, a proposed e-justice system envisages comprehensive digitisation of all major aspects of court administration and hearings, which will be implemented in all courts and court offices.²⁰ Further measures planned or in progress include a Commercial Court, which will take on high-value commercial cases as well as assume the admiralty jurisdiction of the District Courts.²¹

Overhaul of the Rules of Civil Procedure

Regarding the rules of procedure, it has been argued that the Rules of Civil Procedure in Cyprus require fundamental and systematic attention.²² Therefore, the first

¹⁷ Council of Europe, European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, as amended by Protocols Nos 11 and 14 (Strasbourg: European Court of Human Rights, 2010), Article 6.

¹⁸ Presidency, Unit for Administrative Reform, 'Europe 2020: Cyprus National Reform Programme 2017', (2017) 12-13, available at <https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/2017-european-semester-national-reform-programme-cyprus-en.pdf>, last accessed 7 July 2019.

¹⁹ Supreme Court, 'Report of the Supreme Court on the Operational Needs of the Courts and other Related Issues', (2016).

²⁰ IPA Ireland, *Functional Review Report*, 25. See European Council, '2019-2023 Strategy on e-Justice', *Official Journal of the European Union* (13 March 2019), available at [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52019XG0313\(01\)&rid=7](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52019XG0313(01)&rid=7), last accessed 7 July 2019.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² N. Kyriakides, 'Civil Procedure Reform in Cyprus: Looking to England and Beyond' (2016) 16(2) *Oxford University Commonwealth Law Journal* 262–291.

recommendation of the Dyson Report is that changes to the rules must be made *en bloc* rather than piecemeal.²³ This is justified on the basis that the Rules are linked in nature, and that there has been minimal revision to the Rules since 1958. It is generally accepted that there is a need for reform even though the process of making the necessary changes will be challenging.²⁴

The second recommendation of the Dyson Report is that the overriding objective and case management provisions of the English Civil Procedure Rules must be incorporated into the Cypriot Rules.²⁵ These provisions provide the judge with the necessary tools to actively manage a case and impose restrictions to counter wasteful litigation procedures. Despite the similarities to English common law, Order 30, Rule 9 of the Rules is narrower in scope and has been neglected in practice.²⁶

Another recommendation is for three pre-action protocols to be introduced: (1) a general pre-action protocol governing all proceedings not covered by their own specific protocol; (2) a personal injury protocol; and (3) a pre-action protocol on debt.²⁷ Pre-action protocols are a series of steps that must be taken by a person before bringing a claim to court. They have demonstrated their usefulness in England by preventing those cases that have not been subject to proper and due consideration, including the review of some arguments and evidence, from reaching court. In this way, pre-action protocols can also encourage ADR procedures prior to the commencement of a claim. It was agreed between the Expert Group and the Cypriot Rules Committee that the proposed pre-action protocols should take a more simplified form than those currently in force in England. Further, penalties were recommended for breach of pre-action protocols as follows:

Consideration should be given to the costs imposed when pre-action protocols are not adhered to. Certainty in relation to penalties, and their efficient imposition and collection, are very valuable in increasing adherence to the protocols.²⁸

Under the current Rules, the costs for failing to comply in Cyprus fall far below those in comparable jurisdictions, thus undermining the deterrent effect of costs

²³ Dyson Report 33.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 13.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 34.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.* 37.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

and penalties.²⁹ The authors of the Dyson Report suggest, however, that the swift imposition and collection of penalties are perhaps more significant than their severity; the Rules Committee ought to consider approaches such as the English ‘pay as you go’ approach or staying proceedings until pre-action protocol obligations have been complied with.³⁰

Furthermore, the Dyson Report suggests that statements of truth and witness statements be adopted.³¹ In England and Wales, affidavits are only used in relation to search orders, freezing orders, and summary judgment against a State. The benefits of having a litigant sign a statement of truth include making it difficult for parties to amend their pleadings such that changes to their factual case contradict their previous pleaded case, requiring careful attention by parties to their case at an early stage, and reducing the ability of a party to advance conflicting allegations of fact in a pleading. By using statements of truth for witness statements, the inconvenient process of affidavits may no longer be necessary. If affidavits are retained, the Dyson Report recommends that the Supreme Court end the practice of swearing all affidavits before the Registrar and instead allow such swearing to take place before other persons, such as practicing lawyers. This is recommended with the view to tackle the substantial inconvenience, expense, and loss of time of court staff, lawyers, litigants and witnesses under the existing system for swearing affidavits in Cyprus.

Alternative Dispute Resolution and Other Recommendations

A further recommendation in the Dyson Report is for the judiciary to encourage mediation across all cases with possible costs sanctions occurring for failure to heed the encouragement.³² Additionally, it is recommended that there be three tracks for ADR: First, a Low Value Claims Track for claims less than €3,000: the procedure will have a very simple claim form, no expert evidence or, if so, a court appointed expert, and perhaps dealt with on paper. Costs should follow the event and be subject to a cap of a specific sum, for example €200 (subject to the court’s discretion to rule otherwise). There should be no right of appeal in this track. Second, an Intermediate Claims Track for disputes of €3,000 to €25,000 where the procedure will be the same as the Fast Track in the English Civil Procedure Rules (CPR), i.e., the

²⁹ Ibid. 37.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid. 47.

³² Ibid. 45.

cases allocated to this track will be usually dealt with in a one-day trial. Third, a track is required for all other claims. The track system is justified on the basis that the principle of proportionality is fundamental in developing and applying Rules of Civil Procedure and cases of higher importance for the litigants should be allocated more resources by the legal system.

Moreover, the Dyson Report proposes that much of the English Part 36 rule be followed, but in a considerably simplified form.³³ Part 36 provides the mechanism for the plaintiff or the defendant to offer a settlement, with severe consequences for the other party if the offer is refused and the other party achieves a less favourable outcome at trial. The rule has proven useful in England, though it has become unnecessarily elaborate. The authors of the Dyson Report note that a potential problem arises in Cyprus in relation to the question of sanctions with costs alone unlikely to deter refusal to settle. A solution may be to uplift costs recoverable by the plaintiff for the period after the offer is made but refused, and to deprive the plaintiff of a substantial proportion of his pre-offer costs and reduce the recoverable amount at judgment by some substantial percentage. The Dyson Report recommends that sanctions be costs and suggests increasing (or decreasing) the rate of interest awarded on any sums awarded by the court.³⁴

Evaluating the Efficacy of the Recommendations and the Lessons from the English Reform

The recommendations, primarily derived from the English system, have been aimed at reducing the caseload of courts by implementing systems that efficiently decide or dispose of cases, as well as acting as deterrents against frivolous lawsuits. Some measures are also directed at replacing or refurbishing existing systems through digitisation or liberalisation.

The Cypriot Rules Committee correctly pointed out that in drafting a new set of rules, special attention should be given to the current structure of the Cypriot system, its culture, and customs.³⁵ For example, the English system is designed to operate in an environment with law firms with large numbers of employees, while the largest firms in Cyprus do not have more than 20 partners and most practitioners operate alone. Also, the per capita income in Cyprus is lower than in England

³³ Ibid. 59.

³⁴ Ibid 59.

³⁵ Ibid, 32.

and costs must be adjusted in a way not to hinder the right of access to justice.³⁶ Additionally, the social, economic, and business framework in Cyprus is different from that in England.³⁷

The failings that have been observed within the English system ought to be carefully considered in any effort to emulate such a system. The following section of this article will take the form of a review of recent scholarship assessing the success of Lord Woolf's overhaul of English Civil Procedure Rules, culminating in Parliament's enactment of the Civil Procedure Rules 1998, measured against the overriding objective of the reforms themselves.

A consistent critic of the Woolf reforms, Michael Zander QC, holds that the case management idea, which constituted a central tenet of the 1998 CPR overhaul, was devised on an ill-informed, if not incorrect, basis. This was, he asserts, a result of the idea that 'the ills of civil litigation could be ascribed to the way that lawyers conducted cases and that the way to cure the ills was to transfer the responsibility for the progressing of cases from the lawyers to the judges'.³⁸ Such a characterisation of the situation in the late 20th century is not, Zander holds, an accurate one. According to his article, the KPMG Peat Marwick 1994 Study on Causes of Delay in the High Court and County Courts identified the actions of lawyers as just one of multiple causes of delay, including the nature of the case, the actions of parties themselves, difficulties in acquiring expert reports and other external factors, court procedures, and court administration. 'Excessive adversarialism', identified by Lord Woolf as the biggest contributor to delays, was not mentioned at all by the KPMG Report.³⁹ KPMG went as far as to explicitly advise against 'active court con-

³⁶ The Real GDP (in Euros) per capita in Cyprus in 2018 was €23,300, while that of the UK was EUR 32,400. Eurostat, 'Real GDP per capita', European Commission website (18 August 2018), available at https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=sdg_08_10&plugin=1 (last accessed 19 March 2019).

³⁷ See e.g. <https://countryeconomy.com/countries/compare/cyprus/uk> (last accessed 7 July 2019). See CEPEJ, *Study on the functioning of judicial systems in the EU Member States*, Parts I and II (Strasbourg: European Commission, 2018), available at https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/20180405_-_eu_scoreboard_-_indicators.pdf and https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/20180404_-_eu_scoreboard_-_country_fiches.pdf (last accessed on 7 July 2019).

³⁸ M. Zander 'Zander on Woolf' [2009] *New Law Journal* 368.

³⁹ M. Zander, 'The Woolf Reforms: What's the Verdict?' in Déirdre Dwyer (ed.), *The Civil Procedure Rules Ten Years On* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 420.

trol at the interventionist end of the spectrum'.⁴⁰ More damningly, Zander observes that Lord Woolf knew about the KPMG report, but chose not to refer to it at all.⁴¹

In her 2008 Hamlyn lectures, Hazel Genn describes how 'the polemic of the Interim Report was supported principally by anecdotal evidence combined with fragments of research material drawn from a number of different sources'.⁴² Genn continues that Lord Woolf's analysis was taken on trust because of the platform created by the Woolf road shows, which allowed for dramatic explanations of experiences in the civil justice system and resulted in the documentation of the worst experiences from a small sample size.⁴³

The result, as Adrian Zuckerman has diagnosed, has been the creation of a 'poorly-used management infrastructure',⁴⁴ in which the CPR system is now burdened with the judiciary's one-dimensional perception of the court's task. Lord Woolf's innovation came in the form of the CPR's overriding objective which introduced a new concept of justice, one that was 'committed to proportionality rather than [...] an unalloyed commitment to the achievement of what Woolf described as substantive justice'.⁴⁵ The effect, however, has been entirely undermined by judicial discretion. As Zuckerman argues, instead of abiding by the management directions that it has given, the court is willing to reconsider them through CPR 3.9, which allows the court to provide relief from sanctions. The result, he argues, is that, notwithstanding the assertion of court control of the litigation process, the court remains reluctant to enforce adherence to its own management orders.⁴⁶

Before reforms to CPR 3.9, in considering whether to exercise its discretion, the court was required by CPR 3.9 to consider a list of nine non-exhaustive factors,

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² H. Genn, *Judging Civil Justice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 64.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ A. Zuckerman, 'Litigation Management Under the CPR: A Poorly-Used Management Infrastructure' in *The Civil Procedure Rule* (no 39) 89-107.

⁴⁵ J. Sorabji, 'The Road to New Street Station: Fact, Fiction and the Overriding Objective' (2012) 23 *European Business Law Review* 77-89. In his Interim Report on Access to Justice (1995), Section I, Chapter 4, paras 5 and 6 Lord Woolf highlighted the tensions that exist between a desire to achieve perfection and a desire to achieve a system of justice that is not inaccessible to most people on grounds of the time and cost involved. He quoted tellingly from a 1970 broadcast by Lord Devlin: 'Every system contains a percentage of error; and if by slightly increasing the percentage of error, we can substantially reduce the percentage of cost, it is only the idealist who will revolt'.

⁴⁶ Zuckerman (no 44) 99.

such as the interests of the administration of justice, whether the application for relief has been made promptly, whether the failure to comply was intentional, etc. The initial CPR 3.9 long checklist of factors resembled a menu or ‘Laundry List’,⁴⁷ containing a variety of factors that bore little relationship to each other and contained no particular normative message.⁴⁸ There was information overload.⁴⁹ On top of that, the Court of Appeal had failed to develop a coherent policy for enforcing compliance with rules and case management directions, especially concerning CPR 3.9.⁵⁰

Such a state of affairs was recognised and ostensibly addressed in the reforms of CPR 3.9, following Sir Rupert Jackson’s review of the Woolfian reforms. The reformed provision, Zuckerman proposes, contains a coded message urging the court to take their case management responsibilities more seriously.⁵¹ It is not, however, clear that the right balance between procedural non-compliance and relief from sanctions has been struck. Rather, Masood Ahmed argues the new approach falls short of providing clear guidance as to how to achieve an appropriate balancing of the principles of proportionality and efficiency with substantive justice, as demonstrated by the extent to which judicial and extrajudicial guidance have pulled in two opposing directions. It is hoped that the refinement and continued critique of the approach to case management—from judicial understanding and attitudes, to robust enforcement practices—are considered and reflected in the update of Cyprus’ civil procedure rules.⁵²

Moreover, regarding the recommendations on moving towards ADR, the value and appropriateness of ADR is taken for granted, both in general and specific forms of ADR (mainly arbitration and mediation).⁵³ Hazel Genn argues that, by promot-

⁴⁷ As Levy explained, according to human behaviour theories a judge will recognise the relevant factors in the ‘Laundry List’, but having done so will fail to give the optimal weight to each factor in the integration process. The more considerations, the more confusion that is caused. I. Levy, ‘Lightening the Overload of CPR Rule 3.9’ (2013) 32 *Civil Justice Quarterly* 139, 140.

⁴⁸ A. Higgins, ‘CPR 3.9: The Mitchell Guidance, the Denton Revision, and why Coded Messages don’t Make for Good Case Management’ (2014) 33 *Civil Justice Quarterly* 379, 382.

⁴⁹ S. Sime, ‘Sanctions After Mitchell’ (2014) 33(2) *Civil Justice Quarterly* 135, 136.

⁵⁰ A. Zuckerman, (2013) ‘The Revised CPR 3.9: A Coded Message Demanding Articulation’ (2013) 32(2) *Civil Justice Quarterly* 123.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² M. Ahmed, ‘Procedural Non-Compliance and Relief from Sanctions After the Jackson Reforms’ (2015) 5(1) *International Journal of Procedural Law* 71–95.

⁵³ Forms of ADR in England and Wales can include mediation, arbitration, early neutral evaluation, and Ombudsmen schemes. On the landscape of ADR provisions in England and Wales, see Civil Jus-

ing mediation as a central element of the civil justice system, Lord Woolf's CPR reforms '...redefined judicial determination as a failure of the justice system rather than as its heart and essential purpose'. Further, Genn states that 'mediation has routinely been made out not so much on the strength of its own special benefits, but by setting it up in opposition to adjudication and promoting it through anti-adjudication and anti-law discourse'.⁵⁴ Drawing on large-scale data analysis, conducted as part of an English Ministry of Justice commissioned research project, Genn argues that the evidence failed to demonstrate that court-based mediation schemes result in shorter case length durations as compared to non-mediated cases.⁵⁵ Moreover, whilst time limited mediation can avoid trials in cases not involving personal injury,⁵⁶ unsuccessful mediation is shown to frequently increase the costs for parties by an estimated amount between £1,500 and £2,000.⁵⁷

Criticism of the perceived enthusiasm for ADR emanates not just from commentators, but from prominent judges as well, albeit in an extrajudicial capacity. Lord Neuberger MR (as he then was) warned that lawyers ought not to have excessive enthusiasm for mediation so much so that they were blinded to its potential flaws:

[L]et us not get carried away by zeal. Zeal for justice, zeal for one's client are fine, but zeal for a form of dispute resolution or any other idea, theory, or practice is not so healthy. It smacks of fanaticism, and it drives out one of the three most important qualities a lawyer should have – scepticism or, if you prefer, objectivity. (The others being honesty and ability.) Overstating the virtues of

tice Council, ADR Working Group, *ADR and Civil Justice* (Interim Report, October 2017) available at <https://www.judiciary.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/interim-report-future-role-of-adr-in-civil-justice-20171017.pdf> (last accessed 12 July 2019), at 15–16. In the EU law, the Directive 2008/52/EC is designed to facilitate access to alternative dispute resolution mechanisms and to promote the amicable settlement of disputes, while encouraging the use of mediation in the EU. On the transposition of the EU Mediation Directive in Cyprus, see A. Emilianides and X. Xenofontos, 'Mediation in Cyprus' in C. Esplugues et al. (eds), *Civil and Commercial Mediation in Europe: National Mediation Rules and Procedures*, Vol. 1 (Antwerp: Intersentia, 2012) 87–96. Recent developments in the area of ADR in Cyprus include the draft law on mediation of family disputes, which is currently under parliamentary review and the proposed reform of the mediation law 159/2012. See A. Plevri 'Mediation in Cyprus: Theory Without Practice', (2018) 30(1) *The Cyprus Review* 233–258.

⁵⁴ H. Genn, 'What Is Civil Justice for? Reform, ADR, and Access to Justice' (2012) 24(1) *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities* 397, 409.

⁵⁵ H. Genn, P. Fenn, M. Mason, et al., *Twisting Arms: Court Referred and Court Linked Mediation Under Judicial Pressure* (London: Ministry of Justice, 2007) 71.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 73.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 110, 183.

mediation will rebound in the long term, even in the medium term, to the disadvantage of mediation.⁵⁸

This was not the only speech that Lord Neuberger gave in warning against the perceived ‘zeal’ for ADR.⁵⁹ In his speech delivered during the Fourth Keating Lecture, in May 2010, Lord Neuberger emphasised that all forms of ADR cannot alone generate the framework through which justice is secured for the common citizen. In the absence of formal adjudication provided by the courts, ADR would be ‘mere epiphenomena’.⁶⁰

Lady Hale, in a November 2011 speech, also noted the enduring importance of the courts in spite of the dominance of praise for ADR. On one level, commercial confidence is fundamentally built on the knowledge that ‘contracts will be enforced by an independent and incorruptible judiciary’.⁶¹ At a more fundamental level, the judiciary also has a role in securing justice for all citizens:

But everyone else in society also needs to know that their legal rights will be observed and legal obligations enforced. [...] If not, the strong will resort to extra-legal methods of enforcement and the weak will go to the wall.⁶²

The above noted judicial statements reflect the ongoing critique and benefits of ADR. In particular, two points should be noted. First, ADR is a means to an end, i.e. greater access to civil justice. It is an important mechanism in solving disputes, though it is not the only mechanism. Second, the framework and principles of justice, as developed by formal court adjudication, remain the foundations of ADR. Even if civil disputes are settled out of court, parties ultimately ‘bargain in the shadow of the law’.⁶³

⁵⁸ Lord Neuberger of Abbotsbury, ‘Educating Future Mediators’, Speech at the Fourth Civil Mediation Council National Conference: Educating Future Mediators (11 May 2010).

⁵⁹ See also Lord Neuberger of Abbotsbury, The Gordon Slynn Memorial Lecture 2010: Has Mediation Had its Day? (11 November 2010), available at <http://www.judiciary.gov.uk/Resources/JCO/Documents/Speeches/moj-speech-mediation-lectureA.pdf> (last accessed 7 July 2019).

⁶⁰ Lord Neuberger of Abbotsbury, The Fourth Keating Lecture: Equity, ADR, Arbitration and The Law: Different Dimensions of Justice (19 May 2010).

⁶¹ Lady Hale, Justice of the Supreme Court of the United Kingdom, *Opening Address at Law Centres Federation Annual Conference* (28 November 2011), available at <http://www.supremecourt.gov.uk/docs/speech11125.pdf> (last accessed 7 July 2019).

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ R. H. Mnookin and L. Kornhauser, ‘Bargaining in the Shadow of the Law: The Case of Divorce’ (1979) 88(5) *Yale Law Journal* 950–997.

These points raise questions about the form that an ADR scheme, mandatory or otherwise, might take in the Cypriot context. Even if ADR methods are encouraged, questions remain in regard to how this should be done and the appropriate attitude that the judiciary should take. The cultural shift that was sought with the introduction of Lord Woolf's reforms aimed to move civil justice in England away from the traditional adversarial process to settlement through ADR. Indeed, CPR 1(4)(2)(e) conferred on the court the authority to order parties to try to settle their case using ADR. It also gave the court the power to award adverse costs orders if, in the court's view, the party refuses unreasonably to comply with a request, from either the court or the opposing party, to partake in ADR. The Court of Appeal in *Halsey v Milton Keynes General NHS Trust* considered this rule.⁶⁴ Following *Halsey*, and both major civil justice reforms that followed the Lord Woolf reforms, English courts have neither a jurisprudential nor legislative mandate to compel litigants to engage in ADR.

The result, Barbara Billingsley and Masood Ahmed assert, has been an opposing and erratic approach to mediation by the English judiciary. Even though reforms have spoken with a unified voice against compulsory ADR, judicial approaches and extra-judicial attitudes towards the issue of compulsion have been anything but consistent. The authors consider *PGF II SA v OMFS Co 1* to illustrate the adverse effect of the uncertainty brought about by the formal rejection but implied acceptance of compulsory ADR,⁶⁵ leading parties 'to engage in expensive satellite litigation that may find its way to the Court of Appeal'.⁶⁶ In light of this, Billingsley and Ahmed recommend that England should instead follow the Canadian approach of legislating compulsory ADR, thus providing greater consistency and predictability to ensure litigants undertake ADR efforts. The legislative approach to mandating ADR varies in Canada among the different civil jurisdictions—ranging from civil procedure rules specially requiring all litigants to participate in ADR by remaining silent on the issue—judicial approaches and attitudes are reasonably consistent.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ *Halsey v Milton Keynes General NHS Trust* [2004] EWCA Civ 576. The Court said that there was no presumption in favour of using mediation but there was an obligation on parties not to unreasonably refuse an invitation to mediate. A number of years later *Nigel Witham Ltd v Smith and Anor* (No 2) [2008] EWCH 12 (TCC) endorsed the principles in *Halsey*.

⁶⁵ *PGF II SA v OMFS Company Limited* [2013] EWCA Civ 1288.

⁶⁶ B. Billingsley and M. Ahmed, 'Evolution, Revolution & Culture Shift: A Critical Analysis of Compulsory ADR in England and Canada' (2016) 45(2/3) *Common Law World Review* 204.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

These views are not limited to academic review. In December 2018, the Civil Justice Council (CJC) Working Group on ADR published its Final Report making a raft of recommendations including measures to raise public awareness of ADR, improve availability, and increase court/government encouragement of ADR. The report built on the CJC's Interim Report, published in October 2017, which called for greater consideration of mandatory pre-action of ADR. Though reticent in expressing support for such a measure, the report gave airtime to a number of the arguments advanced in favour of compulsion, including: that a change in rules, even temporarily, can lead to a change in culture; that mediation can be effective in the majority of cases; that compulsory mediation would avoid the waste of energy and costs involved in arguing about whether or not to mediate; that parties are never under an obligation to settle; that there is no convincing evidence that ADR is less successful when compulsory; that compulsion gets rid of the 'who blinks first' issue; and that there already exists a number of effective or actually compulsory ADR in processes in England and Wales, such as the Claims Portal for small claims, Acas (Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service) Early Conciliation Process for employment disputes, the Family Mediation Council's MIAM (Mediation Information and Assessment Meeting), and Family Dispute Resolution.

In their Final Report, the CJC Working Group on ADR noted 'no or very little support for anything approximating to blanket or automatic referral to mediation'. However, they also acknowledge that the 'proposal to entertain some form of notice to mediate procedure on the British Columbia model received widespread support'. It is hoped that developing the recommendations made in the Dyson Report, the IPA would consider and make use of the research and consultation undertaken as part of the CJC Working Group on ADR's mandate.

ADR should neither be enforced in isolation nor for its own sake. However, an increase in the use of ADR in Cyprus will likely alleviate the caseload on the courts and allow quicker access to dispute resolution. Again, it is suggested that the Interim and Final Report of the CJC Working Group on ADR will be useful in the development of ADR in Cyprus, building on the comparative review undertaken in the context of the Functional Review Report. Any jurisdiction seeking to amend or adopt ADR needs to first decide on its underlying cultural attitude towards ADR and then clearly and consistently articulate it. This will further enhance legal clarity and consistency. Cyprus' fresh starting point, and the lessons learned from other ju-

risdictions, gives Cyprus a unique opportunity to adopt the benefits of ADR without resorting to it unnecessarily.

Another recommendation of the Dyson Report is that Cyprus ought to adopt the current rules surrounding disclosure in England and Wales as governed by CPR 31.⁶⁸ The Dyson Report concedes that ‘in England, the whole issue of disclosure is under scrutiny’;⁶⁹ however, this concession is dismissed as the Dyson Report’s authors assert that the critique is only relevant in relation to ‘very complex and high value claims’.⁷⁰ In response, the Cypriot courts might regulate such claims by imposing directions under the rules on disclosure under its case management powers. However, this seems unsatisfactory in light of findings presented by Hodge M. Malek. Malek concludes that the rules are far from clear and user-friendly, and have not been applied with reasonable certainty or in a cost-effective manner, despite the fact that the rules of disclosure post-1998 may assist in determining the facts and in reaching a just conclusion of a dispute.⁷¹ In particular, Malek argues that the rules in the CPR are likely to be confusing for the layman due to the expanding body of case law within which interpretive rules are found.⁷² The potentially massive photocopying cost, mostly borne by the client in England and Wales, is also an issue that may limit access to justice.⁷³ One’s legal rights should not depend on financial status. Malek makes the observation that there will always be a trade-off between cost-effectiveness and information accessibility.⁷⁴ The English balance leans towards the latter,⁷⁵ but it may not be the right system to follow. Cyprus must seek its own balance.

Finally, in order to tackle the abusive use of adjournments by parties before Cypriot courts, the American experience of the ‘Rocket Docket’ system, developed during the 1970s in the US District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia and later spread to other district courts, should be taken into account. The key characteristics of this system include the early scheduling of pre-trial procedures and a

⁶⁸ Dyson Report 58.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ H.M. Malek, ‘Proportionality and Suitability of the Disclosure Regime Under the CPR’ in *The Civil Procedure Rules* (no 39) 291–292.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid, 292.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 283.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 292.

completion of disclosure that adheres to strict and short deadlines.⁷⁶ Additionally, once the case is assigned for trial, the date is set and judges rarely consent to continuances.⁷⁷ Arguments from Cypriot lawyers against a ‘Rocket Docket’ system can be addressed by pointing to how the system currently works in the Supreme Court, where most cases set before the Court are heard on their fixed date.

Conclusion

Reform of the civil justice system is a difficult enterprise for which there are no easy answers. However, it is possible to establish guiding principles. Adrian Zuckerman notes there are three self-evident preconditions to good management: a well-defined objective; adequate powers available to managers to achieve this objection; and personnel that understand and are committed to achieving this objective through the said powers. However, the presence of a management infrastructure is not sufficient to deliver the desired results. The efforts of managers to use such management tools are essential.⁷⁸ Thus, if reforms in Cyprus are going to see a new CPR management infrastructure put to good use, attention must be paid to the means through which judges will be encouraged to promulgate the overriding objective. It is apparent, for both case management and ADR, that the role of the judiciary is central in determining the means of successful CPR reform in Cyprus.

It has been announced that a draft set of rules are going to be released in 2019, while a number of bills for the reform of the justice system are before the House of Parliament.⁷⁹ This reform is welcome and essential for the future of Cyprus and its citizens. Cyprus will improve its international reputation for respect of the rule of law, its profile as a place to do business, and the benefits of reform to all stakeholders—including the judiciary, lawyers, and courts users—will be both visible and real.

⁷⁶ R. Fox, *Justice in the 21st Century* (London: Routledge, 2012) 30.

⁷⁷ J. Apple, ‘Management in American Courts’ (1996) 1(18) *Issues of Democracy* 30. See also Dyson Report 15.

⁷⁸ Zuckerman (no 44) 94.

⁷⁹ As Dr Michael Mulreany, Assistant Director of the General Institute of Public Administration of Ireland said during his speech on the presentation of the Functional Review of the Courts System of Cyprus, ‘undue delay is a false friend’. Dr Michael Mulreany, Speech on Presentation of Functional Review of the Courts System of Cyprus (Nicosia, 27 March 2018).

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Desire for Sexual Variety in the Greek Cultural Context

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Abstract

Human beings exhibit considerable variation in their approach towards the number of sexual partners they wish to have. One consistent predictor of this variation has been sex—men desire more sexual partners than women. The current study aims to examine whether this effect is present in the Greek cultural context. In particular, a sample of 1414 Greek and Greek-Cypriot participants were asked about their desired number of sexual partners at different stages in their lives. It was found that men preferred significantly more partners than women. It was further found that men were divided in their preferences, with about half preferring several, and about half preferring a few lifetime sexual partners. On the other hand, about three-thirds of women preferred a few lifetime sexual partners with about one-third preferring several lifetime partners.

Keywords: desire for sexual variety, mating, mating strategies, short-term mating

Introduction

Humans are not a monogamous species, with men and women seeking sexual access to more than one partner during their lifetime.² It appears, however, that people exhibit considerable variation in this dimension—some desire few sexual partners while others a great many.³ One consistent predictor of this variation is sex, with men exhibiting a higher desire for sexual variety than women.⁴ The current study aims to investigate whether such a sex difference is present in the Greek and Greek-Cypriot cultural contexts.

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² D.M. Buss, D.M. and D.P. Schmitt, 'Mate Preferences and their Behavioral Manifestations' (2018) *Annual Review of Psychology*.

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⁴ D.M. Buss and D.P. Schmitt, 'Sexual strategies theory: An evolutionary perspective on human mating' (1993) 100 *Psychological Review* 204–232. See also D.M. Buss et al. (no 2).

Strategies of Human Mating

The present research was performed under the umbrella of an evolutionary theoretical framework. In particular, human behaviour is generated by behavioural mechanisms, which have evolved to enable people and their genetic relatives to survive and reproduce.⁵ In addition, a key premise of this framework is that evolution takes place slowly, so the adaptations that people make today have been optimised to work effectively in an ancestral context.⁶ Human mating could be understood within this framework: Mating behaviour is regulated by specific mechanisms that have evolved in ancestral human societies in order to increase reproductive success.

These mechanisms have not been shaped by selection forces to work in the same way for all individuals, giving rise to a considerable variation in mating behaviour. This variation can be seen as strategic, in the sense that people follow different approaches or strategies in order to increase their reproductive success. There are two such strategies, namely a short-term and a long-term one. A short-term mating strategy involves engaging in many casual relationships, and investing little in any offspring that may result from them. On the other hand, a long-term mating strategy involves establishing a few intimate relationships and investing heavily in any offspring that may result from them. Each strategy has benefits but also costs, which are likely to be different for each sex. These costs and benefits will be discussed next.

Costs and Benefits for Women

In contemporary as well as in ancestral human societies, adopting a short-term mating strategy could enable a woman to assess the qualities of various men who can then be approached at a later time, when they could switch to a long-term strategy. A short-term mating strategy could further enable a woman to secure help and assistance from several different men. Apart from benefits, this strategy has also costs, the primary one being that they can get pregnant from such a relationship, thus having to raise a child on their own. Moreover, men value sexual restraint in a prospective long-term partner,⁷ which means that adopting such a strategy could compromise a

⁵ J. Tooby and L. Cosmides, 'Conceptual Foundations of Evolutionary Psychology' in D.M. Buss (ed.), *The Handbook of Evolutionary Psychology* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2005) 5.

⁶ W. Irons, 'Adaptive Relevant Environments Versus the Environment of Evolutionary Adaptedness' (1998) 6 *Evolutionary Anthropology* 194–204; J. Tooby and L. Cosmides, 'The Past Explains the Present' (1990) 11 *Ethology and Sociobiology* 375–424; J. Tooby and L. Cosmides, 'The Theoretical Foundations of Evolutionary Psychology' in D.M. Buss (ed.), *The Handbook of Evolutionary Psychology* (2nd edn, vol. 1: Foundations, Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2015) 3.

⁷ D.M. Buss, T.K. Shackelford, L.A. Kirkpatrick and R.J. Larsen, 'A Half Century of Mate Preferenc-

woman's future attempt to switch to a long-term strategy. Furthermore, a short-term mating strategy is associated with increased probability of contracting a sexually transmitted disease, as it involves having sex with different partners.

A long-term mating strategy has the benefit of securing a partner who is going to provide them with children. Having two parents instead of one to contribute resources would make a considerable difference to the child's survival chances, especially in an ancestral pre-industrial context, and thus, it would be considered a major benefit for women and their offspring. This strategy also has the benefit of the reduced risk of contracting a sexually transmitted disease. However, it comes at a cost with a woman having to forgo the possible benefits of having different partners including receiving resources from several different men.

Costs and Benefits for Men

Men are not constrained by pregnancy, which translates into a capacity to impregnate many different women in a relatively short time period. Thus, their reproductive success is positively and strongly related to the number of different women they can gain sexual access to.⁸ Accordingly, the major benefit of a short-term mating strategy is that it enables men to gain sexual access to several different women. It also has the benefit of enabling men to assess different mates who they can approach at a later time, if they are to switch to a long-term strategy. Nevertheless, this strategy comes at a cost, as the children born from such relationships would not receive adequate parental support. Moreover, men risk contracting sexually transmitted diseases, while they may acquire a reputation that they are only looking for casual sex, which may compromise their chances of attracting a long-term partner in the future.

A long-term mating strategy is beneficial for men because it enables them to create the context in which their children would be raised, thus receiving support from two parents. It is also beneficial because it is associated with a reduced risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases. Still, it has the disadvantage of confining men to only one partner, which means men who adopt it, forgo the substantial reproductive benefits of having sex with different women.

es: The Cultural Evolution of Values' (2001) 63 *Journal of Marriage and Families* 492–503; id. 'Sex Differences in Human Mate Preferences: Evolutionary Hypotheses Tested in 37 Cultures' (1989) 12 *Behavioral & Brain Sciences* 1–49. See also D.M. Buss (no 3).

⁸ D.M. Buss et al. (no 2); D.M. Buss and D.P. Schmitt (no 4).

Sex Differences and Prevalence of Different Strategies

The analysis above indicates that the different strategies could potentially accrue fitness benefits to both men and women. On this basis, it could be predicted that both sexes would adopt long- as well as short-term mating strategies. The above analysis further suggests that the benefits and costs of each strategy are not symmetrical between the two sexes. The most apparent difference is over the adoption of a short-term mating strategy, which is potentially more beneficial for men than for women. In particular, the adoption of a short-term mating strategy would enable men to gain sexual access to different partners, which in an ancestral context where non-effective methods of contraception and abortion were present, would translate to several offspring. On the other hand, such a strategy would not bring similar benefits to women who are constrained by pregnancy. On this basis, it can be predicted that men would be more likely than women to adopt a short-term mating strategy.

For women, it appears that a long-term strategy is the most beneficial, and thus it could be further predicted that it would be the most common strategy in women. Nevertheless, the adoption of this strategy by most women, constrains the adoption of a short-term mating strategy by most men. One reason is, if most women adopt a long-term strategy there would not be available many women for men to engage in casual relationships. In addition, women, in order to engage in a long-term relationship, would demand that their partner also adopts a long-term mating strategy— in other words, they would demand commitment. Accordingly, men who adopt a short-term mating strategy would face additional difficulties in gaining access to women. In turn, this argument predicts that a long-term mating strategy would also be the most prevalent in men.

Desire for Sexual Variety

The adoption of different mating strategies is reflected in the desire for sexual variety— how many different partners one would like to have sex with in a given time period.⁹ In particular, people who adopt a long-term mating strategy would desire a lower number of sexual partners than people who adopt a short-term mating strategy. There have been several research efforts that have attempted to examine sex differences in the desire for sexual variety across different periods.

The first study was conducted by Buss and Schmidt,¹⁰ who asked American men

⁹ D.M. Buss and D.P. Schmitt (no 4).

¹⁰ Ibid.

and women to indicate how many different sexual partners they would likely have sex with in different time periods (e.g., in the next six months, in the next three years, etc.). They found that men preferred significantly more partners than women, a finding that has been replicated in different samples and cultural settings.¹¹

Unfortunately, these studies did not investigate how many of the participants adopted a short-term mating strategy (i.e., they desired a large number of lifetime sexual partners) and how many followed a long-term mating strategy (i.e., they desired a small number of lifetime sexual partners). Thus, the current study aims to replicate the findings that men desire more sexual variety than women in the Greek cultural context, but also to measure the prevalence of each strategy. More specifically, it aims to test the predictions that: (a) men would desire more sexual variety than women; (b) both men and women would adopt long-term and short-term strategies; and (c) the long-term mating strategy would be the most prevalent in both sexes.

Method

Participants

The study was designed and conducted online at the University of Nicosia in the Republic of Cyprus. The link of the study was forwarded as a Facebook ad to participants residing in Cyprus and Greece. Participants received no financial help or compensation. The target group was aimed at men and women who were 18 years old or older. Overall, 1414 Greek-speaking individuals (615 women, 799 men) took part. The mean age of women was 26.1 ($SD = 8.6$), and the mean age of men was 33.5 ($SD = 11.1$).

Materials

The survey questionnaire was written in Greek and consisted of two sections. In the first section, the desire for sexual variety was measured using the Number of Partners instrument,¹² which contained 11 open-ended scales for evaluating the number of sexual partners desired at different time intervals, ranging from *1 month* to *your re-*

¹¹ R.A. Lippa, 'Sex Differences in Sex Drive, Sociosexuality, and Height Across 53 Nations: Testing Evolutionary and Social Structural Theories' (2009) 38 *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 631–651; D.P. Schmitt, L. Alcalay, J. Allik, L. Ault, I. Austers, K.L. Bennett, et al. 'Universal Sex Differences in the Desire for Sexual Variety: Tests from 52 Nations, 6 Continents, and 13 Islands' (2003) 85 *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 85–104; D.P. Schmitt 'Sociosexuality from Argentina to Zimbabwe: A 48-Nation Study of Sex, Culture, and Strategies of Human Mating' (2005) 28 *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 247– 275.

¹² D.M. Buss and D.P. Schmitt (no 4).

maintaining lifetime. In order to ensure consistency, the instrument was translated into Greek and translated back into English. In the second section, demographic information was collected, including age, sex, and sexual orientation. In order to measure sexual orientation, participants were asked about their attractions and the following options were provided: *Only to members of the opposite sex, Predominantly to members of the opposite sex but occasionally to members of the same sex, To both sexes equally, Predominantly to members of the same sex but occasionally to members of the opposite sex,* and *Only to members of the same sex.*

Results

In order to calculate participants' desires for sexual variety, means and standard deviations were estimated for each time period, separately for men and women. The results are presented in Table 1 where we can see that in all cases men desired substantially more partners than women. For instance, for the next year, men indicated that they would like to have sexual contact with about 18 partners while women with about three. The standard deviations were considerable, suggesting that there was a large variation in desires for both men and women. That is, for each time period, men and women were likely to desire substantially more or substantially fewer partners than the respective means indicated.

Participants were classified into two categories on the basis of their responses to the question about the lifetime partners they desired. More specifically, for both men and women, a large chunk of the scores was centred on '1' following a bell-curved distribution, with a right tail to reach the score of '10'. On this basis, participants who indicated that they would desire up to 10 lifetime partners were placed in the *Low desire for sexual variety* category, and those who indicated above 10 were placed in the *High desire for sexual variety* category. The results of this analysis are presented in Figure 1 where we can see that about 49% of men were in the low desire category and about 51% were in the high desire category. On the other hand, about 71% of women were in the low desire category and about 29% in the high desire category.

Furthermore, in order to investigate significant effects, a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) was performed where participants' responses for each time period were entered as the dependent variables and participants' sex and sexual orientation were entered as independent variables. Moreover, participants' age was entered as a covariate. The results indicated a significant main effect towards sex [$F(11, 1348) = 4.13, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.033$], but there were no significant effects towards sexual orientation and age. It has to be noted that for sexual orien-

tation the effect approached the significance level ($p = .064$). The effects of sex on each time period are presented in Table 1. We can see that the sex differences in the means were significant in all of the time periods. As indicated by the effect size, the largest difference was for the next month, followed by the next six months.

Discussion

Consistent with the original hypothesis in the Greek cultural context, men desired a significantly larger number of sexual partners than women. Assuming that the number of desirable mates constitutes a proxy of the type of mating strategy one adopts, this finding could be interpreted to indicate that men were more likely to adopt a short-term mating strategy than women. In particular, about three in four women were found to adopt a long-term mating strategy— i.e., to desire a small number of lifetime partners, but men were divided, with half adopting a short-term and half adopting a long-term mating strategy.

One limitation of the current study is that it did not take into consideration that people may also adopt a combination of short- and long-term mating strategies known as a mixed-strategy.¹³ People engage in long-term intimate relationships and invest heavily in children that come from these relationships, but exploit any opportunities for casual sex. As discussed in the introduction, adopting a long-term mating strategy is associated with important reproductive benefits, but also costs that are equal to the benefits they could derive had they adopted a short-term mating strategy. A mixed strategy could enable people to reduce such costs by periodically engaging in casual sex.

For women, apart from gifts and male allies discussed previously, a mixed strategy has additional benefits including getting good genes, switching between mates, and securing future mates. Starting from the former, men are not willing to settle with long-term partners who have a mate value lower than their own, but they are much more willing to do so for casual mates.¹⁴ Women may exploit this difference by engaging in a long-term relationship with a man of a similar mate value to their own, but engage in casual relationships with men of better mate value— e.g. who have genes that make them very attractive, and have children with these men and present them to their legitimate partners as their own.¹⁵

¹³ D.M. Buss et al. (no 2); D.M. Buss and D.P. Schmitt (no 4).

¹⁴ D.M. Buss (no 3).

¹⁵ D.M. Buss et al. (no 2).

In this rather sinister way, women could benefit by getting parental investment from their long-term partners and good genes from their casual partners.

Moreover, mating involves a lot of deception,¹⁶ which means that women may find themselves with long-term partners who are not as good as they thought they would be. Alternatively, it could be the case that a misfortune such as illness has decreased the mating quality of their partners. Thus, it would be profitable for women to switch mates, but terminating their current relationship and starting to look for another one could be risky because they may not be able to find a better deal. A mixed strategy could hedge this risk by enabling women to retain their current partner and at the same time sample other men as prospective partners.¹⁷ She can then switch, if she finds something better or stay with her current partner if she does not. Women can be quite satisfied with their partners and they may not think of switching. However, their partner may die or leave them, the former being quite likely in an ancestral pre-industrial context. Thus, it would pay for women to have intimate relationships with different men, which they could use in the future if for any reason their current partner moves out of the picture.

The mixed strategy enables men to retain the benefits of the long-term strategy without losing all the benefits of the short-term strategy. In particular, by adopting this mating strategy men are likely to have a long-term partner and the environment to raise children who receive support from two parents, while at the same time exploiting opportunities for casual sex, which potentially could enable them to gain substantial reproductive benefits. Similarly, for women such a strategy would enable men to assess prospective mates if they are to engage in future mate switching.

A mixed strategy is not without costs, the primary one being that people who adopt it may be caught and thus face the termination of their long-term relationship. This strategy could also increase the risk of contracting a sexually transmitted disease that, apart from being harmful to one's health, could increase the chances of detection of an extra-pair relationship. Yet, due to its benefits such a strategy is likely to be quite common in the population.

In terms of sexual desire, a mixed strategy would materialise in people preferring just a few long-term mates, but many casual ones. Our research methodology did not

¹⁶ D.M. Buss (no 3).

¹⁷ D.M. Buss, C. Goetz, J.D. Duntley, K. Asao and D. Conroy-Beam, 'The Mate Switching Hypothesis' (2017) 104 *Personality and Individual Differences* 143–149.

allow us to distinguish for this strategy. Accordingly, participants who indicated that they would prefer many sexual partners may as a matter of fact adopt a short-term or mixed strategy. In this respect, the findings could be reinterpreted to indicate that about one in four women and about one in two men adopt a short-term or mixed strategy. Future research should attempt to distinguish between the two.

The mixed mating strategy being common in the population could be interpreted to indicate that cheating would also be common. That is to say, people who are in long-term intimate relationships would be motivated to seek casual partners. Our data suggest that men would be more prone than women to engage in extra-pair relationships. In the Greek-Cypriot cultural context, infidelity constitutes a primary motivation for people to divorce their partners,¹⁸ which can lead us to the prediction that many divorces would be a result of the husbands' infidelity. Future research needs to examine the implications of the findings of this study towards the different aspects of the Greek-Cypriot culture.

This work is not without limitations. To begin with, as discussed above, the methodology employed in the current study prevented us from distinguishing between a short-term and a mixed mating strategy. Moreover, the research was based on self-report data, which involved the bias of people not having an accurate perception of their desires. In addition, as previously discussed, the current study did not take into consideration the possibility of participants adopting a mixed strategy. Furthermore, a non-probability sample was used; thus, the findings may not readily generalised to the population. Finally yet importantly, the current study considered sex, age, and sexual orientation, but there may be many more factors affecting the desire for sexual partners, which have not been measured here.

Overall, the current research provided evidence that in the Greek cultural context, men exhibited a stronger desire for sexual variety than women, but there were many men as well as women who desired a large number of lifetime sexual partners. However, more research is necessary in order to be able to better comprehend the desire for sexual variety and its implications.

¹⁸ M. Apostolou and M. Hadjimarkou 'Domains of Motivation in Men and Women for Initiating and Terminating Procreation in an Evolutionary Perspective' (2018) 54(5) *Marriage & Family Review* 486–506.

Annex

Time period	Men		Women		p-value	ηp^2
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
1 month	2.77	4.60	1.25	1.18	<.001	.025
6 month	8.50	23.43	2.12	4.57	<.001	.018
1 year	18.37	70.06	2.97	8.86	<.001	.014
2 years	32.91	132.56	4.67	20.43	<.001	.014
3 years	48.17	200.40	6.14	27.95	<.001	.014
4 years	62.98	284.94	6.97	33.92	<.001	.012
5 years	78.23	359.32	8.90	45.90	<.001	.011
10 years	159.35	960.11	13.66	111.69	.003	.007
20 years	270.30	1451.86	15.84	112.31	<.001	.010
30 years	430.84	2128.50	22.13	160.57	<.001	.016
Lifetime	768.78	3053.55	104.94	117.63	<.001	.015

Table 1. Women’s and men’s desires for sexual variety across different time periods

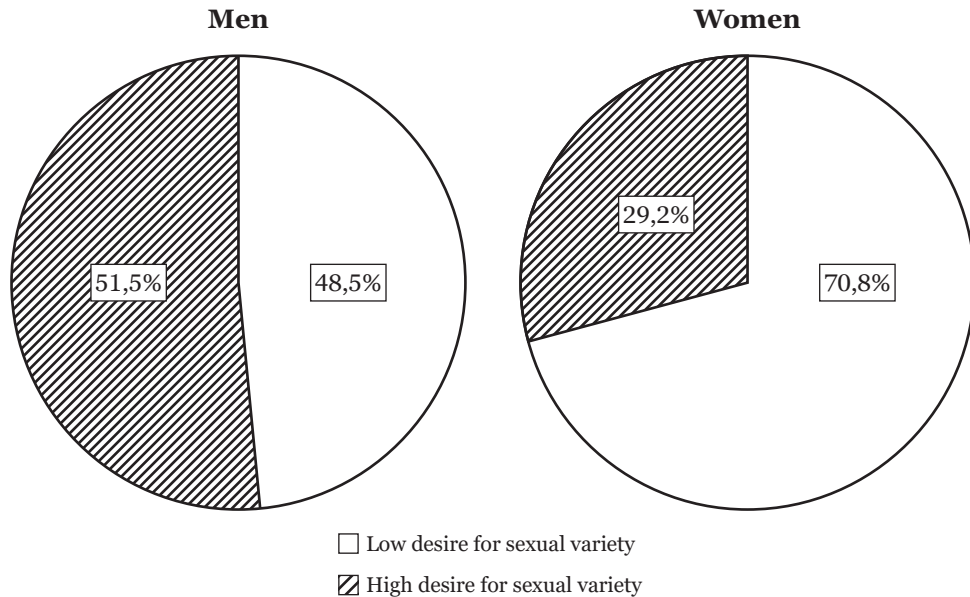


Figure 1. The classification of men and women in two broader categories, on the basis of their desires for lifelong partners. Participants would classify to the low desire category if they indicated that they would desire up to 10 lifetime partners, and in the high desire category if they indicated that they would desire more than 10 lifetime partners.

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Caesar Mavratsas (1963-2017)

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GUEST- EDITED SECTION

**The Sociologist Caesar Mavratsas:
Cypriot Society, Postcoloniality,
Nationalism, Modernity, and
Identity**

Dear Readers,

This special section is in honour of the Cypriot sociologist Caesar Mavratsas, who passed away in 2017 at the age of 54, following a battle with cancer. He had served as editor of the *Review* for a couple of years in the 1990s, before becoming one of the first Professors of Sociology at the Department of Social and Political Sciences in the newly established University of Cyprus. He also served as a member of the editorial board. He had 23 creative years.

Witty, provocative, and generous, with a keen intellect and questioning mind, he combined a good sense of humour in his sociological imagination. This made him hugely popular with students and colleagues at the University of Cyprus – and also controversial. His sociology focused on Greek Cypriot political culture, identity, diaspora, and nationalism. Born in Famagusta, Mavratsas went to Boston University to study philosophy and sociology, and graduated in 1993. Mavratsas wrote several well-regarded books on Cypriot society and published many articles in Cypriot, Greek, British, American, Canadian, and French academic journals, while substantial parts of his work were translated into Turkish and German. He was keen to open debates in society well beyond the confines of the ‘ivory tower’ of academia and to develop social questioning through critical thinking. Deeply influenced by his professor, Peter Berger, Mavratsas wanted a science that encouraged a better understanding of human society in order to improve it. In recent years, despite his unequal battle with cancer, he continued to publish his regular column for the daily newspaper *Politis*.

Mavratsas significantly contributed to the development of Cypriot sociology. He was a follower of Max Weber’s sociological school of thought; an important influence, apart from Berger’s social constructionism, was Ernest Gellner’s work on national and civil society. Near the end of his life, Mavratsas was interested in re-visiting the debate between sociology and biology.

He witnessed the transformation of Cypriot society during the first decades after the devastation of the coup, the invasion and the violent partition of 1974. This was conditioned by rapid economic growth after the division. During the 1980s and 1990s, global sociological concerns were dominated with issues of identity. Mavratsas, amongst other sociologists, anthropologists, and intellectuals, sought to locate Cyprus in these global debates. His PhD dissertation was on the economic ethos

of Greek Cypriot immigrants in the US. Approximately 20 years ago, Mavratsas' first monograph in Greek examined the potential for modernising Cypriot society. Based on his observation of Greek Cypriot modernisation, civil society, nationalism and identity, he coined the term 'clientelistic corporatism' as a key feature of Cypriot society. He hoped that what he regarded as 'deficient modernisation' would eventually overcome the distortions from irrationalism induced by traditionalism and nationalism, investing in Max Weber's charismatic forms of power. Five years later, when these hopes did not materialise, he wrote in his second monograph about the 'atrophy of the Cypriot society'. Nonetheless, he was still optimistic that the accession to the EU, the resolution of the Cyprus problem, as well as broader modernisation processes inherent in the Weberian model, would eventually prevail. He was one of the most articulate advocates of the 'deficient modernisation thesis', as regards Greek Cypriot society. Over the next decade, matters proved much more complicated than what he had anticipated – Cyprus acceded to the EU but there was no solution to the Cyprus problem.

His next book proved to be a best-seller: he spoke about 'the cultural and political underdevelopment of Greek Cypriots at the beginning of the 21st century'. He used the term 'horkatos' (χώρακατος) in the book title. This was a derogatory term derived from a popular humorous Greek Cypriot television series *Vourate Geitonoι* (Βουράτε Γειτόνοι). The term derives from the word 'horiatis' (χωριάτης), which means villager, but Mavratsas insisted that this is a caricature to mock ill-mannered racists and sexists, and attitudes which negate everything that is modern and civilised. The archetype of the 'horkatos' is the leading male character, Rikkos Mappouros, a caricature of a macho, married middle-aged man, who is uncouth, selfish, brutish, and constantly courting and harassing young Anastasia, who is rather snobbish and looks down on villagers, despite her own village background. The book remains controversial.

The aim of this special section is to critically take up the issues Mavratsas was working on, such as Cypriot sociology, modernisation(s), Europeanism, nationalism, identity, postcoloniality, diaspora, social prejudice and stereotypes, to further the debates in Cyprus. An interesting aspect of the debate over the work of Mavratsas pertains to Cypriot modernity, identity, social distinctions and media: In this issue of the *Cyprus Review* there is critical engagement with the notion and term the 'horkatos', which reflect upon media, modernity, Europeanisation, social prejudice and stereotypes in the context of the 'deficient modernisation thesis' of Cyprus. It

aims to debate issues of identity, ethnocentrism, globality, gender, social class and distinction and the role of the media in the context of Cyprus.

In this context, the section focuses on a promising sociological journey honouring Caesar Mavratsas. Over 20 years ago, in 1998, Mavratsas published his first monograph, hoping to modernise the Cypriot society, which would overcome the rigidities and narrowmindedness of Greek Cypriot nationalism in charismatic forms of power. It did not happen as the sociologist had hoped. But things have certainly moved on.

One must locate Mavratsas' work within a broader sociological framing in Cyprus and beyond. Today we can read his work, critically and collaterally in a manner that illustrates that the Cypriot modernisation project can be sociologically read more critically and perhaps more optimistically, manifested in the subsequent evolution of theorising, research, and art. In fact, what this special section illustrates is that currently we are witnessing an unfolding of a flourishing creative perspectives in different fields, areas and domains. This is a very promising and inspiring future, despite the bleakness of current politics, in our region and the globe at large, as the world appears shaky, surreal and terrifying.

Mavratsas's own *Invitation to sociology*, borrowed from the celebrated title of the book by Peter Berger, who had been the Cypriot sociologist's PhD supervisor and a mentor was a constant and endless call for reflection, which remained the guiding spirit for his work. In fact, he acknowledges his mentor, suggesting the book was written in Berger's spirit, as Berger is quoted at the beginning of the book: 'Unrespectability, whatever its ramifications in the emotions and the will, must remain a constant possibility in the sociologist mind'.

Mavratsas' work provided us with an important starting frame for us to continue engaging with 'the social', 'the political' and 'the modern', both globally and locally. His thoughtful analyses of the economic and cultural ethos in the Greek diaspora, the contradictions of Greek Cypriot society, his analyses on the questions of modernity, civil society and nationalism are reference points for anyone looking at Cypriot society. Moreover, these are crucial insights; from these fascinating debates, social scientists, scholars and the broader public at large can chart pathways for critiques, ruptures and transcendence.

Mavratsas helped us think and imagine beyond. His spirit and ironic smile are still with us. For this we must be grateful.

Costas M. Constantinou attempts to “transgress the Nation” by providing a “defence of Cypriot Peasantry and Rustic Politics” to examine Cypriot peasant culture, sociopolitical underdevelopment and nationalism. Then, Theodor Rakopoulos provides a short commentary of the film ‘Vourate Geitonoï’, which is read as “the return of the horkatoi” via a sociology of class. Followed by Marilena Zackheos, who examines the issues of labour migration and diasporic intimacy and belonging in Maren Wickwire’s documentary *Together Apart*. Then, Nicos Trimikliniotis reviews 100 years of sociology in colonial and post-colonial Cyprus in an effort to map public sociology and critical thought of a small divided island-country. Ellada Evangelou explores theatre beyond nationalism by examining participatory art in the Cyprus Buffer Zone a reflection and response to the turbulent 20th century which has left Cyprus with contested spaces scattered around its terrain. Contested spaces of inner cities are issues taken up in different ways by the next two papers: Gregoris Ioannou examines social activism and the city from the perspective of a cultural sociology and radical politics in 21st century Cyprus, whilst Evanthia (Evi) Tselika looks at state housing and social labeling in the construction of refugee identities in Cyprus. Finally, Stavros Stavrou Karayiannis discusses Nicos Philippou’s *Sharqi*, a collection of 27 polaroid photographs that depict Cyprus landscapes, and attempts to locate the work’s artistic contribution in the larger cultural context of a landscape that emerges behind a mesh of ideologies.

Nicos Trimikliniotis
Guest Editor

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Transgressing the Nation: In Defence of Cypriot Peasantry and Rustic Politics

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Abstract

*This article examines the proposition that Cypriot peasant culture, sociopolitical underdevelopment and nationalism are inextricably linked. In assessing this thesis, it utilizes perspectives from peasant and postcolonial studies. The article suggests that whilst the peasantry, like any other social class, can be appropriated for nationalist purposes, peasant consciousness is able to transgress nationalist endeavours, specifically, by reimagining dominant projections of the nation, resisting centralized power and supporting struggles for autonomy. This is illustrated in and through global as well as Cypriot experiences of rustic politics, challenging through *infrapolitics*, i.e., indirectly and invisibly, the dominant language and predicates of nationalism.*

Keywords: peasant studies; *infrapolitics*; postcoloniality; civility; nationalism; Cyprus conflict

What does it mean to be a Cypriot peasant? To be not just *horiatis* (χωριάτης; peasant/villager) but a *horkatos* (χώρκατος; a major *horkatis*, an unreconstructed peasant/villager as used in the Cypriot dialect)? Is it appropriate to employ the notion of peasantry to explain the self-centredness and nationalism of the Greek Cypriot community? Can Cypriot rural culture and rustic politics be redeemed?

In responding to these questions, this article pays tribute to the late Caesar Mavratsas, thinking the problematic *with* him as well as *against* him. Doing so by engaging his last book, *The Society of Peasants [Η Κοινωνία των Χώρκατων]*.² In assessing his thesis, this article utilizes perspectives and insights from peasant and postcolonial studies, which Mavratsas chose not to engage.

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² C. Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants: The Cultural and Political Underdevelopment of the Greek Cypriots in the Beginning of the 21st Century [Η Κοινωνία των Χώρκατων: Η Πολιτισμική και Πολιτική Υπανάπτυξη των Ελληνοκυπρίων στις Απαρχές του 21ου Αιώνα]* (Athens: Papazisis, 2012). All translations from the book in this article are mine. I translated the title as ‘The Society of Peasants’, following on Mavratsas’s clarification and preference on page 2 of the book: ‘In English, the word that corresponds to the modern Greek concept of *χωριάτης* is not the word *villager* (which commonly refers to the inhabitant of the village), but the word *peasant*’.

Laughing At/With the Peasant

The idea of what it means to be an archetypal Cypriot peasant, *horkatos*, is comprehensively examined by Mavratsas in his book. *The Society of Peasants* is witty, quirky, and a must-read. Its principal aim, flagged in the subtitle, is to provide a critique of ‘the cultural and political underdevelopment of the Greek Cypriots in the beginning of the 21st Century’. The critique is scathing, a polemic making no compromises. Mavratsas cleverly utilizes a popular Cypriot TV series, *Vourate Geitonoï [Run Neighbours]*, to reflect on the rustic, uncultured character and self-indulgence of Cypriot society.³ By engaging and reflecting on this TV series, he negatively valorises the notion of *horkatos*, as depicted in the protagonist of the series and *horkatos* par excellence, Rikkos Mappourous.⁴

Mavratsas views the *horkatos* as ‘an indigenous Greek Cypriot phenomenon.’ In other societies, he claims, there are no *horkatoi* only ‘*horiates* (always with the negative meaning of the term)’.⁵ He argues that ‘Greek Cypriot *horkatosyni*... is *sui generis*, but still a special case of a more general phenomenon of *horiatosyni*.’⁶ Both terms are negative. *Horkatosyni* is major peasantry, *horiatosyni* ordinary one. Mavratsas takes to serious task the social and political everydayness of *horkatosyni* and elevates it to a scholarly object of analysis but also derision. As he explains early on in the book: ‘I have to confess from the beginning that my theoretical engagement with this particular topic surely relates with the fact that *horkatoi* provoke a great deal of laughter.’⁷

Let me clarify that I am all for laughter and joy in both academic work and life. There is too much seriousness and grimness, not to mention self-importance and narcissism in scholarly opinion and its august ability to capture and explain complex phenomena through heavy scientific terms and jargon. Mavratsas did not like that. He was a master ironist with a fantastic sense of humour. For us, who were lucky to be his colleagues, it was a delight to be in his presence, to chat with him in the corridors of the Department, to partake in his lively analyses of the latest ‘scan-

³ First presented on Sigma TV on 8 October 2001, the episodes of the series were shown for more than a decade and are now available on YouTube at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TAIKyAzc-2CI&list=PLa9iKGvILYE6e5KZzyMEzpRKgTHeRPqk9>. A feature film with the same title and series actors was released in 2019. For the trailer, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bO_S5Tt5RZE.

⁴ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 29-43.

⁵ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 27.

⁶ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 27.

⁷ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 9.

dal' and his meditations on the long list of pathogens of Cypriot society. He could always see the funny side of life, satirising and cutting to size all those who were in a position of authority, a great believer in 'speaking truth to power'. Consequently, it befits his intellectual temperament that he has written such a smart and funny book about contemporary Cypriot society, path-breaking in using a TV series to revisit Cypriot political culture and nationalism, a book that is accessible to a wider audience beyond academia.

However, and at the risk of spoiling the fun, it is important to remember that laughter is also a serious matter. Especially in scholarly uses, it should not be merely a question of *what* one laughs about but *how* one laughs, not just the *content* but the *context* of laughter, and whether one laughs *at* someone or *with* someone. At this point, I register my first disagreement with Mavratsas. For the *horkatos* he analyses in his book engenders mainly a negative, elitist laughter, and with the author adopting a rather caustic and sarcastic attitude.

Mavratsas explains that for him *horkatos* is a 'psychosocial type'.⁸ He thus wishes to set *horkatos* apart from the mere peasant or villager. Following the rapid acceleration of urbanisation in Cyprus, the *horkatos*, Mavratsas says, nowadays mostly lives in cities. *Horkatos* is someone who has brought his peasant or provincial attitude with him to the city, who has not managed to outgrow his rural habits so as to embrace urban civility. Mavratsas explains that historically the peasant and villager have had negative meaning and cultural value.⁹ The existence of this historically entrenched hierarchy is not of concern to him, not worthy of deconstruction or critique. Nor is the negative impact of global capitalism in the marginalisation of peasant societies and the erosion of rural livelihoods worthy of analysis, specifically with regard to the asymmetrical relationship it establishes between the 'undeveloped' peasantry and urban centres in control of the commodification of crops.¹⁰

Whilst using Elias's pioneering work on *The Civilizing Process*,¹¹ Mavratsas concentrates on 'the civilising process of the peasant' as the feature of correct behaviour

⁸ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 17.

⁹ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 17.

¹⁰ See, for example, E. Vanhaute, H. Cottyn, Y. Wang, 'Peasantries', in *The World is Out of Joint: World-Historical Interpretations of Continuing Polarizations*, ed. I. Wallerstein (New York: Routledge, 2015).

¹¹ N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners (Vol. 1)*, translated by Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978) and N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process: State Formation and Civilization (Vol. 2)* translated by Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982).

in modern developed societies.¹² This is not wrong. Still, it only captures half of the moral story of Elias and not the most interesting half. Mavratsas misses –or does not care to acknowledge– that for Elias the development of manners and the taming of passions in European society is instrumental and politically ambivalent. For Elias, civility is strongly connected to ‘a peculiarly courtly rationality’, constraining affects through self-discipline and a means of gaining access to power by making the civilised courtier appear ‘as the epitome of the man of reason.’¹³

That is to say, Elias offers an alternative critical perspective on the power structures within which civility and non-civility discursively operate. As he explains:

‘At present, many of the rules of conduct and sentiment implanted in us as an integral part of one’s conscience, of the individual super-ego, are remnants of the power and status aspirations of established groups, and have no other function than that of reinforcing their power chances and their status superiority.’¹⁴

Contrary to Elias, Mavratsas is not concerned with the socially constructed character of civility. He merely uses Elias’s binary as an unproblematised universal, reinforcing the historical hierarchy with all its biases, power implications and afflictions. Mavratsas’s suggestion that nowadays *horkates* rule the Greek Cypriot polity, although witty, is a rhetorical as much as a power move. It is a heuristic that perpetuates a negative stereotype in modern society, allowing the author to bundle together and explain in broad brushes a series of problematic attitudes in contemporary Cyprus through the lens of ‘non-civility’. Whether *horkatosyni* can be responsible for all the social and political ills of Cyprus, including nationalism, is one question to which we will return later. Suffice for the moment to register that beyond treating *horkatos* as a legitimate laughing stock, Mavratsas is unequivocal that the *horkatos* is ‘extremely dangerous’.¹⁵ Securitising the Cypriot peasantry is not a light matter.

At this point, it is useful to bring into conversation Mavratsas’s *The Society of Peasants* with Vasos Ftohopoulos’s *Peasantry Is... [Horkatiko Einai]*.¹⁶ Given Ftohopoulos’ politics, this is something that Mavratsas would certainly not have approved (sorry Caesar!). Mavratsas is aware of Ftohopoulos’s book. In fact, in his own book, Mavratsas mentions another ‘small book, which provides catalogues of peasant

¹² Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 21-24.

¹³ Elias, *The Civilizing Process: State Formation and Civilization*, 7.

¹⁴ Elias, *The Civilizing Process: State Formation and Civilization*, 332.

¹⁵ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 11.

¹⁶ V. Ftohopoulos, *Peasantry Is... [Χωρκατίκων Είνα...]* (Nicosia: Aigaion, 1997).

[*horkatiki*] behaviour’ in Cyprus, but dares not speak its name or give its details.¹⁷ He even provides selected extracts from it, but still treats it unworthy to reference the book and the author. He merely acknowledges that ‘the aim of such writings is to deride Greek Cypriot life, and in addition to socially criticise mentalities and behaviours that are negatively assessed, while considered to be widely practised’.¹⁸

Why does Mavratsas use and quote but does not name Ftohopoulos’s book? To be fair, Ftohopoulos’s book is not academic. It is a collection of sayings and aphorisms, with insights that are sometimes penetrating and funny. Crucially, Ftohopoulos is an arch-nationalist figure, the editor and publisher of the monthly newspaper *Enosis*, whose politics Mavratsas loathes (Mavratsas calls *Enosis* ‘vulgar [*xydaia*]’), and I concur that the writings are extremely problematic, and they often use chauvinist and racist discourse that is totally unacceptable). Still, I cannot but commend the context that Ftohopoulos gave in the short introduction to his little book, *Peasantry Is...*, and which is diametrically opposite to the one given by Mavratsas. It is worth quoting in detail:

‘*Peasantry Is...* is not simply a humorous work, nor an attempt to deride the peasants and their habits. *Peasantry Is...* is first of all a deep penetrating look into the rapidly changing world of Cyprus, where literally ALL phenomena deceive us. It is a folk study of a transitional period where our people, with one foot in the mud and the other in the speed of so-called development, have lost the pride in their village descent, without being able to culturally assimilate to the new urbanised way of living... Maybe for this reason *Peasantry Is...* has been so successful. Each one of us has seen in the *horkatikon* a part of his neighbour, whether he is a *horkatos*, *horiatis*, or capital city dweller. Where *Peasantry Is...* really takes off is at the point where we discover ourselves. We thought we have overcome our peasant self, yet we discover that deep down or in particular times *Peasantry Is...* is US.’¹⁹

Even though, as we saw, Mavratsas also dissociates the *horkatos* from the mere peasant or villager, he still makes a clear hierarchical distinction between an ‘us’ and ‘them’, the ‘cultured’ and ‘uncultured’ in Cypriot society. Mavratsas sees *horkatosyni* to be the dominant mentality that is widespread in Cypriot society at

¹⁷ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 48.

¹⁸ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 48.

¹⁹ Ftohopoulos, *Peasantry Is...*, 7; my translation.

all levels,²⁰ and from which his authorial voice and a particular cultured minority stand apart. His writing is dismissive and cynical and indeed this is an attitude that Mavratsas would like to impart to his reader, hoping through this book to cultivate ‘a more critical, and perhaps more cynical eye.’²¹

By contrast, Ftohopoulos’ laughter is Rabelaisian.²² His is not cold humour, cynical irony, and sarcasm which seeks to degrade the *horkatos* and place the author above the object of his mockery (although, it must be said, this is exactly what Ftohopoulos does when he refers to the Turks or Turkophile Greek Cypriots in his other writings). In the case of the *horkatos*, Ftohopoulos embraces a cosmic laughter and should be credited for that. He does not laugh at, but with the peasant, seeing himself and every Cypriot as part of a society that is either totally unconscious of its ‘rustic’, ‘uncultured’ heritage, or desperately and comically striving to overcome it. As Ftohopoulos puts it, in the last aphorism and witty twist concluding his book, ‘in the end, peasantry is to make fun of peasants [*telos, horkatiko einai na peripaizeis tous horkates*].’²³

Peasant Nationalism, Urban Cosmopolitanism

Why is (Greek) Cypriot society a society of peasants? Mavratsas writes about the peasant but his real target is different. He has a clear political agenda and writes his polemic with the purpose of linking peasant culture to nationalism. This, in my view, explains why he ignored Ftohopoulos’s work – a fanatic nationalist laughing with the peasant and still seeing himself as a peasant. I do not think he had a credible way of explaining a self-ironic critic of peasantry that was also a nationalist. Mavratsas identifies four features of peasant culture, *horkatosyni*, which he develops in the book: (a) maintenance of traditional views; (b) lack of education and culture; (c) self-centrism and self-importance; and (d) aggressiveness towards others.²⁴ Mavratsas proceeds to apply them in chapter three to Greek Cypriot everyday life,²⁵ and finally in chapter four to Greek Cypriot politics (the longest chapter in his book).²⁶

²⁰ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 28.

²¹ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 10.

²² See M. M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984) and, on its political uses in historiographical writing, C. M. Constantinou, *States of Political Discourse: Words, Regimes, Seditions* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 83-95.

²³ Ftohopoulos, *Peasantry Is...*, 49.

²⁴ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 52-55.

²⁵ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 65-84.

²⁶ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 85-117.

The Society of Peasants is weak on reviewing the literature of peasant studies. It is more of a sequel to Mavratsas's oeuvre, his first book on aspects of Greek Cypriot nationalism and his second book on 'clientistic corporatism' in Cyprus.²⁷ The overwhelming majority of references in his book are not on peasant studies but on the Cyprus conflict, Greek Cypriot nationalism, Greek-Turkish relations and the referendum on the Annan Plan. Beyond the claimed limitations and complexes that *horkatosyni* brings to Cypriot society, Mavratsas is concerned with the adverse effects of *horkatosyni* with regard to reaching a comprehensive settlement of the protracted Cyprus conflict. As he puts it:

'These mentalities, I will seek to substantiate in this chapter, prove that the Greek Cypriot *homo politicus* is essentially a great *horkatos* who, even though he bears the greater responsibility for the problems of the Cypriot society, persists in denying this fact, seeing everywhere enemies and foreign conspiracies, and considering that he is justified to be in continuous contest with Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots as well as the international community.'²⁸

I fully sympathize with Mavratsas's frustration about ethnocentric politics, conflict-sustaining discourse, diplomatic dissimulation, partial truths and denial of responsibility for one's actions that characterise the long history of the Cyprus conflict. However, I strongly disagree with his reductionist linking of Cypriot politics to *horkatosyni*, which marginalises or misses alternative causes and understandings of the politics at play. Let me outline my disagreement.

Firstly, Mavrarsas draws a fast and weak connection between nationalism and *horkatosyni*. He claims that there is an 'innate *horkatosyni*' in nationalism and that the 'fanatical nationalist is surely a great *horkatos*'.²⁹ But why should this be so? Mavratsas says 'the reason is very simple' and employs a strong ally, Benedict Anderson, suggesting that the apparent 'philosophical poverty' that Anderson identifies as a paradox of nationalism (i.e., lack of great philosophers meditating on the phenomenon) is a sign of a bogus ideology.³⁰ However, on the contrary, Anderson

²⁷ C. Mavratsas, *Aspects of Greek Nationalism in Cyprus: Ideological Contest and the Social Construction of Greek-Cypriot Identity 1974–1996* (Athens: Katarti, 1998) [in Greek] and C. Mavratsas, *National Unity and Political Pluralism: The Atrophy of Greek-Cypriot Civil Society at the beginning of the 21st century* (Athens: Katarti, 2003) [in Greek].

²⁸ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 86.

²⁹ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 88.

³⁰ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 88-89.

does not belittle nationalist thinking and writing or the power of its appeal, but issues a warning against bias: “This “emptiness” easily gives rise, among cosmopolitan and polylingual intellectuals, to a certain condescension.”³¹ In other words, Anderson’s point is rather a caveat against intellectual arrogance in thinking and writing about nationalism. Also, to the extent that the nation and nationalism are cultural artefacts, propagated through print capitalism as Anderson painstakingly showed us, to view nationalism as cultural backwardness or provincialism is to miss the point of how nationalism is very much produced and entrenched through official education, cultural upbringing, the map, the museum and so on.³²

Secondly, Mavratsas claims that ‘superiority complex’ is indicative of ‘extreme provincialism’ and that the ‘weakness or inadequacy of nationalism should have been evident to whoever can think rationally’.³³ I doubt that this is evident, or that nationalism, racism, supremacism are *ab initio* irrational beliefs. Consider nationalism, racism, and the superiority complex in Nazi Germany. Nazi politics, as shown by Zygmunt Bauman, did not just exhibit moral indifference and invisibility with regard to the racially inferior, but rather, and more worryingly, the ‘moral consequences of the civilising process’, the hidden possibility of modernity and the dark side of western rationalism.³⁴ Nationalists and racists can be very modern, rational thinkers and this is the most disturbing lesson.

It is also useful to consider the anti-colonial nationalism that developed as a response and challenge to Western superiority and cultural imperialism.³⁵ What is at

³¹ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books: 1991), 5.

³² On the propagation of nationalist education and attempts to overcome it in Cyprus, see for example, Z. Bekerman and M. Zembylas, *Teaching Contested Narratives: Identity, Memory and Reconciliation in Peace Education and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); C. Charalambous, P. Charalambous, and M. Zembylas, ‘Doing ‘Leftist propaganda’ or Working Towards Peace? Moving Greek-Cypriot Peace Education Struggles Beyond Local Political Complexities’, *Journal of Peace Education*, Vol. 10, No.1 (2013), 67-87. On the production and dissemination of national and cross-ethnic identities in Cyprus through photography, cinematography, and the museum, see L. Wells, T. Stylianou-Lambert and N. Philippou, eds, *Photography and Cyprus: Time, Place and Identity* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014); C. Constandinides and Y. Papadakis, eds, *Cypriot Cinemas: Memory, Conflict, and Identity in the Margins of Europe* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014); T. Stylianou-Lambert and A. Bounia, *The Political Museum: Power, Conflict, and Identity in Cyprus* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

³³ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 88.

³⁴ Z. Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1989).

³⁵ On the many different fronts through which western cultural superiority was propagated see E. W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979) and *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1993). On the postcolonial reimagining of subaltern and peasant history, see P. Chatterjee, *The Nation and*

stake in dismissing these indigenous ‘nationalist’ struggles for equality and dignity –valorising different cultural assets of subjugated people– as parochial, provincial, or irrational phenomena? Or, indeed, sidelining the responsibility of European imperialism and civilising mission in the making and feeding of reactionary policies and nationalist discourses. Ditto in postcolonial Cyprus.³⁶

Mavratsas’s scathing critique of ‘peasant nationalism’ culminates in the Greek Cypriot rejection of the Annan Plan for a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus Problem and all that happened during and following the referendum in April 2004. He sees the referendum as ‘an additional essential indication of the dominance of *horkatosyni* in the Greek Cypriot society.’³⁷ I am in full agreement with Mavratsas about the scheming practices of Greek Cypriot politicians, the poisonous atmosphere and the blame-game against locals and the international community for ‘conspiring to impose’ the Annan Plan on the Greek Cypriot community. However, I am not at all sure that this can be so easily and readily linked, if at all, to the so-called *horkatosyni* of the Greek Cypriot elites and those that supported the NO campaign. Difficulty or obstinacy to compromise in protracted conflicts can be traced to a number of factors, including entrenched perceptions of injustice,

Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) and D. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

³⁶ In relation to the Cypriot postcolonial condition, see further R. Bryant, ‘On the Condition of Postcoloniality in Cyprus’, in *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict*, eds Y. Papadakis, N. Peristianis, and G. Welz, eds (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 47-65; C. M. Constantinou, ‘On the Cypriot States of Exception’, *International Political Sociology*, Vol. 2, No.2 (2008), 145-164; C. M. Constantinou, ‘Cypriot In-dependence and the Problem of Sovereignty’, *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2010), 17-33; V. Argyrou, ‘Independent Cyprus? Postcoloniality and the Spectre of Europe’, *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2010), 39-47; U. Bozkurt and N. Trimikliniotis, ‘Rethinking the Postcolonial Cypriot Statehood: The Cyprus Problem, Class Struggles, and Ethnic Conflict’, in *Beyond a Divided Cyprus*, eds N. Trimikliniotis and U. Bozkurt (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 47-66. In relation to Cypriot nationalist cultures, ethnic identities, and subjectivities, see among others, R. Bryant, *Imagining the Modern: The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: IB Tauris, 2004); Y. Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide* (London: IB Tauris, 2005); M. Hadjipavlou, ‘The Cyprus Conflict: Root Causes and Implications for Peacebuilding’, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (2007), 349-365; Y. Navaro, *The Make-Believe Space: Affective Geography in a Postwar Polity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012); N. Trimikliniotis, ‘The National Question, Partition and Geopolitics in the 21st Century: The Cyprus Problem, the Social Question and the Politics of Reconciliation’, *Global Discourse*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2018), 303-320. O. Demetriou, *Refugeehood and the Postconflict Subject: Reconsidering Minor Losses* (Albany, NY : SUNY Press, 2018).

³⁷ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 101.

inequality, and insecurity, and not only to an uncultured or crude nationalism.³⁸ Moreover, the scheming practices and vitriolic politics surrounding historic referenda is not something unique to Cyprus and its political culture (for a recent illustration, consider the politics surrounding Brexit).

Thirdly, Mavratsas is totally seduced by urban civility and globalisation, something that creates a definite bias and hierarchy towards more rural and nationally rooted lifestyles. He contends that ‘commitment to nationalist principles surely can be considered as commitment to a bygone era, commitment to national principles that are no longer functional under the current conditions of globalisation.’³⁹ How so? Moreover, why surely so? Nationalism and globalisation as mutually exclusive ways of living is a crude and sweeping binary. Cruder is Mavratsas’s view that the *horkatos* ‘faces a range of difficulties when he is obliged to function in the contemporary urban environment’ and ‘lacks the skills required in such environment, e.g. he cannot complete official forms, does not understand or cannot speak any English, has serious difficulties with modern Greek, etc.’⁴⁰ Thus, urban, bureaucratic, and linguistic discomfort robs the peasant from ‘modern’ social and political understanding. This is very troubling.

Furthermore, for Mavratsas, while functioning in the ‘global society and particularly in the global economy, Greek Cypriots remain provincials.’⁴¹ He is consequently uncritical about ‘the values and conceptions that derive from globalisation’, which he understands to be linked ‘particularly to the cosmopolitanism and tolerance produced and expected by the new global multicultural society.’⁴² Mavratsas’ faith in the liberal promises of globalisation runs contrary to all the major critiques of globalisation as a complex phenomenon with ambivalent effects, some definitely in the direction Mavratsas points to, but some in exactly the opposite direction.⁴³ Faith in globalisation collapses when one considers the more recent backlash against the neoliberal

³⁸ See E. E. Azar, ‘Protracted International Conflicts: Ten Propositions’, in *Conflict: Readings in Management and Resolution*, eds Burton, J. and Dukes, F. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), 145-155. In relation to Cyprus, see C. Adamides, *Institutionalized, Horizontal and Bottom-up Securitization in Ethnic Conflict Environments: The Case of Cyprus* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham, 2012).

³⁹ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 90.

⁴⁰ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 54.

⁴¹ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 82.

⁴² Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 82.

⁴³ See, among others, S. Sassen, *Globalization and its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money* (New York: The New Press: 1999).

mantras, often by the very neoliberal power centres that propagated (economic) globalisation, or what has been termed as the new era of ‘deglobalization’,⁴⁴ including closed borders, security walls, migration phobia, and so on.

Finally, the ‘natural’ and unproblematised linking of globalisation with cosmopolitanism in Mavratsas’ thesis is also a concern. Globalisation encourages knowledge of the world and a broader perspective, yet often done through a sterile ‘tourist gaze’, elite or metropolitan forms of cosmopolitanism rather than reflexive ones, shallow familiarity of the world rather than deep commitment to understanding and learning from foreign cultures and planetary diversity.⁴⁵ Such critiques qualify the ethical impact of globalisation vis-à-vis nationally or locally rooted cultures. Perhaps, most relevant for our purposes is how the earlier and more philosophical forms of cosmopolitanism, such as those of Diogenes the Cynic, were direct attempts at de-urbanisation, abandoning city comforts, its pretentious and corrupting ‘culture’, so that one can meaningfully become a citizen of the world – a cosmos that included humans, animals, and nature.⁴⁶ To become a cosmopolite, Diogenes became ‘uncultured’ and ‘animalistic’. It is thus important to ponder on what kind of cosmopolitanism is missed by urban theorists of politics that simply experience the cosmic through city dwelling, formal education, and rational exchange.

Rustic Politics: Reimagining the Nation, Struggling for Autonomy

Can the ‘rough’ and ‘uncultured’ peasant still think the nation and the national? In his book *Provincializing Europe*, Dipesh Chakrabarty recalls an incident between the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, and a group of peasants that welcomed him with the slogan, ‘Victory to Mother India’.⁴⁷ Nehru challenged them to explain to him what they meant by ‘mother India’ (*bharat mata*), to which one of the peasants responded ‘the earth’ (*dharti*). In ‘a pedagogic moment of nationalism’, Nehru explained to the ‘uneducated’ peasants that beyond the mountains, and the rivers and the fields what ‘counted ultimately were the people of India, people like them... essentially these millions of people’.⁴⁸ Peasant nationalism thus stood to be corrected and delegitimised by the wise leader-pedagogue, even though as

⁴⁴ W. Bello, *Deglobalization: Ideas for a New World Economy* (London: Zed Books, 2008).

⁴⁵ K. A. Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: Penguin, 2015); B. Robbins and P.L. Horta (eds), *Cosmopolitanisms* (New York: New York University Press, 2017).

⁴⁶ Constantinou, *States of Political Discourse*, 122-136.

⁴⁷ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 176-177.

⁴⁸ Quoted in Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 177.

Chakrabarty points out, the peasant perspective should have been an equally legitimate ‘way of seeing’, ‘not based on the training of the mind that print capitalism could administer to the formally educated nationalist subject.’⁴⁹

Another way of seeing the nation, therefore, or seeing through the nation, is through peasant eyes and experiences. This is not to suggest that the peasant anti-modernist or experiential truths offer a more authentic understanding of the nation, nor to romanticise the Mother India/Earth moment as a spiritual experience and abode that delivers an ecosophic authenticity, of being-in-the-word irrespective of material conditions. Although, it is important to appreciate that decolonial emancipation does not only have to do with subaltern or precariat people, ‘the wretched of the earth’ that Fanon wrote about,⁵⁰ but also with ‘the wretched earth’⁵¹ and the biocolonialism that accompanied western imperialism. The imperial restructuring of agricultural land and crop ‘development’ has had major implications for the traditional habitats of the peasantry and even on whether they would be able to remain ‘peasants’ and not workers and service providers in a centralized economic planning.⁵² So, there is more to be said about the peasant conflation of postcolonial victory with earth emancipation. It should also be acknowledged, however, that Nehru’s modern/urban/educated understanding of the nation is conceptually correct with regard to the formal anticolonial struggle and the victory of Indian independence.

The point that I wish to make is the need to appreciate how the peasant is not a mere knowledge recipient or passive subject of nationalism, and that there is indeed value in non-urban, rural or rustic forms of politics. Even the ‘rougher’ or more ‘silent’ versions. Rustic politics can indeed be considered from the perspective of the rebelliousness and resistance that peasant agency can bring to the social and cultural milieu. On the one hand, to be sure, one needs to overcome the Marxist bias about ‘the idiocy of rural life’⁵³ without simply and blindly endorsing the Maoist zeal and glorification of the peasant, how rural work is pedagogical in itself and helps to build the new human. For the violent excesses of the Chinese cultural revolution are indicative of the problems that the blind following of this ideology creates.

⁴⁹ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 149 and 177.

⁵⁰ F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove, 2004).

⁵¹ R. Gray and S. Sheikh, ‘The Wretched Earth’, *Third Text*, Vol. 32, No. 2-3 (2018), 163-175.

⁵² J. D. Van der Ploeg, *The New Peasantries: Struggles for Autonomy and Sustainability in an Era of Empire and Globalization* (London: Earthscan, 2008).

⁵³ K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (London: Pluto Press, 2007), 40.

On the other hand, Mavratsas' dismissive claim that the 1960s 'rise of the so-called peasant studies, the neo-Marxist preoccupation with the peasants and their persistence in granting them revolutionary role has not persuaded many'⁵⁴ is itself unpersuasive and disappointing. If by the 'many' we are referring to revolutionary movements across the world, the contrary is the case. Many a peasant revolution, some violent, some non-violent, from South America to South Asia fully display agential capacity, in some cases formally taking over state power, such as in Bolivia and Nepal, in others developing an alternative political culture hospitable to indigenous lifestyles, like in Chiapas. James Scott goes as far as to argue that 'the peasantry, not the proletariat, has contributed the decisive social base of most, if not all, successful twentieth-century revolutions.'⁵⁵

Yet, as Chatterjee explains, 'the characteristic feature of peasant rebellions' is not coming to power and establishing one's own culture and authority, but resisting urban/metropolitan culture and authority.⁵⁶ Peasant rebellions do not seek to persuade others about the rationale or supremacy of their culture but struggle against 'foreign' infiltration and control in pursuit of local autonomy. Scott identified a politics of defiance and resistance in the habitual peasant practices of apparent deference to authority, agreement but non-implementation, avoidance of contact, and so on. These peasant strategies and tactics of engaging with centralized power are rarely captured as political praxis and that is why Scott coined the term *infrapolitics* to identify the political in the rustic culture and 'habits' of subordinate groups, or as elaborated in a later work, 'the art of not being governed.'⁵⁷

Far from seeing nationalism as a typical peasant attitude, postcolonial histories view the relationship between the nation-state and peasantry as tense and ambiguous, whereby 'the institutionalisation of a modern regime of power coincides with or follows a process of the extinction of the peasantry.'⁵⁸ That is why, national conscious-

⁵⁴ Mavratsas, *The Society of Peasants*, 20.

⁵⁵ J. Scott, 'Hegemony and the Peasantry', *Politics & Society*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1977), 267.

⁵⁶ Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 162.

⁵⁷ For the notion of *infrapolitics*, see J.C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press: 1990), 183-201, and for more recent elaborations of rural resistance to modern state infiltrations, J.C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

⁵⁸ Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 158. On the challenges of comprehending the relationship between imperial authority and its subjects, as well as interpreting oppression, transgression and revolts in Ottoman Cyprus, see A. Hadjikyriacou, *Society and Economy on an Ottoman Island: Cyprus in the Eighteenth Century* (Doctoral dissertation, SOAS, University of London: 2011).

ness is often at odds with peasant consciousness, the latter seen to exhibit resilience and innovation, even encompassing rival understandings of community. Not that it might not exhibit also nationalism. But as Chatterjee puts it, ‘the language of nationalism underwent a quite radical transformation of meaning in the peasant domain of politics’, the purpose of which was not the expansion or resurrection of a grandiose nation but the pursuit of local autonomy, a notion that was ‘much more radical and thoroughgoing’ than that of ‘their more enlightened compatriots.’⁵⁹

In other words, the peasant might approach the nation and adopt the attitudes of modern nationalism, in the way Mavratsas described it, but can also see through the nation, or see another nation, experience it in its earthly everydayness, express it in its daily resistance to central-urban forms of domination by way of protecting local commons and more autonomous modes of living and acting. The ‘uncultured’ and ‘uneducated’ peasantry primarily struggle to be left alone if material conditions of living are satisfactory, unlike the ‘sophisticated’ peasantry of mechanized agriculture, export crop commodities and farming subsidies.

From this perspective, there is more to being a peasant than urban-centric thinkers imagine or allow for. Here another ethnoscape, there a different cosmopolitanism, or tactical use of ethnic identity that offends propriety or flies below the radar of mainstream sociability. In the context of Cyprus, even colonial officials found it necessary to commend ‘a kindly and human spirit’ in surveying rural life, for ‘facile and frequent articles in the local Press, written if not in, at least within easy distance of the club, the café and the card-room, inveigh against idleness, wastefulness and improvidence of the villager.’⁶⁰ One of the most common critiques of the Cypriot urban elites against the peasantry was the coffee-house culture of the village, with villagers ‘lolling in various attitudes on straight-rushed chairs’, which interestingly, in this specific survey of rural life in Cyprus, colonial officials saw nonetheless sympathetically in terms of its social and economic necessity, not to mention its suggested importance within and beyond the village for the development of the public sphere, the domain of ‘common concern’ and problematisation.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 160 and 172.

⁶⁰ As outlined by the Governor of Cyprus, Sir Ronald Storrs in the Preface to B. J. Surridge, *A Survey of Rural Life in Cyprus* (Nicosia: Government Printing Office: 1930), 4.

⁶¹ Surridge, *A Survey of Rural Life in Cyprus*, 22-23, and on the importance of coffee-houses vis-à-vis salons in the development and transformation of the public sphere, see J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 31-43.

In other words, given that the coffee-house was ‘the centre of village life’ in the island,⁶² it functioned as a less hierarchical, informal and autonomous public assembly vis-à-vis other colonial and postcolonial institutions in the cities. It could also be seen as a site where ‘forms of non-western modernity’ as well as leftist and nationalist politics could be exhibited, though not necessarily in ways that are legible to orthodox readings of modernity and ideology.⁶³

An especially interesting case of peasant culture transgressing the national script concerns the history of the *Linobambakoi* – the Muslim-Christian community of Cyprus. This is not an example that is much discussed in Cypriot historiography, or only referred negatively, or as an embarrassment.⁶⁴ This subaltern community flexibly and tactically shifted from one identity to another, employed both identities through visual rhetoric in different contexts of everyday life (e.g., going to the mosque on Friday and church on Sunday), exploiting the external features of ethno-religious allegiance, and thus playing with different jurisdictions to gain advantage as circumstances demanded during the Ottoman rule (e.g., less tax or avoiding military conscription depending on whether one was Christian or Muslim). It thus simulated or dissimulated the ‘national’ depending on the policies and demands of successive regimes of power in Cyprus. Who they were was not a given and always depended on what the policy of the central authority was. Notably, the *Linobambakoi* was *an overwhelmingly rural phenomenon in Cyprus*. Yet, it was not a community deficient of cosmopolitanism and cultural coexistence, and it included in some instances not just strategic use but a plural understanding and convergence of ‘antithetical’ religious ideologies.⁶⁵

Added to the above, a number of small and large-scale peasant rebellions in Cyprus during the Ottoman period negotiated the limits of governance with regard

⁶² Surridge, *A Survey of Rural Life in Cyprus*, 22

⁶³ On this point see A. Panayiotou, ‘Lenin in the Coffee-Shop: The Communist Alternative and Forms of Non-Western Modernity’, *Postcolonial Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (2006), 267-280.

⁶⁴ On the community of the *linobambakoi*, see R. L. N. Michell, ‘A Muslim-Christian Sect in Cyprus’, *The Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 63 (1908), 751–62, and on how the historical consciousness of this example affects our understanding of contemporary predicaments in Cyprus, see C. M. Constantinou ‘Aporias of Identity: Bicomunalism, Hybridity and the “Cyprus Problem”’, *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (2007), 247-270. On how the *linobambakoi* were marginalized in hegemonic discourse, see A. Panayiotou, ‘Hegemony, Permissible Public Discourse and Lower Class Political Culture’, in *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*, eds R. Bryant and Y. Papadakis (London: IB Tauris, 2012), 71-93.

⁶⁵ See Constantinou, ‘Aporias of Identity’.

to the peasants, sometimes even bringing together Muslims and Christians against central authority, and with a famous one in 1833, led by the so-called *Infidel* (*Gavur*) *Imam*.⁶⁶ The social and political status of banditry in Cyprus is also worth mentioning, something that very much concerned the British colonial authority, although it is still debatable in the literature, whether bandits ‘belong to’ the peasants or ‘speak for’ their grievances, or are exactly the opposite, operating outside the law to ‘subjugate’ them and keep them docile.⁶⁷ Unlike the Greek national historiography, where the bandits (*kleftes*) have been ‘rehabilitated’ as key agents of the Greek revolution and liberators from Ottoman rule, in Cyprus, bandits like the Hasanpoullia (‘Greeks today and Turks tomorrow’) remained folk heroes and were not glorified in the national historiography.⁶⁸ Panayiotou suggests that banditry displayed ‘bicomunal practice’, ‘traditional residuals’, and ‘lower-class “resistance to central authority” [which] persisted until the 1940s without leaving, however, a political legacy. They were the last forms of localist resistance against the centralization of power.’⁶⁹ He is right, of course, to underscore how urbanization and modern governmental infiltration into the rural realm have eradicated the traditional forms of banditry, but with regard to political legacy, the ‘rascality’ and ‘defiance’ of the peasant may be still in place, morphed into other forms, less pronounced, less visible to the sense and vision of politics as direct power struggle and confrontation.

That is why the notion of *infrapolitics* is so useful in understanding peasant politics. And that is why, in *Vourate Geitonoi*, whenever Kattos (the Cypriot policeman in the series) calls the peasant Rikkos (‘bird’, *poulli*), he seems to be making an ambivalent reference, an innuendo, on the one hand, to the Cypriot bandits and outlaws and their dubious activities around the island (*ta poulia*, *ta hasanpoulia*, taking liberties and ‘flying like birds’), and on the other hand, to Rikkos’ rascality

⁶⁶ M.N. Michael, ‘Revolts, Demands and Challenge to the Legitimacy of the Ottoman Power: The Three Revolts of 1833 in Cyprus’, *Historical Review*, Vol. 2 (2011), 57-77 and M.N. Michael, *Revolts as a Field of Negotiating Power: Ottoman Cyprus 1804-1841* (Athens: Alexandria, 2016) [in Greek].

⁶⁷ See P. Sant-Cassia, ‘Banditry, Myth, and Terror in Cyprus and other Mediterranean Societies’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (1993), 773-795; R. Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1996); I. Bozkurt, ‘Ethnic Perspective in Epics: The Case of Hasan Bulliler’, *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, Vol. 16 (2001), 97-104; Bryant, ‘Bandits and ‘Bad Characters’: Law as Anthropological Practice in Cyprus, c. 1900’, *Law and History Review*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2003), 243-270.

⁶⁸ Sant-Cassia, ‘Banditry, Myth, and Terror in Cyprus and other Mediterranean Societies’, 775.

⁶⁹ A. Panayiotou, ‘Border Dialectics: Cypriot Social and Historical Movements in a World Systemic Context’, in *Beyond a Divided Cyprus*, eds N. Trimikliniotis and U. Bozkurt (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 69.

and mischievous attitude that is acceptable and understandable, even endearing, to a Cypriot policeman, like Kattos, who is also a peasant. In the end, Kattos sees Rikkos and himself as members of the same clan, *to poulli mou, to polloui mou*, i.e. my bird, my outlaw, my little bandit. Regulating deviant populations became the main concern of modern governance, but this is not something that has been fully accomplished in either the developing states of the Global South or the developed ones of the Global North.⁷⁰

This is not of course to aestheticize or romanticise historical peasant liberty, illegality and rebellion in Cyprus, nor deny cross-ethnic defiance initiatives in urban contexts, such as, more recently the Occupy Buffer Zone movement.⁷¹ However, it underscores the point that resistance to the dominant nationalist narrative and political agendas is indeed possible, and has been historically practised in Cyprus and elsewhere, also from within rural communities and peasant cultures. Peasantry is not immune to nationalism or the mainstream left-wing ideology, nor can it magically overcome them through local collectives and solidarity, although such experiments even when they only succeed in the short term are indicative of political possibility.⁷² The point is rather that peasantry is capable to and does transgress the nation in its pursuit of autonomy, in its improper and unsanctimonious use of the national script, in showing that the nation is never imagined in a single and uniform way.⁷³

Redeeming *Horkatos*: Rikkos, Raif, Rallis and other Characters of Everyday Life

Let us try to envision this rustic politics through a special episode of *Vourate Geitonoι [Run Neighbours]*, perhaps an appropriate ending to this article given the explanatory status that this comic series held in Mavratsas's thesis. Recall that

⁷⁰ A. Sitas, D. Sumangala, K. Wiebke, and N. Trimikliniotis. 'Deviance', in *The World is Out of Joint: World-Historical Interpretations of Continuing Polarizations*, ed. I. Wallerstein (New York: Routledge: 2015).

⁷¹ M. E. Ilican, 'The Occupy Buffer Zone Movement', *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2013), 55-80; M. Antonsich, "'OccupyBufferZone": practices of borderline resistance in a space of exception', *Area*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (2013), 170-178.

⁷² On the rise and fall as well as the politics surrounding four interesting peasant collectives in Cyprus after the end of WW II, see G. Ioannou, 'Αγροτικές κολλεκτίβες στη Κύπρο: εστιάζοντας σε ένα υβρίδιο της ύστερης αποικιακής περιόδου [Agricultural collectives in Cyprus: focusing on a hybrid of the late colonial era]', *Ελετηρίδα Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών*, XXXII (2006), 449-476.

⁷³ Nor, of course, is the nation imagined in a single and uniform way by the cultured elites and national poets. On this point, see K. Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1850: Stammering the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Rikkos Mappouros was the quintessential *horkatos* in the series and paradigmatic for Mavratsas. His behavior exhibited sexism, patriarchy, meanness, arrogance and ethnocentrism, and, as a fixed character, he is not easily redeemable. But let us try to think transgressively, experiment with an alternative image of peasant consciousness – equally comic yet undermining the dominant narrative – making visible the ‘invisible’ counter-contacts and negotiations of such ‘characters’, their everyday encounters and diplomacies in divided Cyprus.⁷⁴

Imagine, therefore, a special episode of *Vourate Geitonoï*, featuring Rikkos and other ‘peasant characters’, that could run along the following lines:

Opening Scene: *Rikkos is rather jolly and relaxed at a coffee-house in Dali village, drinking coffee, smoking a cigarette and chatting with locals. It is the 15-year anniversary of the 2004 Annan Plan referendum and there is an animated discussion among the villagers about the pros and cons of accepting or rejecting the Plan. Rikkos proudly informs them that he voted NO at the referendum and does not regret it one bit. Let the Turks stay in the north and the Greeks in the south. He has nothing against the Turks but no mixing should be attempted. Turks cannot be trusted and there shouldn’t be much contact with them. Most men in the coffee-house agree and applaud him. Rikkos feels content with himself.*

Main Plot: *Rikkos leaves the coffee-house and enters his loaded cabin car. His cellphone rings. He starts speaking on the phone in Greek, occasionally using Turkish sentences, and seems to get directions for a meeting. He enters the UN Buffer Zone following an unguarded earth road, removing a road-barrier, checking if he’s being watched by anyone. He curses the UN soldiers and Secretary-General, Guterres, for erecting barriers in his homeland, making his life difficult. Down the road, he meets a Turkish Cypriot shepherd, Raif, from Louroutzina and they embrace and exchange pleasantries. Rikkos unloads a number of packages of cucumbers from his cabin and in exchange loads a sheep given to him by Raif. Suddenly the UN soldiers appear at a distance and*

⁷⁴ See, for example, C. M. Constantinou, ‘On Homo-diplomacy’, *Space and Culture*, Vol. 9, No. 4, (2006), 351-364; C. M. Constantinou, ‘Multidirectional Diplomacy and the Privatization of Settlement’, *Peace Review*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (2012), 454-461; C. M. Constantinou, ‘Everyday Diplomacy: Mission, Spectacle and the Remaking of Diplomatic Culture’, in *Diplomatic Cultures and International Politics*, eds J. Dittmer and F. McConnell (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 35-52; O. Demetriou, ‘To Cross or Not to Cross? Subjectivization and the Absent State in Cyprus’, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (2007), 987-1006; O. Demetriou, ‘Counter-conduct and the Everyday: Anthropological Engagements with Philosophy’, *Global Society*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2016), 218-237.

Rikkos and Raif enter his car and drive fast towards the north. Turkish Cypriot police also arrive at the scene and start to chase them. They manage to escape and hide the car in a nearby farm. Rikkos and Raif curse the politicians, both Greek and Turkish Cypriots for enriching themselves, whilst poor peasants like themselves need to take such risks to make ends meet.

Final Scene: *Fearful that the Turkish Cypriot police is still pursuing them, Rikkos and Raif flee to the nearby shrine, Kirklar Tekke or Tekke of the Holy Forty. They hide in the vicinity of the tombs and as it gets darker, they hear a noise. Rikkos gets scared and starts praying to Virgin Mary to save him. Raif protests that Rikkos shouldn't pray to a Christian saint in a Muslim holy place. Rikkos protests back saying that Kirklar is a Christian shrine, Ayioi Saranta, in Greek language also meaning the Holy Forty, and that the saints are Christian not Muslim martyrs. Rikkos recalls that he used to go there with his grandmother to pray. They start arguing about their cultural heritage until a loud voice is heard asking them to shut up. They stop and wait until the person who shouted gets closer and Rikkos recognizes him as Rallis – an even greater horkatos than Rikkos – one of the Greek Cypriot men in the coffee-house in the opening scene. As it transpires, he also entered the Buffer Zone illegally but in his case to collect wild asparagus. He explains that he habitually crosses into the Buffer Zone and the north and came to Kirklar only to take a nap, but this time he overslept and they woke him up. Disregarding his own hypocrisy, Rikkos challenges him to explain himself, reminding him that Rallis voted NO to the Annan Plan and in the coffee-house discussion Rallis appeared to be totally against settlement and reunification of the island. Indeed so, Rallis replies. He was fully against reunification and wanted Cyprus to remain divided because he did not trust politicians to make it work and, more importantly, the division was the only way to maintain the Buffer Zone and the natural habitat in this area. If there is a settlement, this whole area will be developed and he would not be able to forage freely and illicitly as he did now. This was the determining reason he voted NO, and did not care one bit for the Greeks, the Turks, or the Linobambakoi, like Rikkos, who like to pray to the Holy Forty. Rikkos and Raif are lost for words and look perplexed.*

So what if another *horkatos* is possible? Does another *horkatos* also mean that another world is possible? In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Franz Fanon underscored the importance of working to cultivate the imagination so as to resist the coloniza-

tion of thinking and help to develop a distinctive 'national consciousness'. Imagination was very much responsible for challenging global inequality, the colonial way of doing things, opening up political space and creating other worlds. Every new story, every new episode challenging the dominant colonial thinking should function as a 'real invocation', revealing new possibilities, 'channeled in every direction'. In giving 'free rein to his imagination', the storyteller need not employ great philosophers and scholars but can 'use unlikely characters for such a transformation, social misfits such as outlaws or drifters, are rediscovered and rehabilitated.'⁷⁵

Imagining and living the postcolonial possibility, national consciousness would thus progressively mature, leading to social and political consciousness, to a new humanism. That is why, for Fanon, 'national consciousness, which is not nationalism, is alone capable of giving us an international dimension' and ultimately 'international consciousness'.⁷⁶ What is at stake, therefore, is becoming conscious of the imaginary signification one gives to the nation, the creation and recreation of the nation in different spatiotemporal contexts, rather than remain content with the problems and pretences of the fixed 'imagined community' as projected by urban theorists and founding fathers. In appreciating how dominant projections of the nation cement specific political pursuits, the emancipated human can potentially flee from the nationalist frame, escape towards a more international and cosmopolitan consciousness.

The untimely death of Caesar Mavratsas denies us the opportunity to test this fictional but, I would insist, realistic episode of *Vourate Geitonoi* – a real invocation evoking and redeeming *horkatos*. Mavratsas was a great and open interlocutor, and I trust that he would have gone along with the idea and even built on the plot of this *other horkatos*. I don't know whether he would have been persuaded to recognize an alternative peasant consciousness that struggles for autonomy from urban agendas and central authority demands. Nor, if he would have found convincing the possibility of a rustic politics that challenges through *infrapolitics*, i.e., indirectly and invisibly, the dominant language and predicates of nationalism. One expects that if he had the chance to respond to this critique, he would have had good answers and counterarguments. I also have a feeling he would have laughed, probably shake his head, and let the peasant in me be.

⁷⁵ F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 174.

⁷⁶ Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 179-180.

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Short Commentary: The Return of the *Horkatoi* (and of a Sociology of Class)

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It is Monday at 17:15 and the Rio cinema of Limassol, one of the major points of reference for the city's cultural life, has added an extra showing time for *Vourate Geitonoï*. Under-aged children rub shoulders with pensioned ladies, young couples and even lonesome semi-foreign viewers, such as me. Cypriot society gathers to enjoy an aspect of its mirror-image, according to one of its most famed and scholarly claimed sociologists, the late Caesar Mavratsas. It is only two years since his untimely death, and the series-turned-film that inspired Mavratsas' *Society of the Horkatoi* is living a second life, on the big screen this time.

His vision can be termed prophetic, but I would like, in this review essay, to poke it in a critical direction, in the hope that, in discussion with colleagues in this forum, we could collectively reach a reassessment of what was, ironically, a very popular and very anti-populist take on the current Greek Cypriot cosmosprecisely—, the *Society of the Horkatoi* book. I would like to underscore a certain attention to a critical political (and visual) economy that might enrich the cultural(ist) analytical approach Mavratsas has offered us and that, in my view, has not been dealt with in the book in ways that the sociological material could and would suggest. It is for this reason that I choose to use the *Vourate geitonoï*, Vol. 2, as the entry point in this discussion. The series and its unlikely Weberian ideal-type, Rikkos Mappouros' character are now (more than a decade and a half after his first appearance as an everyday reference on the TV screens of Greek Cypriots) enjoying a second coming. This is a phenomenon that denotes what could well be the most popular film in Cypriot cinematic history—a fact of high ethnographic interest by itself.

The film is relinquished in its visual economy. Its cinematic *artistic* value is debatable: this is not because of a global hierarchy of values one has to attach themselves to, as it might be suggested in many contemporary analyses, as the film does not pretend to pertain to an artistic milieu. It is, rather, due to precisely the

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televisual obsession of everything about it: the way it has been shot, the mise-en-scene, the formation of the characters. The continuity with the *Vourate* that we were used to is clear: rich, glowing colours; exuberance and flamboyance in each and every little thing the characters do or suggest on the screen. Everything has to be over-the-top, screaming out loud, a caricaturist version of Greek-Cypriot society. It is a kitschtopia that is often so finely done that one wonders about whether the director is trolling the audience with subtle cinematic history references. One odd example: the owners of the fantastical *Omorfos Ltd. group of companies*, the eponymous couple of poor, middle-aged travellers, engage in their opening scene, right by their RV camper, in some form of an energetic, almost bestial pseudo-erotic scene, hugging each other and their pink flamingo balloon trademark *pet*. The grotesque scene here has obvious class connotations—as the poor are showcased in what looks like the *freak-shows* of early modernity. The scene is reminiscent of the moral ambiguity and aesthetic precariousness of the liminal and extreme (then, and possibly, still) eroticism of the 1972 film *Pink Flamingos* of the consciously kitsch social satirist John Waters.

But the forbidden fruit in this discussion are the shiny commodities, laden in the film's cornucopia of Cypriot references. The screen is awash with a visual economy of globalised marketing tricks: these trends bifurcate with the localised—parochial even—representations of the material culture of consumer capitalism in the Republic of Cyprus. Lanitis drinks, Livadiotis nuts, and the Pralina posh café—the constant bombardment of product placement is relentless. At the same time, the whole storyline of the film is based on a form of indigenous (ad)venture capitalism, in the sense of seeking, excavating, and appropriating the money that Rikkos Mappouros, ever the *non-fully-modern* subject, kept outside the banking system in light of (as well as closely ahead of) the unique Cypriot/EU banking crisis of 2013. His choice to refuse financial inclusion in the banking system provokes both problems and a possible solution to a crisis of liquidity that we are presented with from the opening scene of the film.

These scaled-down and scaled-up constant references to the recent phenomenologies of the adventures of Cypriot capitalism are coupled with other fleeing remarks on the state of affairs of contemporary Cyprus and, crucially, its economy. For instance, Erik, the *Charlie*² subject, fresh from the UK, laments how

² The colloquial, emic term for Cypriot migrants to the UK.

Cypriots are *selling the island to Turks, Russians and Chinese*, referring to the RoC's *passport selling*.

Society of the Horkatoi is a unique social science *bestseller*, if not indeed some sort of an instant breakthrough or crossover analysis—from the oft lofty heights of academia to the educated public. It might be clear by now that I am coming to the *Horkatoi* debate from the vantage point of a much needed discussion of class, especially—but not only—in terms of consumption patterns, as well as, more generally, in terms of a critical political economy angle. That perspective is sidelined in the very enjoyable read of the *Society of the Horkatoi*. Note that I would refrain from translating the indigenous quasi-class concept (*horkatos*) that Mavratsas suggests—an emically rich notion, granted, but also one in need of comparison with what we know as *a peasant* and the sociological categories close to that. The author himself seems uncomfortable with identifying the peasant category, one sociological notion decidedly stemming from critical agrarian studies, with the idea of the *horkatos*. The former, 100 years ago, inspired one of the most influential debates in Marxist discussions—that between Lenin and Chayanov. It is an idea that endures in discussions in journals like the *Journal of Peasant Studies*.³ The latter is one more associated with the Weberian model that so inspired Mavratsas throughout his career (alongside his earlier social constructivist, and arguably more acute, reflections). The author undoubtedly remains true to the model throughout the book, indeed stretching it to its culturalist connotations, especially when coupled with another classic reference he bases much of his analysis on: Norbert Elias.⁴ There lies an expectation of a civilizing process that seems to have either been left behind or left unfinished in Cyprus' path towards modernisation, which Mavratsas laments, often with entertaining and witty passages. This understanding reflects a Weberian take on class where, stretched on the cultural domain, possibly lends itself to analyses that, while useful, see in the economic life of Cypriots no more than a domain of easy extraction and easier, even naïve, consumerist excitement. The subjects seem unprepared for such luxury and fall behind a lens of expectation.

The epistemological distance from the actual realities at play in the economic domain is absolutely respectable and, as noted, at times yields helpful insights. But in certain points they also seem to be leaning towards a normativity. The

³ See, for instance, H. Bernstein, V.I. Lenin and A.V. Chayanov, 'Looking back, Looking forward' (2009) 36(1) *Journal of Peasant Studies* 55–81.

⁴ N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (1939) (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2000).

expectation horizon of a cultured or acculturated European subject, seemingly one that the Cypriot lurks behind and even disavows undeservedly, is not doing justice to the nuances that Mavratsas' analysis has given us in other circumstances—in domains where his attention to the cultural have yielded attentive critique (as per his classic work on Greek Cypriot nationalism as a form of political culture).

A key feature of Cypriot economic social life remains not yet fully analysed: the trader and merchant aspect of a certain Cypriot economic personhood, as well as the enormous capacities, historically proven time and again, for a sort of trickster identity, one that navigates domains of power, and oscillates between firm identities.⁵ That hybrid aspect can be possibly traced to the notion of the *horkatos* itself: someone who is savvy of certain merchant capitalist traits of modern life, but who might not be ticking the box of the vision a normative that modernity holds in store for the majority of the world. Lest we forget, the modern subject is an identity like many others and can be accommodated through the specifics of social conflict, of which the island has known many and of a varied nature.⁶ Cyprus is one of those places that formulate the many possible and actually existing modernities that compose an increasingly complex world in which the economic and the political are pregnant with the ever-evolving dynamics of a cultural domain that, far from being one-size-fits-all, is constantly expanding and variegating. In that respect, the notion of the *horkatos* can be reappropriated, possibly, in a more critical direction—salvaged from the inherent normative, even judgmental, lines that exist in Mavratsas' classic study. This is not simply a call to being attentive to an assumed social ontology that calls for that systematic interpretive process, which social anthropologists and indeed (Weberian) sociologists are engaging with—the *Verstehen* of the societies we live in. In his own way, Mavratsas did a version of that interpretive sociology in the book. Rather, it is a reminder of the ever-changing realm of acculturation and the fragilities of the politics of class within those dynamics.

In Limassol's Rio cinema, the audience engaged with the film in ways that could possibly be seen as a far cry from the civilising process that Norbert Elias' study suggest—there was lots of loud talk, genuine and even austere questioning and

⁵ It gives credence to the old Cypriot folk saying: «Για πράττε, για μετάπραττε, για που την Κύπρον φύε!» , that is 'Make or trade, or get out of Cyprus'!

⁶ See for instance, A. Panayiotou, 'Models of Compromise and *Power Sharing* in the Experience of the Cypriot Modernity' (2006) 18(2) *The Cyprus Review* 75–103.

countless forms of commentary, during the film. These reactions were not meant only for the partner of each spectator but were rather addressing the invisible co-viewers in the dark room. We share our society with *horkatoi* and we might well be *horkatoi* ourselves—the fleeing cultural sense of class employed here needs to be backed with a critical take on class in relation to the means of the economy as well as class on social status and historical stature. The model Mavratsas gave us is proving to be richer when interpreted, like any cultural material, in open ways. We produce social theory in and because of a social situation that calls for constant reinterpretation of what we do. Cases like this forum allow for that much needed space to expand on the legacy of scholars like the prematurely gone Mavratsas—the legacy of a critical sociology of understanding.

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Labour Migration, Diasporic Intimacy and Belonging in Maren Wickwire's Documentary *Together Apart*

MARILENA ZACKHEOS¹

Abstract

Maren Wickwire's documentary film Together Apart explores institutional discrimination against migrant workers in Cyprus through the personal narratives of its Filipina protagonists. At the same time, the film brings attention to the women's intimate relationships formed in the diaspora. By analyzing how these moments of diasporic intimacy challenge the logics of institutional discrimination, this paper seeks to re-evaluate heteronormative understandings of attachment. The paper explores, first, institutional discrimination against migrants in Cyprus, second, the (unfortunately) negligible contribution of Cypriot films and films about Cyprus so far in addressing this issue, third, the significance of Wickwire's cross-border filmmaking practices, and lastly, it calls into question conventional logics of family, belonging and nationhood that fuel discrimination by demonstrating the border-defying powers of diasporic intimacy in Together Apart.

Keywords: gender, labour migration, documentary film, intimacy, transnational motherhood, human rights, belonging, nationalism, Philippines, Cyprus

Introduction

Though several NGOs like the Mediterranean Institute for Gender Studies, Kisa and Obreras Empowered have for years rallied in opposition to violence against women and in favour of equal rights for migrants and domestic workers,² it took the sensational arrest of Cyprus' first serial killer to shamefully expose the island's systemic racism and sexism to the international scene. According to press reports, the self-confessed Greek Cypriot killer made contact with a woman from Romania, a woman

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² Despite its many successes and relentless hard work, civil society of course has its shortcomings including core funding and organisational problems, lack of solidarity between NGOs and common agendas, as well as ineffectual campaigning. See N. Trimikliniotis and C. Demetriou, 'Evaluating the Anti-discrimination Law in the Republic of Cyprus: A Critical Reflection' (2008) 20(2) *The Cyprus Review* 106.

from Nepal, and three women from the Philippines on a dating website, had sexual intercourse with them, then murdered and disposed of their bodies including two of the women's daughters in mine shafts, lakes, and pits in the Cypriot countryside.

The discovery of the first of these seven missing persons, the killer's confession, and the subsequent police investigations made it on all major news broadcasters like CNN, Al Jazeera, and ABC News. A BBC article, however, went further to expose that the Cypriot police showed indifference to reports of these women and children's disappearances.³ Agencies like the New York Times and the Washington Post quickly picked up the story, too, with headlines like 'Serial-killing case shocks Cyprus as police come in for criticism' and 'Missed chances to stop serial killer scrutinized in Cyprus,' respectively.

The police was further slammed through protests from the general public for failing to undertake investigations, alleging that the women and their children may have crossed over to the north of the island,⁴ having decided to leave their lives behind from the Republic of Cyprus to start anew.⁵ In rebuttal to the accusations of law enforcement indifference, the police also claimed to have had their hands tied, as under the law it is forbidden to lift the phone data of missing persons.⁶ Alarming, however, the seven lost lives are not the only women and girls who have gone missing in Cyprus. Unsolved by the police are the disappearances of 32 others since 1990, three of which are Greek Cypriot and the rest are all, unsettlingly, of non-Cypriot origins.⁷

³ R. Blunt, 'Cyprus Reels as Police Hunt for Victims of Suspected Serial Killer' (*BBC News* [online], 26 April 2019).

⁴ To the police's defense, this scenario is not unprecedented as many take this option as an escape from systemic hurdles encountered in the south. Working in the north allows migrants the freedom to escape exploitative work situations, work wherever they choose, for instance in restaurants or bars, outside of a contract and at higher pay. M. Wickwire, 'Staying Strong: Precarity and Self-Determination Among Filipino Migrant Workers in Cyprus', (Master's thesis, Freie Universität of Berlin, 2017), 38–42.

⁵ E. Hazou, 'Justice Minister Pressured to Resign Over Mine Murders' (*Cyprus Mail.com*, 22 April 2019).

⁶ M. Iacovides, 'Police Association Say Missing Persons Cases Were Hindered by Data Restrictions' (*Cyprus Mail* [online], 26 April 2019).

⁷ B. Hadjioannou, '32 Women Still Missing in Cyprus Since 1990' (*Cyprus* [online], 15 April 2019).

Subaltern immigrant women suffer discrimination, due to their gender, ethnicity,⁸ migration status and class, by Cypriot society⁹ and also by Cypriot governmental authorities. Perceived largely as passing through and as a means to an end through the 'low wage–low productivity–low skill'¹⁰ services they provide for Cypriots—whether these include caregiving, housekeeping, or prostitution—they seem to be tolerated but not integrated. At worst, they are neglected, exploited, assaulted, or even killed. Their own fates but also gender inequality at large receive less attention than other priorities of the island.

Unsurprisingly, the Cyprus Problem is a priority in Cypriot films and films about Cyprus too. The absence of films on migrant women's experiences further silences and neglects migrant women who partake so actively in society. Arguably, this absence contributes to the continued discrimination against migrant women by failing to make them visible and give them a voice, thereby not exposing to audiences these women's realities. Films that do tackle female migrant others in Cyprus are few,¹¹ which include Marianna Christofides' experimental documentary *dies solis. Sundays in Nicosia* (2010), Iva Radivojevic's visual essay *Evaporating Borders* (2014) and Maren Wickwire's documentary film *Together Apart* (2018). Christofides makes visible domestic workers on their day off, Radivojevic narrates largely through personal experience as an asylum seeker herself on the island, and Wickwire highlights personal narratives particularly from the perspective of domestic workers.

⁸ Z. Gregoriou, 'Questioning the Location of Gender in Integration Discourses and Policies' in *Young Migrant Women in Secondary Education: Promoting Integration and Mutual Understanding Through Dialogue and Exchange*, Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2011), 11.

⁹ A case in point regarding Asian women's problematic racialisation in particular is the often interchangeable common usage in the Cypriot Greek dialect of the terms 'Ασιάτισσα' [*Asian woman*], 'Φιλιπινέζα' [*Filipino woman*], 'Σριλανκέζα' [*Sri Lankan woman*] and 'μαυρού' [*black woman*] as Nicos Trimikliniotis notes. He argues that this racism is based on skin colour and also on class difference, in the sense that maids who would traditionally work in rich houses [αρχοντικά] were of a lower class status. N. Trimikliniotis, 'Racism and New Migration to Cyprus: The Racialisation of Migrant Workers' in F. Anthias and G. Lazarides (eds), *Into the Margins: Exclusion and Migration in Southern Europe* (Avebury: Ashgate, 1999), 139–178.

¹⁰ N. Trimikliniotis and P. Pantelides, 'Mapping Discriminatory Landscapes in Cyprus: Ethnic Discrimination in the Labour Market' (2003) 15(1) *The Cyprus Review* 137.

¹¹ Another noteworthy film about migration is Adonis Florides and Thodoris Nikolaidis' comedy *Kal-abush* (2004). It tells the tale of an illegal male immigrant from Syria attempting to integrate in Cypriot society.

More specifically, Wickwire's *Together Apart* explores institutional discrimination against migrant workers in Cyprus through the personal narratives of its Filipina protagonists. At the same time, the film brings attention to the women's intimate relationships formed in the diaspora. By analysing how these moments of diasporic intimacy challenge the logics of institutional discrimination, this paper seeks to re-evaluate heteronormative understandings of attachment. The paper explores, first, institutional discrimination against migrants in Cyprus, second, the (unfortunately) negligible contribution of Cypriot films and films about Cyprus so far in addressing this issue, third, the significance of Wickwire's cross-border film-making practices, and lastly, it calls into question conventional logics of family, belonging, and nationhood that fuel discrimination by demonstrating the border-defying powers of diasporic intimacy in *Together Apart*.

Institutional Discrimination and the Paradox of Cyprus' Multiculturalism

Following the April 2019 news of the multiple femicides¹² in Cyprus, President Nicos Anastasiades expressed his disgust at the scandalous fact that the murders 'have selectively targeted foreign women who are in our country to work'.¹³ Yet he also later unwittingly reaffirmed the presumed second-rate status of these women in Cypriot society. Addressing the congress of right-wing party DISY on 4 May 2019, President Anastasiades attacked the opposition party, left-wing AKEL, for the deteriorated economy and for failing to apologise regarding how the confiscated munitions and resultant naval base explosion incident was handled in July 2011 under AKEL's administration.¹⁴ President Anastasiades pronounced that, unlike AKEL, DISY assumed responsibility for the recent national tragedy, stating: 'I have ex-

¹² Following Diane E. H. Russell's definition, what classifies the killing of a woman as a femicide is if the motivation for the crime is gender-related. For more on femicide, see for instance D.E.H. Russell and J. Radford (eds), *Femicide: The Politics of Woman Killing* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1992) and D.E.H. Russell, 'Defining femicide and related concepts' in D.E.H. Russell and R.A. Harnes (eds), *Femicide in Global Perspective*, (New York: Teachers College Press, 2001).

¹³ Associated Press, 'Serial-Killing Case Shocks Cyprus as Police Come in for Criticism' (*The New York Times* [online], 17 April 2019).

¹⁴ Ammunition and military explosives had been confiscated by the Cypriot National Guard from a ship headed to Syria and these were dangerously stored in an open space at the Evangelos Florakis naval base in Mari for over two years before the blast resulted in 13 lives lost, severe damage to the island's largest power station Vasilikos, and destruction of many private residences. G. Psyllides, 'Disy-Akel Trade Barbs Over Apologising for Dead' (*Cyprus Mail* (online), 4 May 2019).

pressed my regret, I have expressed my apology, we dared to apologise regardless of the victims being foreigners'.¹⁵

Though this proclamation meant to counter-attack accusations of the current administration's criminal negligence in dealing with Cyprus' missing women, the President inadvertently expressed the perception that these women do not belong to a desired community within Cyprus. Immigrants to Cyprus are excluded from discussions of evolving Cypriot identity and dismissed as 'non-Cypriot communities' or even as 'non-communities' even though their contribution in numbers, as well as 'to the economy and to the evolving social and cultural fabric of the island' is immense.¹⁶ Concerning domestic workers in particular, the contradiction is their ongoing recruitment at the epicentre of Cypriot family life and yet their simultaneous disenfranchisement with policies aiming to keep them on the periphery of Cypriot society.¹⁷ State practices like detention and deportation criminalise harmless people simply looking to extend their work, shape negative perceptions of them¹⁸ and also 'sen[d] a clear message of these people being *unwanted*'.¹⁹

Part of the reason immigrants are dismissed thus is related to systemic discrimination that originates in the 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus. The Constitution acknowledges only two dominant communities: the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities. Under the Constitution, the small Armenian, Maronite, and Latin religious groups must choose membership between one of the dominant communities,²⁰ effectively, homogenising society instead of valuing its multiculturalism through a participatory and pluralistic form of government. These

¹⁵ Ibid. The President's exact Greek wording of this proclamation is as follows: «Έχω εκφράσει τη λύπη μου, έχω εκφράσει τη συγγνώμη μου, εμείς το ληήσαμε και ζητήσαμε συγγνώμη, ανεξάρτητα αν τα θύματα ήταν αλλοδαπές».

¹⁶ J. Teerling and R. King, 'Of Hubs and Hinterlands: Cyprus as an Insular Space of Overlapping Diasporas' (2012) 7(1) *Island Studies Journal* 43.

¹⁷ C. Mainwaring, 'On the Edge of Exclusion: The Changing Nature of Migration in Cyprus and Malta' (2008) 20(2) *The Cyprus Review* 40.

¹⁸ Ibid, 32.

¹⁹ Ibid, 39.

²⁰ The Roma minority population was not organised enough, not considered a religious group, and therefore not included in the Constitution. The few Greek-speaking Roma assimilated in the Greek Cypriot community and the Turkish-speaking Roma were counted in the Turkish Cypriot community. N. Trimikiniotis and C. Demetriou, 'The Cypriot Roma and the Failure of Education: Anti-Discrimination and Multiculturalism as a Post-accession Challenge', in N. Coureas and A. Varnava (eds), *The Minorities of Cyprus: Development Patterns and the Identity of the Internal-Exclusion*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009) 241.

religious groups have their own representatives in the Parliament but undeniably, the Constitution normalises bi-communalism.

Furthermore, President Archbishop Makarios' 13 amendments to the Constitution in 1963 aimed at altering the representation of Turkish Cypriots in Government from 30%, which was imposed by the British in the Constitution, to 20% so as to reflect the actual population ratio. This led to the withdrawal of the Turkish Cypriot community from the state power structures. Subsequently, 'the administration of the Republic has been carried out by the [Greek Cypriots]'.²¹

The Cyprus conflict developing from Greek-Cypriot calls for *enosis*—union with Greece—and Turkish-Cypriot calls for *taksim*—partition of the island—has certainly contributed to a greatly divisive society. Sociologist Caesar Mavratsas has noted that Greek-Cypriot nationalists' 'emphasis upon the *Greekness* of Cyprus and the particular ideological constructions that this orientation necessitates pose serious obstacles to accepting political cohabitation, in whatever form, with the Turkish Cypriots'.²² The legacy of the conflict is a catastrophic *dialectic of intolerance*²³ that has perpetuated distrust and racism in a significant section of society.

Moreover, the Cyprus conflict has acted as a blanket excuse for the government's disinterest and ineffectiveness to handle migrant issues. Anthropologist Sondra Sainsbury has noted that 'The *Cyprus Problem* in general and the *green line* in particular are often officially pointed to as the main reason for the Greek-Cypriot authority's failure to be able to adequately control illegal immigration into the country'²⁴ but as seen recently in the case of the missing women who were murdered, emigration is maintained as another similar unmanageable issue. Overall, 'the division plays into the fears about foreigners'²⁵ immigrating to Cyprus and also concedes not assuming responsibility about the well-being of undesired foreigners in Cyprus.

The true paradox about the current situation in Cyprus is its prevailing multiculturalism. Cyprus has had a long history of interculturalism. Among the peoples who have settled in, migrated to, or have occupied the island are the Greeks,

²¹ N. Trimikliniotis and C. Demetriou (no 2), 97.

²² C.V. Mavratsas, 'The Ideological Contest Between Greek-Cypriot Nationalism and Cypriotism 1974-1995: Politics, Social Memory and Identity', (1997) 20(4) *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 733.

²³ *Ibid*, 734.

²⁴ S. Sainsbury, 'Migrant Women in Cyprus: A Silent Presence', in P. Loizos, N. Philippou and T. Stylianou-Lambert (eds), *Re-envisioning Cyprus*, (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2010) 57.

²⁵ *Ibid*.

the Assyrians, the Egyptians, the Persians, the Arabs, the Romans, the Lusignans, the Genoese, the Venetians, the Ottomans, the British, and the Turks. The current Cyprus population is in turn ethnically mixed, being made up predominantly of Greek-Cypriots, Turkish-Cypriots, Armenian-Cypriots, Maronite-Cypriots, and Latin-Cypriots from French and Italian roots. There is even a small number of black Cypriots who have African heritage and whose predecessors arrived on the island as slaves during the Ottoman period.

Cyprus is a *falsely homogenised host society*.²⁶ On the contrary, it is also a *multi-diasporic space* that is ‘made up of overlapping diasporas and their everyday intercultural encounters’.²⁷ This fact cannot be emphasized enough. Migrant workers increased in Cyprus beginning in the 1980s as the government strived to cover shortages in various sectors.²⁸ Statistics show that more recently, in the mid to late 2000s, Cyprus ranked highest in the European Union pertaining to the rate of immigration proportionate to its population. Cyprus also ranks second in regard to population with foreign citizenship and third for population of foreign birth.²⁹

As migration scholars Janine Teerling and Russel King note, among Cyprus’ residents are also British *expats* who are retirees and lifestyle migrants, military personnel from the British sovereign bases at Akrotiri and Dhekelia, Pontic Greeks, Eastern Europeans such as Russians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Georgians, and Serbs, peoples from the Middle East including Lebanese, Syrians, Palestinians, Israelis, Iraqis, and Egyptians, African refugees as well as domestic workers hailing from Southeast Asia like Filipinos, Indians, Sri Lankans, Pakistanis, and Nepalese.³⁰ In turn, Greek nationals have been growing exponentially on the island as a community primarily due to labour migration, as a result of the economic crisis in Greece, but also due to high rates of inter-societal marriages as social distance between Greek-Cypriots and Greeks is considered minimal.³¹

²⁶ J. Teerling and R. King (no 16), 42.

²⁷ Ibid, 21–22.

²⁸ Z. Gregoriou and G. Christou, ‘The Dubious Gift/Debt of Integration: Patriarchal Regimes, Ethnicity and Sexuality in the School Lives of Migrant Girls in Cyprus’ in *Young Migrant Women in Secondary Education: Promoting Integration and Mutual Understanding Through Dialogue and Exchange*, Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2011) 23.

²⁹ Luxembourg ranks first regarding population with foreign citizenship. Cyprus ranks third after Luxembourg and Ireland for population of foreign birth. J. Teerling and R. King (no 16), 23.

³⁰ Ibid, 32–33.

³¹ M. Fulas-Souroulla, ‘Marriage and Migration: Greek Cypriot Representations and Attitudes Towards Inter-Societal Marriage’ (2008) 20(2) *The Cyprus Review* 123.

The multinational personnel from the UN peacekeeping force is another group³² that contributes to Cyprus' diverse social landscape. There are also students from Europe, Asia, Africa, and even North America who increasingly choose to complete their studies in Cyprus' private universities. Additionally, speaking of the north of Cyprus, though we have no accurate reports, it is believed that at least 50,000 Turkish settlers reside there.

Regardless of Cyprus' rich multiculturalism and due partly to the predominance of the Cyprus Problem in public interest, anti-discrimination issues have so far concerned the authorities considerably less.³³ What is additionally disquieting is that not only have far right groups not been convicted for racist attacks³⁴ but, in 2016 the ultra-nationalist party ELAM (The National Popular Front) even managed to win one seat in the House of Representatives.

The Matter with Cypriot Films and Films about Cyprus

The Cyprus Problem, encompassing also reunification efforts, has in turn dominated as a thematic focus in Cypriot films³⁵ and films about Cyprus at the expense of other sociocultural issues.³⁶ In terms of full-length documentary films' subject matter in particular,³⁷ consider for instance the following from the 2000s.³⁸ *Living*

³² J. Teerling and R. King (no 16), 42.

³³ N. Trimikliniotis and C. Demetriou (no 2), 106.

³⁴ Ibid, 107.

³⁵ Some of these films whose thematic focus is the Cyprus Problem include: Andreas Pantzi's *The Rape of Aphrodite* (1985) and *The Slaughter of the Cock* (1996), Michael Papas' *Tomorrow's Warrior* (1979), as well as Costas Demetriou and Pavlos Philippou's *Order to Kill Makarios* (1975). For more information, see C. Constandinides and Y. Papadakis, 'Introduction: Scenarios of History, Themes, and Politics in Cypriot Cinemas' in C. Constandinides and Y. Papadakis (eds), *Cypriot Cinemas: Memory, Conflict, and Identity in the Margins of Europe* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2015).

³⁶ Ibid, 11.

³⁷ Unsurprisingly, funding by governmental agencies, associations and organisations like UNDP have been primarily allocated to film projects that deal with the Cyprus Problem, thus significantly limiting the content of documentary films as well. E.A. Davis, 'Archive, Evidence, Memory, Dream: Documentary Films on Cyprus' in C. Constandinides and Y. Papadakis (eds), *Cypriot Cinemas: Memory, Conflict, and Identity in the Margins of Europe*, (New York: Bloomsbury, 2015) 36.

³⁸ Despite the more prolific documentary film-making work of the 2000s, arguably, the most significant documentary about Cyprus remains *Attila '74* by Greek-Cypriot Michael Cacoyiannis, which was filmed exactly at the aftermath of 1974, exposing the events alongside interviews with survivors and refugees from the war but also with significant figures such as President Archbishop Makarios and Nikos Sampson, leader of the coup d'état and subsequent temporary de facto President. Although these eye witness reports comprise only the narratives of the Greek-Cypriots, they are remarkable testaments to the period and its turmoil.

Together Separately (2003), by Greek Cypriot Elias Demetriou, focuses on the two communities living in Pyla, a mixed village located in the Buffer Zone and monitored by the United Nations. *Cyprus: Echoes Across the Divide* (2006), by Australian Adam Sèbire, charts the process and difficulties in organising a bi-communal musical performance in a divided Nicosia. *The Case of the Ambient Atmosphere* (2005) and *Poison* (2008), by Greek Cypriot Makarios Drousiotis, both tackle the Greek Cypriots' rejection of the Annan Plan for resolving the Cyprus Problem in the 2004 referendum. *Sharing an Island* (2011), by Greek Cypriot Danae Stylianou, follows six young Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots who journey to the north and south of the island together and discuss the political conflict, trauma, and discrimination they have inherited. *Birds of a Feather* (2012), by Greek Cypriot Stefanos Evripidou and Irish Cypriot Stephen Nugent, records positions by United Nations officials, academics, educators, researchers, and activists as well as shared and conflicting narratives from Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot refugees on the traumatic 1963 and 1974 events. Also, *Colony* (2015), by Turkish Gürcan Keltek, focuses on the remnants of 1974 in Cyprus' geographical space, concentrating for instance on the excavations of mass graves for Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot missing persons and the abandoned Nicosia International Airport.³⁹ Many of these films have a praiseworthy peace-making mission, promoting greater understanding of Cyprus' complex historical conflict, and the oft-similar but oft-diverging viewpoints of the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. It is clear that their top priority is the *national* issue, giving prominence to inter-ethnic relations only between the main two communities of the island.

Documentaries that deviate from the key themes of the Cyprus Problem and reunification include works as diverse as the following. *Memories of Miners* (2007), by Greek Cypriot Paschalis Papapetrou, recalls the difficult working conditions of miners and their union strikes in the 1930s and 1940s. Papapetrou's film *Troodos and the Birth of Cyprus* (2009) gives a geological account of Cyprus' formation. *Dreams in Another Language* (2010), by Greek director Lucia Rikaki, shows the everyday coexistence of students hailing from 21 different countries at Nicosia's Faneromenis School. *The Third Motherland* (2011), by Greek Cypriot Costas M. Constantinou and

³⁹ Elizabeth Anne Davis provides a thorough analysis of contemporary Cypriot documentary films' focus on the Cyprus Problem and specifically their use of archives in *Cypriot Cinemas: Memory, Conflict, and Identity in the Margins of Europe*. Among the documentaries she references are: Derviş Zaim and Panicos Chrysanthou's *Parallel Trips* (2004), Vassiliki Katrivanou's *Women of Cyprus* (2009) and Serkan Hussein's *Homeland* (2010).

Giorgos Kykkou Skordis, tells the Maronite community's integration within Cypriot society but also their ethno-cultural difference. *Missing Fetine* (2017), by Australian-born Yeliz Shukri, uncovers the phenomenon of various young Turkish Cypriot girls having been sold and wed to Arabs during British Rule due to poverty through a personal search for a long-lost aunt. *Birth Days* (2018), by Greek Cypriot Danae Stylianou, examines natural birth practices without medical intervention in Cyprus. *The Ghost of Peter Sellers* (2018), directed by Hungarian Peter Medak and produced by Greek Cypriot Paul Iacovou, recounts the various disastrous incidents that thwarted the completion of a Hollywood movie shot in Cyprus starring Sellers.

The 2010 documentary *dies solis. Sundays in Nicosia*, by German Cypriot Marianna Christofides, is one of a few exceptions to the disinterest of film-makers in migration. The film documents over the period of one year how domestic workers spend their Sundays off in Old Nicosia. The 2014 visual essay *Evaporating Borders*, by Iva Radivojevic, in turn explores the status, livelihood, perceptions and treatment of asylum seekers, refugees, domestic workers and other migrants in Cyprus to a significant degree through voice-over by the director, herself born in former Yugoslavia but having migrated to Cyprus following the political unrest.⁴⁰ Finally, the 2018 documentary film *Together Apart*, by German Maren Wickwire, tells the story of 50-year-old Carren, a single mom from the Philippines, who migrated to Cyprus for work and 25-year-old Guil Ann, Carren's oldest daughter, who has followed in her footsteps, leaving behind three children and a husband, to generate income in Cyprus.

***Together Apart's* Cross-Border Film-making Practices: Defying National Cinema**

Together Apart was produced by Manifest Media, whose founder, Maren Wickwire and director of the said film, has described as 'a nomadic film production company'. Though Wickwire lives in the United States, she works globally with interests in globalization, migration, and women's issues. Created as part of her MA thesis in Visual and Media Anthropology for Freie Universität of Berlin, the documentary went on to win the Best Student Film Award at the 27th International Festival of Ethnological Film in Belgrade 2018, the Best Student Film Award with an Honourable Mention

⁴⁰ C. Constandinides, 'Postscript: Borders of Categories and Categories of Borders in Cypriot Cinemas' in C. Constandinides and Y. Papadakis (eds), *Cypriot Cinemas: Memory, Conflict, and Identity in the Margins of Europe* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2015) 220.

from The Society for Visual Anthropology's Film and Media Festival 2018, and it received an Honourable Mention for the 2018 David Plath Media Award. Furthermore, the film was officially selected for screening in over a dozen festivals worldwide during 2018, including the Baja California International Film Festival, the London Migration Film Festival, Cine y Derechos Humanos de Madrid and Ethnografilm Paris.

In Cyprus, *Together Apart* was first screened at the *Goethe Institut* Cyprus with the organization's support on 10 February 2018. More than 150 people attended, including a significant number of Filipino community members, locals, and internationals. A vibrant question and answer session followed with the director and one of the documentary's protagonists Guil Ann. The event was especially stimulating for the audience, as the screening was organized in tandem with German Rebecca Sampson's photography exhibition titled *Apples for Sale* that featured Indonesian domestic workers in Hong Kong. This allowed one artist's work to concentrate on the specifics of female labour migration in one location to inform the other, emphasising that the issues faced by domestic workers are a global phenomenon. The film was screened again on 22 September 2018 as part of the AEI-Cine Fest in Skali, Aglantzia. Following the screening, 16 Filipino women answered questions from the audience. A public film screening was then organized by the Cyprus Centre for Intercultural Studies in collaboration with the University of Nicosia's UNESCO Chair on 'Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue for a Culture of Peace' on 29 October 2018, at the University of Nicosia, with an audience made up primarily of students and academics. Lastly, the film was screened⁴¹ in Pafos at Technopolis 20 on 3 November 2018 for an intimate audience of 20. Lissa Jataas, founder of the association Obreras Empowered, was present for the question and answer session, representing the domestic workers community.⁴²

⁴¹ *Together Apart* will next be included in the festival programme of Ethnografilm Nicosia and screened at Home for Cooperation on 27–28 September 2019.

⁴² As Wickwire explained, 'The aim of the film was to bring the Cypriot and migrant communities together and actually have a direct dialogue'. The audience in all screenings was successfully engaged, voicing various questions afterwards in the question and answer sessions. Interestingly, the younger generation was more empathetic towards domestic workers' rights, though the older generation 'tried to justify that they paid way more, plus accommodation, etc.' Wickwire reflected: 'It would be really interesting to do a study on how young Cypriots perceive domestic workers—since so many were raised by them. I think they are emotionally torn between the public perception of *foreigners* and *outsiders*, *invaders* in Cyprus and their personal experience of being cared for and raised by a domestic worker' (personal communication, 20 June 2019).

One cannot easily categorise Wickwire's documentary in a single national cinema. As film-maker Elia Suleiman has claimed about his own work: 'My films are Palestinian because I am a Palestinian, the way you'd say a film is French if the director is French. But my films don't deal with Palestine'.⁴³ Similarly, Wickwire is German-born, but *Together Apart* does not deal with Germany as its thematic focus. Like Suleiman, Wickwire can be said 'to deconstruct th[e] imposed national image'⁴⁴ by dealing with non-German specific issues.

Furthermore, she has explained that her use of alternating scenes in Cyprus and in the Philippines is influenced by visual anthropologist and film-maker Steffen Köhn, who suggests that the 'temporal and spatial montage provide new possibilities for the organization and dissemination of ethnographic knowledge in terms of multivocality and multiperspectivity and thus foster the viewer's active engagement with the contradictions and uncertainties of our deterritorialized present'.⁴⁵ Wickwire's interest in multivocality and multiperspectivity is shared also by Suleiman who strives to 'avoid a centralized, unified image that allows only a single narrative perspective'.⁴⁶ Decentralization is here used as a method to 'blu[r] boundaries of territory and identity'.⁴⁷

By virtue of being decentred and shot in two countries, Wickwire's documentary also resists being pigeonholed exclusively in either Philippine cinema or Cyprus cinema.⁴⁸ The nomadic or transnational nature of the film rather calls for understanding the work as *being of* and *apart from* any one single national cinema. Its transnational approach 'challenge[s] the western (neo-colonial) construct of nation and national culture and, by extension, national cinema as stable and Eurocentric'.⁴⁹ It is not that the national ceases 'to exert the force of its presence' on the transnational;⁵⁰ the transnational is very much shaped by the sociocultural and political forces of nations. However, as theorised by film scholars Will Higbee and Song Hwee Lim, cross-border film-making can 'scrutiniz[e] the tensions and dia-

⁴³ E. Suleiman, 'A Cinema of Nowhere' (2000) 29(2) *Journal of Palestine Studies* 99.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ M. Wickwire (no 4), 45.

⁴⁶ E. Suleiman (no 43), 97.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ The work can also be described as an ethnographic film but it engages in ethnographic research transnationally.

⁴⁹ W. Higbee and S.H. Lim, 'Concepts of Transnational Cinema: Towards a Critical Transnationalism in Film Studies' (2010) 1(1) *Transnational Cinemas* 9.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 10.

logic relationship between the national and the transnational' to the extent that 'it may affect, subvert and transform national and transnational cinemas'.⁵¹ In this sense, while not produced or directed by either a Cypriot or a Filipino, *Together Apart* may be considered as boldly participating in Cypriot cinemas (especially under Costas Constandinides' widened definition of *Cypriot cinemas*⁵²) and Philippine cinemas too. Fittingly, the documentary also challenges strictly national and mono-cultural conceptions of belonging in its subject matter by emphasising intimate connections formed in the state of displacement of its protagonists.

Visibility, Voice, and Intimacy in *Together Apart*

Together Apart gives both visibility and voice to a community of women not only contributing financially to care for their own families but contributing socially in Cyprus while also struggling there due to systemic discrimination. This agrees with the proposal of the European Commission's Handbook on Integration (2010) to 'giv[e] a voice and face to migrant women, both those who are empowered and those who are the victims of exploitation'.⁵³ At the same time, what is truly remarkable about Wickwire's documentary is the uncovering of a central tenet that supports and sustains these women in their experience of displacement in a second home and which furthermore comes to challenge monolithic understandings of family, belonging, and nationhood: diasporic intimacy. By displaying and voicing moments of diasporic intimacy, the documentary rewrites conventional logics of attachment. It also puts forth a political statement, calling for the Republic of Cyprus to revisit its labour and integration policies pertaining to domestic workers.

Throughout the film, the Filipino community members are given visibility outside the confines of the private domestic space of their employment. This move is significant as it acts counter to the invisibility of their domestic work that neglects or victimises them. As the nature of domestic work is confined to the private household, domestic workers are rendered invisible, and this invisibility 'is unfortunately used by the authorities to justify the complete lack of control mechanisms to ensure

⁵¹ Ibid, 18.

⁵² Constandinides proposes that Cypriot cinemas be considered: '(1) as a paradigm for interrogating normative and aberrant representations stemming from multiple viewpoints on the Cyprus Problem, and a multi-ethnic Cypriot society; (2) as a paradigm that wishes to depart from the normative perception of the *National* as a host and source of binaries; and (3) as a paradigm that examines the transnational *frame* as a cultural, affinitive, and/or epiphanic exchange, which extends to other interactions that are not exclusively economic. C. Constandinides (no 40), 232.

⁵³ Z. Gregoriou (no 8), 7.

the implementation and observance of a domestic worker's employment and living conditions'.⁵⁴ Gender and migration researchers Josie Christodoulou and Anna Zobnina remind, 'This situation leaves [domestic workers] extremely vulnerable to exploitation and abuse'.⁵⁵ Instead, *Together Apart* proudly supports domestic workers' visibility. The Filipino women are herein displayed as comprehensive and dynamic individuals commanding their own lives. The camera for instance records Guil Ann riding the bus on Makarios Avenue, one of Nicosia's main shopping streets, as well as shopping there; taking selfies outside of Nicosia's Venetian walls in a park in the moat and at the National Forest Park of the Pedagogical Academy; enjoying herself with other Filipinas at karaoke; overlooking Nicosia on a rooftop in the evening; attending a service at the Holy Cross Catholic Church; connecting with friends in private living quarters; and posing at the beach as seen in her photographs. In turn, the Overseas Filipino Worker (OFW) community is shown rehearsing traditional dances under a bridge in Nicosia; competing in a league at a volleyball court; barbecuing in a neighbourhood street; and marching together downtown for Philippines Independence Day.

Moments of communal congregation, such as the singing of the Lord's Prayer at church, the gathering for karaoke and the cheerleading for their respective volleyball teams show a vibrant and publicly active community in Nicosia.⁵⁶ They also show ethnic solidarity, connecting women who might otherwise not have met but is made possible specifically through their common experience of displacement. As diaspora studies scholar Svetlana Boym argues, diasporic intimacy is directly related to uprootedness,⁵⁷ which requires learning to inhabit loss, and in this process, immigrants see *possibility after the loss*.⁵⁸ Intimacy of this kind is transformative in that it provides both a sense of belonging and empowerment for these women

⁵⁴ J. Christodoulou and A. Zobnina, 'Investigating Trafficking in Women for Labour Exploitation in Domestic Work: The Case of Cyprus' in *I Thought I Was Applying as a Care Giver: Combating Trafficking in Women for Labour Exploitation in Domestic Work* (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2015) 29.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ As visual ethnographer Nicos Philippou aptly notes, the use and adoption of urban space is significant in terms of constructing a community. See N. Philippou, 'Migrants, Social Space and Visibility' (2008) 20(2) *The Cyprus Review*.

⁵⁷ For more on Boym's understanding of diasporic intimacy, see M. Zackheos, 'Michael Ondaatje's Sri Lanka in *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid*' (2012) 33(3) *South Asian Review* 67.

⁵⁸ S. Boym, 'On Diasporic Intimacy: Ilya Kabakov's Installations and Immigrant Homes' in L. Berlant (ed.) *Intimacy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000) 230.

despite loss. In *Together Apart*, intimacy's potential is materialised for example in the recording of one of the volleyball team's cheerleading routines that incorporates Queen's victory anthem *We are the Champions* as well as in the image of Carren's volleyball trophy that was awarded to the most cooperative team.

By focusing on transnational motherhood, the film further asks its audience to expand its understanding of modes of attachment. Guil Ann connects with her family in the Philippines by videoconferencing, sharing her photographs online, and mailing them presents as well as physical photographs in a carton box from Cyprus. The silent close-ups on the family's facial expressions of sweeping sadness but also transient joy upon seeing Guil Ann's photographs in person reveal an attachment that can simply be intimated, that is, not easily reduced to words. Boym explains that 'Diasporic intimacy can be approached only through indirection and intimation, through stories and secrets. It is spoken in a foreign language that reveals the inadequacies of translation'.⁵⁹

This foreign register of diasporic intimacy has physical distance as its groundwork, but the distance does not limit its direction. Though, at the beginning of the film, Guil Ann's mom Carren also resides in Cyprus, the physical contact between them too is limited. They each work during the week and get to see each other on Sunday, which is their day off. Mother and daughter are never shown together in a single frame but only in the case of photographs stored on Guil Ann's phone. The only times the two women are shown to have contact are via the telephone. Technology (including the director's camera itself) truly mediates these women's relationship, substituting close physical connection. 'Actually, we didn't have much bonding with my mom,' Guil Ann says, given that Carren worked abroad for over 14 years. Hazeline, a 32-year-old former OFW herself in Cyprus, laments that the domestic workers' lives revolve around taking care of other people's kids while being away from their own, as was the case with Carren and her own daughter.

Nonetheless, there is tenderness between Carren and Guil Ann, shown in their few interactions. For instance, when Carren is unexpectedly arrested and confined at a detention centre for working illegally on the island, amidst despair over Carren's possible deportation and the family's dire finances, mother and daughter exchange a humorous moment over the phone. Carren complains that the food tasted

⁵⁹ Ibid, 227.

terrible that day, and Guil Ann teasingly asks her plump mother if she is getting skinny; to which Carren cackles and blurts out ‘No chance!’.

The antithesis to such warm moments is the backdrop of systemic discrimination. The documentary juxtaposes this tender phone conversation heard in voice-over with a sequence of unpopulated sterile state detention centre images. The women’s caring for each other is contrasted with the desolate landscape of a system uncaring for real-lived lives. Overall, the *institution* sequence reminds that the system ejects these women, treating them as unwanted visitors once their visa permits have expired or once their illegal residence status has been discovered. Driven to return with a new name and fake passport for their livelihood as well as for human bonds created in the host country, these women eventually inevitably face lack of integration.

Following Carren back to the Philippines after her deportation,⁶⁰ *Together Apart* documents additional narratives and facets of Cypriot society’s discrimination against Filipina domestic workers, ironically (or fittingly?), there, removed from Cyprus. These injustices are protested via intimate connections. Carren begins: ‘You know, Maren, life in Cyprus is...’. There she pauses and then proceeds with: ‘Ah, the people there are...’, again censoring herself. Finally, she relates that ‘Just because that we went there as an OFW, they think that we don’t have brain, we don’t have nothing... we don’t know how to use the vacuum, use the microwave, use the TV. Somebody is asking if there is a TV in the Philippines. And I hate that!’. Hazeline here chimes in, mocking, in perfect Cypriot Greek: ‘«Έσσει έτσι; Έσσει έτσι;» [*Do you have this in the Philippines? What about this?*].⁶¹ The intercultural relations between Carren and Maren, the director, but also between Hazeline and Greek Cypriot culture are what allow for this insight and criticism to be voiced regarding the ignorance of Cypriots toward Filipinos.

Carren then humorously confesses: ‘Actually, we don’t have a TV in the house now, it’s broken’. Her joke—albeit also a truth about the broken TV—echoes stereotypes Cypriots have of Filipinos as undeveloped and poverty-stricken. However, Carren also outright protests against such stereotypes when she soon tells Maren:

⁶⁰ Regrettably, Carren’s deportation was directly related to a dispute between her and a fellow Filipina. This shows that the community is not ‘an exclusively unified whole against systematic violence’ but community members can also cause harm to one another to establish more powerful positions therein. M. Wickwire (no 4), 16-17.

⁶¹ For a discussion on subversive acts of mimicry that call for a re-evaluation of hegemonic discourse, see M. Zackheos, ‘Amazon Island: Revisiting Female Intimacy in Luz María Umpierre-Herrera’s *The Margarita Poems*’ (2016) 37(2) *Frontiers: A Journal of Women’s Studies* 38–39.

'You can spread the news that Filipinos are having a good life. They eat five times a day. They have everything and it's tastier than Cyprus!'. All three women laugh, recognising the jab at Cypriots' pride in their cuisine but also arrogance in relation to other cultures.

Carren's claim that they have everything also echoes another general assumption by Cypriots that domestic workers make a fortune working abroad and return to build palaces. This assumption justifies for Cypriots the minimal net salary given to Filipino domestic workers of €309 a month. Yet the film debunks this myth of riches showing that, despite working for years abroad, Carren has not managed to bank any savings. She is left with only a dream of building a house one day in the city but knows that she is getting too old to be employed again. Instead, she must now rely on her daughter for her livelihood. The vicious poverty cycle of course continues intergenerationally as Guil Ann admits that 50% of her salary goes to her family and 50% goes towards her *credits* in the Philippines, that is to say, her loan directed to pay off her employment agent.

More significantly, Carren's self-deprecating good-life joke and the women's laughter that ensues emerges with a social function. As laughing expert Robert R. Provine points out 'The necessary stimulus for laughter is not a joke, but another person'.⁶² There is of course a difference between laughing with someone and laughing at someone. Furthermore, 'In some respects laughter may be a signal of dominance/ submission or acceptance/ rejection'.⁶³ In this case, the lines are very much blurred. Nonetheless, what ensues between the one who jokes and the one who laughs is a form of pleasurable connection and a sense that they are both *in the know*, sharing a common secret, thus shaping a close bond.

Another aspect that the film captures in the Philippines is these women's unacknowledged role as caregivers in their own families in addition to others. Women care for each other and for their elders as seen in raw shots of pampering pedicure-giving. Mistakenly, there are assumptions about migrant women coming from non-advanced countries and being held back by their own conservative cultures with little attention paid to 'the *headless body* of contemporary patriarchal capitalism'.⁶⁴ The film's close-ups on treating worn out feet in the pedicure scenes reveal the domestic

⁶² R.R. Provine, 'Laughing, Tickling, and the Evolution of Speech and Self' (2004) 13(6) *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 215.

⁶³ R.R. Provine, 'Laughter: A Scientific Investigation' (1996) 84 *American Scientist* 42.

⁶⁴ Z. Gregoriou (no 8), 8.

workers' multidirectional caregiving, which falls in stark contrast to the busy women of Cyprus who are part of the mechanism of patriarchal capitalism themselves and must hire domestic workers to assist them with their own families. Domestic workers and in particular 'Asian women make it possible for [Cypriot women] to work outside the home and still have a clean home with food ready and someone to tend to their children while they are away at work'.⁶⁵ In short, there is pressure on both migrant women and their employers 'not to neglect their family/ communal/ national obligations'.⁶⁶ However, it is the state's failure to provide welfare to the elderly, disabled and children⁶⁷ that has made live-in domestic work a necessity.

What is certainly clear in the film is that the conventional heterosexual family structure is no paradigm for these domestic workers. For one, the film highlights single motherhood through the character of Carren. Secondly, Carren and Guil Ann are displayed as the main breadwinners for their entire immediate family. Furthermore, sexual intimacy between a heterosexual couple is shown as neither the sole nor the primary type of intimacy in the lives of these women; rather, their livelihoods depend on other types.

Intercultural Connections

It is intercultural connections formed in the receiving country that are shown as fundamental in the diasporic lives of these domestic workers, shaking up the conventional heterosexual family structure model for these women's support. At the money transfer company Guil Ann uses to send money home, when the middle-aged Greek Cypriot clerk Panayiotis asks her if she has found a boyfriend, this conversation ensues:

Guil Ann: 'You want me to find someone?'

Panayiotis: 'You don't want to?'

Guil Ann: 'I don't want'.

Panayiotis: 'I don't blame you'.

Guil Ann: 'Maybe I will be the one to feed them!' [she laughs]

The exchange may at first strike one as inappropriate due to its intimate subject matter, but Guil Ann's body language of leaning in on Panayiotis' desk and resting

⁶⁵ S. Sainsbury, 'Migrant Women in Cyprus: A Silent Presence', 57.

⁶⁶ J. Christodoulou and A. Zobnina (no 54), 36.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 35.

her head in her right palm shows comfort with her interlocutor. He, in turn, shows respect for her personally in inviting her to express her wishes. Rather, the viewer comes to understand that this is a heart-to-heart exchange about Guil Ann's erotic life in which Panayiotis expresses interest in her happiness but also her well-being as seen in his empathetic statement 'I don't blame you'. This is someone Guil Ann has formed a close relationship with, as she regularly needs to send money home. As is made clear, Guil Ann's mother also grew close to him. During this office scene, Panayiotis is shown scrolling down his Facebook feed and asking Guil Ann why Carren is wearing a coat in her recent pictures online. As he continues scrolling, he pauses on a get-well post composed by another Facebook user from the Philippines and goes on to enquire into the health of Guil Ann's uncle. The connection between Panayiotis and Guil Ann's family is very real and not limited to the professional realm.

Subsequently, on the subject of transferring money home, the two have the following exchange:

Panayiotis: 'So I will send €270 to your mama'.

Guil Ann: 'Why? Ah, I will give the...'

Panayiotis: 'Why? Because I want to'.

Guil Ann: 'Okay'.

Taking on a fatherly role, Panayiotis takes the reins and decides how much he will send to Carren on behalf of Guil Ann. He does so through an unspoken concern for the well-being of Guil Ann's family present in the context of his words: 'Because I want to'. Intimacy 'relies heavily on the shifting registers of unspoken ambivalence'.⁶⁸ What is intimated carries significant weight. Panayiotis soon follows this with the sobering business-like statement: 'And don't forget to give me the other money you owe me'. Despite the pragmatic intent of his words, they reveal that he has clearly been helping Guil Ann with her payments, giving her credit out of consideration for her personally and her family. This tender scene is remarkable in that it presents an economic imbalance between Cypriots and non-Cypriot domestic workers and yet it erases the hierarchy and distinction between *us* and *them* by presenting the bond between Panayiotis and Guil Ann as that of a blood family.

⁶⁸ L. Berlant, 'Intimacy: A Special Issue', 6.

Additional representations of intercultural intimacy are revealed in the interactions between Guil Ann and a Greek Cypriot immigration attorney and between Guil Ann and a local friend of the family. In the case of the telephone conversation between Guil Ann and the Greek Cypriot attorney she makes contact regarding her mother's arrest, Guil Ann is shown in profile inside a car outside the detention centre, asking her lawyer for an update. He informs her that Carren applied for free legal aid from the state and they await news after the court ruling. Guil Ann thanks him for the information and adds 'We are just worried, or...' at which point he interjects with: 'My pleasure, my pleasure'. The timing and anxious repetition of his polite response shows empathy to her loss and a wish to ease her worries, though he knows full well and regrets there is not much he can do to help. Solace to the family is also given in a scene shot in Guil Ann's private quarters where an unidentified woman with a Greek Cypriot accent is heard offscreen telling Guil Ann in English that Carren should not despair in the detention centre and 'She should like... know that we need her'. As Roland Barthes argues, tenderness is always a substitution and as such, it in turn is 'a miraculous crystallization of presence'.⁶⁹ The friend's statement acknowledges Carren and her importance even in her absence.

More directly, however, it is the intercultural connections with the host family that become the domestic workers' everyday lives, giving them a sense of belonging. Upon arriving in Cyprus to work as caregiver for a young child, Carren finds out she is herself pregnant. Given the choice by social welfare to keep her son with her in Cyprus or fly him back to the Philippines, she commits the ultimate self-sacrifice and chooses the latter, flying her 20-day-old son back; she claims keeping him with her would be unfair to her employer's daughter. Years after, she is brought to sorrow that she knows nothing about her son's character due to her long absence. Nonetheless, Carren confesses that she never felt homesick because Eva, her employer's daughter, 'gave me all the love'. Carren narrates that with her employer away during the night or day for work, she would take Eva in her room, not letting her sleep in her crib. This is a secret bond and a powerful one that the two share to the extent that Carren says: 'I am the first person that she called *mama* instead of her mom because we are always together every day, every night, that's why...When she grows up, she knows already I explained to her that "You can call me *mama* and call her *mommy*"

⁶⁹ S. Boym (no 58), 230.

Carren and Eva's relationship challenges what queer theorists Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner explain is national heterosexuality.⁷⁰ National heterosexuality depends on a familial model of society that is procreational. It is 'the mechanism by which a core national culture can be imagined as a saniti[s]ed space of sentimental feeling and immaculate behavio[u]r, a space of pure citizenship'.⁷¹ But Carren and Eva's forceful intimacy questions this model of pure citizenship that excludes those that do not participate in society through national lineage. Berlant observes that 'The kinds of connections that impact on people, and on which they depend for living (if not 'a life'), do not always respect the predictable forms: nations and citizens...'.⁷² Carren's caregiving goes above and beyond her work duties. As she says, 'I always take her on my side to hug her and if she will cry, I treat her like a real daughter,' which in turn renders Carren herself as an indispensable member of her employer's family and social life.

Moreover, *Together Apart's* testimonies of these domestic workers' intimate connections point to a transgressive crossing of borders—from the private to the public sphere, the personal to the communal, the stranger to the family member, the submissive to the empowered, the exploited to the respected, the foreign to the native self. In response to Berlant's question of 'What kinds of (collective, personal) authority, expertise, entailment, and memory can be supposed, and what kind of (collective, personal) future can be imagined if we do not define ourselves by *procreational chronology*?⁷³, the film puts forth one representation of a potential future of diverse coexistence and respect for difference. During the Philippines Independence Day Celebration, Filipino domestic workers wave flags of Cyprus and of the Philippines side by side. The united front of joyous celebrators fills the streets of Old Nicosia proudly singing in the Filipino language: 'Filipinos are unique. Don't be afraid. Be proud. I am a Filipino. We are all Filipinos'. Within the context of Nicosia's city streets, the slogan 'We are all Filipinos' takes on a whole new meaning; one of inclusivity regardless of national origin.

⁷⁰ For more concerning intimacy between people unrelated by blood or ethnicity and how this can challenge heterosexual culture, see M. Zackheos (no 61).

⁷¹ L. Berlant and M. Warner, 'Sex in Public' in L. Berlant (ed.), *Intimacy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000) 313.

⁷² L. Berlant (no 68), 4.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 7.

Conclusion

Overall, the documentation of diasporic intimacy in *Together Apart* works to destabilize understandings of collective plus personal realities and dreams. These understandings hold native and foreign subjects' lives as distinctly separate. The separation is reinforced and solidified by 'structural "sexist practices and the gender-blindness of government and community practices... that displaced, ignored and silenced women and led to an unequal and discriminating social order"'.⁷⁴ For instance, short-term work visas treat these women as temporary and yet they are required to contribute monthly to social security 'with the knowledge that they will never be allowed to stay long enough in the country to receive pension payments'.⁷⁵ Visa renewals are handled by the employer and on top, any complaints against employers are handled by the migration office rather than the labour office, sustaining an imbalance of power, threatening migrants with deportation.⁷⁶ Domestic worker benefits have improved in recent years and include: free accommodation and food, paid annual leave of 24 working days, paid sick leave of 30 days, paid public holidays and paid medical insurance in the framework of the General Healthcare System since 1 June 2019. However, as long as 'ethnic diversity in Cyprus continues to be imagined—by the state and to some extent by the population—as a *temporary* phenomenon rather than something that will need to be addressed within a long term perspective',⁷⁷ human rights violations will persist.⁷⁸ While Europeanisation has already paved the way in granting rights to migrant albeit European workers, third-country domestic workers' rights in Cyprus are still at the minimum. Due to unregulated workplace and living conditions, they 'are often overworked, underpaid, have their personal documents confiscated, and report restrictions in freedom of movement, poor working conditions, and isolation from family and friends'.⁷⁹ Frequent contract violations include sharing the services of one worker with the extended family and disregarding a worker's rightful time off.

⁷⁴ J. Christodoulou and A. Zobnina (no 54), 30.

⁷⁵ M. Wickwire (no 4), 14.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 15.

⁷⁷ S. Sainsbury (no 65), 57.

⁷⁸ For more in-depth analyses regarding discriminatory practices, see N. Trimikliniotis and P. Pantelides (no 10), 121–146 and V. Pavlou, 'Migrant Domestic Workers, Vulnerability and the Law: Immigration and Employment Laws in Cyprus and Spain' (2016) 7(1) *Investigaciones Feministas* 149–168.

⁷⁹ A.M. Agathangelou, 'Combating Trafficking in Women for Labour Exploitation in Domestic Work' in *I Thought I Was Applying as a Care Giver: Combating Trafficking in Women for Labour Exploitation in Domestic Work* (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2015) 17–18.

More significantly, the matter pertains to a greater issue. Gender scholar Zelia Gregoriou has articulated it best by pronouncing ‘gender equality is not an (ongoing) social struggle but a basic European value’.⁸⁰ Household and care work disproportionately fall under the responsibilities of women. Female employers submit to this gender regime, contributing also to vast inequalities between female employers and their employees based on class.⁸¹ What we are ultimately faced with is large-scale female migration whose subjects provide care services but are not cared for themselves nor are they offered the potential for social upward mobility because of unfair pay.

This ongoing systemic injustice frames *Together Apart* in intertitles at the beginning and the end. The epigraph explains the global demand for domestic workers and that ‘In 2016, Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) sent USD 26.9 billion in cash remittance home,’ sustaining the national economy and yet doing so at a large human cost, primarily gendered female. The film’s concluding title card protests that ‘Cyprus has one of the lowest wages for live-in domestic workers in the European Union’ and that ‘Cyprus refuses to sign the Domestic Worker ILO Convention 189, impeding policy regulations toward decent working conditions and fundamental rights’. The film literally calls for action to be undertaken by the state. Nonetheless, this call is contextualised in representations of diasporic intimacy suggesting that more relevant than ever is the task to rethink models of attachment that are the groundwork for personal but also communal relations. According to Berlant, ‘To rethink intimacy is to appraise how we have been and how we live and how we might imagine lives that make more sense than the ones so many are living’.⁸²

Gregoriou notes that Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal’s concept of postnational citizenship, which grants rights and duties to non-citizens in a given nation regardless of the ‘historical or cultural Rights to that community’ may be an ‘ultra-optimistic assessment’ for the future.⁸³ It is hard to deny this concept as a utopia for Cyprus,

⁸⁰ Z. Gregoriou (no 8), 8.

⁸¹ The matter of course is more nuanced when we take into consideration Floya Anthias’s formulation of translocational positionality that understands people as ‘being located across multiple but also fractured and interrelated social spaces of different types’. She argues for instance that people’s social positions may shift depending on the location they find themselves in. A migrant woman who visits the homeland may be regarded as having acquired ‘higher social status through her relative economic success’ although she is treated as a subordinate in the host country, ‘thereby giving her a contradictory social location transnationally’. F. Anthias, ‘Hierarchy of Social Location, Class and Intersectionality: Towards a Translocational Frame’ (2012) 28(1) *International Sociology* 131–132.

⁸² L. Berlant (no 68)), 6.

⁸³ Z. Gregoriou (no 8), 9.

especially since rethinking intra-social and interethnic relations requires a political maturation, which Mavratsas has rightly lamented ‘the Greek Cypriot community has been historically unable to go through’,⁸⁴ given the ongoing Cyprus Problem.

As a border culture, Cyprus has been defined by its various walls. But who can discredit that a boundary also has the potential of ‘a threshold to another world’?⁸⁵ Relational thinker Ash Amin has argued bounded territories are also spaces of relation where ‘all kinds of unlike things can knock up against each other in all kinds of ways’.⁸⁶ Speaking specifically of trafficked bodies ‘that mov[e] illicitly across the borders of nations, as well as the borders of morality and proper bodily containment’ but relevant also to the marginalised bodies of migrant workers, Agathangelou asks that we recognise ‘these bodies may spill and transgress, and in so doing, threate[n] to displace notions, imaginations, and desires about borders’.⁸⁷ According to Agathangelou, these bodies ‘transgress and simultaneously reveal transnational and intimate borders of “security—” of subject, family, nation, and region, thereby pushing us to consider trafficking, labour, exploitation and violence otherwise’.⁸⁸

Ultimately, intimacy itself is a powerful and cherished good that ‘is not solely a private matter; it may be protected, manipulated, or besieged by the state’.⁸⁹ Intimacy is prized because it has the power of transgression. It can cross familial and national borders, setting the reverence for these up for debate. There is immense danger in intimacy, both in terms of what connections it can forge but also what consequences it may have on the reciprocating parties and on the nation at large.

The non-Cypriot women and children killed trusted a Greek Cypriot man and the Republic of Cyprus with their lives. Both deemed that their personal lives did not matter. They were treated as a heavy burden, locking them up in luggage and wishing them away. When the violence against them was publicly revealed, their lives became a reality the nation could no longer deny. Tragically and indefensibly,

⁸⁴ C.V. Mavratsas (no 22), 734.

⁸⁵ H. Van Houtum, ‘The Mask of the Border’ in D. Wastl-Walter (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011) 59.

⁸⁶ A. Paasi, ‘A Border Theory: An Unattainable Dream or a Realistic Aim for Border Scholars?’ in D. Wastl-Walter (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011) 20.

⁸⁷ A.M. Agathangelou (no 79), 24.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ S. Boym (no 58), 228.

in life, they were rendered invisible. In death, they became a priority. Why? Did disrespect for diasporic intimacy call the nation itself into question?

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

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Abstract

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

Keywords: public sociology, critical sociology, policy sociology, colonialism, postcoloniality, divided society, Cyprus problem, social magma, social imaginaries²

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

Irene Demetriadou (possible pseudonym of Irene Solomonidou)³

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

Tefkros Anthias, *Purgatorium* 1931⁴

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

⁴ A rough translation of Anthias’ poem is as follows:

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

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

Locating Cypriot Sociology in Global Sociology Debates

Global debates and Cyprus: then and now

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19th century, socialists, communists and feminists, as well as more conservative secular and nationalist analyses, affected the field. Influences and sources were imported from the UK, Egypt, Greece and Turkey, and in the late 1980s and 1990s, the actual professional ‘practice’ through social work²⁶ and the major social/political influence of the Cypriot diaspora intellectuals were the sources of professional/academic sociology.²⁷

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁶ A. Giddens, ‘Forward’, in Sultana and Baldacchino, *Maltese Society*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁰ As well as social anthropologists, psychologists, political scientists and historians.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁹ Philippou, ‘Ο Αυστηρός Κυπριακός Εγκλεισμός’, 70, (in Greek).

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

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

apartheid regime.⁵² In this climate no one was prepared to take responsibility or ‘ownership’ of the plan⁵³ – hence subsequent UN plans would stress that the initiative is ‘Cypriot-led and Cypriot-owned’. The editorial of the newspaper *Simerini* (22 February 2004) alleged that the UN plan foresaw an ‘apartheid State’ which would be a ‘prison’ within which the Greek-Cypriot community would suffer great human rights violations, just like the black South Africans during the apartheid era.⁵⁴ The context was such that “during the Annan Plan referenda, all GreekCypriot TV stations opposed the plan as most of the daily newspapers did, with those promoting a ‘No’ response, representing it as a threat to the nation and the State”.⁵⁵

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵⁸ L. Ierodiakonou, *Τεθλασμένη πορεία* (Nicosia, 2003).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sources of Cypriot Sociology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷⁶ In 2008, Skliros, a Greek socialist from Egypt, published his book Our Social Problem.

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

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

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

⁷⁸ Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics*, 219-220.

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

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

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

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

⁸³ Panayiotou, ‘Island Radicals’, 80.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Foundations of Today's Sociology in Cyprus from the 1960s

From Pre-1974 to Post-1974 Sociology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹⁵ It included Kyriacos Markides, Michael Attalides, Eleni Nikita, Erengo Rangou.

social scientists that work abroad but maintain close interaction with developments in Cyprus.⁹⁶

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

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

⁹⁷ T. Kuhn ‘The Structure of Scientific Revolutions’, 2nd edn, *University of Chicago Press*, (Chicago IL, 1970), available at https://projektintegracija.pravo.hr/_download/repository/Kuhn_Structure_of_Scientific_Revolutions.pdf.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁰ H. I. Salih, Cyprus.

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

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

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

¹⁰⁴ Anthias and Ayres, 'Ethnicity and Class in Cyprus'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The 'Cypriotist' traditions, as an intellectual-political movement, is either censored or ridiculed as a viable respectable alternative to the Greek and Turkish colonialist project, which is 'normalised' in the dominant narratives in Cyprus. The undisputed 'lingua Franca' of finance, commerce, tourism and business is reserved for English. Sociologist Andreas Panayiotou, who has done the most to make the Cypriot moment as a theoretical vehicle for cultural-ideological resistance, placed it within its regional-geographical context, insisting that 'Cyprus is border society par excellence'. He has also legitimised the use of the Greek Cypriot idiom as a powerful local medium, which is scientifically and politically valid in theorising resistance and movements in the whole of the region. The intellectual debates around Cyprus have seen a revival of critical thinking that open up 'spaces' since 1974.¹¹²

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹³³ Kyritsi and Christofis, *Cypriot Nationalisms in Context*.

¹³⁴ See the devastating sociopolitical critique Ioannou, *Ο Ντεκτας στο Νοτο*.

¹³⁵ The works of Neophytos Loizides and Charis Psaltis are crucial here.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁴⁴ See Charalambous and Christophorou, *Party-society*.

sion Cyprus and culture through subject matter that includes, among others, the social history of child labour, the commodification of the Rock of Aphrodite, the family album, the silent presence of foreign female domestic workers and the political and social dimensions of the practice of the construction of Easter bonfires.¹⁴⁵ In turn, music, cinema and photography¹⁴⁶ in and about Cyprus have been the subject of three separate volumes, which offer quite comprehensive and foundational discussions on identity politics, Cyprus's colonial and postcolonial condition, Westernisation, modernisation and nationalism, and how they can be deciphered through cultural production. Some studies challenge, head-on, established notions of a one-dimensional, homogenous and Greek-oriented cultural production in Cyprus.¹⁴⁷ This is followed by critiques of 'the political museum',¹⁴⁸ which can be extraordinarily influential for shaping identity and collective memory, and provides an understanding of how politics, conflict, national agendas, and individual initiatives have shaped Cypriot museums and their narratives through processes of inclusion and exclusion.¹⁴⁹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In our 100-year review of sociology in Cyprus, we can revisit Caesar Mavratsas’ Invitation to sociology¹⁵¹ in a new light: We can locate crucial insights which contain the analytical means that allow for alternative pathways to the modern. We can move beyond Weber’s ‘iron cage’ to Marx’s ‘realm of freedom’. It is within these that we can locate potentialities of social ruptures to overcome the impasse over the ‘deficient modernity’ debates in Cyprus, as well as the oppressive and restraining structures of society. The task before us is very much the great challenge for Cypriot sociology. This can only be achieved by connecting to global and regional

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

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

¹⁵¹ Mavratsas, Εθνική, XI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁵⁴ In Greek «κοπιάστε».

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁵⁹ See Trimikliniotis, *Η Διαλεκτική*, Trimikliniotis, *The Role of State Processes*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Theatre Beyond Nationalism: Participatory Art in the Cyprus Buffer Zone

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Abstract

*The turbulent 20th century has left Cyprus with contested spaces scattered around its terrain. The period of inter-communal violence and ensuing war have left its two main ethnic communities living on each side of a buffer zone, which separates the island into two parts. Identity within the communities presents interesting trends, with the Greek Cypriot community (the focus of this study) developing a locally cultivated Greek nationalism, as well as Cypriotism at a later stage, both of which have rendered the buffer zone into a non-space. Through this paper, I propose that since 2011, the buffer zone offers an alternative understanding of community, through the participatory art that takes place there. Through the mechanisms of collaborative creation, the generation of new, temporary communities, which are engaged with social issues, and the focus on both process and result, new conversations arise, and new priorities are set within the artistic realm. Two plays are used as case studies, *Shift*, by Rooftop Theatre and *Gülgün Kayım* and *BAM!*, by Giorgos Neophytou, produced by Paraplevros Productions, which were presented within the buffer zone in 2014 and 2017 respectively, and grounded within and interacting with the buffer zone and its temporary communities, generating a new dialectic.*

Keywords: participatory art, Buffer Zone, dialectic, theater, identity

[...] I see the Dead Zone as internal
as much as it is external,
as subdued by memory but, at the same time,
directing remembering, a passive repository
and an active catalyst. (p. 67)²

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² S. S. Karayiannis, 'Zone of Passions: A Queer Re-Imagining of Cyprus's *No Man's Land*' (2017) 10 Synthesis 63–81.

Preamble

In the introduction of his 2012 book, *The Society of Horkates: The Cultural and Political Underdevelopment of Greek-Cypriots at the Beginning of the 21st century*,³ Mavratsas starts off by counting his lucky stars that his permanent academic position allows him to publish this type of book risk-free. The book has a title that brings laughter to anyone familiar with the Greek Cypriot dialect and society, a title that can damage his effort at making a legitimate socio-cultural critique and can jeopardise his reputation as a sociologist.

However, in his insightful analysis in this and other books and articles, as well as in his conversations with students, colleagues and social agents, he moves beyond *what seems* and makes a lasting mark on the academic life in Cyprus. As a persona and as a thinker, he has maintained a focused critical stance of the Greek Cypriot community in the post-1974 era, in a rare combination of inspiring the new generation of Cypriots through his formal and informal teaching (among them, myself) and creating a deep impact in academic sociology, as has been noted by Nicos Trimikliniotis in his introduction of the present issue.

Introduction to Identity

The identity (and nationalism) of Greek Cypriots in modernity is summed up, for the most part, in the idea that Cyprus is part of the greater Hellenic world. In the context of the historical continuity of the Hellenic nation, from antiquity to present day, Cyprus is articulated as part of the narrative of irredentism and the Megali Idea (the reconquering of lands that had—before the Ottoman Empire—formed the Greco-Christian world, in order to form the new Greek state) by such significant nation-building figures as Paparrigopoulos.⁴ In Cyprus, irredentism entered the

³ C.V. Mavratsas, *The Society of Horkates: The Cultural and Political Underdevelopment of Greek-Cypriots at the beginning of the 21st Century* (Athens: Papazisis Publications, 2012) (in Greek).

⁴ C. Paparrigopoulos, *History of the Greek Nation: from Ancient Times to Present Day. For the Teaching of the Youth* (Athens: Τυπογραφίας Ανδρέου Κορομηλά, 1853) (in Greek). Paparrigopoulos' geographical framing of the Greco-Christian world is evident in this excerpt: '(...) Christianity continued to spread among the Greeks, and the pagans, frustrated by this fact, attempted, in the third century, and protected by the emperors, grave persecutions against the supporters of the word of the Lord, and countless Christians became martyrs at the time, in Alexandria, Caesaria, Smyrna, Antioch, Thessaloniki, Crete and Cyprus' / '(...) ο Χριστιανισμός εξηκολούθησε διαδιδόμενος εις τους Έλληνας, οι δε ειδωλολάτραι, αγανακτούντες δια τούτο, επεχείρησαν, κατά την τρίτην εκατονταετηρίδα, προστατευόμενοι υπό των αυτοκρατόρων, δεινότητας διωγμούς κατά των οπαδών του λόγου του Κυρίου, και αναριθ-

consciousness of Greek Cypriot elites in the mid-19th century, together with communities in Crete and Asia Minor.⁵

In the historical timeline of Cyprus, the events of the first half of the 20th century leading up to the 1974 division of the island are well analysed by academia: the development of EOKA; independence; intercommunal strife in the 1960s; the military coup; and, the Turkish invasion in July 1974. According to Mavratsas,⁶ there was a short repose in the development of Greek Cypriot nationalism in the years immediately after 1974, until the middle of the 1980s, with a simultaneous turn towards Cypriotism.⁷ The nationalist narrative returned more firmly at that time, and is based on ‘the case of Cyprus, (where) an irredentist movement has been transformed into a politics of identity’.⁸ Emphasis at this stage was not on union with Greece any longer, but on the affirmation of the Hellenic identity of Greek Cypriots. Mavratsas referred to the tension between Greek Cypriot nationalism and Cypriotism, as a continuous condition in the island’s political scene in his detailed overview of the socio-political developments in the 1974-1995 period.⁹

Arriving in the 21st century, the questions linger: as Greek Cypriots, are we or are we not *real Greeks*? Which part of our identity is connected to the *Greek nation* (and the body of the nation), and which part is connected with our local, folklore identity? To what extent has our geographic isolation (from the *national body*) constituted us *peasants*,¹⁰ who simply need a bit of training in order to speak *proper Greek*?¹¹

μητοι Χριστιανοί εμαρτύρησαν τότε εις Αλεξάνδρειαν, εις Καιρασειαν, εις Σμύρνην, εις Αντιόχειαν, εις Θεσσαλονίκην, εις Κρήτην και εις Κύπρον’ (p. 85)

⁵ P.M. Kitromilides, ‘Greek Irredentism in Asia Minor and Cyprus’ (1990) 26(14) *Middle Eastern Studies* 4.

⁶ C.V. Mavratsas, ‘The Ideological Contest between Greek-Cypriot Nationalism and Cypriotism 1974–1995: Politics, Social Memory and Identity’ (1997) 20(4) *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 717–737.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 721, defines Cypriotism as: ‘the idea that Cyprus has its own sui generis character and thus must be viewed as an entity which is independent from both the motherlands of the two main communities of the island, that is Greece and Turkey. (...) Thus, Cypriotism does not deny the Greek or Turkish ethnicity of the inhabitants of the island; it stresses however that their ethnic identity—and thus on a more general level, their culture—has also acquired sui generis features that not only differentiate the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots from the Greeks and the Turks, but also create some common ground between the two communities of the island (Lanitis 1963, The New Cyprus Association 1975, 1980).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 718.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ ‘χώγκατοι’.

¹¹ For more on the complex relationship between Standard and Cypriot Greek linguistic varieties, and how that influences the diglossic situation within the Greek-Cypriot community: S. Tsiplakou, A. Papa-

Opening of the Checkpoints

The tension described above does not recognise the buffer zone, the dividing space between the two communities, as a real space. For Greek nationalism in Cyprus, the dominance of Greek identity in Cyprus is universal; it does not recognise borders, only the (Turkish) occupation. On the other hand, and according to Cypriotism, all of Cyprus belongs to Cypriots, without borders and in-between spaces, but dividing lines between Greek-speaking and Turkish-speaking Cypriots. For the second group, crossing the roadblocks to go to the north side of the island is a formality to go to the other side. What is important is the action of going to the other, not the process of going there, and not the buffer zone. The first group, in its majority, rejects the crossing to the other side altogether.

Therefore, the opening of the Ledra Palace checkpoint in 2003 constituted a new paradigm in Greek Cypriots' understanding of their own identity, beyond Greek nationalism and beyond Cypriotism. This is due to the fact that the parameters framing the identity of Greek Cypriots bear no validity in the buffer zone, the binary between the communities is invalid in the in-between space: there is no embedded process of *other-ing*, there are no issues pertaining to control and sovereignty (other than that of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force, which is undisputed, at least on the official levels), and finally, neither Greek nationalism nor Cypriotism are recognised, since there are no mechanisms of identity creation there.

Therefore, who are we when we are in the buffer zone?

Ledra Palace and Home for Cooperation

Through this paper, I will attempt to answer the question posed above by analysing specific examples of theatre productions, as those that have taken place in recent years in the Ledra Palace buffer zone.

Ledra Palace, the first roadblock to open on 23 April 2003, has been the symbol of tension between the two communities since 1958. It has been a site of conflict in the late 1950s and 1960s, a prisoner exchange station during periods of violence, and a passage for members of one community (stranded or living) on the other side after the 1974 exchange of populations. More recently, the formerly shining diamond of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Ledra Palace hotel, has been converted

pavlou, P. Pavlou and M. Koutsoyanou, 'Levelling, Koineization and their Implications for Bidialectism' in *Language Variation—European Perspectives* (Amsterdam: John Benjamin's Publishing Company, 2006) 265–276.

into barracks for the United Nations Peacekeeping Force (UNFICYP), and the area around, as has almost all of the buffer zone, has been left to the decay of time.

Activities in the buffer zone had started, according to Psaltis and Cakal, even before 2003, with 'conflict resolution workshops lead by academics and conflict resolution trainers outside Cyprus or in the UN Buffer Zone under special permission from the UN',¹² These were carried out through the initiative of embassies, academic institutions or international organisations, and took place either at the Ledra Palace hotel, Pyla/Pile, or outside the island altogether. After the opening of the Ledra Palace checkpoint, communication and inter-communal activities mostly took place in the Ledra Palace buffer zone area, at the Ledra Palace hotel, Fulbright Centre and the Goethe Institute. Civil society itself began to drive the activities, and active citizens from both sides of the divide began to self-organise around conceptualising, fundraising and carrying out activities aimed at creating opportunities for people from the two sides to have contact.¹³ Thus started a process of redefining the buffer zone, from a space of traumatic memory, to a new condition that is part of a process of growth.

Although authors have been writing about the buffer zone since the 1990s, with the work of poets and short story writers featuring in publications and volumes,¹⁴ the performing arts in/on the buffer zone are a more recent development. In 2011, the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research founded the Home for Cooperation in the Ledra Palace buffer zone area, providing a space where a new type of contact can be carried out between individuals and groups from the communities in Cyprus who are interested in inter-communal contact. This was officially marked by the first Buffer Fringe Performing Arts Festival in 2014, where, through the festival as an institution, the human body is now introduced into the space of the buffer zone as a legitimated means of expression.

¹² C. Psaltis and H. Cakal, 'Social Identity in a Divided Cyprus' in S. McKeown et al. (eds), *Understanding Peace and Conflict Through Social Identity Theory* (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2016) 235.

¹³ *Ibid*, 235.

¹⁴ Representative samples of authors and work have been published in the following two journal editions: S. Stephanides (ed.), 'Excerpta Cypriana' (Special issue on Cypriot Literature in three languages) (2009, Summer) 6(3) *91st Meridian*, available at <https://iwp.uiowa.edu/91st/vol6-num3>; A. Collett (ed.), *Kunapipi*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (2011), available at <https://ro.uow.edu.au/kunapipi/vol33/iss1/>.

Process as Product

The Home for Cooperation and the Buffer Fringe Performing Arts Festival introduced a new framework for creativity in the buffer zone. They inaugurated a new relationship between the performing arts and the audience, a new authorship of the art piece and a view of theatre based on a new parameter: participation. A large part of the analysis, which will follow, is based on the work of Claire Bishop, as encapsulated in her book *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*.¹⁵

Temporary Communities

The traditional perception of audience members is that they are part of the broad public, that they constitute a presence in art where *aesthetic experience is simply offered*, since he/she is part of the outside public and not part of the group of artists who are producing the work.¹⁶

In writing about a new type of audience, Bishop uses the argument of art critic and academic, Reinaldo Laddage, in which he referred to the *creation of a temporary community*, as opposed to the outside public.¹⁷ While the outside public constitutes a group to which an aesthetic product is simply *offered*, this temporary community *shares* a social problem, which it is trying to (re)solve. It is a community that is directly involved in the process of the solution of a real social problem, a group that wants results.

Collective Authorship

The new audience and the mechanisms that create it also create the conditions for a collective authorship: the ownership of the artistic result is the common property of this new community. This community is involved in the creative process, as a carrier or receiver or even as a non-passive observer of the change that can (potentially) be made through art. Moreover, the work carried out within the creative team and the temporary community leads to *consensual collaboration*, which Bishop mentions is ‘valued over artistic mastery and individualism, regardless of what the project sets out to do or actually achieve’.¹⁸

The value of art, therefore, lies not only in the aesthetic element but also in a whole new system of values, which *also* rewards (the potential for) social change as

¹⁵ C. Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship* (London: Verso, 2012) 19.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

an element of success.¹⁹ In order to highlight this discussion further, Bishop mentions the analysis of Swedish curator Maria Lind.²⁰ Lind writes about the work of Oda Projesi, an artists' group originating from Turkey. In 2000, they rented a house in the Galata neighbourhood of Istanbul and filled it with arts tools, thus creating the conditions for the neighbourhood families and kids to become involved in creative processes. Lind uses the project to show how broad public art can be in the context of contemporary art, but also how much it promotes quality in art, since art is being discussed from a critical perspective, taking into account moral standards and values, as well as social responsibility.²¹

One of the earliest examples one can mention from the local context of Cyprus, is the project *One Square Foot* (2003-2006),²² a collaboration between Echo Arts / Arianna Economou (Cyprus) and Theatre Alibi (UK). The project had invited participating artists to work on one square foot of land in north and south Cyprus, as close to the buffer zone as possible. This led up to a process of a collective synthesis of the artistic action.

Although the examples we will be analysing in the buffer zone in Nicosia have a more systematic structure, in terms of both the framework they originate from (institutionalised festival and established theatre group) and the structure of the artwork itself (theatre plays and performance), than the examples from *Oda Projesi* or *One Square Foot*, it is significant to bear in mind how broad and legitimised collective authorship has become.

Collective Processes

In the case studies that we will explore,²³ it is the creation of relationships between people, social engagement, and interaction, which serve to highlight the artistic result

¹⁹ According to Bishop, however, this encapsulates a danger: for the value of the artistic result to be undermined, under the weight of social (and many times, moral) factors.

²⁰ M. Lind, 'Actualization of Space' in C. Doherty (ed.), *Contemporary Art: from Studio to Situation* (London: Black Dog, 2004) 109–121.

²¹ Like the preceding term *collaborative art*, here we find *new genre public art*, introduced by S. Lecy (ed.), *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art* (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1994), where she 'calls for an integrative critical language through which values, ethics and social responsibility can be discussed in terms of art' (p. 2). The book comments on the absence of collaborative art/ new genre public art, from the general critical study of contemporary art.

²² D. Hulton, 'Sites of Micro-Political Theatre' (September 2008) 30(3) *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art* (PAJ 90), 94–103.

²³ Other examples are Open Studios (2011), the exhibition Little Land Fish (2010), the collaboration between Satirikon Theatre and Turkish Cypriot Municipal Theatre of Nicosia (1980s—ongoing), the

in the context of *consensual collaborations*.²⁴ Perhaps the most important element is the change in the degree of importance of the results of artistic processes: 'it places the process over the product, or rather the process as product'.²⁵ Therefore, any tension does not concern only the result of the artistic process but the entire process of creation, validating, and legitimising both the moral and the artistic results.

In Cyprus, as in many other post-conflict zones, there have been, since the opening of the checkpoints, certain artistic projects that have been validated to a great extent because they primarily constituted work, which had a social agenda, since they aimed at reconciliation between the communities and fell under the *bi-communal* umbrella. There are various reasons for the existence of these endeavours, important among them was the relatively stable funding stream for bi-communal activities, accessible to Greek and Turkish Cypriots. In the years after the opening of the checkpoints, the main aim behind international funding for inter-communal work was to create opportunities for people from across the island to meet and (re)establish relations. Funders, such as embassies, the United Nations, and the European Union, tended to prioritise long attendance sheets with Greek and Turkish names on them as the sought-after results of their events, as the best way to judge the success of an event.

For the present paper, the works examined were not produced from such funding schemes. This disassociates them from a more programmatic (as opposed to a more organic) production and consumption of art. To explain further: on the one hand, the production *Shift* was presented at the Buffer Fringe Performing Arts Festival, which is partly funded by the Home for Cooperation, whose institutional funder is the EEA and Norway grants. However, the Festival was borne out of the experience gained by the Home for Cooperation of scattered inter-communal performance work, while at the same time the Festival has adopted a rather experimental and marginal framework, that of the Fringe, that allows it a great deal of flexibility in terms of content and form. This makes the festival versatile: in the five years between 2014 and 2018, it has never had the same format, or hosted the same artists.

In relation to the production of the play *BAM!*, by Giorgos Neophytou, this paper examines the presentation of the play in the buffer zone in June 2017. It needs to be noted that the production was first presented to the public in Nicosia in No-

'Confrontation through Art' project by the European Mediterranean Arts Association (EMAA) and Rooftop Theatre (2014-2017), etc.

²⁴ 2012, p. 19.

²⁵ Ibid.

vember 2015, and it was part of the repertory of a Greek Cypriot troupe, Paraplevros Productions. Its funding originated from government sources of the Republic of Cyprus (State Theatre and Cultural Services of the Ministry of Education and Culture). The play had already had a steady and successful run in the Greek Cypriot community, with little other than its topic making it a candidate for reconciliation.

Case Studies

Bishop has contributed two important concepts to this discussion around the redefinition of art: the collaboration and participation as base values in both process and result.²⁶ The two theatre works that I will be examining constitute important stops in the history of theatre and performance in the buffer zone, and in the redefinition of the space in Ledra Palace, which are interventions to what Angelos Evangelou calls the ‘archite(stru)cturality of the Cyprus border’ (p.1).²⁷ This is both due to the creative process that produced them, as well as their content. The analysis will focus on the creation and production of *Shift*, a performance by Rooftop Theatre, in collaboration with Gülgün Kayim (Buffer Fringe, 2014), and the performance in June 2017 of *BAM!*, by Giorgos Neophytou, a production of Paraplevros Productions.

Giorgos Neophytou’s *BAM!* was first presented in November 2015 to the general public in the Greek Cypriot community, produced by Paraplevros Productions and directed by Evripides Dikeos.²⁸ In addition to regular performances in Nicosia and island-wide, the play was presented at the Mesarya Festival in north Cyprus (with subtitles in Turkish),²⁹ and in Athens, in the context of the *Week of Cypriot Theatre in Athens*.³⁰

The summary of the play:

(...) an explosion in the buffer zone, or No Man’s Land, finds two men in the wrong place and at the wrong time, a Greek- and a Turkish-Cypriot. Both

²⁶ C. Bishop (no 16, 19–21).

²⁷ A. Evangelou, ‘The Cypriot Border and the *Architecture of Neutrality*’. *Technologies of Bordering: Creating, Contesting and Resisting Borders Conference*, University of Melbourne, Australia, 3–5 July 2019. Unpublished Conference Paper (Canterbury: University of Kent, Canterbury, 2019).

²⁸ Cast: Costas Kazakas, Marios Stylianou, and Savvas Menoikou. Original music: George Koliass. Set and costume design: Melita Couta.

²⁹ To the best of my knowledge, this the first play from the Greek-Cypriot community to be presented in a festival in north Cyprus since 2003.

³⁰ The *Week of Cypriot Theatre in Athens* is organised by the Cyprus Center of the International Theatre Institute, and is funded by the Cultural Services of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Republic of Cyprus.

*have temporarily lost their hearing from the explosion and neither can figure out the other's identity. It doesn't take them long to realize they are standing in a minefield, where every move can turn them into shish-kebab. They share gestures, and mouth commonly understood words and they begin to have an idea of what they are talking about. Or at least they think they do. Actually they don't. So the funny misunderstandings begin.*³¹

On 29 and 30 June 2017, the play was presented in the moat behind the Home for Cooperation, widely known as the Çetinkaya football pitch. The production was placed under the auspices of the Bicomunal Technical Committee for Culture, and was supported by UNIFICYP. The conditions for the presentation of the play were created at a time when the talks for the solution of the Cyprus Problem were in an upper spiral (the meetings in Crans-Montana, under the auspices of the UNSG were to follow in July 2017), and although the relationship between culture and politics is fascinating, it is the subject of another paper. For the needs of this analysis, we will focus on the collaborative creation and new spectatorship created by the performance in the space of the buffer zone. *BAM!* placed the creative team and the spectators in a framework of belonging that was defined by the buffer zone's space, and the relationship the average Greek Cypriot has with it.

The performance presents three main features that involve the creative team and spectators in a collaborative process: firstly, the use of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot linguistic varieties with recognisable common words and common cultural elements in the dialogue of the performance. The author mentions the common words in his note in the playbill: 'in the text I noted the common words (...). During the rehearsals, I realized that the director and the actors found their own means of communication'. The actors and the director collectively recreated parts of the dialogue of the performance, they became the link and the final stage in communicating the text to the audience.

When the play was presented, the actors became potential spectators, and the spectators became potential performers themselves, participating in their shared knowledge of the common words, which generated the comedy in the production. Let

³¹ Cyprus Mail, 'Heard the one about the GC and TC Stuck in a Buffer-Zone Minefield?' in *Cyprus Mail* (23 June 2017), available at <https://cyprus-mail.com/2017/06/23/heard-one-gc-tc-stuck-buffer-zone-minefield/>. The journalist concludes by adding that the play is 'A clever and hilarious take on the relationships and fate of the people of this island, an allegory that breaks through the barrier of communication as we perceive it'.

us note that by 2017, the show had already been performed dozens of times, which meant that it had been *tried out* as a comedy, through applause or indifference, with laughter indicating how well it was communicated to the (Greek Cypriot) audience. Therefore, by the time it was placed in its *natural space*, the buffer zone, it had already created a communication environment between the scene and the audience.

The second point about the performance in June 2017 is that, although it is not a site-specific or a promenade performance, we can assume that the audience is not an *outside public*, but that the performance creates a new temporary community. The site connects the audience members with the *buffer zone as a dangerous area* (e.g., it is common knowledge that there are still landmines) and with the *buffer zone as a place of arrests* in relation to everyday Cypriot pastimes, such as hunting or harvesting snails or wild asparagus. The title of the *Cyprus Mail* article is telling: ‘Heard the one about the GC and TC stuck in a buffer-zone minefield?’³². The buffer zone has become a space where danger and comedy are entangled, the fear of the unknown, with the security of a limited space, guarded by a peacekeeping force, as well as the predictability of the scenarios that can unfold there.

Finally, the presence of the UNFICYP soldier at the end of the play is catalytic in relation to the space, since it constitutes the placement of the performance in the site as an organic action, a strange homecoming. This inevitably reshapes the relationship of the space with the audience. The physical presence of the UN is a rare event in the theatre in Cyprus. Although UNFICYP has been a stable presence on the island since 1964, its presence in both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot dramas is rare. Their presence in the project contributes to the normalisation of the performance in the Dead Zone.

The production *Shift* took place in October 2014, and was the result of the collaboration between Rooftop Theatre and US-based, Turkish Cypriot director, Gülgün Kayim. In January 2013, Rooftop Theatre, under the guidance of Kayim, held a workshop for actors and members of Rooftop at the Home of Collaboration, where theatrical mechanisms were explored to find hidden stories from the buffer zone in the Ledra Palace crossing, in the space between the two checkpoints (and beyond). The narratives were deconstructed and reconstructed theatrically for an audience in the buffer zone: the space where the stories came from. The tools used in the workshop came from sited performance practice, and the general field of the theory and prac-

³² Ibid.

tice of cultural geography.³³ The workshop, and the temporary community created as a result, gave birth to the idea of *Shift*, a collaborative theatrical creation process, led by Kayim, the Rooftop group and actors, professionals, and amateurs.

The opportunity to create a complete performance from the skeleton produced during the workshop came soon, with the first Buffer Fringe Performing Arts Festival, in October 2014. A group of nine artists restarted the research process in the area of the Ledra Palace buffer zone, under the guidance of dramaturge Ellada Evangelou and the direction of Kayim.³⁴ The performance was presented at the Festival on 18 October 2014, and it had the form of a promenade, where the audience follows (and monitors) the action of the performance.

The work had a series of independent scenes, held together with the narrative of the surrealist work by Fernando Arrabal, *Picnic in the Battlefield*, a spine that appears after every independent scene. The promenade started from the moat area, with an installation of sounds and music from the entire city of Nicosia and two figures waving at each other from either side of the moat. The group was then taken from the moat area to the Home for Cooperation by their guide, an old-fashioned Greek Cypriot tour guide, who enthusiastically explained to them about the violent history of the Ledra Palace area. In front of the Home for Cooperation, the audience is asked to play a game entitled *To Pass or Not to Pass*, a parody of a television game show with questions about what things you can get across the checkpoints and what you cannot. The next scene was the dystopic monologue of Marcos Edward Selim, the ghostly waiter of the Ledra Palace hotel, and the performance concluded across the street with the finale from *Picnic in the Battlefield*, in an abandoned house in the buffer zone, with all the characters dancing to a cruel tango, as bombs are falling on their heads.

The process of creating the text and the performance, as with *BAM!*, was the pivotal element, with all the members of the troupe being actively involved in the production and processing of the material, and the technical set-up and placement in the space. The process started with the aim of creating a performance about the Ledra Palace buffer zone, with narratives stemming from the space itself. The ac-

³³ Kayim drew much of her methodology from the work of Skewed Visions (<http://www.skewedvisions.org/>), a global collective of arts practitioners and theorists.

³⁴ Performers: Sinem Ertaner, Vasiliki Andreou, Marilena Kyriacou, Joanna Kordatou, Nadia Mowafy, Michalis Aristidou, Themida Nicolaou, Leda Koumide, Oya Akin, and Christophoros Liverdos. Production Assistant: Zoe Kakota.

tors gathered materials from targeted interviews, research, sound, and image harvesting, and the registering of formal and non-formal signs, for three weeks, from mid-September to early October 2014. Through a curation that aimed to produce distinct scenes and pockets of theatrical action, the dramaturge worked with the actors to formulate their material in a communicative and performative manner. The director's presence in early October (and until the presentation) created the performance itself, gave it an identity in the space, and added any technical aspects and opportunities for interaction with the audience.

Moreover, the production created a second temporary community from the members of the audience who followed the route dictated by the actors and the action. However, it was a different relationship to that of performance-to-audience in a theatre building, where leaving or changing seat, or doing anything other than sitting in your chair quietly is not part of theatre etiquette. Audience members could adjust themselves in the space, participate in the game show, leave and return whenever they wished, adjusting their experience in relation to their interests and needs.

Finally, the relationship of the production with militarisation is as interesting as that of *BAM!*. The militarised nature of Ledra Palace played a role in the rehearsal process, with the actors in the Arrabal scenes, who were wearing military attire, getting chatted up by UN peacekeepers in the buffer zone, considering that somehow, they were their colleagues. Indirectly, the UN peacekeepers are yet another component of the joint dramaturgy/participatory process of the creative group.

Afterthoughts (in place of a Conclusion)

As we speak, the Buffer Fringe Performing Arts Festival is planning its sixth edition in October 2019 (of which I am happy to be the Artistic Director), and in June 2019 the first bi-communal group of young deaf amateur performers have performed their devised play *The Silence of the Mirror*. As the mechanisms of artistic expression continue to unfold in unforeseen and exciting ways around the buffer zone, we are reminded of Stavros Karayiannis' own unfolding of the complexities of the buffer zone, his consideration of the *identity negotiations* taking place around it, and ultimately, depend on it as a place of reference.³⁵ He allows it to become immersed in new meaning, and through a queer re-imagining, to become a *zone of passions*.³⁶

³⁵ 2017, p. 66.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 63.

With the stalemate in the talks for a solution to the Cyprus Problem, as the *contestedness* of spaces such as the buffer zone changes, it seems that art is doing what it always tends to do: produces work that is on the fringes of what is accepted or applauded, in places where you are unlikely to locate it (thus redefining them), and sets off small revolutions at the most surprising of times.

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Social Activism and the City: Cultural Sociology and Radical Politics in 21st Century Cyprus

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Abstract

This article discusses alternative cultural communication processes in the context of urban activism in inner Nicosia, as manifested in the last two decades. It examines a variety of cultural and social practices and their political implications in terms of their interaction with the surrounding space and wider society. The city's division, the growth of the immigrant population and the attempted regeneration of inner Nicosia set the context for a variety of practices of contestation of nationalist and commercialist cultures, challenging them in the fields of culture and lifestyle. Through an overview of the key dimensions of activist interventions in the public space in the last two decades, the article argues that there are both elements of connection across issues, movements and processes as well as continuity across time. By examining practices rooted in social dynamics and expressing dissenting political and cultural worldviews, a more nuanced cultural sociology of the Greek Cypriot community may be constructed which goes beyond generalist images emanating from the mainstream public sphere. Through their diversion from mainstream ideas, politics and everyday life, the urban movements presented here engaged in redefining the meaning of the inner city and the life in it and registering it for more than a decade as an alternative place.

Keywords: Nicosia, social movements, urban activism, cultural practices, politics

Introduction

Caesar Mavratsas' analysis and critique of Greek Cypriot nationalism in the 1990s, in terms of its shaping social identities and the prevailing political culture, was truly ground-breaking. Who can seriously question the accuracy of his observation that 'nationalism determines political orthodoxy' and the corollary proposition that this fact renders in this context, the mere exposition of nationalist ideology as an act of social critique?² That nationalism overshadows identity-building, instrumentalises

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² C. Mavratsas, *Faces of Greek nationalism in Cyprus: Ideological contestation and the social construction of Greek Cypriot identity 1974-1996* (Athens Katarti, 1998) [in Greek].

memory and distorts consciousness, resulting in a divided Cyprus to be compared negatively with other societies in several cultural and political respects?³ Or even that there is a relationship between the weakness of civil society and the unresolved Cyprus problem?⁴

Mavratsas identified crucial themes in the analysis of Cypriot society and sketched a political sociology frame for their discussion. By focusing on the modernisation process, he embedded his analysis of political ideology in the historical trajectory of the country and illustrated the impact of conservative nationalist structures on social consciousness and the political system. Although he did discuss contestations and his frame did acknowledge spaces not colonised or clouded by political nationalism, social conservatism and cultural backwardness, Mavratsas' perspective gradually turned away from analysis of conflicts, and potentials deriving thereof, into a research of the 'essence' of the problem. He articulated this in his last book, *The society of villagers*,⁵ which was the most popular but also the most problematic from a social science viewpoint.

It is not my intension to discuss in any detail Mavratsas' last book, as in addition to finding it problematic with the direction he turned his attention to, and the focus adopted, I consider it somewhat too schematic and anecdotal, and as such, although an interesting read, it cannot justify the claim of being a comprehensive framework of Greek Cypriot cultural sociology. What I will do here instead, is to move in a diverging direction or even a sort of opposite one, turning the analytic lens away from social parochialism and towards alternative, quasi-libertarian impulses in urban activism of inner Nicosia, as manifested in the last two decades. I shall examine a variety of cultural and social practices and their political implications in terms of their interaction with the surrounding space and wider society. Via this account of initiatives and small social movements contesting existing institutions, structures and processes, and engaging in semiotic struggles over the definition and interpretation of the city and the right to it, I propose the need for

³ C. Mavratsas, 'The ideological contest between Greek-Cypriot nationalism and Cypriotism 1974–1995: Politics, social memory and identity', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (1997); C. V. Mavratsas, *National identity and consciousness in everyday life: towards a sociology of knowledge of Greek-Cypriot Nationalism, Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1999).

⁴ C. Mavratsas, *National Homogeneity and Political Consensus: Atrophy of Greek Cypriot Civil Society at the Beginning of the 21st Century* (Athens Katarti, 2003) [in Greek].

⁵ C. Mavratsas, *The society of villagers. Cultural and political underdevelopment of Greek Cypriots in the beginning of the 21st Century* (Athens Papazisis, 2012) [in Greek].

a more nuanced understanding of civil society in the Greek Cypriot community. By examining the social networks, the radical politics, the alternative styles and the open community building ideological frames as empirically manifested in old Nicosia in the 21st century, one can paint a different picture with respect to the use of public space and meaning production in the context of everyday life practices.

This article discusses cultural communication processes and meaning attribution to social action by various, co-existing groups, sometimes converging or at times diverging, but expressing directly and indirectly in various ways and forms their dissent from the mainstream ideologies and posing a challenge to the established order(s).⁶ This article is not the first one to deal with these issues. Doering and Karathanasis have analysed graffiti and murals in Nicosia as modes of expression and in terms of their impact on social imaginary and social memory.⁷ Ilican has approached the Occupy the Buffer Zone (OBZ) movement as a challenge to sovereignty regimes in Cyprus and as a non-identity movement which extended the scope of radical politics.⁸ Iliopoulou and Karathanasis have also focused on the OBZ, but situated it more broadly in the context of an analysis of grassroots urban activism before and during its occurrence.⁹ This article further enlarges the analytic scope, in terms of time and issues, and examines more explicitly connections, interactions and trends, providing an overview of socio-cultural processes in relation to urban space.

The analysis here focuses on the interaction between the politics of space and the space of (radical) politics. The theoretical section situates the analytic perspec-

⁶ A variation of this article was translated into Bulgarian and published in 2016 in the special issue *Ethnologies of the city* of the journal *Bulgarian Ethnology* 42(2). The author also acknowledges the project 'Framing financial crisis and protest: North West and South East Europe', run by the Open University, UK and funded by the Leverhulme Trust, as some of the issues addressed here were originally presented to and discussed with the network members in the form of a guided walk in inner Nicosia in the Cyprus workshop in March 2015. The author also thanks Olga Demetriou, Pafsanias Karathanasis and Andreas Panayiotou for constructive comments on earlier drafts.

⁷ E. Doering, 'With a spray can in Lefkosia / Lefkoshia: Murals, graffiti and identity', *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (2009); P. Karathanasis, *Official Memory and Graffiti: the meanings of the Green Line of Cyprus as field for negotiation of collective memory*, *Utopia: Memory, Theory and Art*, (March-April 2010), Vol. 89 [in Greek].

⁸ H. E. Ilican, 'The Occupy Buffer Zone Movement: radicalism and sovereignty in Cyprus', *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2013); H.E. Ilican, 'Radicalising the no man's land The Occupy Buffer Zone Movement in Cyprus', in *The Politics of Culture in Turkey, Greece and Cyprus: Performing the left since the 1960's*, (eds) L. Karakatsanis and N. Papadogiannis (London: Routledge, 2016)

⁹ E. Iliopoulou and P. Karathanasis, 'Towards a radical politics: grassroots urban activism in the walled city of Nicosia', *The Cyprus Review* (2014) Vol. 26, No. 1.

tive employed at the intersection of social movements, urban studies and communication, while the methodological section outlines the ethnographic form of data collection used. The historical section introduces the city, its defining characteristics and key processes under way at the turn of the century. The subsequent section examines in more detail these processes and their contestation, while the last section discusses two particular forms of cultural and social contestation that have emerged in 2009-2010, and in 2011- 2012, arguing that their understanding must be based on the genealogy of events and dynamics that preceded their emergence.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

Urban activism is defined here as collective action that not only takes place in an urban setting, but which is also oriented towards and explicitly embedded in an urban space. Ultimately, collective action is more or less always geographically bound in the sense that space operates as a frame of reference as well as a context subject to modalities of political power.¹⁰ However, there is a specifically local dimension at work here, so fundamental in community formation as well as in the emergence and development of social movements as defined by the new social movement tradition. The significance of lived experience and social interaction in the context of everyday life encounters in the production and reproduction of social collective identities has been emphasised in new social movements' theory, which generally focuses on the subjective dimension and understanding of the social world.¹¹

The focus of the narrative is on forms of social activism as they appear in the public space, their continuity and change with time and how these are perceived by both the actors themselves as well as the broader society, as it comes across them.¹² Ideological frames and political symbols are of crucial importance here, as they communicate, negotiate and renegotiate meanings, criticisms and propositions about what is relevant, significant and right, and why. The characteristics of social movements are described through an examination of what they express,¹³ analysed in terms of how these expressions are related to the space-time nexus in which they

¹⁰ A. Giddens, *The constitution of society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984); (Harvey 1990).

¹¹ A. Touraine, *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981); A. Melucci, *Challenging codes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

¹² H. Kriesi, et al. 'New Social Movements in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis', *University of Minnesota Press*, (1995).

¹³ D. Della Porta and M. Diani, *Social movements: an introduction*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell. 2006).

appear and how they are interpreted and evaluated with respect to their impact on the broader socio-cultural world.

Although there are obvious economic imperatives, social dynamics and political implications at work, the behaviours and misbehaviours studied here, the issues, processes and the contentions are subsumed and articulated within the cultural field. Culture is understood here not merely as a depository of resources from which agents may draw for their own cognitive and normative purposes but as a structure of fields in which people are socialised in, act within and upon, and thus undergo change through agential practices.¹⁴ Culture sets the context and defines the content of ideological framing, political stances as well as everyday life practices. As a site of meaning production, it is where voices as well as silences need to be sought for and interpreted. Where for the purposes of this article, culture is the domain in which the semiotics of space and communication need to be analysed.

There are thus three different dimensions examined together in this article, because they interpenetrate one another, interact and converge in spatial and temporal terms. The first is the determining significance of the local geography which structures social interactions and lived experience in the urban space of inner Nicosia. The second is the development of a plural social activism, primarily alternative, youthful and radical, which opens up issues and reacts upon the conditions it finds itself in. The third is the semiotic and communicative forms in which the dynamics of social movements and social processes and contestations are articulated as they unfold in the urban setting of the city centre.

The city, especially the city centre, is ultimately the site of multiple co-existence and conflicts, at the same time it is subjected to and is subjecting the web of social relations.¹⁵ Urban space is produced by communing practices, which are themselves multiple, differentiated and related to prevailing social inequalities.¹⁶ In the age of neoliberal hegemony, the public space shrinks, but more importantly it becomes co-opted and appended to the prevailing commodification logic and transformed into an instrument of privatisation and gentrification processes.¹⁷ These constantly

¹⁴ P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (New York: Routledge, 1984).

¹⁵ H. Lefebvre, *Writings on the City* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996 [1968]).

¹⁶ D. Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (London: Verso, 2012).

¹⁷ Harvey, *Rebel Cities*; J. M. Roberts, *New media and public activism: neoliberalism, the state and radical protest in the public sphere*, (Bristol: Polity Press, 2014).

transformative processes and the contestations that accompany them have symbolic dimensions which are semiotically and culturally mediated. The public space and the public sphere are thus sites where these forces are played out.

Methodology

The data used in this article draws on more than a decade of participant observation in the social, cultural and political life of inner Nicosia. However, I must qualify this by saying that, in the period from 2004 to 2011 I was more of a participant, whereas in the period from 2012 to 2015, I was more of an observer of the processes that I am analysing. Although I had many times written in electronic media during my 'participant period' about aspects and issues, including an autobiographical narrative focusing on the first bi-communal/common cultural and social centre, Kardash, it was only in 2012 that I made the first attempt to produce a systematic and comprehensive overview on the genealogy of activism set in the urban space of old Nicosia. For this I conducted fieldwork, interviewing and taking photographs, as well as doing substantial print and on-line media research.¹⁸

Field work was conducted between August 2011 and February 2012, which took the form of taped and not taped interviews, as well as extended participant and non-participant observation, including additional informal conversations and on-the-spot exchanges with other people residing, working or spending much of their time in the area. My informants included Cypriot youth active in the alternative scene and the anti-racist and peace movements, immigrants from various communities and others in the area, such as shopkeepers, residents and frequent visitors of old Nicosia. In addition, reports in print and electronic media that made references about the old town or particular social and political activities taking place there, relevant to the themes under study were considered along with blogs and webpages by and about the social groups active in the old city.

¹⁸ Part of the findings from that endeavour were published as a report by A. Karatzogianni, O. Morgunova, N. Kambouri, et al., *Inter-cultural conflict and dialogue, Thematic Report* (Transnational digital networks, migration and gender, MIG@NET Project, 2012), and later used as the basis for a book chapter: A. Karatzogianni, O. Morgunova, N. Kambouri, N., et al., 'Intercultural Conflict and Dialogue in the Transnational Digital Public Sphere: Findings from the MIG@NET Research Project 2010-2013', in *The Digital Transformation of the Public Sphere: Conflict, Migration, Crisis, and Culture in Digital Networks*, eds. A. Karatzogianni, D. Nguyen and E. Serafinelli (London: Palgrave, 2016). However, this article focuses exclusively on inner Nicosia, incorporates previously unused data and adopts a different focus and theoretical framework and further in-depth analysis of the issues at stake.

The thematic focus of the investigation is on social action in the public space, its political rationale, its forms of expression and its impact both within and without the social movements themselves. An important ontological presupposition here is the consciousness or at least the semi-consciousness of the actors about the meaning or at least the preferred meaning of their interventions in the public sphere. This need not necessarily involve medium-term, let alone longer-term, strategy and sophisticated tactics but it does imply short-term planning and thinking ahead of what to do and possible ways to do it. And to some extent it does involve some degree of reflection on past actions when deciding and embarking upon new ones. The methodological presupposition here is that the multiple and various actions that constitute the social movements can be analysed and interpreted based on the actors' and observers' descriptive accounts and discussions of political and social ideas that are explicitly and implicitly expressed.

Historical Context: The Transformation of a Divided City

The historical town of Nicosia, surrounded by the Venetian walls, remained the commercial and political centre amidst the rapid expansion of the capital city in the middle of the 20th century and up until the war of 1974.¹⁹ Although the inter-communal conflict of the late 1950s and early 1960s had left its scar on the inner city, much deeper compared to the scar of the rest of the country, it was only after the watershed of the large scale 1974 violence and its aftermath that inner Nicosia ceased to function as the city centre. The territorial division of the whole country was completed then and more than a third of the Cypriot population was displaced, provoking a humanitarian crisis and a rapid second urbanisation wave which multiplied the city population and shifted the political and commercial centre of the city in the ever-expanding area outside the walls.

The rise of ethnic nationalism in the two communities in the first half of the 20th century impacted on the residential patterns and inter-communal relations, resulting in the gradual developments of separate Greek and Turkish quarters in all towns and big villages of the island.²⁰ The political confrontation of the 1950s, in the context of the anti-colonial struggle and concerning the future of the country after the end of the British rule, came within sight especially after the leaderships of the two communi-

¹⁹ M. Attalides, *Social change and urbanization in Cyprus: a study of Nicosia* (Nicosia: Social Research Centre, 1981).

²⁰ R. Patrick, *Political Geography and the Cyprus Conflict: 1963-1971*, University of Waterloo (Waterloo ON., 1976).

ties had established military forces in the form of EOKA and TMT and accelerated the process of separating the two communities.²¹ Faneromeni Square and Ledra Street emerged as key symbolic places in the 1950s for Greek Cypriot constitutive narrative, the former as the place of nationalist speeches and Makarios' oath to 'enosis', the annexation of Cyprus to Greece as the ultimate national(ist) goal, and the latter, as a place of violence during the EOKA years, 1955 to 1959.

In the course of the outbreak of the 1958 cycle of inter-communal violence, inner Nicosia was sharply divided into two quarters, each with its own market. Although the establishment of the bi-communal republic in 1960 eased tensions and allowed contacts and exchanges, the municipalities' question remained an open and unresolved issue with the two sides disagreeing whether the two municipalities would have separate territorial jurisdictions or not.²² After the next cycle of inter-communal violence broke out in late 1963, the un-bridged rift between the two communities widened further and the green line was drawn by the British officer leading the non-belligerent contingent, in an attempt to demarcate the temporary armistice line separating the armed forces of the two communities. Ledra Street was divided while Faneromeni Square fell on the Greek Cypriot side, while the small Ottoman building in its vicinity was closed but remained as a remnant of the 'Other' amidst the Greek nationalist surrounding.

The Division, the Border and its Crossing

The 'Green Line' became the central characteristic of Nicosia, especially after 1974 when the armistice line extended the whole island, dividing the country to a territorial north and a territorial south. The Nicosia Green Line was actually the place with the thinnest buffer zone, marking the capital as the only divided city in Cyprus. As the centre point of the divided country, Nicosia was the place where the politics of contestation left their sharp mark on space and where the 'dead zone' shaped the parallel lives of its two parts.²³ The permanent temporariness of the buffer zone constitutes and represents in a concentrated manner the whole Cyprus problem, producing

²¹ M. Attalides, 'Cyprus, Nationalism and International Politics', (Edinburgh: Q Press, 1979).

²² M. Drousiotis, 'The First Partition' (Athens: Alfadi, 2005).

²³ Y. Papadakis, '*Echoes from the Dead Zone: across the Cyprus divide*' (London: I.B Tauris, 2005); Y. Papadakis, 'Nicosia after 1960: A River, A Bridge and a Dead Zone', *Global Media Journal* (2006), (*Mediterranean edition*) Vol. 1, No.; O. Demetriou, 'Freedom Square: the unspoken of a divided city', *Hagar Studies in Culture, Polity and Identities* (2006) Vol. 7, No. 1.

multiple 'states of exception' and casting its weight not only on the politics but in all spheres of institutional, cultural, intellectual and social life in the island.²⁴

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the discourse of the last divided capital of Europe was developed and used for propagandistic and touristic purposes by the Republic of Cyprus. Although the military presence has decreased since the early 1990s, after an agreement was made between the two sides to remove some of their guard posts, it took almost two more decades, in which many developments took place, before inner Nicosia could be somehow dissociated from the image of a militarised area that is ignored and avoided by the city crowds. Although there were many efforts in the 1980s and 1990s to regenerate the historic centre and attract tourists and visitors, the southern part of inner Nicosia was still, at the turn of the century, a primarily degraded area where, beyond the few main commercial streets, the scenery was composed of old buildings, most of them badly maintained and some of them derelict, some old artisan workshops and streets and shops where migrants, alternative artists and youth groups frequented.

In the early 2000s, progress made in negotiations between the leaders of the two communities created a much improved climate in bi-communal relations, while the prospect of an agreement, in the form of the Annan Plan and the expected entry of the Republic of Cyprus into the EU, set in motion of huge mobilisations in the Turkish Cypriot community.²⁵ It was at this juncture and in this context that the monumental event of the opening of the checkpoints took place in 2003. The first months after the opening were characterised by an absent State allowing the articulation of a subjectivation process, as large masses rushed to cross to the other side.²⁶ Although the State was quickly able to regain control, by again normalising the condition, the 'silent revolt' of Greek Cypriots, responding to the Turkish Cypriot revolt, which had made the opening of the checkpoints possible in the first place,²⁷ was historical, as in the first three months an estimated 200,000 Greek Cypriots had crossed to the other

²⁴ C. M. Constantinou, 'On the Cypriot states of exception', *International Political Sociology*, (2008) Vol. 2, No. 2; N. Trimikiniotis, *The nation-state dialectic and the state of exception* (Athens: Savallas, 2010) [in Greek].

²⁵ T. Demetriou and S. Vlachos, *Προδομένη Εξέγερση* [Betrayed revolt] (Nicosia: Sosialistiki Ekfrasi 2007).

²⁶ O. Demetriou, 'To cross or not to cross: subjectivisation and the absent state' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 2007) Vol. 13, No. 4.

²⁷ A. Panayiotou, 'The unavoidable but censored wisdom of the border experience', paper presented at the conference 'Though the Roadblocks', 24 November 2014, Limassol: Cyprus University of Technology (2014).

side.²⁸ What is more important, however, is the longer-term impact and consequence of the opening of the checkpoints, more so after the opening of Ledra Street-Lokmaci crossing, eroding slowly and quietly, yet steadily the separation of the communities and significantly exposing the irrationality of partition.

Migrants, Alternatives and the Regeneration of the City

The continuous and exponential expansion of immigrant arrival in Cyprus during the 1990s soon established a significant immigrant presence in the island. Foreign workers came from many different countries of the ex-Eastern Bloc, South-East Asia and the Middle East, and they were employed primarily in unskilled and less skilled, manual occupations.²⁹ After 2004 and Cyprus' entry into the EU, immigration expanded further, with many Eastern Europeans arriving in search of jobs.³⁰ Many of them were accommodated in poor quality housing in the old parts of Cyprus' cities, and, by the early 2000s, inner Nicosia had become a truly multicultural place.

As migrants lacked sufficient indoor spaces for their social needs, their presence in streets, shops and public spaces, in general, was more enhanced, increasing their encounters with locals and visitors and their visibility.³¹ Especially on Sundays, the day that most Cypriots gathered with family in indoor settings and the only day available to most immigrants for rest, one could see thousands of immigrants assembled in parks. In fact, the park between Eleftheria and Solomou Square became known as the Philippino park, while the municipal garden behind the parliament became known as the Sri Lankan park. Although there was always a xenophobic undercurrent in Cyprus society, largely a consequence of the diffused nationalism as a result of the open ethnic conflict and division, the presence of large numbers of immigrants offered a new target, triggering racist mentalities and discourses, especially after the economic situation began to deteriorate by 2010.³²

The State treated the immigrants more or less like the economy treated them, or rather offered the context in which the economy could treat them as such: cheap

²⁸ O. Demetriou, 'Freedom Square'.

²⁹ G. Ioannou, 'Employment in Crisis: Cyprus 2010-2013'. *The Cyprus Review*, (2014) Vol. 26, No. 1.

³⁰ C. Mainwaring, 'On the edge of exclusion: the changing nature of migration in Cyprus and Malta', *The Cyprus Review*, (2008) Vol. 20, No. 2.

³¹ Papadakis 'Nicosia after 1960'.

³² N. Trimikliniotis, Trimikliniotis, 'Preventing racism, xenophobia and related intolerance in sport across the European Union', European Monitoring Centre of Racism and Xenophobia, RAXEN Thematic Study on Cyprus (2009), available at https://works.bepress.com/nicos_trimikliniotis/27/.

labour with limited rights and little possibility to escape from the social bottom in which they found themselves. First of all they were identified as guest workers, tied to their employer with the work and residence permit, depending on their labour contract. The rest, that is those without papers, were assigned to the illegality of the black market. Integration of immigrants in the wider Cypriot society remained limited, and the overwhelming majority live and work in precarious conditions in the context of a subaltern and transient existence.³³

Many immigrants both with and without papers have their employer as their landlord, which increases their bond with, and dependence on, them. Losing one job, for many, thus came to mean, in practice, losing both one's accommodation and the right to stay in the country.³⁴ The hunting down of illegal immigrants in order to deport them started to take place in systematic and indiscriminate manners, with the infamous 'sweep/cleaning operations', in which hundreds of police encircle immigrant corners and enter immigrants' houses, dragging dozens of them to police stations to identify whether they have papers or not. It was against these 'sweep/cleaning operations' that the first anti-racist mobilisations started in the early 2000s. The organisation around which many activists and humanists gathered to express publicly their dissent with government policy and State practice was called Movement for Equality, Support and Antiracism (KISA), a non-government organisation (NGO) established in 1998. KISA offers support to immigrants and advocates for human rights. More generally anti-racism, as a practical form of defending 'the right to difference', had developed into one of the main parameters of Cypriot social movements by the end of the twentieth century.³⁵

Inner Nicosia had attracted progressive, radical and alternative individuals and groups since the 1980s, but it was only in the late 1990s that this began to expand in scale and scope, and to become known and socially registered. Overall the number of locals and visitors in inner Nicosia had increased substantially by the 2000s, facilitated also by a series of infrastructural improvements in the area which

³³ N. Trimikliniotis and C. Demetriou, 'Labour Integration of Migrant Workers in Cyprus: A Critical Appraisal', in *Precarious Migrant Labour across Europe*, (eds) M. Pajnic and G. Campani (Ljubljana: Mirovni Institut, 2011); N. Trimikliniotis, D. Parsanoglou and V. Tsianos, *Mobile Commons, Migrant Digitalities and the Right to the City* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

³⁴ G. Ioannou, 'Employment in Crisis'.

³⁵ A. Panayiotou, 'Border dialectics: Cypriot social and historical movements in a world systemic context', in *Beyond a Divided Cyprus: a State and Society in Transformation*, (eds) N. Trimikliniotis and U. Bozkurt (New York NY: Palgrave Macmillan 2012).

brought investors in and raised the real estate prices.³⁶ Artists, middle class professionals, intellectuals, politicised youth, nationalists and leftists, soldiers and anti-militarists, hippies and dropouts were gradually attracted to the area and could be typically found in Kala Kathoumena, a sort of non-traditional and non-ordinary coffee shop, which had opened next to Faneromeni Square.

The founding of Kardash (meaning brother in Turkish), the first bi-communal cultural centre in 2003, gave impetus to the broader process of the social registering of inner Nicosia as a place for alternative cultural and social practices. Kardash was initially founded on the initiative of persons coming from various, small left-wing groups, after the opening of the checkpoints, but very soon new dynamics developed, as young people not affiliated to particular groups became more active there, creating thus a climate that was more open and inviting to less and non-politicised people. Kardash gave the opportunity to young Greek Cypriots to meet and socialise with Turkish Cypriots and immigrants, as many young people attended parties and socials every day, as well as specially organised events. Many of them became politicised through their interaction with the place and the more politicised activists who gathered there to attend film screenings, all sorts of discussions, seminars and workshops, art exhibitions and so on. Kardash soon managed to gather a sizeable radicalised youth and become a sort of social node and a point of reference during its different stages and forms, even after it ceased to function.³⁷

Multiple Dynamics: Issues, Movements and Processes

The Anti-Racist and the Ppeace Movements

In 2004, KISA moved its offices into old Nicosia and started doing community outreach, offering anti-racist activists organisational muscle and access to public sphere, thus playing a quasi-leadership and instrumental role in anti-racist mobilisations. KISA, as an NGO, was of course more involved in providing legal aid, consulting and advocating for asylum-seekers on an individual basis, but it was also making reports on the treatment of immigrants by State authorities, and particularly on police arbitrariness and brutality, and issuing public statements and announcements. However, KISA's organisation of the yearly multicultural festivals (Rainbow) allowed it to establish and maintain links with many immigrant com-

³⁶ Iliopoulou and Karathanasis, 'Towards a Radical Politics'.

³⁷ Iliopoulou and Karathanasis, 'Towards a Radical Politics'.

munities and its willingness to organise and participate actively in street protests against the manifestations of racism placed it de facto in the centre of the broader movement. In 2006, extended mobilisation involving demands for asylum, for example, was probably the most significant one.³⁸

The peace and rapprochement movement effectively began in the late 1980s and had become fairly large and significant by the late 1990s, reaching its peak with the opening of the checkpoints in 2003.³⁹ Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot peace activists started to have contacts and to develop connections and relations, discussing the common past, the unacceptable present of division and the prospect of a future united Cyprus. These activists came primarily from the left, both within and without the political parties in the north and south, but gradually many liberals (especially from the Greek Cypriot community) also joined in, in the context of conflict resolution workshops and the new NGOs, which emerged and led primarily internationally funded projects.⁴⁰

Although the Greek Cypriot 'No' in the 2004 referendum on the UN's reunification plan arrested the growth of bi-communal activism, as peace-oriented publics, including peace activists, became disappointed, rapprochement efforts continued with longer term, more solid and sustained efforts and projects in the fields of dialogue and research, peace education and reunification politics.⁴¹ After 2008, the peace talks restarted and discontent in the Turkish Cypriot community started to swell again. Street protests became more frequent, and by 2010, bi-communal events and common protests and celebrations in the buffer zone on 1 September, the international trade unions' day for peace mobilisations, and 1 May had become

³⁸ G. Ioannou, 'A concise account of an extended mobilisation', Nekatomata blogspot, (28 November 28 2006), available at <http://nekatomata.blogspot.com/2006/11/concise-historical-account-of-asylum.html>.

³⁹ The first meetings between groups of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots after 1974 used to take place abroad, but by the early 1990s, this began to happen in Cyprus, with the UN-controlled Ledra Palace Hotel and the mixed village of Pyla, adjacent to the buffer zone and the British base in Dekelia, becoming sites of organised contacts by a small yet expanding number of peace activists.

⁴⁰ It is beyond the scope of this article to describe this process – what we are interested in here is its intersection with other movements in old Nicosia in the 2000s.

⁴¹ The Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR) and the teachers' platform, United Cyprus, with their workshops and seminars, conferences and public statements, events and assemblies, established themselves as the main active vehicles of action in the peace movement. The AHDR focuses its action more on the academic dimension and receives significant funding, allowing it to have paid employees as well as to embark on big projects, including the Home for Cooperation, the multi-purpose building under its control in the UN-controlled buffer zone.



Photo 1: Ledra Street, after its opening, symbolic pro-peace protest on the occasion of UN Secretary General's visit in February 2010. Image: Karathanasis Pafsanias, 2010.

some sort of a tradition. Although these were relatively small events, usually involving several hundred people from each side, the fact that common political protests and bi-communal street events had not happened since the beginning of ethnic conflict in Cyprus 50 years ago, rendered them significant not merely for their symbolism but also for collective memory and existential reasons in the peace movement. The opening of the Ledra Street checkpoint, as a result of pressure from the peace movement from both sides in the period 2005 to 2008, and its conversion to the key crossing point shifted the central point for the peace movement as a whole firmly to the heart of inner Nicosia.

Gentrification and Anti-Commercialism

The gentrification process in inner Nicosia progressed at a more or less steady pace throughout the first decade of the 21st century. In effect, the area chosen by subaltern, alternative and radical individuals and groups in which to reside, gather, socialise and express themselves, largely because it was affordable, different and outside the fully commercialised universe of other areas in Nicosia, was being transformed in a way that they detested and felt excluded from. Retail estate prices and rents went up, and derelict buildings, which squatters could use for temporary spaces to meet in or even to convert into social centres, decreased in numbers as owners began to renovate or fence them off, and police patrols in the area became more frequent.

Cafes, bars and restaurants sprang up in various parts of old Nicosia, while the main commercial streets became busier. The opening of the Ledra Street checkpoint in 2008 expanded not only inter-communal contacts but also attracted more people to the area, while the municipal authorities began to make more comprehensive plans and secured more funding for large infrastructural projects that would modernise the old city centre. Although investments were sought for and were gradually attracted to inner Nicosia, the transformation process did not really accelerate until a few years ago. In 2009 and 2010, for example, there were still many places and areas that socially and culturally remained outside the gentrification process, some of which contested it practically and politically. The immigrant quarters, the old artisan shops, the social and cultural centres and the street and public space gatherings of the alternative groups were still the defining characteristic of inner Nicosia.

The emergence and growth of an alternative youth hanging out in the broader Faneromeni area, with Manolis' Square (as they call it after the tree around which youngsters used to sit in the late 1990s) as a centre, has been a gradual and complex



Photo 2: Phaneromeni Square. The inscription above the arcade reads ‘Immortal, Leader, Ethnarch Makarios’, and on the marble memorial are the names of the members of the Orthodox Christian Youth (OXEN) who were killed during the EOKA struggle. Image: Gregoris Ioannou, 2012.

process. Phaneromeni Square managed to become a frame of reference, as a series of political and social events, projects and initiatives took place there, becoming popular and attracting hundreds of young persons on a daily basis.⁴² This made the Phaneromeni Square gatherings sort of fashionable attracting crowds of young persons from much wider lifestyle backgrounds, allowing them to shift from a mar-

⁴² The 25-year-old activist I interviewed in 2011 also mentioned that ‘the Zena Palace crowd’ (the youth gathering in the video game shops and square in the vicinity of the Zena Palace cinema theatre) in the beginning of the 2000s formed around hip hop and graffiti, but had gradually moved to the space of the old Nicosia and Phaneromeni in particular. An old warehouse nearby used diachronically for different functions, including more recently the function of a quasi-art gallery APOTHEKE, which was a place where many groups of youngsters used to gather in different times, and can be seen as important in the development of the Phaneromeni Square.

ginal and peripheral cultural practice to a more central one.⁴³ At the same time, the alternative multicultural scene that developed de facto subverted the hegemonic symbolic weight of the Church that had been built on its historical significance for the Greek Cypriot nationalist movement.

The prevailing climate in Faneromeni Square, at its peak from 2009 until 2011 and before the location became crowded with cafes, was one of festivity. Teenage boys and girls played, sang and danced, fell in love, ate, drank, and smoked together in groups, while sitting in circles on the ground or walking around. Some played football, some did skate boarding, and some juggled. At times there were some people juggling with fire. In Faneromeni, one could be oneself and have fun; it was like an everyday impromptu gathering. It resembled a school or college yard or an ongoing festival.⁴⁴ To be sure, on different days one could find a variety of people.⁴⁵ Individuals used to go there usually to find and mingle with the people they wanted to. *'I go there because I find people with whom I have common ideas and beliefs.'*⁴⁶ Besides the casual, everyday gatherings, there were also more organised and systematic events, such as street parties and later street parades.⁴⁷

Culture and Politics in Faneromeni Square

There was a libertarian tendency, a sort of basic anarchism in the air, which was more of an impulse and an instinct rather than a result of organised anarchist groupings that were active at different times, amidst the crowd. The people who gathered were typically searching out different ideologies, experimenting with ideas, dress codes and lifestyles, seeking meaning and essences in philosophy and politics as well as music and poetry. Most importantly, they discussed matters amongst

⁴³ P. Karathanasis, *Από τα κάτω δραστηριοποίηση και έξοδος από την οριακότητα: Δημόσιες εκδηλώσεις και δράσεις στην εντός των τειχών Λευκωσία*, [Activation from below and exit from liminality: Public events and actions in Nicosia within the walls], unpublished doctoral dissertation (PhD Dissertation, University of the Aegean, School of Social Sciences, Department of Social Anthropology and History, 2017), available at <http://thesis.ekt.gr/thesisBookReader/id/40823#page/1/mode/2up>.

⁴⁴ Immigrants from Georgia, primarily youth but sometimes adults and families, also gathered there, socialising, playing, talking and hanging out. At one corner on the side of the church's yard where the Georgians gathered, there was a sign spray-painted on the wall *'This is Pontos'*, stating the community's claim to the square as well. There was limited interaction between the two groups, but there was no hostility either, despite some occasional tensions arising as a result of the anti-clericalism of the alternatives and the Pontians' connection with the church.

⁴⁵ Interview with 20 year old activist (2012).

⁴⁶ Interview with 25 year old activist (2011).

⁴⁷ Iliopoulou and Karathanasis, 'Towards a Radical Politics'.

themselves and exchanged ideas about social issues, politics and activism in a sort of generalised critique of the system. Street art and murals and social events constituted the bread and butter of their public life – graffiti became a point where counter-cultural aesthetics met politics. Radical and subversive discourses co-existed with a political and politically indifferent worldviews, which also found their place in the social life of Faneromeni Square. Their life experience of everyday ‘residing’ in Faneromeni Square, beyond constituting a sharp contrast with the dominant meaning emanating from the surrounding space, produced new alternative conceptualisations, making Faneromeni Square a different place.

Graffiti, stencils and witty slogans on the walls were (and continues to be) the main form of expression of what may be schematically called the ‘Faneromeni crowd’, constituting an artistic and cultural intervention in the public space, directly as well as indirectly political. In an urban space dominated by the semiotics of



Photo 3: Slogan on the wall: ‘You are a slave to the routine’. Below, a poster for a Faneromeni multicultural festival, organised as a response to a proposed fascist march in inner Nicosia on 13 May 2011. Alley street connecting Faneromeni Square and Ledras Street. Image: Gregoris Ioannou, 2012.



Photo 4: End of Aischylou Street, in the vicinity of Faneromeni Square.

This was one corner of the ‘parkoui’, the little park that was constructed after reclaiming an empty plot which was primarily used for parking. The occupation of the plot lasted for more than a year, in which, through collective work, trees were planted and the external space was shaped so as to host many gathering of youth groups. Image: Gregoris Ioannou, 2011.

prevailing nationalist discourse that sustains the city’s and the country’s division, and in a commercialised universe of the consumerist definition of a ‘normal’ lifestyle, often the street art on the walls of inner Nicosia operates in a confrontational manner.⁴⁸ Street art destabilises the dominant meanings as expressed by the monuments, the flags, the symbols and the advertising signs; it challenges existing ideas and promotes alternative orders of significance and memory, and more generally, it claims the right to exercise the power of imagination in the public sphere.⁴⁹ Besides

⁴⁸ Doering, ‘With a spray can in Lefkosia; Karathanasis, ‘Official Memory and Graffiti’.

⁴⁹ H. Kenaan, ‘Nine notes on street art and the sovereign’s imagination’, in *Street Art, Tel Aviv Museum of Art*, available at http://www.tau.ac.il/~kenaan/street_art.pdf.



Photo 5: Faneromeni Square, 2011. On these stairs, numerous organised and spontaneous assemblies were held in the context of various initiatives and mobilisations. The slogan on the wall says, 'We are all immigrant women'. Images: Gregoris Ioannou, 2011 (above), Pafsanias Karathanasis, 2009 (below).

the visual and bodily expression of this spirit, there were also specific conscious attempts to articulate this theoretically as well in the form of written text.

In addition to the various personalised as well as collective words on the Internet, in blogs, forums and social media, leaflets were produced and distributed, explaining what this young ‘crowd’ was doing, why they were doing it and expressing their own narrative and building their collective identities and their connection with the particular urban space, with Faneromeni as the epicentre. In a leaflet accompanying the street parties organised in Faneromeni Square from 2009 to 2011, we read *‘We contest the walls to express ourselves. To say all these which are not said and draw all these which are not drawn. Because poetry exists in the streets’*.

More directly political graffiti turned against the State, its police and its educational system, against capitalism, the church, consumerism and xenophobia, and was in support for immigrants, workers’ solidarity and revolution. The less directly political graffiti and the apolitical graffiti assumed a sort of post-modern form, often taking a self-referential twist or opting for the particular, while refusing to be bothered with the need for coherence, generality of message or indeed communicational goal. A quasi-local(ist) tendency, animating the space and engaging in toponymical politics⁵⁰ was also present among the Faneromeni crowd in their discussions and slogans, such as *‘this is Manolis’ Square’* or *‘I thank the square for making me an anarchist’*.

Bringing It All Together: Ideologies and Socio-Cultural Contestations from Faneromeni to Occupy the Buffer Zone

The rapprochement and peace movement, the active anti-authoritarian groups and their spaces, as well as the broader anti-racist mobilisations organised by KISA, constituted a sort of context in which the alternative, urban youths’ social and cultural practices emerged in Faneromeni. The youth revolt in Greece in December 2008 and the citizen’s initiative ALERT, formed in 2009 after the acquittal of policemen who were caught on camera brutally beating two persons, also played a significant role in stoking suspicion against authority and the police in particular,

⁵⁰ In the OBZ movement (see below), naming the occupied areas was an important part of the intervention.



Photo 6: Street parade on Ledras Street, inside the buffer zone, December 2009.
Image: Pafsanias Karathanasis, 2009

bringing more youngsters in the area and enhancing the inclination towards protest and activism⁵¹.

The dominant ideas circulating in Faneromeni, or ideas that united most of the people, constituting a sort of lowest common denominator were '*atheism, opposition to God and especially Christianity, and anti-racism*'.⁵² Questioning one's religious beliefs is more generally a very popular theme among people in their late teens, so it is not a surprise that this was also dominant in the discussions in Faneromeni. What is significant, however, is the public anti-clericalism and the mocking of religiosity, expressed in slogans and graffiti, as well as on leaflets and on the Internet. Phrases like '*God died yesterday*', or '*Thank money, we have God*' or '*church=business*' have been quite common references for years and can be seen as somehow provocative for religious people in a setting such as Cyprus, where the organised church is very powerful. The contrast looms bigger when one takes into account the co-existence of this crowd in the church's yard with church-goers during religious service.

Anti-racism, besides being a general principle in alternative circles globally, and even more so in Cyprus, where the massive arrival of immigrants and the overt public expression of xenophobia have happened quite in a span of less than a decade, is not a surprise, especially if one takes into account the composition of the population of old Nicosia, with an immigrant majority and the recent history of the anti-racist mobilisations mentioned before. The prevailing immigrant-friendly predisposition of the alternative culture is in effect an expression of a more generalised blending with Otherness. However, what is significant here is the firmness and the confidence expressed in slogans like '*Hands off immigrants*', '*We are all immigrant women*' or '*Me gusta inmigrantes*'.

There were of course other ideas flowing beyond the core leftist and anarchist views and the broader atheist and anti-racist stances. Ecology was also a significant dimension in the form of prioritising the protection of urban green areas, experimenting in utopian agrarian collectivism and vegetable gardening as well as dreaming and planning about forming agricultural communities. Spiritualist ideas and

⁵¹ ALERT was not directly linked to inner city Nicosia, but was formed and held most of its organisational and public meetings and events there. The same applies with the various anti-fascist initiatives that, although not able to be constituted as organised or systematically networked, were able to hold significantly large events and protests in the period 2009-2011.

⁵² Interview with 20-year-old activist (2012).

engaging in yoga, general pacifism, hedonistic worldviews were also there, co-existing with nihilist undertones, mixed with a focus on violence (almost fetishistic in emphasis) that was imported from Greece, and a generalised reaction against everything, because *'The system is everything'*, and flirtation with disorder per se because *'Chaos is sexy'*.

The Occupy the Buffer Zone (OBZ) movement appeared in late 2011 as an initiative on Facebook, involving young persons from both communities, as a local adaptation of an international phenomenon.⁵³ Being a bi-communal initiative from the beginning, its focus on the island's division rather than the locally based institutions of finance was more or less the expected direction. There were, of course, efforts to situate the Cyprus problem in the context of the global system and to understand it as a by-product of an inherently unjust system, but the buffer zone, and specifically the small buffer zone area between the two checkpoints of Ledra street, became the target, the base and the territorial confines of the initiative.⁵⁴ It began as a weekly occupation of Ledra street buffer zone, when a small crowd would gather there every Saturday evening to spend a couple of hours. At some point they decided to camp for one night and, once this was done, they decided to stay there indefinitely. Soon tents multiplied, a makeshift kitchen was set up, and the whole thing acquired the feeling of permanence, building on the camping and squatting experience that many participants had. People came and went, both locals as well as internationals. There was, of course, a more or less steady core of people, some of whom also staying there at nights, some coming for a few hours during the day, while a periphery of sympathisers also emerged. Some political groups in the south openly supported the initiative, radical groups in the north were more sceptical and their support, if given, was indirect.⁵⁵

⁵³ unpaue, 'Occupy the Buffer Zone: Understanding the Dead Zone', Radiobubble.gr (13 January 2012), available at <http://news.radiobubble.gr/2012/01/occupy.html>.

⁵⁴ Ilican, 'The Occupy Buffer Zone Movement'; (2016).

⁵⁵ The Occupy The Buffer Zone movement appeared in a time of total disappointment with the formal peace process; one might add in a time of degeneration and a blame game between and within the two communities. It came also at a time when the credibility of the AKEL-led government, the politicised trade unions and the left as a whole was declining rapidly (G. Ioannou, 'The Connection between Trade Unions and Political Parties in Cyprus', in *Party-society Relations in the Republic of Cyprus*, (eds) G. Charalambous and C. Christophorou (London: Routledge, 2015); G. Charalambous and G. Ioannou, 'No Bridge Over Troubled Waters: The Cypriot Left Heading the Government 2008–2013', *Capital and Class*, (2015) Vol. 39, No.2; Ilican 'Radicalising the no man's land'. In this context, the diehards of the peace movement, leftists as well as liberals welcomed it as the only hope, although not really believing it could change anything.

Although the OBZ was a significant and novel development in inner Nicosia, involving new people and being pluralist and, in some way, post-political in its ideological framework, it is important to see it in terms of continuity rather than rupture. The OBZ developed in the historical trajectory (outlined above) and emerged in the context of a genealogy of events and practices that preceded it and had already shaped the field.⁵⁶ Ledra street, the only checkpoint which had opened up as a result of pressure from the peace movement from both sides in the period 2005 to 2008, was, in 2011, the most often crossed checkpoint in the island and the centre for peace activism. Being in the vicinity of Faneromeni Square, it was a familiar space for the crowds gathering there. Most of the ideas and slogans that sprang out and found full expression in the OBZ were already circulating in the air and sprayed on the walls of inner Nicosia. In fact, the idea itself, of occupying a space in the buffer zone and using it for alternative and peace purposes, was being discussed in various circles with varying degrees of seriousness, ranging from a plan for a bi-communal school to the setting up of the Buffer Zone Republic. Although it was never attempted, when the spark of the global occupy movement emerged there was already sufficient ‘flammable material’.⁵⁷

The general public, both north and south, remained largely indifferent to this, like with most peace activities. However because of the centrality of the location, seen by large numbers of people crossing the checkpoints, the initial media coverage, as well as the skilful Internet promotion and the relative longevity of the action, it is not an exaggeration to say that it became probably more known than anything that happened before, either in the context of alternative activism or peace activism. The OBZ movement was fluid, open and difficult to understand. It was, at the same time, a peace group, anti-authoritarian, hippy, and not only that,⁵⁸ which gave it both potential as well as set limits. The potential was largely realised as soon the camp expanded into the buildings in the buffer zone, despite the obstacles erected by the two sides and the UN soldiers. The limits were made evident by its lack of coherent politics,

⁵⁶ Iliopoulou and Karathanasis, ‘Towards a Radical Politics’.

⁵⁷ This refers to the specific, small-scale context of inner Nicosia and the alternative, radical and everyday forms of contention, as opposed to the large scale, macro-societal national context of central political contention. As the economic crisis developed in 2012 and 2013, although there were multiple international examples of protests and mobilisations, in Cyprus there was not sufficient ‘flammable material’ and ended up being the South European exception in terms of contentious politics (G. Charalambous and G. Ioannou, ‘Party-society linkages and contentious acts: Cyprus in a comparative South European perspective’, *Mobilisation: an International Quarterly*, (2017) Vol. 22, No. 1.

⁵⁸ Ilican ‘The Occupy Buffer Zone Movement’; Ilican ‘Radicalising the no man’s land’.

which allowed pluralist coexistence internally of activists from multiple backgrounds and ideologies, but prevented it from mastering sufficient external support. This in its turn left it less protected in the face of swift and violent repression in spring 2012 by the Republic of Cyprus' anti-terrorist squad, whose invasion in the buffer zone was tolerated by both the UN and the Turkish Cypriot security forces.

Conclusion

This article discussed how the recent historical development of the old city of Nicosia shaped and facilitated a series of cultural and social processes, which in turn were acted upon, producing alternative readings and social imaginaries around it. The city's division, the growth of the immigrant population and the attempted regeneration of inner Nicosia set the context for a variety of practices of contestation of nationalist and commercialist cultures, challenging them in the fields of culture and lifestyle. Through an overview of the key dimensions of activist interventions in the public space in the last two decades, the article argued that there are both elements of connection across issues, movements and processes as well as continuity across time.

By examining practices rooted in social dynamics and expressing dissenting political and cultural worldviews, a more nuanced cultural sociology of the Greek Cypriot community may be constructed which goes beyond generalist images emanating from the mainstream public sphere. Through their diversion from mainstream ideas, politics and everyday life, the urban movements presented here engaged in redefining the meaning of the inner city and the life in it and registering it for more than a decade as a place of alternative practices.

Nationalism and the division of the city and the country remain, of course, the dominant frames. And although they originate in the political space and should be analysed primarily in the context of power contestations, cultural sociology and cultural studies are fundamental in illustrating the connections, interactions and dynamics between elites and communities. Beyond the circumstances of the division of Cyprus, there is a subjectivation process under way, which is historical, ideological, and semiotic, as I argued in Ioannou (2019).⁵⁹ At the same time, however, the conflicting frames and the diverging communicational practices and semiotic contestation of dominant symbolic orders are also present, significant and interesting from the perspective not only of radical politics but also of Cypriot sociology.

⁵⁹ G. Ioannou, *Denktas in the South: The normalisation of partition in the Greek Cypriot side*, (Thessaloniki: Psifides, 2019) [in Greek].

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State Housing, Social Labelling and Refugee Identities in Cyprus

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Abstract

The focus of this paper is on the urban neighbourhoods of the displaced State properties, which were constructed in the Republic of Cyprus from 1976 onwards to re-house the internally displaced Greek Cypriots. This was a large scale, low cost State housing project that resettled people, according to income and family size, in purposefully built neighbourhoods, which were constructed on the edges of urban environments. Through the State housing policy a new social identity was constructed, which was recognised as a refugee or internally displaced person, i.e. a social group which felt labelled by their spatial positioning in the built environment. In this paper the experience and construction of the Cypriot refugee/displaced persons neighbourhoods is discussed, as well as the question of temporality through the concretisation of the 'camps' into 'neighbourhoods'. The paper addresses the ambivalent framing of these urban spaces (in terms of the figure of the internally displaced person and the refugee) and the political manipulation of the displaced persons by the State. Notions of labelling, social class and segregation are also discussed in relation to the urban development of State housing in Cyprus.

Keywords: social housing, displacement; segregation, Cyprus, refugee identities, urbanism, conflict, housing, resettlement

Introduction

The urban neighbourhoods of the State properties in the Republic of Cyprus were built to re-house the internally displaced Greek Cypriots who were forced to leave their homes in northern Cyprus during the 1974 war.² Research has been carried

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² It is calculated that approximately 150,000-200,000 Greek-Cypriots fled from the north of the island and 45,000 Turkish-Cypriots from the south (O. Demetriou, *Life Stories: Greek Cypriot Community, Research Report-Displacement in Cyprus Consequences of Civil and Military Strife Report 1 (2012)*. (Oslo: PRIO Cyprus Centre), 5, available at http://www.prio.no/Global/upload/Cyprus/Publications/Displacement_Report_1_ENG.pdf, accessed: 2 December 2018.



Photo 1. From tents to fabricated homes. Planners at work

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out on how the experience of displacement has shaped both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities and their uprootment and resettlement in different parts of the island.³ In this paper, however, I focus on the Greek Cypriot experience of the displaced persons resettlement in State built housing estates constructed in the south of the island. This low-cost grand State housing project was initially under-

³ R. Bryant (2012). *Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community, Displacement in Cyprus - Consequences of Civil and Military Strife*, 2. PRIO Cyprus Centre: Nicosia; O. Demetriou (2012) *Life Stories: Greek Cypriot Community*; N. Trimikliniotis and C. Demetriou, *Displacement in Cyprus Consequences of Civil and Military Strife. Report 3, Legal Framework in the Republic of Cyprus*(Oslo: PRIO,2012)

taken in 1976 with international aid, and with the hope that it would only be a temporary solution following the war. The resettlement of people into this large housing project – with more than 14,000 housing units in a country whose population is under one million – was carried out according to each family's income level, and the estates were placed on the edges of cities, near industrial areas which could absorb the new influx of workers. Through their placement at the periphery of urban and economic life, the prejudice that accompanied living in them meant that this social group felt labelled by their spatial positioning. In 1997 a political decision was taken and the deeds of the homes were given to their residents by 2005, transforming the State housing units from public to private. These 'displaced housing projects' are spaces that have become attached to the notion of 'internal refugee', even though in recent years they are urban spaces that are increasingly being inhabited by elderly refugees who are slowly passing away, families on low incomes and migrant families that seek cheap accommodation.

These State purpose-built housing neighbourhoods are predominantly colloquially called in Greek *sinikismoi*, which is literally translated as 'settlements' in English. They are mostly referred to in the south of Cyprus as 'refugee neighbourhoods' even though the State officially refers to them as displaced housing estates. I choose to use the colloquial Greek local name *sinikismoi* throughout the paper. It is important to note that I came to this discussion from the position of a socially engaged arts researcher, an estate resident, and having worked in the conceptualisation and realisation of different art activities in the State displaced housing's in Cyprus since 2011. The material you will read in this paper has arisen from ethnographic and participant observation, as well as from my civic engagement with the arts in the context of different *sinikismoi* neighbourhoods in Nicosia. In the paper I reflect on this experience and on the construction of the refugee neighbourhoods, the concretisation of the camp: the internally displaced person and the refugee, the political manipulation of the displaced persons, labelling, social class, and segregation in the urban development of State housing in Nicosia.

The Construction of the Refugee Neighbourhoods

The displaced housing estates found in the government-controlled Republic of Cyprus were constructed hurriedly from 1976 to 2000, and they form the primary example of communitarian architectural environments (of common living) on the island. There are 69 State housing estates and they include low rise blocks of flats and

homes. Through this scheme, the Cypriot government provided low-cost houses free of charge to 'low-income' families following their displacement from the north of the island. In the period of 1975 to 1986, 12,500 families found what was meant to be 'temporary' housing in such projects. These were comprehensively planned to include basic services such as shopping centres, community centres, open spaces, schools, playgrounds, medical centres and homes for the elderly. To date, the State has constructed approximately 14,000 housing units across the island.⁴ All houses, blocks of flats and communal spaces were constructed with the same basic architectural design, building components and materials, thus implementing the concept of industrialisation within house construction. Repetition of individual components was used in the design, thus facilitating mass production, ensuring low costs and quicker delivery at a time of need. In Cyprus, through the 'displaced housing projects', what was being attempted was to find a temporary solution for large numbers of homeless people that had been living in tents.

The social theorist Roger Zetter, who was Director of the Refugee Studies Centre at Oxford University, carried out extensive research on the issue of the refugees and displaced persons in the Cypriot context, and the rehousing processes of the Cyprus Republic after 1974. He presented the contradictory nature of re-housing displaced Greek Cypriots by indicating that they were integrated in the south part of the island but at the same time were differentiated because of the characteristics of this State housing programme. Zetter indicated the unique nature of the displaced housing programme because of its magnitude and its quality. The displaced – or a large number of them – were re-housed in permanent shelter funded by the Cypriot government. Zetter also emphasised their fiscal integration in the 1980s and 1990s due to the rapid economic development of the post-destructive period that the resettlement housing project brought to the island.⁵ These built environments of the city are isolated in terms of their presence within the context of the public sphere, but they have an intense public presence as a reminder of war, of ethnic

⁴ State Housing, *Department of Town Planning, Cyprus Ministry of Interiors*, 2019. Information only provided in Greek, available at <http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/tph/tph.nsf/page46_gr/page46_gr?OpenDocument>. [Accessed: 26 June 2019].

⁵ R. Zetter, 'Rehousing the Greek-Cypriot Refugees from 1974: Assimilation, Dependency and Politirisation', *Cyprus in Transition 1960-1985*, ed. J. Koumoulides (London: Trigraph, 1986); R. Zetter, 'Labelling Refugees: Forming and Transforming a Bureaucratic Identity'. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol 4. No. 1, 39-62(1991); R. Zetter, 'Reconceptualizing the Myth of Return: Continuity and Transition Amongst the Greek-Cypriot Refugees of 1974'. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1(1999).

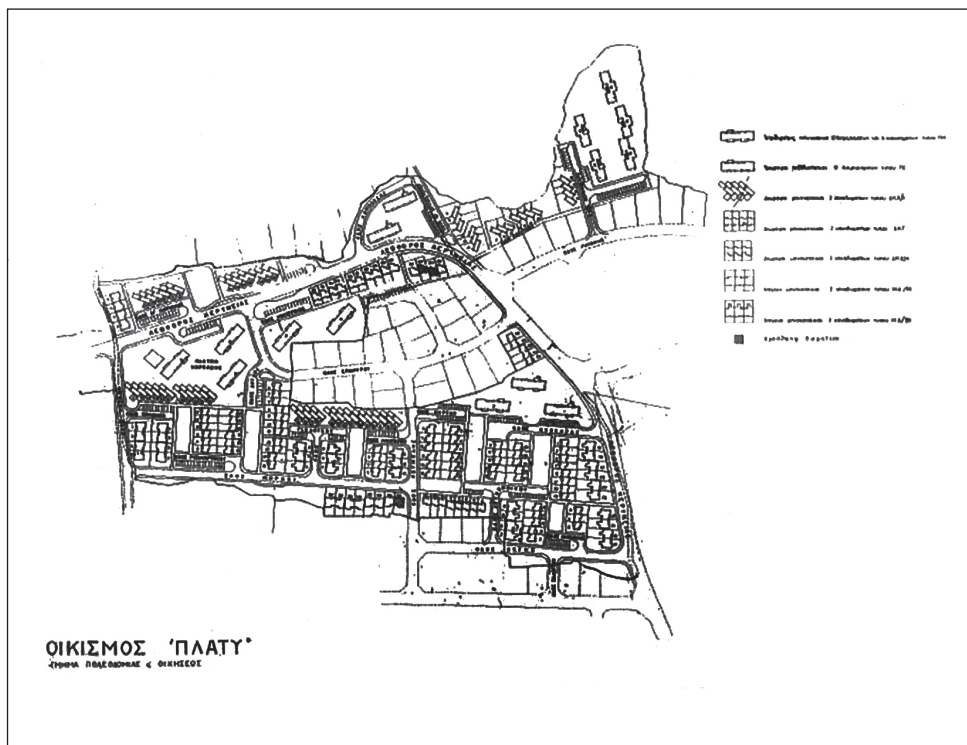


Photo 3. Platy (Aglandjia) Housing Estate with 200-300 housing units
 Copyright: Department of Town Planning, Ministry of Interiors, Republic of Cyprus

rehoused them based on income, need, and family size, inevitably creating new collectives of people from different rural settings from the northern part of the island, who lived through this rapid process of displacement and urbanisation together. The displaced persons living in the estates were given the deeds to their homes in 2007, thereby transforming the *sinikismoι* from State-owned property to mostly privately-owned property. The inhabitants of these spaces today, and the new communities of these semi-State and semi-private environments are mostly displaced elderly Cypriots, the grandchildren of the first refugees (post the 2013 banking system collapse and economic crisis) and migrants.

According to a presentation given by Kypros Pafitis, who is a structural engineer and was a member of the team that built the housing estate in Platy, Aglangia (Photo 3), the plans of general provisions based on urban planning studies meant that the estates were designed to provide the necessary commercial services that would

satisfy basic consumer needs.⁶ These plans also included the understanding that there would be:

- A relatively low density in the residential building;
- A limited use of blocks of flats;
- A variety of housing types, thus avoiding repetition and ensuring an anthropocentric dimension;
- Creating the feeling of a neighbourhood;
- Ensuring that there would be a garden at the front and at the back of the attached houses, and providing communal open spaces for the blocks of flats.

Criteria for choosing the appropriate space for the creation of the State housing:

- Connection with main road arteries and the system of public transport to ensure easy transportation;
- Close to organised industrial areas and other areas of work, so that there would be an easy integration of the work force;
- Pleasant natural environment;
- Land with good strength levels for foundation purposes, sufficient ground absorbency and good drainage possibilities for rainwater;
- Existing infrastructure and services;
- Government or private land with a low acquisition cost;
- Traffic system for pedestrians and cars;
- Main road networks connecting the estate with the urban traffic network, collection roads, intranet, access roads in the neighbourhoods (cul de sac);
- Adequate standards of sunlight effects, good ventilation, nice views and ensuring a certain amount of privacy;
- Provision for green spaces;

Percentages of use of the total area of land in each estate:

- 25% construction
- 30% courtyards
- 30% roads and parking areas
- 15% green spaces

⁶ E. Tselika, 'Sinikismoi, 'Conflict Transformation Art Booklet 3,' PhD Conflict Transformation Art, Birkbeck University of London, (2015), 39-43, available at https://evanthiatselika.files.wordpress.com/2012/01/booklet_no3_digital.pdf.

First Phase – Large Scale Estates: 500 – 1000 residential units

(Example, Photo 2)

- Housing provided for as many refugees as possible within a short time period
- Low cost land
- Close proximity to urban or suburban areas—existing residential development which was either dispersed or rudimentary
- Autonomous cores, augmenting and completing existing infrastructure in the area
- Attraction points for further residential development in the region

Second Phase – Smaller Estates: 200 – 300 residential units

(Example, Photo 3)

- Reduction of the need for immediate mass housing
- Easier integration and assimilation within the existing structure of the region
- Reducing and / or eliminating the risk of ghettoisation

The State housing project was initially undertaken with the hope that it would only be a temporary solution and to cover the urgent needs. The lower income social groups were housed first within the estates (Housing Policy, Department of Town Planning, and Cyprus Ministry of the Interior). At the start, because there were many displaced people living in camps, construction was hurried; the State even used ready-made plans of UK council estates. The estates were first placed in large empty suburban areas that could easily be connected to the main transport arteries of the city.⁷ These first estates were large and isolated, and before long many problems became evident. The displaced people felt marginalised and separate from/outside to the city. Subsequently, in the second phase of the project, the Department of Housing built smaller estates, reducing the number of units in each development from 500-1000 to 200-300. In this phase, the reduction was to assist the ‘easier integration and assimilation within the existing structure of the region’ and to help in ‘reducing and/or eliminating the risk of ghettoisation’.⁸ The smaller estates enabled better spatial integration in certain areas, but the displaced

⁷ Pafitis, cited in Tselika, ‘Conflict Transformation Art Booklet 3’, 41.

⁸ Pafitis, cited in *Ibid.* 43. This new urban planning policy, which focused on making smaller estates and situating them within the city fabric, concurs with observations made by political scientist Iris Marion Young: where neighbourhoods and towns have an income mix, those less well-off benefit from the ‘neighbourhood effects’ of dwelling together with those with more resources. Neighbourhoods and

continued to feel a social stigma for many years.⁹ One of the residents I interviewed indicated that when you would tell people that 'I live in an estate, you said it with a certain amount of caution', as it 'differentiated you from the rest'.¹⁰

These displaced housing estates, the *sinikismoi*, are spaces associated with the notion of the 'internal refugee'. Even though the State refers to those who left their homes in the north as displaced persons, in line with international humanitarian policy terminology, Cypriots colloquially refer to them as refugees. These 'displaced persons' estates are ethnically charged spaces, as they have been often utilised by politicians as a reminder of war and a re-affirmation of ethno-national identity and collective remembrance.

The Concretisation of the Camp: The Internally Displaced Person and the Refugee

The ethno-national facet of the urban segregation, so prevalent within the divided urban framework of Nicosia, raises a series of questions regarding the relationship between the city and ethno-nationalism. The fractures/divisions brought on by the ethno-national conflict are spatialised in the way that the Greek and Turkish Cypriot ethnic groups have been separated in the city space via the buffer zone. Anthropologist Yael Navaro-Yashin argues that space divisions based on ethnic identity in Cyprus are associated with British imperialism.¹¹ Until the rise of nationalism in the 19th and 20th centuries, which was influenced by events in mainland Turkey and Greece, Cypriots 'did not necessarily conceive of each other as distinct communities in ethnic or national terms'.¹²

Anthropologist Rebecca Bryant concentrates her research on the cultures of nationalism existent in Cyprus and demonstrates that the island's independence from the UK in 1959 provided a political space that was already framed by the terms of ethno-nationalism.¹³ The State was formed in 1960 based on a difficult constitution that provided guarantees for the two ethno-national groups. The inter-communal

towns with a mix of affluent and less affluent people can support better parks, public buildings, and streets than can towns populated with mostly lower income people, *Inclusion and Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 212.

⁹ Tselika, 'Conflict Transformation Art Booklet 3'.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹¹ Y. Navaro-Yashin, *The Make-Believe Space: Affective Geography in a Postwar Polity*, (Chapel Hill, NC: Duke University Press, 2012) 11.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ R. Bryant, *Imagining the Modern*, (London: IB Tauris, 2004).

troubles of 1963-1964, the Greek coup d'état of 1974 and the subsequent Turkish military action resulted in an ethnic cleansing and separation which changed the demographics of the population and led to displacement and uprooting in both communities.

Nationalism and its emergence in Cyprus in the 19th century,¹⁴ formulated the imagining of belonging to a Greek *ethnos*, and it can be linked to the development of a Cypriot print media and the breakdown of the traditional structures of authority. This is also evident in the subsequent development of a modernised Turkish ethnicity. Literacy, printed materials, and education were important to the growth of these new forms of power and redefinitions of ethno-national identity, as the world entered the 20th century. Bryant argues that education was necessary to the development of the nationalist ideologies of both Greece and Turkey,¹⁵ as it embodied community traditions and it signified historical continuity.

Following the conflict in 1974, the bi-communal actions of the 1990s and the lifting of the restrictions of movement in 2003, a culture of Cypriotness has been developing that has been transforming the two communities' relationships to their motherlands. The concept of Cypriotism and the struggles to restructure the understanding of identity have been consistently developing despite the nationalist sentiments and displacement that are encountered on both sides of the dividing lines.¹⁶

¹⁴ In 1878 the island was given over to the administrative control of the British Empire, but remained officially part of the Ottoman Empire. In the aftermath of World War I, the island again changed hands, and in 1925 Cyprus was declared a British crown colony. At this time in Cyprus, there was a heightened struggle by the Greek Cypriots for union (*enosis*) with Greece, which became increasingly violent in the 1930s, escalating with the insurgency of EOKA (Greek Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) in 1955-1959. Finally, in 1960, the UK granted the island its independence and the Republic of Cyprus was established. The UK acted as a guarantor power alongside Turkey and Greece, whilst retaining – to the present day – two military sovereign bases. The constitution of the independent island lapsed in 1963, with the enclosure of Turkish Cypriots into enclaves F. Anthias and R. Ayres, 'Ethnicity and Class in Cyprus', *Race & Class*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (1983); V. Calotychos (1997) *Cyprus and Its People: Nation, Identity and Experience in an Unimaginable Community (1955-1997)*. Westview Press: Boulder CO; C. Mavratsas, 'The ideological contest between Greek-Cypriot nationalism and Cypriotism 1974–1995: Politics, social memory and identity', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (1997) 717-737; Y. Papadakis et al (2006), *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History and an island in conflict*, Indiana University Press: Bloomington).

¹⁵ Bryant, *Imagining the Modern* 134.

¹⁶ Mavratsas, 'The ideological contest'.



Photo 4. Completion of blocks of flats, Strovolos

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The displaced housing estates constructed by the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) are directly linked to the image of the refugee camp, an image that has become a regular occurrence in the global media. The experience of displacement for the majority of Greek Cypriots took place in the summer of 1974, resulting in a situation where many people lived in tents for several months. Displacement for the Turkish Cypriot community had begun a decade earlier, when ethnic friction and inter-communal violence pushed large proportions of the community into enclaves. Following the displacement in 1974, ‘the Service for the Welfare and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons’, was established in order to address the problem of displacement

and to offer assistance and support to displaced persons'.¹⁷ The service provided housing assistance to the displaced following a series of schemes, which also included gaining access to 'housing in a government condominium' within the specifically constructed neighbourhoods.¹⁸ Access to a housing unit in this state-built housing scheme was and still is limited to individuals who are permanent residents of Cyprus and who possess a refugee identity card and fulfil a series of financial criteria.¹⁹ Many of the displaced persons residing in these housing neighbourhoods also owned or still own property in the north, rendering the legal aspect of displacement in terms of property rights as one of the most challenging and emotional facets of the Cyprus problem.²⁰

Roger Zetter noted how shelters and settlements have shifted in the turbulent political climate of the last 45 years. He indicated that 'refugee housing' in Cyprus 'is unlike the stereotyped image in other countries'.²¹ Forced migration in Cyprus was embodied in the built environment of the RoC through the government's housing policy, which moved the Cypriot refugees 'rapidly from tents and prefabricated shelter into permanent dwellings within comprehensively planned estates, located primarily 'on the urban periphery'.²² Writing approximately ten years on from the start of the construction of these housing estates, Zetter informs us that the refugees were 'being rapidly assimilated into the urban economy in the factory estates springing up near the housing areas'.²³ A very different image is presented approximately 40 years later, and the 'richly-planted gardens' that Zetter observed are at times overgrown and abandoned,²⁴ as the first generation of residents (displaced persons) is gradually passing away.

The 'refugee neighbourhoods' in Cyprus are managed by the Department of Town Planning and the Service of Displaced Individuals. An ambivalent relationship between the notion of the refugee and the internally displaced person is observed here – which is largely reflective of the time period in which the displacement

¹⁷ N. Trimikliniotis and C. Demetriou, *Displacement in Cyprus Consequences of Civil and Military Strife*, 5.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid. 6.

²⁰ Ibid., 40.

²¹ Zetter, 'Labelling Refugees', 42.

²² Zetter, 'Rehousing the Greek Cypriot Refugees', 108.

²³ Ibid. 109.

²⁴ Ibid.

of Greek Cypriots occurred. The discourse in relation to internal displacement has become much more prominent in the last 20 years, as internal conflicts increased during the 1980s and 1990s. The legal definition of the term ‘refugee’, as outlined in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees is an individual who due to fear of persecution is outside of his or her country of nationality.²⁵ What is currently understood as a refugee, however, is actually reflected in much broader terms. Refugee studies’ theorists Alexander Betts and Gil Loescher indicate, the ‘term “refugee” means different things in different contexts’.²⁶ It includes ‘people fleeing a range of causes including authoritarian regimes; conflict; human rights violations; large-scale development projects; environmental disasters’ and extends to the uprooting of people who are displaced within their country of origin.²⁷ Political scientist Emma Haddad also points out and reaffirms this ‘false dichotomy between ‘refugee’ and ‘internally displaced person’, and argues that there is ‘no conceptual difference between the refugee’ and the internally displaced person.²⁸ Both groups have been subjected to forced migration, although they are differentiated by access to impenetrable ‘international political boundaries’.²⁹ This notion is reinforced by Roger Zetter, who points out that Greek Cypriot refugees are not refugees, since they have not been forced ‘outside their country of origin’;³⁰ nevertheless, he continues, ‘they exist in what UNHCR describes as a “refugee-like situation” and display the familiar characteristics of refugee populations’.³¹

The geopolitical position of Cyprus means that the notion of the refugee is also understood within a Middle Eastern context, particularly in terms of the false element of temporality which is demonstrated as camps of tents turn into camps of concrete. This is illustrated through the contribution of a participant in an event organised as part of the project *Unconscious Architecture* in 2012.

²⁵ UNHCR, 2019. ‘Convention and Protocol relating to the status of refugees, 1951’. *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)*, available at <<http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html>>. [Accessed: 26 June 2019].

²⁶ A. Betts and G. Loescher, *Refugees in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 5.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁸ E. Haddad, *The Refugee in International Society: Between Sovereigns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 43.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ R. Zetter, ‘We are Strangers Here - Continuity, Transition and the Impact of Protracted Exile on the Greek-Cypriot Refugees’, in V. Calotychos (ed.) *Cyprus and Its People: Nation, Identity, and Experience in an Unimaginable Community 1955-1997* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998), 308.

³¹ (*ibid*)

Yiorgos Kakouris — ‘We can also mention [...] the temporality of the Palestinian settlements on the West Bank that are truly temporary. But in fact, there still exists the same construction and concretisation of the spaces. Specifically, we have the tents that turn into homes that turn into gardens and so forth’.³²

This concretisation of the camp which we observe throughout the Middle East, for example the Shuafat Refugee Camp,³³ gains prominence as hundreds of thousands of refugees are passing through European countries, and tents are slowly giving way to pre-fabricated hosting spaces.

The ‘history of displacement of Cyprus, the island at the edge of Europe and the Middle East, is embodied in the estates and correlated with the ‘ethnic conflict’.³⁴ Chronologically, the overall interpretation is one that considers the displacement of Turkish Cypriots from 1963 onwards and the displacement of Greek Cypriots in 1974.³⁵ What solidified the ‘refugee identity’ for Greek Cypriots was the fact that not all members of the community had been displaced; thus, a differentiation occurred in their move to the south of the island.³⁶

Political Manipulation of the Displaced Persons, Labelling and Social Class

What is observed in Cyprus is a situation where the government for years manipulated the image of the displaced for political gain. As anthropologist Peter Loizos wrote in reference to Cyprus:

The refugees had been told a very great deal about themselves in newspapers and broadcasts and the formation of their view of themselves was not simply a direct result of dislocation, but was also caught up in the political process.³⁷

³² Tselika, ‘Conflict Transformation Art Booklet’ 51.

³³ This concretisation of the camp can be linked back to the divided city context explored in Chapter 1 and is exemplified in the Shuafat Refugee Camp, which is the only West Bank camp that lies in the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem and is administered by the Israeli authorities. Originally established in 1965 to house around 1,500 refugees, Shuafat today is unofficially home to approximately 18,000 people of which around 50% - 60% are registered refugees (United Nations Relief and Works Agency, *Shuafat Report*, Shuafat, 2013). Shuafat Camp Profile, available at <<http://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/west-bank/camp-profiles?field=12>>, accessed 19 November 2013. It is a ‘refugee camp’ of concrete, made up of many closely spaced blocks of flats.

³⁴ O. Demetriou, *Research Report – ‘Displacement in Cyprus Consequences of Civil and Military Strife’* 4.

³⁵ Ibid. 1.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ P. Loizos, *The Heart Grown Bitter: A Chronicle of Cypriot War Refugees* (Cambridge: Cambridge

Through its policy of establishing built camps that were differentiated from the city fabric, the State created a label of differentiation for a section of the population. This was a label that the subsequent generations fought hard to disassociate themselves from. Zetter indicates that the housing programme and the criteria through which the displaced Greek Cypriots gained access to it, are vital components of the formation of the refugee 'label and identity'.³⁸ Their differentiation 'in physical terms by the housing programme and from each other by their eligibility for different types of housing' resulted in sentiments of exclusion and mistrust.³⁹ This was not only amongst the displaced people themselves, but also from non-displaced working-class Cypriots who felt resentment towards their displaced compatriots who were granted access to State housing and financial aid.

The differentiation amongst the Greek Cypriot displaced persons was not only related to social and political factors, but also to economic ones. The resettlement was carried out according to income level and the estates were placed on the edges of the city, near industrial areas which could absorb the new influx of workers. Through their placement on the periphery of urban and economic life, the prejudice that accompanied living in the *sinikismo*i meant that this social group felt labelled by their spatial positioning.

Through my research, practice, and life in one of these neighbourhoods, it has become evident how urban segregation is defined by labels that are attributed to different social groups, and which in turn shape how a place is conflictually inhabited. Zetter has noted that 'within the repertoire of humanitarian concern, refugee now constitutes one of the most powerful labels'.⁴⁰ The concept of labelling and the way in which individuals or groups become identified as refugees demonstrate 'how an identity is formed, transformed and manipulated within the context of public policy and especially, bureaucratic practices'.⁴¹ The Cypriot rehousing of the displaced is inextricably linked with the way that a State forms their policies and procedures and through which identity labels are defined. This process of labelling and assigning people to social groups and social identities is a 'relationship of pow-

University Press, 1981) 128.

³⁸ R. Zetter, 'The Greek-Cypriot Refugees: Perceptions of Return under Conditions of Protracted Exile', *International Migration Review*, (1994) Vol. 28, No. 2, 310.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ R. Zetter, 'Labelling Refugees: Forming and Transforming a Bureaucratic Identity'. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, (1991) Vol. 4. No. 1, 39.

⁴¹ Ibid. 40.

er' according to Geoff Wood,⁴² as the process of classification that State policy can implement is authoritative, and the label is imposed from top to bottom. Wood describes labelling as the process 'by which policy agendas are established and more particularly the way in which people, conceived as objects of policy are defined in convenient images'.⁴³ Labelling occurs not only between people and the State, but also 'between people through constructions of social othering and identity creation'.⁴⁴ Every label reflects the 'professional, bureaucratic and political values which create them'⁴⁵ and a 'process of designation',⁴⁶ as 'it involves making judgements and distinctions' and 'it is non-participatory'.⁴⁷

Labelling and the way that it is authored and practiced by the State is reflected in the Cypriot displaced estates, as the State opted for a policy of rehousing the displaced in large estates on the periphery of cities, based on income criteria and family size rather than geographical origin. This created an identity or a label that represents the outcome of a conflict and reflects a political decision that has shaped a social group in Cyprus, which has been utilised by politicians for political gain, and that has assisted the promotion of an ethno-nationalist discourse. In the case of the *sinikismoi*, what is observed is social segregation brought about by the State creation of spatial environments. Through its rehousing policy, the government created a new community and social class which was reinforced in the spatial narrative of the city, that of the Greek Cypriot refugee, and *sinikismoi* resident. Presently, many of the empty houses and apartments in the estates are seeing a newer group of migrant inhabitants moving in due to cheaper rents. So, we now see one low-income social group (the displaced) slowly being replaced by another (the migrant), thus revealing an element of class segregation, which is associated with these urban neighbourhoods.

Segregation and Class in the Urban Development of State Housing in Nicosia

Social class is an element that is associated both with the understanding of the internally displaced in Cyprus and with the urban neighbourhoods that were built

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ G. Wood, 'The politics of development policy labelling'. In Wood G. (ed.) *Labelling in Development Policy. Essays in Honour of Bernard Schaffer* Labelling in Development Policy. Sage Publications: London, (1985) 347.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Zetter, 'Labelling Refugees' 45.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 45.

to rehouse them. The State policy initially prioritised large families and those on low income rather than attempting to regroup the displaced according to place of origin.⁴⁸ Urban rumour has it that this could also have been a conscious decision by the government as it did not wish to group together villages due to fear of social organisation and community unrest. Several participants brought this issue up in my interviews and in events I have organised, stating that because the low-income social groups were housed together in large peripheral urban areas, a number of social issues developed related to drug and alcohol use, violence and exclusion. This class differentiation was also reinforced by a public attitude which frames the displaced persons as greedy, due to their claim for benefits.⁴⁹

Urban segregation according to racial backgrounds is a notion whose beginnings can be found in the Indian British colonial capital of Calcutta in the 1700s.⁵⁰ The spread of colonialism deeply marked how societies developed and how race became a prominent concept in world politics of both the 18th and 19th centuries. Darwin's species classification and theories of racial supremacy further reinforced the divisionary patterns based on the colour of people's skin. Segregation, as a word in itself, 'was first used for techniques of racial isolation in Hong Kong and Bombay in the 1890s'.⁵¹ Racial segregation prevailed and governed early 20th century politics, and these patterns left a deeply embedded global mark in urban environments..

Sociologist Michael Banton indicated that patterns of race relations can differ markedly across the world.⁵² Groups and categorisations of people can be more segregated within the urban environment in comparison to the rural one, and in the city it is more usual for people of different classes and races to live in certain areas, belong to different social clubs and for their children to attend different schools. However urban research has demonstrated that the process of migration is also strongly related with cities.⁵³

The Cypriot State housing was mostly built in urban environments to rehouse the population displaced from the north of the island. The State decided to locate

⁴⁸ Zetter, 'Rehousing the Refugees' 110.

⁴⁹ Demetriou, *Research Report 3*.

⁵⁰ C. Nightingale, *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 75.

⁵¹ Ibid. 3.

⁵² M. Banton, *Racial Minorities* (London: Fontana Press, 1972) 64.

⁵³ Y. Abu-Laban and J. Garber, 'The Construction of the Geography of Immigration as a Policy Problem', *Urban Affairs Review*, (2005) Vol. 40, No. 4 521.

these estates within urban territory, and yet most of these people were farmers, and already outsiders to urban life. A particularly interesting aspect of the urban planners' ideas in how to develop the areas was their decision to dedicate a large amount of space to courtyards and green spaces (a total of 45%). This was not unrelated to the fact that the inhabitants of these newly built homes came from different villages all over Cyprus. The anthropologist Anne Jepson wrote of the gardens in the estates and how we interpret the idea of rootedness in the case of Cyprus. She observed, having visited the estates that the small gardens are in line with the small housing. The refugee neighbourhoods, as she wrote, are on public view and the gardens are well kept and similar to one another. It is observed that these gardens trace the memories of the gardens in the villages, which the inhabitants left behind, and they contain common plants such as lemon trees, which can be found in every single garden. Simultaneously, there are vines, flowers, herbs, broad beans, tomato, and egg plants.⁵⁴

This is confirmed in an interview I carried out with a flat owner in 2011:

Chryso Marangou — 'We have a garden here but we live in a block of flats. The garden or courtyard of the building have in actual fact been divided according to the number of flats in the building. Everyone arbitrarily got a piece and considered it his. The first thing they all did when they came in to the homes was to plant the garden, before even fixing the inside of the house. They planted trees, flowers. That is why I said previously that there were many arguments. It was for this exact reason. You took one metre more than me in the yard [...] I planted three trees, the other guy planted four. This meant that coming into the estates the people would often clash over a very small piece of land in the common green space. Or, if one was watering the garden, the other one would get upset. The relationship though with the land and the plants remained very close.'

Now these first elderly Cypriot residents who planted these gardens are slowly passing away. Even though their children often chose to move out of these estates, which are prescribed by the label of displacement, their grandchildren are now sometimes moving back into the neighbourhoods, as they have become embedded in the city fabric. The large number of houses and apartments in the estates, which

⁵⁴ A. Jepson, 'Gardens and the Nature of Rootedness in Cyprus', in *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History and an island in conflict*, (eds.) Y. Papadakis, N. Peristianis and G. Welz (eds) (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press 2006).

stood empty for many years, have also now become the home of newer inhabitants that tend to be migrants, due to cheaper rents.

Pantelitsa Kyriacou — ‘There are many foreigners and migrants living here, especially now. Many people built their own homes, moved out of the estates and rent their homes to Filipinos, to migrants, to Romanians, etc. And it has changed. If you go somewhere, for example, if you go shopping or wherever in the neighbourhood you will mostly see foreigners.’ (resident interview, 2012)

So we now see one low-income social group (the displaced) slowly being replaced by another (the migrant). Migration to the RoC began to rise in the 1990s and it countered the previous patterns of emigration by Cypriots looking for a better life in the UK, the US, South Africa and Australia. Due to the rapid economic growth which caused a shortage in the local labour force, Cyprus adopted a migration model that is similar to Germany’s ‘gastarbeiter’ system. The main aim is to close the gap in the labour market by importing unskilled or low-skilled employees, whose stay in Cyprus will be temporary in nature, who will not compete with Cypriots in the job market, and who will not resort to public resources or funds.⁵⁵

Beginning with the most recent census of population (2011), it is estimated that 170,383 non-Cypriots reside permanently in the area controlled by the Republic of Cyprus, which is 20,3% of the entire population.⁵⁶ Non-EU female migrants constitute 15% of total female labour force in Cyprus, and 97% are recruited for the domestic work sector. Most domestic workers and caregivers come from a number of South East Asian countries, such as the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Vietnam and India. This particular sector often has a hard-working environment and recruits low-skilled employees who are also positioned at the low socioeconomic strata.⁵⁷ For

⁵⁵ D. Officer and Y. Taki, , *The Needs of Refugees and the Integration Process in Cyprus* (Nicosia: UNHCR, 2013), available at https://www.unhcr.org/cy/wp-content/uploads/sites/41/2018/02/The_Needs_of_Refugees_and_the_Integration_Process_in_Cyprus_2013.pdf, last accessed 14 September 2017.

⁵⁶ According to census of population carried out in 2001, the percentage of non-Cypriot was 9.4%. The total number of non-EU migrants is 64,113, among whom 41,114 (64,12%) are females and 22,999(34,88%) are males. The largest non-EU migrant communities are from the Philippines (9,413), Russia (8,164), Sri Lanka (7,269), Vietnam (7,028), Syria (3,054), and India (2,933). Source: Cyprus Statistical Service, 2016, available at http://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/populationcondition_22main_en/populationcondition_22main_en?OpenForm&sub=2&sel=1 (accessed on 14 September 2018)

⁵⁷ N. Trimikliniotis, ‘Migration and Freedom of Movement of Workers: EU Law, Crisis and the Cypriot States of Exception’ *Laws*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (2013), 440-468.

years, these domestic workers were the prominent migrant encounter in the social housing estates in Cyprus, as they were the caretakers of the elderly residents. This started to change, and now migrant families and migrant house shares are an increasing prominent feature of the neighbourhoods. They are attracted to the areas due to their lower cost and their proximity to employment opportunities as they have become integrated in the urban environment.

An element of class can therefore be discussed in terms of these neighbourhoods of the city. In the 1920s, the first steps towards political and union organisation of the workers in Cyprus were taken, and this is clearly due to the influence of the social revolution of 1917 in Russia, and the newly founded communist party in Cyprus (KKK), as the main instigators of class ideology and the workers movement.⁵⁸ The process of urbanisation, which meant the transformation of peasants into proletariat, saw the formation of class consciousness and integration into the class political struggle.⁵⁹ This development demonstrates also how class struggles defy ethnic patterns of communitarian division,⁶⁰ and challenge a linear perception of identity in our times of translocationalism. In the chapter titled 'Belongings in a Globalising and Unequal World: Rethinking Translocations', Floya Anthias discusses how there are a number of ways multiplicities of identities might exist.⁶¹ She warns us that 'identities cannot be thought of as cloaks to put on at will or to discard when they no longer fit or please. This is because they are more than agency-driven labels or subjectively constituted'. As she points out, the notion and recognition of a multi-layered understanding of identity does not actually resolve the difficulty with the idea of identity, as it has been perceived as a marker of sameness or difference.

⁵⁸ Anthias and Ayres, 'Ethnicity and Class', 65.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ This is historically appropriately exemplified by the Greek and Turkish Cypriot miners' strike of 1948, which is renowned for participation of the now divided ethnic communities and included the participation of women and children. It was declared by the Federation of Labour and the Turkish Cypriot miners' union and lasted for more than three months where we see the two ethnic communities collaborating over working and class rights. At this time, Cyprus was still a British colony, and the workers were demanding better pay, shorter hours and improved working conditions from the Cyprus Mining Company [A. Alecou, *Communism and Nationalism in Postwar Cyprus, 1945-1955: Politics and Ideologies Under British Rule* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan 2016) 106-107].

⁶¹ F. Anthias, 'Belongings in a Globalising and Unequal World: rethinking translocations', in N. Yul-Davis, K. Kannabiran and U. Vieten (eds), *The Situated Politics of Belonging* (London: SAGE Publications, 2006).

According to Iris Marion Young, the identity grouping characteristic of social life is, 'an expression of social relations',⁶² as 'a group exists only in relation to at least one other group'. Conflict transformation activist and scholar, John Paul Lederach, believes that individual or group 'identity is best understood as relational' and 'under constant definition and redefinition'.⁶³ Within this context, identity functions as a sense of group protection, because 'identity matters are central to conflict'.⁶⁴ The urban environment is characterised by the fact that conflicting social groups coexist within its terrains. David Harvey noted, 'The city is the site where people of all sorts and classes mingle, however reluctantly and agonistically, to produce a common if perpetually changing and transitory life'.⁶⁵ This complexity of the urban environment is demonstrated by Henri Lefebvre who argued that, the urban site 'constructs, identifies, and delivers the essence of social relationships: the reciprocal existence and manifestation of differences arising from or resulting in conflicts'.⁶⁶

Conclusion

Differentiations and divisions according to identity groupings, economic stratification and income exist within all urban landscapes. Gwen Van Eijk wrote about Dutch spatial segregation and indicated that 'neighbourhoods (or geographical areas) become relevant for understanding processes of exclusion and segregation'.⁶⁷ 'It is widely agreed upon', she wrote, 'that spatial segregation is a product of social segregation'.⁶⁸ In the case of the *sinikismoi*, what is observed is social segregation brought about by the creation of spatial environments. Through its 1974 rehousing policy, the State created a new community and social class, which was reinforced in the spatial narrative of the city, that of the Greek Cypriot refugee and *sinikismoi* resident. These constructed spatial environments, which are a remnant of ethno-national conflict, demonstrate social fragmentation and the ability of urban planning policy to create a social identity; as through the rehousing programme and the criteria with which the displaced gained access to it we see the formation of

⁶² I. M. Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (London: Princeton University Press, 1990) 43.

⁶³ J. P. Lederach, *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation* (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 2003) 55.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Harvey, 'Rebel Cities' 67.

⁶⁶ H. Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, transl. Donald Robert Bononno (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003) 118.

⁶⁷ G. Van Eijk, *Unequal networks: Spatial segregation, relationships and inequality in the city. Part of the series Sustainable Urban Areas*, Delft: Delft Centre for Sustainable Urban Areas, (2010) 5.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

the refugee 'label and identity'.⁶⁹ The construction of the refugee neighbourhoods and their function as a concretisation of the initial refugee camp also signals the reflection of the refugee 'label and identity' onto the neighbourhoods themselves. Reflecting on this process of identity labelling through the State housing policy in Cyprus, questions are raised around issues of social class and segregation in the now transnational environment of Nicosia.

In concluding, I want to point out that in our times of digital alienation it is important to consider these communal neighbourhoods that were once common to us all before their privatisation. It is by living and collaborating together with my *sinikismo*i neighbours in my creative practice and research that the idea was shaped that if we work collectively we can develop 'the right to the city',⁷⁰ the right to 'change and reinvent the city more after our hearts' desire'.⁷¹

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⁶⁹ R. Zetter, 'The Greek-Cypriot Refugees' 310.

⁷⁰ D. Harvey, '*Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*', (London: Verso, 2012) 4.

⁷¹ Ibid.

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Polaroid Vision: Thoughts on Nicos Philippou's *Sharqi*

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Abstract

*This article performs a reading of Nicos Philippou's **Sharqi**, a collection of 27 Polaroid photographs that depict Cyprus landscapes, and attempts to locate the work's artistic contribution in the larger cultural context of a landscape that emerges behind a mesh of ideologies. In an island where the terrain – physical, cultural, social, political – is always already mapped in ideological coordinates that ground it politically and populate it with a homogeneous people, Philippou's intervention in *Sharqi* is particularly crucial and even urgent. Philippou creates images that invite an evocation of Sirocco, a South-East wind, as a natural phenomenon whose energy creates various possibilities for artistic transformation. In the process, this collection rebels against the representation of landscape as a signifier of national(ist) belonging. The photographs in this collection occasion a re-colouring of memory, and encourage new associations and interconnections between psyche and place, imaginary topos and homeland, landscape and identity.*

Keywords: Polaroid, postcolonial Cyprus, postcolonial identities, Fata Morgana, queer imaginings, simulacra, nationalism, memory

Introduction

Several decades before Nicos Philippou was inspired to produce *Sharqi*, my sense of Cyprus as a native place was shaped by a popular discourse that created, represented and directed my emotional engagement with the landscape where I felt that I belonged. One moment that reveals the dynamic of such popular discourse at work is the song 'Χρυσοπράσινο φύλλο' (Gold-green Leaf). The song is by Mikis Theodorakis (music) and Leonidas Malenis (lyrics) and was featured in the 1972 documentary *To Nησί της Αφροδίτης* (*The Island of Aphrodite*), the first colour production of the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation.² My teenage imagination was quite moved by Malenis' sensuous, vivid and lyrical images:

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² M. Theodorakis and L. Malenis, *The Island of Aphrodite*, Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (1972),

Γη της λεμονιάς, της ελιάς
γη της αγκαλιάς, της χαράς
γη του πεύκου, του κυπαρισσιού
των παλικαριών και της αγάπης

Χρυσοπράσινο φύλλο
ριγμένο στο πέλαγο³

Land of lemon and olive trees
Land of embrace, and joy
Land of pine and cypress
Of Young Men and Love

Gold-green Leaf
Thrown in the sea⁴

In these lines, the repetition of certain words produces an incantatory effect and the images carry a profound symbolism. These are the ingredients of popular success, and the song moves its audience and evokes strong feelings irrespective of the strength of one's attachment to Cyprus as motherland. Indeed, the lyrics directly address a sense of imagined community. To put it differently, Malenis' lyrics and Theodorakis' composition, sounds a call upon every Greek Cypriot to tune their sense of collective identity and character to the lyrics of this song; hence, its claim to anthem status in Greek discography. Played very frequently on RIK radio (The Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation) throughout the 1970s, 'Gold-Green Leaf' mounted the first comprehensive picture of this island's 'life' and 'character'. This is not simply a song about Cyprus; it is a song that creates Cyprus by telling Cypriot Greeks who, what and how they are, as well as what forms of expression further enhance this romantic construct. The lines engender the island of Cyprus literally and figuratively. They clearly offer the island's set of ideological coordinates, grounding it with geographical territory and populating it with its people by deploying colonially inflected tropes laden with a heavy sense of Greek valour. Malenis' lyrics pres-

available at <https://www.digital-herodotus.eu/archive/video/items/3028/to-nesi-tes-aphroditis/>.

³ L. Malenis and M. Theodorakis, 'Gold-Green Leaf' [Recorded by G. Bithikotsis, 1965], *YouTube.com* (13 March 2010), available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YnDvx7lpDJo>. The lyrics are provided in Greek at http://www.stixoi.info/stixoi.php?info=Lyrics&act=details&song_id=656&hl=χρυσοπράσινοαααφύλλο. The nationalist comments offered by subscribers in response to the song deserve a separate study.

⁴ My translation.

ent Cyprus in flesh and bone as an avatar of itself that becomes the 'hyperreality', to use Baudrillard's term that public consciousness is called upon to embrace as 'reality for its own sake, the fetishism of the lost object'.⁵ Gregoris Bithikotsis sang this song with the voice that endowed post-World War II Greece with its commercial ethos. With Bithikotsis' voice and Theodorakis' bouzouki instrumentation, Greek musical culture acquired a recognisable quality with a huge marketing potential. An avid listener and a keen fan of Greek popular music, I came to these realisations long after the memory of our small transistor radio faded into a mournful longing for a return to moments that fashioned my sensibility; the radio was always on and I was always a passionate listener.

It is perhaps not coincidental that the stanza in the heart of Maleni's poem, the stanza that bespeaks disaster and desolation, makes reference to *livas*, the South-Western wind that is akin to the sirocco from the South-East. Philippou's collection, *Sharqi*, is named after the sirocco, which blows in Cyprus and in most countries that line the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. In Maleni's poem, the *livas* brings destruction to Cyprus:

Γη του ξεραμένου λιβαδιού
γη της πικραμένης Παναγιάς
γη του λίβα, τ' άδικου χαμού
τ' άγριου καιρού, των ηφαιστείων

Land of dried up pasture
Land of embittered Mother Mary
Land of Livas and unjust loss
Fierce weather and volcanoes (My translation)

The lyrics suggest that disaster is not endemic to this blessed island, but comes from the South-West – a plague that strikes this idyllic, 'Cyprus of love and dream'. This frail and yet eloquent place that is also deeply religious in the orthodox tradition of Christianity, drifts innocently and charmingly on the surface of the sea. Cyprus is vulnerable but also blessed and rendered powerful due to the passion and virtue that it generates. What helps it despite of its shortcomings is its religious commitment to love and dream and its oneiric, gender-norms abiding Hellenic in-

⁵ J. Baudrillard, *Selected Writings*, Mark Poster (ed.), (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 145.

habitants (Hellenism as an identity is quite prominent in the documentary *The Island of Aphrodite*).

Are there ways to recover landscape enlisted in the service of nationalist ideologies? How can a place be remapped and re-inscribed in ways that offer new imaginings away from the master narratives that dominate its articulation and daily consumption? My brief critical introduction to the song 'Gold-green Leaf' and the culture it has generated is tinted by a heavy dose of longing for past moments whose allure is difficult to resist. Yet, can we revisit terms such as 'nostalgia', but in a manner that is useful and productive in terms of their relationship with sensibility and landscape? These are the questions that motivate this article. Their articulation acquired a fresh potency when Nicos Philippou's *Sharqi*, a collection of 27 polaroid photographs depicting Cyprus landscapes, was exhibited at the Nicosia Municipal Arts Centre in January 2016, and published in book form at the same time. "Sharqi" is Arabic and its use here is significant, as Liz Wells reminds us: 'it questions Cyprus' identity given its position in the Eastern Mediterranean as near to Israel and Syria as it is to its nearest European neighbours, Malta and Greece.'⁶ In a postcolonial island republic where the cultural, social, political, and geographical terrain is already mapped by such images as Malenis', Nicos Philippou's intervention in a collection with a title in Arabic, *Sharqi*, occasions a radically revised gaze upon the landscape of memory and lived reality. The Sirocco is evoked as a natural phenomenon whose energy carries with it various possibilities for artistic transformations and a re-imagining of landscape with spatiality in ideological matrices; hence, the appeal of this collection. I find it is invested with urgency and comes to disrupt the constructed images that stand for the reality of our experience. The disruption occurs not only because Philippou turns our attention to images that skew the established orthodoxy, it occurs also because the aesthetic of the polaroid images intervene at all levels of the interaction; between the object represented and its mode of representation, and between the artistic product and the viewer.

Before I close my introduction, I owe a word of explanation about 'thoughts' in the title. I use it for the purpose of taking advantage of the performative quality of 'thoughts' that can stage an introspective theoretical performance as opposed to the statement made by a confident and well balanced argument. A 2018 article on *Sharqi*, by Elena Stylianou, already addresses some of the questions I pose in the

⁶ Liz Wells, 'Nicos Philippou: Sharqi,' *Exposure Magazine*, available at <https://medium.com/exposure-magazine/nicos-philippou-sharqi-4ba4e6cb6f9b>

previous paragraph.⁷ In fact, Stylianou's article offers a thorough study that locates this work within a historical context, examines the colonial and postcolonial politics of photographic work produced on Cyprus, and provides a solid theoretical frame for appreciating the work's political and artistic potential. What I hope to achieve in this article is to continue this discussion by offering some elaboration on the cultural significations and associations that *Sharqi* makes possible.

Polaroid Grain and Postcolonial Nostalgia



Postcolonial theories have enabled, among other things, profound reflections on the complex politics of cartography, aesthetics, identity, and landscape. *Sharqi* allows for striking revelations, a re-colouring of memory, and, perhaps most importantly, new associations and interconnections between psyche and place, imaginary topos and homeland. In the words of Dennis Walder, 'memory, or Mnemosyne as the Greeks called her, was the mother of the Muses, and invention or imagination depends utterly upon remembering'.⁸ Situating ourselves before the polaroid image

⁷ E. Stylianou and N. Philippou, 'Miniature Landscapes: Sharqi, the instant photograph, and the re-invention of Cyprus', *photographies*, 12:1 (2019), 99-116. Elena Stylianou is the author of this article. Nicos Philippou's name is co-author because his work is featured in the article.

⁸ D. Walder, *Postcolonial Nostalgias: Writing, Representation and Memory* (New York: Routledge,

involves us in tracing a thread of meaning that enables us to know or think we know who and what we are in the present. In this process, the landscape in the photograph shifts from being a declaration of public hegemonic avowals to a private decipherment of memory and personal historiography. Nostalgia powers this shift. The polaroid texture invokes a nostalgia that imbues the images. This is not, however, a free and unchecked longing for some past, a longing that might seem predictable considering the texture, intensity, and expression of its pain. The trajectories marked by one's memory transit through the texture and the colour temperature of the Polaroid image. However, seen as a visual performance, this transit is motored by its self-possession and self-importance, intent on portraying itself and indifferent to the subject that may be consumed by nostos. A photographic act that, like a speech act, introduces possibility, makes things happen, and mobilises psychic and sensory mechanisms.

Sharqi offers in terms of image what Edward Said calls 'contrapuntal perspective' and whose usefulness is that it offers a comparative reading of contrasting narratives. Said urges us to investigate our cultural archives in a manner that allows us to reread them 'not univocally but contrapuntally, with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts'.⁹ *Sharqi* brings to life a series of portraits that bespeak 'other histories' and other ways of perceiving landscape and identity. And, as it alludes subtly to artistic and literary movements such as postmodernism and postcolonialism, it unsettles the stern discourse of Hellenism in Cyprus.

Simulacrum

I was struck by the image chosen to publicise this collection. An eagle seated on a Corinthian capital. This capital is foregrounded by another column that carries pronounced markings that outline the design of the Corinthian order. And, beyond the strange salience of these simulacra lie the contours of the Cyprus landscape, dull and engaging, familiar and foreign, full of promise but delivering nothing, invoking simultaneously our [my] love and resentment. The eagle becomes the vague referent of some kind of splendour and imperial glory totally removed from reality. The gypsum cast bird is a simulation model whose real life original does not exist

2011), 6.

⁹ E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, NY: Vintage, 1994), 51.



in Cyprus – indeed could not exist in Cyprus because if it did then the sign would be robbed of its referent and rendered useless thereafter. Paradoxically, even the cast mouflon (on page nine of *Sharqi*) produces a similar effect, even though the mouflon is the most representative species of Cyprus wildlife that is endemic and protected. Ultimately, my sense and my reading of the image of the eagle and the mouflon have to acknowledge the Polaroid as an artistic medium and tool. It is the Polaroid that depicts the bird and the wild goat as ‘models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal’.¹⁰ So absolute is the incongruity and so jarring that, suddenly, what becomes possible is the birth of a ‘Cyprus’ through the crevices of an ostentatious aesthetic.

Fata Morgana

In the artist’s statement of intent, incorporated in the press release that announces the launch of the book *Sharqi* and the exhibition at the Nicosia Municipal Arts Centre, Philippou articulates the poetics of the images through interesting language and fascinating associations:

¹⁰ Baudrillard, *Selected Writings*, 166.

The photographs show aspects of a Cypriot landscape that has been visually silenced: a dry, arid landscape, almost post-apocalyptic, filled with cactuses, reptiles, palm trees, red lakes, but also with man-made industrial and mining remnants, as well as decorative artefacts like fake mouflons, eagles and classic columns. Despite its harshness, this is a landscape that is familiar. And even though the images show the 'other' Cypriot landscape, they are attractive; like Fata Morganas, they feel almost outworldly, like illusions, but again as Fata Morganas, they are seductive and enchanting.

I find it particularly appealing that Fata Morgana makes an entrance into the artist's statement of intent thus adding yet another philological dimension to Philippou's collection of polaroids. According to a medieval legend, she is King Arthur's sister and a woman with magical powers, a sorceress and shape shifter, responsible for the creation of optical illusions, and mirages over bodies of water¹¹. Apart from introducing lore and the supernatural, this reference to Fata Morgana is also significant because it cites a mythological tradition that points away from classical Greece. Yet, this contrapuntal juxtaposition is not limited to a philological insurrection against the totalising influence of Greco-centric thought that wants Classical Greek mythology to be the only narrative that informs contemporary artistic inspiration. The value of this reference extends to Nicos Kavvadias' popular and controversial poem 'Fata Morgana'.¹² There is a great deal to learn from Kavvadias' ritualised reconstruction of experience where pain and decadence are endowed with a mystical purpose. In the language and images of this uniquely gifted poet, exoticism, the voyage, loss, and even physical geography play themselves out in the dark miasma of decadence, wounded resilience, productive sorrow, and a mournful exultation.

But, no mention of Kavvadias' 'Fata Morgana' would be complete without referring to singer-composer Mariza Koch, the first artist who turned serious attention to this poet, and translated into melody and rhythm the colours and the concepts of a selection of his poems. This selection included an excerpt from 'Fata Morgana' and the song became so popular that peoples' homes resonated with Kavvadias' lines through Koch's voice.¹³ Her Kavvadias songs marked a turn in her performance

¹¹ Merriam Webster 'Fata Morgana,' available at <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/fata%20morgana>

¹² N. Καββαδίας, *Τραβέρο* (Athens: Kedros, 1975).

¹³ M. Koch, *Mariza Koch* LP (Athens: CBS Records, 1977)

style as she interpreted with pathos and intrinsic awareness the nuanced textures and subtle but complex and shifting emotions of the lines. She used a vocal texture that blended with the orchestra to create an apt sonic staging of the drama of Kavvadias' lines,¹⁴ and, throughout Koch's compositions, the poet's sombre and forever shifting hues of the world's oceans, and the unsettling play of the demonic and the divine, the beautiful and the grotesque, forever alluring and forever shifting; were very much like the images in *Sharqi* in a vernacular context. Or, as Liz Wells puts it in her astute and knowing commentary on Philippou's collection, '[t]he haze of the surface of the film adds a disquieting shimmer of that which cannot be seen.'¹⁵

Queer Imaginings



The Dead Zone has suffered the pressure of each side to interpret it in ways that agree with nationalist rhetoric. Gazing through a patriotic lens, this zone is legible only as a line that demarcates clearly defined binaries: civilised from uncivilised, conquered from conqueror, victim from perpetrator. And, ultimately, it has become

¹⁴ S. Karayanni, 'Nikos Kavvadias', *Cadences: a journal of literature and the arts in Cyprus* (Vol. 6, Fall 2010), 110.

¹⁵ Liz Wells, "Nicos Philippou: Sharqi," *Exposure Magazine*, available at <https://medium.com/exposure-magazine/nicos-philippou-sharqi-4ba4e6cb6f9b>

an essential symbol of the destructive war of 1974. Deeply ingrained in the collective consciousness of Cypriots of both communities, the zone that divides the island of Cyprus has had a profound effect on the spatial dimension of Cypriots' identity. Buildings that are hopelessly dilapidated, vegetation that is so disorderly and wild that it suggests barrenness more than fertility, ruined houses, uncultivated farmland, and lots of barbed wire; a decades-long process of ideological filtering has turned these signs into standard representations for this in-between space. These are signs of conflict, yet they are also lingering evidence of abuse and violation.¹⁶

In the popular imagination of contemporary Greek Cypriots, the Dead Zone has become the other space to Hellenic Cyprus, the sign of injustice and lasting victimhood. Philippou's *Sharqi* sets up a foil to the Dead Zone as a symbolic space and as a political landscape. Apart from the images in the collection that thematise camp garden sculptures, there are others that depict grotesque looking machinery. These images suggest an intimation of industrial surrealism turned to art. Furthermore, the panoramic views of the Cypriot landscape might be seen as picturing an eerie isolation, a space that cannot be readily identified as familiar. This creates an artistic dynamic that in the average Cypriot imagination might be identified with the Dead Zone. This strip of land that accesses its meanings through bare landscapes and apparent desolation has marked every Cypriot's imagination to such an extent that any images of landscapes are perceived in the imagined frame of this no man's land. And meaning is always entwined with the Greek Cypriot's will to show the other side as the perpetrator. The paradox, which may be no paradox at all, is that these same signs also render it strangely attractive and, at times, almost irresistible. Certainly, in this image from *Sharqi*, we are asked to gaze upon a landscape that does not cite national belonging in any apparent manner, nor does it display visible signs of some established national character. Rather, this is a landscape that appears self-conscious of its drama, draped by a remembering that forever escapes beyond the contours of the background hills. Our expectations are unsettled by a sky that is not marked by the blue that the Cyprus tourism campaigns proudly stress's. Blue is also evocative of the nationalist sentiment often associated with the Greek flag. Here, however, references disintegrate as the narrative layers of the

¹⁶ The Dead Zone is the subject of critical examination S.S. Karayianni, "Zone of Passions: a Queer Re-imagining of Cyprus's "No Man's Land", *Synthesis: an Anglophone Journal of Comparative Literary Studies*, Vol. 0, No. 10 (2019), 63-81.

landscape imbricate themselves in the disturbing attraction of the scene that does not entertain our standardised wish for Cyprus' quaint and reassuring poses.

I also feel that the Dead Zone as a narrative of contemporary Cyprus meets *Sharqi* in its trajectory, but not because it gestures to the established canon of associations of the Dead Zone. Rather, the two encounter each other in the space of queer significations. In order to play and at the same time explore this idea further, I want to focus on an important detail that some of the *Sharqi* images bring to our attention: that silence and decay are also proving peculiarly photogenic. Sound and silence can have an image and can affect the texture of a photograph. Relying on Sedgwick's description of the expanse of 'queer' as a political term of possibility, I perform a reading of Cyprus' Dead Zone and Philippou's images as continuing on a trajectory rather than standing still in time, and as a movement and motive that is recurrent, eddying, and not only troubling or troubled but 'troublant' as much as it is 'articulant', the first term borrowed from Sedgwick and the second term inspired by her writing.¹⁷ Both terms are performative (like my thoughts in this article) in the sense that they do not intimate a monolithic representation of the images. Rather, they produce a series of effects that aptly convey not only the paradox and complexity of images but also their potential. *Sharqi* as art resists the normalising regimes and urges for useful and productive ambiguities. Queer re-imaginings can take us across, to domains away from the trappings of bipolar binaries and nationalist essentialisms.

Conclusion

In his 2003 study *Εθνική Ομοψυχία και Πολιτική Ομοφωνία* (National Homogeneity and Political Consensus), Caesar Mavratsas writes that «ο εθνικισμός δεν αποτελεί απλώς μια πολιτική ιδεολογία, αλλά πρέπει να αναλυθεί και ως ένας ευρύτερος πολιτισμικός λόγος δια του οποίου νοηματοδοτούνται ευρύτερες κοσμοαντιλήψεις και ταυτότητες» [nationalism is not simply a political ideology, but has to be examined as a broader cultural discourse that assigns meaning to larger world views and identities, (my translation)].¹⁸

Mavratsas' attention to the cultural dimension of nationalism suggests a revised look at the hegemonic reach of its discourse. And, more importantly, it informs

¹⁷ E. K. Sedgwick, *Tendencies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993).

¹⁸ C. Mavratsas, *National Homogeneity and Political Consensus: Atrophy of Greek Cypriot Civil Society at the Beginning of the 21st Century* (Athens: Katari, 2003) [in Greek]. 53.

possible approaches to nationalism that consider the crucial dimension of other cultures that enter into dynamic intercourse with world views and identities shaped by nationalist thought, hence *Sharqi's* relevance and impact. In the words of Elena Stylianou:¹⁹

‘The framed, photographed landscapes are small in scale, yet they intend to attack the giant and repetitive narrative of an archetypal Mediterranean topos, offering an alternative reading to overused, mainstream national and cultural understandings of Cypriotness as well as insights into how locality can be renegotiated again and again with references to, motivations from and dialogues with the wider photographic discourse and historical references specific to Cyprus’.

Maleni's ‘Gold-green Leaf’, the anthem of postcolonial Cyprus, regurgitates ‘the giant and repetitive narrative of an archetypal Mediterranean topos’, where Cyprus relishes its antique beauty and pristine innocence mixed with a healthy dose of Hellenic heritage and wisdom. The song continues to be played a great deal and remains a favourite not as a work of art, but as a hymn that spells out the commandments of Greek Cypriotness. It remains a point of reference even though its value as an alibi for contemporary degradation is greater than its value as a sacralised text. In other words, it proves quite useful in redirecting attention to what wonderful people we are and what a beautiful island we have, as the song says, even though in reality we are going through an odious and uninspiring decline. In fact, I find it bemusing and saddening at the same time to consider this song in connection with Caesar Mavratsas' 2012 book *Η Κοινωνία των Χώρκατων* [*The Society of Peasants*]. With its lofty images and idealist lyrics, the song confirms the odd privilege of the psychosocial individual whose cultural and political awareness is severely curtailed by a perspective that suffers from a self-possessed ignorance.²⁰ Far from acknowledging this perspective and making remedial efforts, the Greek Cypriot boorish mentality insists on turning his inability to privilege (the male pronoun is appropriate here because of its link with patriarchy as the established gender system of Greek Cypriot society). Thus, he remains locked in a position without cultural, artistic, or

¹⁹ E. Stylianou and N. Philippou, ‘Miniature Landscapes: *Sharqi*, the instant photograph, and the re-invention of Cyprus’, *photographies*, 12:1 (2019), 102.

²⁰ C. Mavratsas, *Η Κοινωνία των Χώρκατων: η πολιτισμική και η πολιτική υπανάπτυξη των ελληνοκυπρίων στις απαρχές του 21ου αιώνα* (The Society of Peasants: The Cultural and Political Underdevelopment of the Greek Cypriots in the Beginning of the 21st Century) (Athens: Papazisis, 2012) 17.

political promise. Mavratsas asserts that this position is informed by Greek Cypriot nationalism, and I find that it is endorsed by songs such as 'Gold-green Leaf'.

In Philippou's *Sharqi*, the sirocco replaces the *livas* and inflects our gaze with the various meanings that it generates, offering possibilities for a revised encounter with the Cyprus landscape, the real and the remembered. In an island where the terrain –cultural, social, and political– is always already mapped in ideological coordinates that ground it politically and populate it with a homogeneous people, Philippou's intervention in *Sharqi* is particularly crucial. It is invested with urgency as it comes to disrupt the manufacturing of images that are made to stand for the reality of our experience. Baudrillard is concerned that reality itself founders in hyperrealism, the meticulous reduplication of the real, preferably through another, reproductive medium, such as photography'.²¹ Inadvertently perhaps, this collection of Polaroids demonstrates that it is conscious of this concern, and addresses the issue by engaging in the production of anti-picturesque compositions where the lyrical fetishism of a national construction founders in the meticulous attention to queering the landscape, both in the sense of strange and in the sense of theory. Queer theory may enable reflection on issues of identity and its embodied negotiations with power, yielding insights that are often but not always connected with questions of sexuality. 'Queer imagining' implies an exploration of the potential of a topos to inspire emotions, thoughts, and possibilities that reach beyond the dominant narratives, transverse, and go across essentialist national discourses. Such reimagining could not be simply subversive or deconstructive. 'Queer' penetrates deeply into the interstices of history and spatial dynamics, makes silence audible, and, very importantly, renders essentialism awkward. In political terms, queer resists, critiques, and challenges the regulatory practices of power, hence *Sharqi*'s value in contemporary Cyprus politics.

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²¹ Baudrillard, *Selected Writings*, 144.

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**POLICY
PAPER**

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The Intercommunal Negotiations after 1974 and Future Prospects

ANDREAS THEOPHANOUS¹

Abstract

On 13 July 1974, two constitutional experts, Michael Dekleris and Orhan Aldıkacti from Greece and Turkey respectively, who had been supporting the enhanced intercommunal negotiations, reached a tentative agreement on the Cyprus problem.² This was to be ratified on 16 July by Glafkos Clerides and Rauf Denktash on behalf of the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot Community.³ However, the coup against President Makarios on 15 July by the Greek Junta and the subsequent Turkish invasion on 20 July changed the overall political scene drastically. Not surprisingly, the basis of negotiations for a solution to the Cyprus problem changed from a unitary State to what eventually came to be known as a bizonal bicomunal federation. This paper assesses the results and repercussions of successive rounds of intercommunal negotiations under the auspices of the UN since 1974.⁴ In addition, certain suggestions are made for the future.

Keywords: Cyprus question, intercommunal negotiations, bizonal bicomunal federation

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² See M. Dekleris, *The Cyprus Question 1972-1974: The Last Opportunity* (in Greek), Estia, Athens 1981, pp. 266-273 and M. Christodoulou, *The Course of an Era: Greece, the Cypriot Leadership and the Cyprus Problem* (in Greek), Ioannis Floros, Athens 1987, p. 623.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See also A. Theophanous, *The Intercommunal Negotiations after 1974 - Results and Future Prospects*, Policy Paper 7/2019, June 2019. This paper was firstly presented at the conference *The Political History of the Republic of Cyprus* organised by the School of Law, the Cyprus Center for European and International Affairs, the Cyprus Review and the Magazine *Nea Estia*, that took place at the University of Nicosia on 12-13 October 2018.

From the Unitary State to the Bizonal Intercommunal Federation

The 1960 constitution established in essence an administrative federation, based on consociational democracy without a geographical base.⁵ Cyprus was under the guardianship of three guarantor powers, the UK, Greece and Turkey. Furthermore, there was neither a common vision for the future nor a tradition of tolerance and a culture of political cooperation. At the same time there were systematic foreign interventions in the affairs of the newly founded island-state. Under these circumstances intercommunal strife erupted which culminated to a great crisis at the end of 1963 and subsequently.⁶ Following was the withdrawal of the Turkish Cypriots from the State structure and the creation of enclaves the political scene changed drastically. President Makarios struggled for the continuity of the State and the legitimisation of the Doctrine of Necessity. In essence, the Security Council Resolution 186 of 4 March 1964 was a victory for the Republic of Cyprus.⁷ Since then, Turkey has been trying to reverse this significant decision. With the rise of the Junta in Greece on 21 April 1967 and the crisis in Cyprus in November 1967, which led to the withdrawal of the Greek contingency force from Cyprus, Makarios adopted a new policy. The objective was not *enosis* anymore but a unitary State.⁸ Slowly but gradually there was progress in the intercommunal negotiations which started in 1968.⁹ On 13 July 1974, a plan for the solution of the Cyprus problem was tentatively finalised by Michael Dekleris and Orhan Aldikacti; this agreement was to be ratified by Glafkos Clerides and Rauf Denktash on 16 July 1974.¹⁰ This agreement provided for a unitary State with elements of local and communal self-administration on issues of low politics.¹¹

⁵ See Republic of Cyprus, *Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus*, PIO, Nicosia 1960 and S. Kyriakides, *Cyprus: Constitutionalism and Crisis Government*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 1968, pp. 157-162.

⁶ For an interesting reading see S. Kyriakides, *Cyprus: Constitutionalism and Crisis Government*, op. cit; B. O'Malley and I. Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy: America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion*, I.B. Tauris Publishers, London and New York 1999, pp. 87-100.

⁷ United Nations, S/RES/186, The Cyprus Question, 1964, available at https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/CY_640304_SCR186.pdf

⁸ M. Christodoulou, *The Course of an Era: Greece, the Cypriot Leadership and the Cyprus Problem* 515-516.

⁹ For this as well as for an interesting perspective of the entire period from 1960 to the immediate aftermath of the 1974 situation see Gl. Clerides, *My Deposition* (in Greek), Vols. 1, 2, 3, and 4, *Alitheia Press*, Nicosia, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991.

¹⁰ See footnote 2.

¹¹ M. Dekleris, *The Cyprus Question 1972-1974: The Last opportunity*.

Nonetheless, Turkey was preparing its own action plan to take advantage of the clash between Makarios and the Junta. Following the coup against Makarios on 15 July 1974 Turkey invaded Cyprus five days later, on 20 July, 'to reestablish the constitutional order and to protect the Turkish Cypriot community'. On 22 July there was a ceasefire, followed by the resignation of the putschist president Nicos Samson. Glafkos Clerides, who assumed duties of Acting President in accordance with the constitution, suggested to the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash the return to the 1960 constitution. Denktash, however, in consultation with Ankara, stated that 'it is too late'.¹² At the conference in Geneva, on 11-13 August 1974, the Turkish side submitted two maps; in both cases 34% of the territory was to be under Turkish Cypriot administration.¹³ And in both cases the Greek Cypriots were expected to evacuate these territories.

When the leader of the Greek Cypriot negotiating team, Acting President Glafkos Clerides, requested 36 hours to come to Cyprus for further consultations, Turkey refused. In the early hours of 14 August, Turkey attacked Cyprus again by air, sea and land. With the new cease-fire on 16 August the situation had changed dramatically. Turkey had conquered about 37% of the island. In the process it committed ethnic cleansing and other atrocities. There were thousands of refugees, dead and missing. Furthermore, the economy of the country suffered a devastating blow. Indeed, the Greek Cypriots were facing a tragedy of biblical proportions.¹⁴

On 29-30 November 1974, at the meeting in Athens between the Prime Minister Karamanlis and President Makarios in the presence of their closest associates, the discussion largely revolved around the options of a biregional and a multiregional intercommunal federation.¹⁵ Makarios returned to Cyprus on 7 December 1974, and resumed his duties as President of the Republic. The debate in relation to the solution of the Cyprus problem continued. Gradually it was understood that the only way for the reestablishment of the unity of the country was a federal arrangement

¹² Gl. Clerides, *My Deposition* (in Greek), Vol. 4, 38-39.

¹³ Ch. Hitchens, *Hostage to History: Cyprus from the Ottomans to Kissinger*, Verso, New York 1997; B. O'Malley and I. Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy: America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion*, I.B. Tauris, London/New York 1999, pp. 187-221; V. Coufoudakis, *International Aggression and Violations of Human Rights – The Case of Cyprus*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 2008; Gl. Clerides, *My Deposition* (in Greek), Vol. 4

¹⁴ A. Theophanous, 'Economic Growth and Development in Cyprus 1960-1984', *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, Vol. 7, 1991, pp. 111-112.

¹⁵ S. Pavlou (ed.), *The Other Deposition-Confidential: Minutes of the 1974 Meeting*, Molly Press, Nicosia 1991.

including the geographical dimension. The forces opposing federation did not offer a comprehensive alternative.

On 15 February 1975, the Turkish Cypriot leadership, in line with Ankara and with the full support of the Turkish Cypriots, unilaterally declared the 'Turkish Federal State of Northern Cyprus.' On 2 August 1975, the Third Vienna Agreement was signed by Glafkos Clerides and Rauf Denktash; a major provision was the status and the rights of the 15,000 enclaved Greek Cypriots in Karpasia which the Turkish side never respected.

With the election of Jimmy Carter as the new President of the US in November 1976, there were great expectations in Cyprus. Nevertheless, the priority of the US was to end the arms embargo against Turkey and the full normalisation of the relations between the two countries. The rights of the Greek Cypriots and international legality were of secondary importance for the Carter administration as well. Indeed, the American initiative facilitated the objectives of both the US and Turkey. Developments that followed led to the high level agreement between President Makarios and the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash on 12 February 1977, under the auspices of the UN Secretary General:

1. We are seeking an independent, non-aligned, bi-communal Federal Republic.
2. The territory under the administration of each community should be discussed in the light of economic viability or productivity and land ownership.
3. Questions of principles like freedom of movement, freedom of settlement, the right of property and other specific matters, are open for discussion, taking into consideration the fundamental basis of a bi-communal federal system and certain practical difficulties which may arise for the Turkish-Cypriot community.
4. The powers and functions of the central federal government will be such as to safeguard the unity of the country having regard to the bi-communal character of the State.¹⁶

Following the visit of the US Presidential Envoy Clark Clifford in Cyprus a few days later, on 23 February 1977, President Makarios moved to submit specific proposals with the objective to reach a solution of the Cyprus problem. He soon

¹⁶ Press and Information Office, High-Level Agreement of 12 February 1977, between Makarios and Denktash.

realised that the painful concessions of the Greek Cypriots were not reciprocated by the Turkish Cypriot side. Given the intransigent Turkish Cypriot positions there was a huge gap between the two sides in the territorial, property and refugee issue, the structure of the State, governance, the definition of political equality and the guarantees. In his last speech on 20 July 1977, a few days before his death on 3 August, President Makarios declared the need for a long run struggle and, at the same time, he convincingly explained that this option was not a choice but a necessary and inevitable response to the Turkish objectives.

Spyros Kyprianou succeeded Makarios and remained president until 1988. In 1978, the American-Canadian-British Plan, known as the Nimitz Plan, was submitted, but the majority of the Greek Cypriot political forces rejected it.¹⁷ It should be noted that in this specific plan there was a provision for ‘two constituent regions’ (26 years later, in 2004, there would be a provision for two ‘constituent States’ in the Annan Plan). On 19 May 1979, President Spyros Kyprianou and the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash reached a new high level agreement under the Auspices of the UN Secretary General:

1. It was agreed to resume the intercommunal talks on 15 June 1979.
2. The basis for the talks will be the Makarios-Denktash guidelines of 12 February 1977 and the UN resolutions relevant to the Cyprus question.
3. There should be respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms of all citizens of the Republic.
4. The talks will deal with all territorial and constitutional aspects.
5. Priority will be given to reaching agreement on the resettlement of Varosha under UN auspices simultaneously with the beginning of the consideration by the interlocutors of the constitutional and territorial aspects of a comprehensive settlement. After agreement on Varosha has been reached it will be implemented without awaiting the outcome of the discussion on other aspects of the Cyprus problem.
6. It was agreed to abstain from any action which might jeopardise the outcome of the talks, and special importance will be given to initial practical measures by both sides to promote goodwill, mutual confidence and the return to normal conditions.

¹⁷ N. Christodoulides, *The Solution Plans of the Cyprus Question (1948-1978)* (in Greek), Kastaniotis Press, Athens 2009, pp. 200-235.

7. The demilitarisation of the Republic of Cyprus is envisaged, and matters relating thereto will be discussed.
8. The independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic should be adequately guaranteed against union in whole or in part with any other country and against any form of partition or secession.
9. The intercommunal talks will be carried out in a continuing and sustained manner, avoiding any delay.
10. The intercommunal talks will take place in Nicosia.¹⁸

This high-level agreement constituted an improvement of the Makarios–Denktash agreement. The aftermath though was disappointing. It is indicative that there was no follow up on the provision (5) of this agreement in relation to Famagusta. In fact, this specific provision has never been implemented.

Over time there was an upgrading of the Turkish demands. On 15 November 1983, the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash unilaterally declared the so-called ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’ (TRNC). The unilateral declaration of independence which was supported only by Turkey was condemned by the Security Council of the UN and the international community.¹⁹ Nevertheless, there were no sanctions against Turkey and its protectorate, the TRNC.

In 1984–1986 there was an important initiative by the then Secretary General Pérez de Cuéllar which eventually failed. President Kyprianou was sceptical about the philosophy of the plan which satisfied all Turkish Cypriot demands whilst it failed to address comprehensively the Greek Cypriot concerns. The major issue which led to the collapse of this effort was the Greek Cypriot fear that in the event of a collapse of the transitional government there would be no return to the *status quo ante*.²⁰ This is a thorny issue which has appeared in all initiatives and rounds of negotiations.

Gradually the Greek Cypriot leadership made new concessions. Consequently, the negotiating framework formulated over time was significantly different

¹⁸ Press and Information Office, High-Level Agreement of 19 May 1979, between Kyprianou and Denktash.

¹⁹ United Nations, S/RES/541, 1983, available at http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/properties/occupied-area_properties.nsf/res541.pdf

²⁰ United Nations, S/RES/550, 1984, available at [http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2016.nsf/943A9E40E9874575C22582C5003C57AB/\\$file/ATT8ONFF.pdf](http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2016.nsf/943A9E40E9874575C22582C5003C57AB/$file/ATT8ONFF.pdf)

²⁰ For a comprehensive reading see P. Polyviou, *Kyprianou and the Cyprus Problem – The High Level Meeting of New York in 1985* (Athens: Kastaniotis, 2010).

from what was discussed in the period 1977-1979. After 2008, the negotiation framework changed even more with new concessions by the Greek Cypriot side. Retrospectively, even leading supporters of the bizonal bicomunal federation understood that each time the Greek Cypriots accepted a specific Turkish Cypriot demand soon after there was a new request on the negotiating table.

From the High Level Agreements to the Annan Plan and the Day After

The high level agreements of 1977 and 1979 entailed a drastically different approach in relation to the negotiating framework before 1974. The eventual acceptance of a bizonal bicomunal federation so as to avoid partition was a painful concession for the Greek Cypriots. Various factors contributed to that. First, the international community was trying to find common ground between two diametrically opposite positions. Second, the huge imbalance of power between the Republic of Cyprus and Turkey led to a synthesis of ideas which reflected to a great extent the Turkish positions. Third, these negative developments were also the outcome of the weaknesses of Cyprus and Greece. Nevertheless, so many years after those agreements, there is still a huge gap both within and between the two communities, in the interpretation and the precise definition as to what was agreed.

It should be stressed that what the Greek Cypriot leadership accepted in 1977 and 1979 is not the same with what is discussed today. For example, in 1977 and 1979 the issue of a founding agreement by two constituent States was out of question. Indeed, Greek Cypriots perceived the area that would be under Turkish Cypriot administration as a region, not as a constituent State. In relation to the territorial, the property and the refugee issues, the positions of the two sides were diametrically different. The Turkish Cypriots insisted on strict bizonality and exchange of properties. On the other hand, Greek Cypriots expected the respect of the right of return and of property entitlements within the framework of a unified federal arrangement.²¹ Obviously, the implementation of the Turkish position would undermine the concept of a unified State, economy, and society.

²¹ See A. Theophanous, 'Prospects for Solving the Cyprus Problem and the Role of the European Union', *Publius, The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 30, no.1-2, Winter/Spring 2000, pp. 217-241; T. Bahcheli, 'Searching for a Cyprus Settlement: Considering Options for Creating a Federation, a Confederation, or Two Independent States', *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Vol. 30, no. 1-2, Winter/Spring 2000, pp. 203-216.

Immediately after the first high level agreement in 1977, President Makarios publicised his intention to build new houses for Turkish Cypriots on State land in the area that would be under their own administration, so as to allow Greek Cypriots to return to their properties. Nevertheless, the objectives of Ankara and of the Turkish Cypriot leadership were different. Not surprisingly, there were different perspectives in relation to the decision making provisions. The Turkish Cypriot side underlined the importance of political equality: that meant that no major decision could be taken without the Turkish Cypriot consent. In addition, the Turkish Cypriot side was assertive with its request for rotating presidency.

For the Greek Cypriots, such positions were excessive. It was one thing for the Turkish Cypriots to have autonomy in the territory under their own administration but it was another thing to demand rotating presidency and their consent for any major decision of the State. The Turkish Cypriot demands in conjunction with the role of Ankara exacerbated the fears of the Greek Cypriots. More specifically, given the control of Turkey on the Northern part of Cyprus and the colonisation policy which rendered the Turkish Cypriots a minority even in the occupied part of the island, Greek Cypriots fear that Turkey would turn a federal Cyprus into a protectorate.

The differences between the two sides are deep. Despite the Greek Cypriot concessions, the Turkish maximalism has not allowed the overcoming of the deadlock. Furthermore, it should be noted that the Turkish Cypriots perceive the Republic of Cyprus as a Greek Cypriot State – they call it the ‘Greek Cypriot administration’ – and they therefore prefer ‘a new partnership’ which will entail ‘a new State of affairs.’ This would mean the creation of a new State. Furthermore, for the Turkish Cypriot side the two constituent States would be almost ethnically homogeneous. On the other hand, the Greek Cypriots support a solution which will provide the continuity of the internationally recognised Republic of Cyprus. In addition, they evaluate any solution to the Cyprus problem not only in relation to the Turkish Cypriot community, but also within the framework of the regional and geopolitical context and the objectives of Turkey.

The silent majority of Greek Cypriots consider that the Turkish Cypriot positions for a solution amount to ‘Turkish control in ‘the North’ and partnership in ‘the South’.’ This would be worse than partition. This view has also been held by the deceased Presidents Spyros Kyprianou and Tassos Papadopoulos and the veteran politician Vassos Lyssarides. It has been held by several academics, analysts, and

journalists as well.²² This assessment does not amount to supporting partition. However, it points out that of bizonal bicomunal federation as discussed today is indeed worse than partition.

Over time a new issue has emerged following Turkey's massive illegal colonisation which has led to serious demographic changes in the occupied part of the island. Currently, the population in the occupied part of Cyprus is estimated to be around 350,000, out of which only about 120,000 are Turkish Cypriots. In fact, the vast majority are settlers who have been given citizenship and voting rights.²³ Inevitably the composition of the Turkish Cypriot community has been drastically altered.

While with the high level agreements the Greek Cypriots made painful concessions, they never accepted the Turkish philosophy of bizonal bicomunal federation. President George Vassiliou (1988-1993) codified the positions of the Greek Cypriot side in 1989.²⁴ With these proposals the Turkish Cypriot demand that they would constitute a majority in the area under their administration was accepted. In addition, there were provisions for the effective participation of Turkish Cypriots in all bodies and organs of the State. Nevertheless, these concessions were not good enough for the Turkish side to reach a negotiated settlement.

When the Ghali Set of Ideas²⁵ was submitted in the summer of 1992, the Turkish Cypriot side rejected it. And yet, the philosophy of the Ghali Set of Ideas incorporated political equality, strong bizonality, bicomunalism and effectively maintained the guarantee system with the participation of Turkey. Denktash was in favour of full separation and a loose confederal arrangement. Even with such a solution no major decision with regard to foreign policy and security issues could be reached without the consent of the Turkish side.

²² St. Lygeros, *On the Brink of Extinction* (in Greek), Livanis, Athens 1993; Y. Valinakis, 'The Annan Plan for the Cyprus Question' (in Greek), *Exoterika Themata*, Vol. 8 January 2003, reprinted in D. Constantakopoulos, *The Seizure of Cyprus* (in Greek), Livanis, Athens 2004, pp. 277-286; Y. Valinakis, 'A Bold Proposition for Cyprus' (in Greek), *Kathimerini* (Athenian daily Newspaper), 24 September 1989.

²³ J. Christou, 'North's population tops 350 thousand', *Cyprus Mail Online*, 18 November 2017, available at <https://cyprus-mail.com/2017/11/28/norths-population-tops-350-thousand/?hilite=%27population%27%2C%27north%27%2C%27has%27%2C%27reached%27%2C%27351%27%2C%27000%27>

²⁴ Greek-Cypriot side, 'Outline Proposals for the Establishment of a Federal Republic and for the Solution of the Cyprus Problem', (30 January 1989), in Republic of Cyprus, Press and Information Office, *The Cyprus Problem* (rev. 1999), Appendix 20, pp. 170-181.

²⁵ United Nations, 'Set of Ideas' (for the solution of the Cyprus problem), S/24472, August 1992.

President Vassiliou accepted the Ghali Set of Ideas as the basis for the solution of the Cyprus problem. On the contrary, Glafkos Clerides was critical and expressed his will to drastically improve these ideas. In fact, the Ghali Set of Ideas basically determined the outcome of the presidential elections of 1993. Glafkos Clerides defeated George Vassiliou with a narrow margin. It took the international community a few years to invest again in a well-coordinated effort for the solution of the Cyprus problem. This was made possible when broader interests were intertwined with the Turkish European ambitions.²⁶ The initiative, which culminated with the Annan Plan in 2004, started in the fall of 1999.²⁷

The Cyprus question constituted a major obstacle for Ankara's European prospects as Turkey had occupied a great part of the territory of a candidate country. The Turkish objectives were supported by the US, the UK and several other EU countries. Undoubtedly, a solution of the Cyprus problem would have facilitated Turkey's European ambitions. In the event of a rejection of the negotiated plan Turkey should not be assigned blame at any cost.

In the 2003 presidential elections Tassos Papadopoulos defeated President Clerides. Clerides had a more flexible stance than Papadopoulos in relation to the Cyprus problem. Indeed Clerides found himself in a similar position as Vassiliou back in 1993. And Papadopoulos adopted a hard line stance – like Clerides did in 1993. The major point is that Greek Cypriots were and still are very sceptical towards peace plans that entail serious risks, including the possibility of leading to a deterioration rather than an improvement of the *status quo* for them.

The UN Secretary General Kofi Annan continued in his efforts for a comprehensive settlement along the same philosophy, despite the outcome of the presidential elections (16 February 2003) in Cyprus. More specifically, on 10-11 March 2003, he had a new meeting at the Hague with the then newly elected President Tassos Papadopoulos and the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash. President Papadopoulos appeared more flexible, while Rauf Denktash remained intransigent. Consequently, the new initiative of the UN Secretary General failed. And it was the Turkish side which was blamed for this.

²⁶ A. Theophanous, *The Cyprus Question and the EU: The Challenge and the Promise*, Intercollege Press, Nicosia 2004, pp.105-133.

²⁷ United Nations, 'The Comprehensive Settlement of the Cyprus Problem', fifth version of the Annan Plan: Annan Plan V, submitted on 31 March 2004, available at <http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/sgrep04.html>

On 16 April 2003, President Papadopoulos signed in Athens the Treaty of Accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the EU. While the Greek Cypriots were jubilant, in the occupied territories there was tension, disappointment and discontent for the Turkish Cypriot leadership. Indeed, for several months prior to this, Turkish Cypriots held several rallies against Denktash and expressed their preference in favour of Cyprus' EU accession as a reunified country in various ways.²⁸

Rauf Denktash's move (also encouraged by Ankara) to partially lift restrictions on the movement of Greek and Turkish Cypriots across the dividing line on 23 April 2003, came as a surprise to most people. But not to those Cypriot and foreign observers and analysts who perceived that unless something was done in the occupied Northern part of Cyprus to release increasing pressures, violence against the authorities of the TRNC by the Turkish Cypriots themselves could not be ruled out.

In fact, there were high expectations by the Turkish Cypriot leadership from this move:

- (a) the pressure of the Turkish Cypriots against the regime would be eased;
- (b) the image of both the TRNC and Turkey would be improved drastically;
- (c) the socioeconomic benefits for the TRNC and the everyday life of Turkish Cypriots would be substantially improved;
- (d) politically, the way that the 'free' mobility of people would be dealt with would influence the content of an eventual settlement in favour of the legitimisation of the *status quo* with a few changes.

The reaction of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots to the easing of restrictions on movement was an even greater surprise, since they moved across in thousands without any friction or incidents. Initially there was optimism and great emotion. Many people thought that this was similar to the events which led to the collapse of the Berlin Wall. In the case of Cyprus though the occupation regime did not collapse but was strengthened. At the same time, one of the pillars of Turkish policy in Cyprus – that the Greek and Turkish Cypriots could not live together

²⁸ H. Smith 'Cyprus Turks turn against their leader', *The Guardian*, 19 December, 2003; Reuters, 'Enough, nobody believes you...' Turkish Cypriot Rally Calls for Denktash to Quit', 27 December 2002; *The Guardian*, 'Turkish Cypriots rally for UN plan', 15 January 2003; *The Guardian*, 'Turkish Cypriots say enough', 18 January 2003.

– was weakened. For years Denktash argued in favour of separation and strong bizonality for security reasons. The facts on the ground though did not confirm this hypothesis.

In any case, the Turkish (Cypriot) side scored a major diplomatic success. The Cypriot government, caught by surprise and without a comprehensive policy, reacted rather clumsily. Some officials encouraged the ‘free movement,’ others discouraged it and some took a neutral stance, stating that “it was up to each individual to act according to his/her own conscience.” On 30 April 2003, the Cypriot government announced a set of measures of support of the Turkish Cypriots which included free medical services in public hospitals, the granting of identity cards and passports of the Republic of Cyprus and access to the labour market in the government controlled areas.

It seemed that a new era was beginning. It was obvious that the philosophy of the Annan Plan had been overcome by these events as it failed to address the new realities. However, although President Papadopoulos was not sympathetic to the philosophy of the Annan Plan, he did not take more brave steps. These could include a new approach to the Cyprus problem in conjunction with a new set of confidence building measures that could lead to significant socioeconomic gains for both sides and to a new political environment. The Greek Cypriot side followed these developments instead of adopting a proactive role so as to monitor and influence them. A few months before accession to the EU, the initiatives and pressures for a solution on the basis of the Annan Plan intensified.

The Annan Plan (V) was the outcome of the efforts of the international community for a final settlement of the Cyprus Problem. The results of the referenda – 75,8% rejection by the Greek Cypriots and 64,9% acceptance by the Turkish Cypriots (including the settlers who voted) – was indicative of a greatly imbalanced plan. At the same time, Turkey’s efforts at exculpation proved fruitful. The Turkish narrative was that ‘the Greek Cypriots are maximalists and do not wish to share power, the wealth of the island and the benefits of EU accession with the Turkish Cypriots.’

President Papadopoulos and the Republic of Cyprus were unjustly blamed for the failure to reach a solution. The Greek Cypriots though missed an important opportunity to reposition the Cyprus problem on a new basis. It is unfortunate that the State and the political system failed to put forward a convincing narrative which could respond to the Turkish story and also reestablish reality.

It could be argued that the Annan Plan (V)²⁹ legitimised to a great extent the outcome of the 1974 invasion and the realities on the ground. It provided for two constituent/founding States with a weak central State, strict bizonality and a presidential council with rotating presidency. With regard to the Supreme Court, the relevant provision provided for three Greek Cypriot judges, three Turkish Cypriots and three foreigners. In essence, the plan implied the dissolution of the Republic of Cyprus which would be replaced by a three-headed State structure in which no decision could be reached without the approval of the Turkish side. Furthermore, the new State would not be an equitable member of the EU (as it would still depend on external powers).

On 8 July 2006 President Tassos Papadopoulos reached an agreement with the Turkish Cypriot leader Mehmet Ali Talat in relation to the future of Cyprus. It was reaffirmed that the solution would be on the basis of a bizonal bicomunal federation in accordance with the UN Security Council resolutions. Indeed, President Papadopoulos wanted to make changes so as to improve the Annan Plan. The essence of the Papadopoulos-Talat Agreement on 8 July 2006, under the auspices of the UN, was the preparation at a technical level so as to resume the negotiations.

1. Commitment to the unification of Cyprus based on a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation and political equality, as set out in the relevant Security Council resolutions.
2. Recognition of the fact that the status quo is unacceptable and that its prolongation would have negative consequences for the Turkish and Greek Cypriots.
3. Commitment to the proposition that a comprehensive settlement is both desirable and possible, and should not be further delayed.
4. Agreement to begin a process immediately, involving bi-communal discussion of issues that affect the day to day life of the people and concurrently those that concern substantive issues, both of which will contribute to a comprehensive settlement.
5. Commitment to ensure that the 'right atmosphere' prevails for this process to be successful. In that connection, confidence building measures are essential, both in terms of improving the atmosphere and improving the life

²⁹ United Nations, 'The Comprehensive Settlement of the Cyprus Problem'.

of all Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Also in that connection, an end must be put to the so-called 'blame game'.

Decision by the two leaders:

The Technical Committees on issues that affect the day to day life of people will commence by the end of July provided that, at the same time, the two leaders will also have exchanged a list of issues of substance and its contents to be studied by expert bi-communal working groups and finalised by the leaders.

The two leaders will meet further, from time to time as appropriate, to give directions to the expert bi-communal working groups as well as to review the work of the Technical Committees.³⁰

For President Papadopoulos, the objective was to achieve 'a bizonal bicomunal federation with the right content.' For the Turkish Cypriot leader, Talat, the fundamentals of the Annan Plan were binding.

It is doubtful whether this agreement could lead to a major improvement of the Annan Plan. It should be noted that for the first time the provision of 'bizonal, bicomunal federation' was included in an agreement between the two community leaders. This specific provision had been included, though, in various UN Security Council resolutions in the previous years. Be that as it may, the agreement on 8 July 2006 did not specify the precise content of the solution to the problem.

The Intercommunal Negotiations After 2008 and the Collapse at the Crans Montana

After the victory of Demetris Christofias in the presidential elections of February 2008, the Greek Cypriot side engaged in negotiations on the Cyprus problem despite previous reservations on procedural issues. As a result, the agreement reached between Christofias and Talat on 23 May 2008, under the auspices of the UN Secretary General brought back and revived the philosophy of the Annan Plan:

'The Leaders today had genuine and fruitful discussions, and reviewed the results achieved pursuant to the 21 March agreement.

They reaffirmed their commitment to bi-zonal, bi-communal federation with political equality, as defined by relevant Security Council resolutions.

³⁰ Press and Information Office, High-Level Agreement of 8 July 2006, between Papadopoulos and Mehmet Ali Talat.

This partnership will have a Federal Government with a single international personality, as well as a Turkish Cypriot Constituent State and a Greek Cypriot Constituent State, which will be of equal status.

They instructed their representatives to examine, within 15 days, the results of the technical committees.

The representatives will consider civilian and military confidence – building measures. They will also pursue the opening of Limnitis/Yeşilirmak and other crossing points.

The leaders decided to come together again in the second half of June to make a new assessment.³¹

It was the first high level agreement which provided for two constituent States with equal status. Obviously, the importance of the provision of ‘constituent State’ was underestimated as it implies a founding State. Inevitably, with the implementation of this provision the Republic of Cyprus would be replaced by a new State.

In the election campaign, Christofias’ slogan was that he would be ‘the President of the solution’; indirectly, this implied that Tassos Papadopoulos was responsible for the lack of a solution. Furthermore, the role of Turkey in the whole equation was not addressed. This perspective, which indeed facilitated the Turkish narrative, was also dangerous and detrimental for the Greek Cypriot side.

Demetris Christofias assumed at the time that his ideological and political relationship with Mehmet Ali Talat would have facilitated the negotiations and create conditions for a final settlement. Additional confidence building measures created a favourable climate. Although there was progress in the negotiations and points of convergence on important issues were reached, again, the leaders did not conclude a solution.

It should be stressed that convergence was achieved on issues of governance, including rotating presidency. In addition, the two sides agreed on guiding lines with regard to the settlers and the number of Turkish citizens that would be allowed to come to Cyprus after a solution. The objective was to maintain the ratio 4:1 between Greeks and Turks. Furthermore, some guiding lines were agreed on the energy, territorial and property issues. Nevertheless, a comprehensive settlement, still, was a long way off.

³¹ Press and Information Office, High-Level Agreement of 23 May 2008 between Christofias and Talat.

With his election on 24 February 2013, President Nicos Anastasiades had to address the consequences of the economic crisis. Nevertheless, he remained focused on the need to find a solution within the framework of a bizonal bicomunal federation. Despite initial difficulties, President Nicos Anastasiades and the then Turkish Cypriot leader Dervis Eroglou reached an agreement on 11 February, 2014, under the auspices of the UN Secretary General and the beginning of a new round of negotiations was announced:

“The two leaders had their first meeting today under the auspices of the UN Secretary General’s Good Offices mission. The meeting was held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere and the two leaders have agreed to the following:

1. The status quo is unacceptable and its prolongation will have negative consequences for the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. The leaders affirmed that a settlement would have a positive impact on the entire region, while first and foremost benefiting Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, respecting democratic principles, human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as each other’s distinct identity and integrity and ensuring their common future in a united Cyprus within the European Union.
2. The leaders expressed their determination to resume structured negotiations in a results-oriented manner. All unresolved core issues will be on the table, and will be discussed interdependently. The leaders will aim to reach a settlement as soon as possible, and hold separate simultaneous referenda thereafter.
3. The settlement will be based on a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation with political equality, as set out in the relevant Security Council Resolutions and the High Level Agreements. The united Cyprus, as a member of the United Nations and of the European Union, shall have a single international legal personality and a single sovereignty, which is defined as the sovereignty which is enjoyed by all member States of the United Nations under the UN Charter and which emanates equally from Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. There will be a single united Cyprus citizenship, regulated by federal law. All citizens of the united Cyprus shall also be citizens of either the Greek-Cypriot constituent state or the Turkish-Cypriot constituent state. This status shall be internal and shall complement, and not substitute in any way, the united Cyprus citizenship.

The powers of the federal government, and like matters that are clearly incidental to its specified powers, will be assigned by the constitution. The Fed-

eral constitution will also provide for the residual powers to be exercised by the constituent States. The constituent States will exercise fully and irrevocably all their powers, free from encroachment by the federal government. The federal laws will not encroach upon constituent state laws, within the constituent States' area of competences, and the constituent States' laws will not encroach upon the federal laws within the federal government's competences. Any dispute in respect thereof will be adjudicated finally by the Federal Supreme Court. Neither side may claim authority or jurisdiction over the other.

4. The united Cyprus federation shall result from the settlement following the settlement's approval by separate simultaneous referenda. The federal constitution shall prescribe that the united Cyprus federation shall be composed of two constituent States of equal status. The bi-zonal, bi-communal nature of the federation and the principles upon which the EU is founded will be safeguarded and respected throughout the island. The federal constitution shall be the supreme law of the land and will be binding on all the federation's authorities and on the constituent States. Union in whole or in part with any other country or any form of partition or secession or any other unilateral change to the state of affairs will be prohibited.
5. The negotiations are based on the principle that nothing is agreed until everything is agreed.
6. The appointed representatives are fully empowered to discuss any issue at any time and should enjoy parallel access to all stakeholders and interested parties in the process, as needed. The leaders of the two communities will meet as often as needed. They retain the ultimate decision making power. Only an agreement freely reached by the leaders may be put to separate simultaneous referenda. Any kind of arbitration is excluded.
7. The sides will seek to create a positive atmosphere to ensure the talks succeed. They commit to avoiding blame games or other negative public comments on the negotiations. They also commit to efforts to implement confidence building measures that will provide a dynamic impetus to the prospect for a united Cyprus.³²

In relation to the Christofias – Talat Agreement, the 11 February 2014, Joint Communiqué presented a more specific framework, with a more detailed

³² Press and Information Office, High-Level Agreement of 11 February, 2014 between Anastasiades and Eroglou.

content and new ideas. For the first time there would be negotiations between the Greek Cypriots and Ankara, as well as between the Turkish Cypriots and Athens. For President Anastasiades, this approach involved Turkey directly. His critics suggested that this specific methodology upgraded the status of the TRNC and gave the impression that Greece and Turkey had similar responsibilities.

In relation to the bizonal bicomunal federal State, the agreement provided that the residual powers would be allocated to the constituent States. At first sight, this provision may be indicative of a loose federation. The agreement also indicated that sovereignty 'would equally emanate from Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.'

Another major issue of disagreement was and is still whether the new State would evolve from the Republic of Cyprus or not. As far as foreign affairs is concerned, the Greek Cypriot side considers that the relations with the EU and the conclusion of international agreements should be an exclusive competence of the federal central government. On the contrary, the Turkish Cypriot side considers that international agreements should also be a competence of the constituent States. Furthermore, there are different perspectives between the two sides on the issue of governance including the hurdle of rotating presidency.

There are also disagreements on the issue of natural resources. The Greek Cypriot side considers that this should be the competency of the federal central government and the Turkish Cypriot side that this should be a competence of the constituent States. However, the Turkish Cypriot position that the energy wealth should be utilised for the benefits of both communities, essentially contradicts this request. Furthermore, the Greek Cypriot side rejects the idea that the revenues from the exploitation of the energy resources should be shared before a solution.

In relation to the settlers, the Greek Cypriot position is that colonisation of the island is the outcome of Turkey's expansionist plans and that it constitutes a threat. At the same time Greek Cypriots accept that many settlers will stay for humanitarian and other reasons; these includes mixed marriages and children of settlers born in Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriot leadership purports that all settlers have been incorporated in the TRNC.

On the property issue, the positions of the two sides are also diametrically opposed. The Greek Cypriots support the property rights of individuals as well as the UN Pinheiro principles.³³ The Turkish Cypriot position is that the principle of

³³ According to the Pinheiro Principles (United Nations Principles on Housing and

bizonality is supreme; this entails that there is a limit to property rights and the implementation of the Pinheiro principles. Furthermore, the Turkish Cypriot side wishes to limit the right of return, so as to minimise number of Turkish Cypriots that will have to be relocated. Within the framework of territorial adjustments the Greek Cypriots also consider and suggest the return of 100,000 refugees to their properties; the Turkish Cypriot side asserts that this request is excessive.

In the negotiations that followed, the rights of the property owners were discussed in relation to the rights of current users. Given the complexity of the issues it is inevitable that there should be a categorisation of the various cases.

Furthermore, while the Greek Cypriots aim at major territorial adjustments the Turkish Cypriot side practically indicates that only marginal readjustments are possible. And the two sides continue to have different perspectives on the issues of guarantees and the foreign troops.

As a result, there were serious difficulties in the negotiations between Anastasiades and Eroglu. This in conjunction with several violations of the Cypriot EEZ by Turkey led to the temporary suspension of the negotiations. With the election of Mustafa Akinci as the new Turkish Cypriot leader on 26 April 2015, there were, again, high expectations for a quick solution of the Cyprus problem. However, it is Turkey that has the final word.

Unrealistic expectations for positive economic effects were also cultivated.³⁴ Arguably a solution of the Cyprus problem would lead to a new dynamics. Indeed, construction, the enhancement of the tourist product and the development of the energy sector would be associated with positive developments. Be that as it may, it will be difficult for Cyprus to endure the expenses of a three headed State. Taking into consideration the strict rules of the Eurozone, the Greek Cypriots will replace Turkey in subsidising the Turkish Cypriot constituent State. And if the Turkish Cypriot banks need recapitalisation, they will be supported, most likely, by the

Property Restitution for Refugees and Displaced Persons) all refugees and displaced persons should have their properties restored, available at <http://2001-2009.state.gov/documents/organization/99774.pdf>

³⁴ Even before the election of Akinci as the Turkish Cypriot leader there were reports suggesting a promising future and great economic benefits. For example see, F. Mullen, O. Oğuz and P. Kyriacou, *The Day After: Commercial Opportunities Following a Solution to the Cyprus Problem*, PRIO, Cyprus Centre, Nicosia 2008 and F. Mullen, A. Apostolides and M. Besim, *The Cyprus Peace Dividend Revisited a Productivity and Sectoral Approach*, PRIO Cyprus Center, PCC Report 1/2014. These views were presented again and again on various occasions.

Greek Cypriots as well. With regard to property issues the necessary resources for compensations are not available. According to conservative estimates, EUR15 billions will be required even after the territorial adjustments.³⁵

When the negotiations at Crans Montana collapsed at the beginning of July 2017, it was announced that the major reason was the issue of guarantees and the presence of foreign troops even after a solution. The then Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs Nicos Kotzias³⁶ as well as the UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres had in this regard underlined the importance of a normal State. Nevertheless, there were entrenched differences on other major issues such as governance, territory, property and the settlers. In other words, the gap between the two sides proved much greater than what it was initially estimated.

Despite efforts since then for the resumption of the negotiations this has not been made possible yet (until 15 October 2019). At this stage, it seems that, in addition to the issue of guarantees, governance and the specific definition of political equality have become thorny issues. At the same time, the further colonisation and islamisation of the occupied territories continue ceaselessly, while Turkey ramps up its drilling operations off the coast of Cyprus despite EU and US warnings.

Conclusion

More than 42 years have passed since the first high level Makarios-Denktaş agreement on 12 February 1977. Since then and despite numerous initiatives by the UN and other powers, endless rounds of intercommunal negotiations and successive concessions of the Greek Cypriot side, a comprehensive settlement proved impossible to reach. Considering all relevant factors, including the negotiating *acquis*, the absence of a narrative from the Republic of Cyprus and the projection of the Turkish perspectives in various decision making centres in ways

³⁵ If we also take into consideration the resources that will be required for the current users who will have to relocate in the form of compensation, the total amount required may be up to EUR25 billions. We cannot expect to raise this amount from international donors. The overall situation in the international economic environment does not allow such expectations. See Reporter 'The Economics of the solution' (in Greek), 13 December 2015, pp. 1,5-8.

³⁶ N. Kotzias, *Cyprus 2015-2018: The three years that have changed the Cyprus Problem. The struggle for normality, without 'intervention rights' and 'guarantees'*, Publications Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens 2018. It is important that the Secretary General of the UN Antonio Guterres also endorsed the goal of a normal State. It remains to be seen whether this objective would be implemented.

that pervert what has really taken place in Cyprus, one could argue that the pursued policy in the last 45 years has failed.

The supporters of the bizonal bicomunal federation as it is discussed today believe that there are no alternative options. Nevertheless, federal models which rely exclusively on ethnocommunal pillars do not have a promising future. In the event that the current basis of negotiations is implemented, the occupation and its effects on the ground will be deepened. It should be stressed that Turkey considers the Republic of Cyprus as 'defunct' and strives ceaselessly for its dissolution.

While the *status quo* is not desirable, it is a serious mistake to consider that any solution of the Cyprus problem will improve it. Nonetheless, as long as there is no prospect for improvement, the *status quo* remains 'second best.' At the same time given that the *status quo* is not static, time should be utilized in the best possible way.

Although the accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the EU changed the overall environment, Turkey's stance remains unaltered. And despite Turkey's checkered past in Cyprus – and elsewhere – systemic actors adopt a policy of tolerance toward Ankara and the pressures are directed toward Nicosia, instead.

Furthermore, it will be extremely difficult, even impossible, for a three headed costly, and cumbersome State to be functional in the Eurozone, despite expectations that an eventual solution will lead to an economic boom. For a prosperous future within the framework of a solution to the Cyprus problem, there are several prerequisites, such as political stability, a minimum of common objectives between the contracting parties, flexibility in governance and avoidance of high public spending and bottlenecks. It will be imprudent to assume that all these issues will be automatically resolved and lead to the desirable outcome. Furthermore, we should not ignore the experiences of other states which rely on ethnonationalist pillars.

The demographic issues are very important. In case of a solution within the current negotiating framework there would be a situation in which one constituent state will be Turkish and the other will become multiethnic. Furthermore, a great part of the Greek Cypriot youth that does not share this 'vision' of a solution, will leave Cyprus. Over time, the Greek Cypriots could indeed be turned into a numerical minority in their own country which has been culturally and historically Hellenic for centuries on end.

The issues of legitimisation and of smooth governance, which are interrelated, are also decisive. To the present day Greek Cypriots still bury the remains of missing persons since 1974. Furthermore, every year on 20 July early morning, they hear the sirens in memory of the invasion while in the occupied part of Cyprus there is a military parade and jubilation. It is impossible for the Greek Cypriots to accept the legitimisation of the invasion and to subsidise with their taxes the new state structure. A necessary, although not sufficient condition, for coexistence in a state is a minimum of common objectives and principles. This does not exist today.

Positive developments would arguably emerge if reconciliation and an honest compromise could be achieved. However, Ankara would only agree to a solution which serves its strategic interests. The current negotiating framework dissolves the Republic of Cyprus and its implementation would turn the entirety of the island into a Turkish protectorate. The rights of the Turkish Cypriot community can be safeguarded by and within the Republic of Cyprus. After all, when Turkey invaded Cyprus, it declared that its objectives were the reestablishment of the constitutional order and the 'protection' of the Turkish Cypriot community. It was a serious mistake not to clarify from the beginning that the common state would be the Republic of Cyprus.

Certainly there are great difficulties in altering the basis of the negotiations and in promoting the normalisation of the relations between Turkey and the Republic of Cyprus. Nevertheless, such a new approach constitutes a strategic imperative. For the implementation of these high objectives, sustained efforts, comprehensive proposals for the content of a solution, a strong economy, a convincing narrative and a pragmatic foreign policy will be required.

Currently though we see a huge gap between the two sides as well as deep intracommunal differences. The question under which circumstances is coexistence in one State desirable and feasible must also be addressed. The population of the occupied part of Cyprus is over 350,000, most of whom are settlers from Anatolia. Obviously, the structure and the character of the Turkish Cypriot community is changing.

It is important to reassess Turkey's objectives and answer the question as to whether partition would suffice to serve its expansionist goals. It is also tragic to have a negotiating framework which, if implemented, would lead to a deterioration of the *status quo* for the Greek Cypriots. There is also great concern for the possibility of collapse in case of a bad solution. Even without the deep mistrust, as well as

Turkey's bad reputation and decisive role, the implementation of a solution would require time. Given the circumstances, an evolutionary approach may constitute the only strategic option. Unfortunately, the confidence building measures, most of which have been adopted unilaterally since 2003, serve basically the objectives of the Turkish Cypriot side.³⁷ The real litmus test for Turkey's intentions lies in the return of Varosha to its legitimate residents. Nevertheless, Turkey has other plans for Varosha; more specifically, there are plans to colonise this territory as well and use it to advance specific political and commercial interests.³⁸

The Republic of Cyprus must enhance its position with pragmatism in various ways. This includes promoting and updating the networks of cooperation with other countries on the basis of common objectives and converging interests on various issues including energy. It is also indispensable for the Republic of Cyprus to reestablish its moral high ground, to univocally advance a narrative and to submit major guidelines for the solution of the Cyprus problem in a way that the unity of the country is secured.

Indeed, there should be a new policy with the objective to establish a *suis generis* federal model that will be the outcome of a constitutional revision of the 1960 constitution. This specific approach will also entail confidence building measures between the two communities and the harmonisation of the relations with Turkey with respect to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. To implement these objectives, the prospect of a multilateral energy cooperation will be indeed very useful. These objectives may be achieved with the contribution of the EU as well as other powers within the framework of an evolutionary approach.

The position in favour of an evolutionary approach is strengthened by the fact that in case of a solution it is impossible to move from a certain situation to another overnight. This is because there are separate narratives, experiences, perceptions, value-systems, and different political, economic, and social realities. I have outlined the main pillars of such an evolutionary approach in March 2017 as follows:³⁹

³⁷ In relation to the attempt to promote the telephone communication between the two sides the Turkish Cypriot leadership has systematically rejected the usage of the code 00357 which is internationally utilised for the Republic of Cyprus. Eventually, an agreement was reached on 12 July 2019 which provides for the use of both the codes of the Republic of Cyprus and Turkey (0090).

³⁸ For example see E. Aygin, 'Clashing claims over Varosha', *Cyprus Mail*, 1 September 2019.

³⁹ A. Theophanous, 'Revisiting the Cyprus Question and the Way Forward', *Turkish Policy Quarterly*

- i. The occupied areas in the Northern part of Cyprus should be turned into an EU Region under Turkish Cypriot administration with the immediate implementation of the *acquis communautaire* through the suspension of Protocol 10. The Republic of Cyprus should have a role in this process.
- ii. Gradual return of territories under Greek Cypriot administration, gradual implementation of the four basic freedoms for all citizens and gradual implementation of the obligations of the Turkish Cypriot community.
- iii. Normalisation of relations of the Republic of Cyprus with Turkey. Within this framework it will be possible to address effectively energy issues in the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond in ways which serve multiple interests.
- iv. Establishment of a roadmap for the next steps and guidelines for a federal constitution as a result of a synthesis. More specifically, it is essential to amend the 1960 constitution which is based on consociational democracy and introduce elements of an integrationalist federal model as well. (specific ideas toward this direction have been submitted in 2004).⁴⁰
- v. It is also important for the EU to undertake its responsibilities in the harmonisation process of the occupied territories of Cyprus with the *acquis communautaire*. Within this framework, it is also essential to launch a process of internal political, social and economic convergence.
- vi. Turkey must also assume its own responsibilities. It should be remembered that when Turkey invaded Cyprus on 20 July 1974, it had put forward the position that its objectives were the restoration of the constitutional order of the Republic of Cyprus and the protection of the Turkish Cypriot community. Turkey should work towards this direction. It should stop the colonization and islamisation of the occupied territories. Furthermore, it should stop facilitating illegal migration of citizens of third countries in the government controlled area of the Republic of Cyprus. Last but not least, it should withdraw the occupation troops.
- vii. Any solution should be the outcome of a voluntary agreement between the two sides in Cyprus. Evidently, the evolutionary approach will give the time required for the

(Special Issue - Protracted Conflicts in Turkey's Neighborhood: Between Cold Peace and Hot War), Vol. 15, No 4, Winter/March 2017, pp.1-10 (especially pp. 5-6).

⁴⁰ A. Theophanous, *The Cyprus Question and the EU: The Challenge and the Promise* 141-150. I presented these ideas first in May 2004 and then on 4 July 2004 in A. Theophanous, (with the contribution of a special working team of the Center), 'The Next Step: What do we do after the Annan Plan?' (in Greek), circulated as a supplement, *Simerini*, 4 July 2004.

gradual strengthening of relations between the two communities and the formulation of the concept of an integrationalist, federal, indivisible State. If this is not possible, other ways should be sought to ensure peace and security within the context of Cyprus' EU participation which was ensured upon its accession in 2004, including Protocol 10.

At the same time the Republic of Cyprus needs to continuously enhance its state entity as well as to generate a comprehensive narrative for its just case. It is also essential to raise the issue of occupation and the responsibilities of Turkey. Equally important is a pragmatic foreign policy and the creation of a model state in the Eastern Mediterranean. With such a policy the Republic of Cyprus will improve the prospects of implementing its objectives.

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**BOOK
REVIEWS**

Biographical Dictionary of Cypriots: 1800-1920, Vols I-II

ARISTIDES KOUDOUNARIS

7th edition, Nicosia: University of Nicosia, 2018

ISBN: 978-9963-711-40-6; 978-9963-711-41-3

The 7th edition of the Biographical Dictionary of Cypriots of late Aristides Koudounaris (1936-2018) is, without a doubt, one of the most significant works ever published in Cyprus and the culmination of the life work of one of the most dedicated researchers of Cypriot history.

Wikipedia is a revolutionary idea; an encyclopedia available for anyone to read and constantly updated, which has no limits and can include information about virtually everything. No revolution is of course infallible. Wikipedia depends its scope by the will and interests of its users. The mere fact that someone wrote something in a blog might be included as a new critical perspective. This sometimes sacrifices knowledge, as in the age of digital information we digest the culture of simplicity.

Koudounaris' work is important, because it depends upon hard work and cross-checking of sources. Moreover, whereas, no person can achieve absolute objectivity, Koudounaris has been objective in determining who to include and why. The percentages of Greeks and Turks, of English and overseas Cypriots, of Armenians and Roman Catholics, included in his work, have been meticulously considered so as to truly represent a period covering a total of approximately 200 years. The dictionary covers personalities who were born from 1800 to 1920 and accordingly includes people who were active even during the new millennium (for instance, Glafcos Clerides, born in 1919, was President of the Republic until 2003). Koudounaris' life work refers to personalities who lived in the past, defined our present and remain essential for the understanding of how to build our future.

Seven editions in a period of thirty years, each of which has been a new revised and updated edition, so that the dictionary in its definitive and final version is a complete mosaic of personalities who defined Cypriot history, in the political, military, economic, societal or cultural sphere. I refer to the 'definitive and final'

version because of Koudounaris' passing just one month after the presentation of the Dictionary in a well-attended event at the University of Nicosia (there were two additional presentations, which took place in Limassol and Athens in October 2019, but this time without Aristides). However, the finality of this edition is due to another ground. In 1989 when the first edition was published, there were still several personalities included in the Dictionary still active; in 2019 there are none, with probably only former socialist leader Vasos Lyssarides remaining still alive.

A similar work would have typically been carried out by a large team of researchers and this makes Koudounaris' achievement even more impressive. Single-handedly, he reviewed newspaper articles, archives in both Cyprus and abroad and took several thousands of interviews, in order to complete his monumental work. The Dictionary enables us to approach the history of Cyprus without bias, through the lens of a humble researcher who deeply respected and passionately cared about the influence and contribution of personalities of Cypriot history. In each new edition, Koudounaris set new goals; after 2003, he carried out with zeal, primary research in the occupied areas in order to include Turkish Cypriot personalities to present the complete history of this turbulent island, without exclusions. Similarly, he proceeded to include overseas Cypriots, including Cypriots of Egypt, and even British officials who left their mark during the British rule era.

It could be argued that Aristides Koudounaris was an original version of a dying breed; a researcher who through his life work became a public intellectual. Academics, researchers, politicians, journalists, professionals, virtually anyone, could benefit from the multiple narratives included in the Dictionary; rather than merely being a study in utility, as encyclopedias and dictionaries typically are, Koudounaris' work is a study of ideals and personalities who lived and died with them. Current academics often tend to ignore the role of public intellectuals and refer to other academics in technical language, neglecting the importance of the educated public. Koudounaris, however, has contributed with his life work to the advancement of science and society by improving our knowledge for personalities who determined our existence; whether and how we shall use such knowledge is up to us.

One could read in the Dictionary about the advocate from Kyrenia Charilaos Demetriades, who, in his will, left his large estate for erecting a cultural foundation. One could also read about Dervis Vedat Bey, who refused to resign from office as the President of the District Court of Nicosia after 1963 despite threats by Denktash, and who sent a letter that Koudounaris found in the archives of the Supreme Court,

expressing his disagreement with the policy of the Turkish Cypriot leadership on the Cyprus Question. One could be surprised, when realizing that several important personalities of Cypriot history, had studied through distance learning in La Salle Extension University in Chicago, more than 100 years before Cypriot universities began investing in Distance Learning education.

ACHILLES C. EMILIANIDES

Cypriot Nationalisms in Context: History, Identity and Politics

THEKLA KYRITSI AND NIKOS CHRISTOFIS (EDS.)

(Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)

ISBN: 978-3-319-97804-8

This book represents a further elaboration of papers presented at the international conference “The emergence and development of Nationalisms in Cyprus”, which was held in Nicosia on 27th April 2013. It is a collective volume with contributions from fifteen writers who attempt to shed light on various aspects of the Cyprus question under the rubric of theoretical constructs such as nationalism, imperialism and colonialism.

The book’s originality consists on the one hand in managing to reveal aspects of the Cyprus issue on which the interest of investigators has hitherto not focused (e.g. the stance of the Greek and Turkish Left towards the Cyprus problem, the role of the Legislative Council, the stance of women’s organizations, the activity of the far right organization “X”, the re-founding of Turkish-Cypriot identity among settlers, the incorporation of the Armenian community, the generation of communalist prejudice among children) and on the other hand the fact that to a great extent the presentation of empirical material is mediated through deployment of the theoretical schemata of nationalism, Marxism, ethnogenesis, colonialism, imperialism.

The publication’s editors in the introduction to the book follow Anthony Marx’s definition of nationalism, according to which “Nationalism...is a collective sentiment or identity, bounding and binding together those individuals who share a sense of large-scale political solidarity aimed at creating, legitimizing or challenging states”. In this way nationalism becomes perceptible or is justified by a sense of historical commonality which holds together a population within a territorial entity, drawing a boundary between those who belong and those who do not belong.”

The theoretical intervention of the introduction is enriched through a deepening of the content of nationalism, presenting the distinctions between formal and infor-

mal nationalism, with formal nationalism understood as the variety which comes “from above”, that is to say, from the state institutions which elaborate an official nationalistic ideology aimed at homogenizing and disciplining society, whereas unofficial nationalism denotes more emotional and reactive values more related to everyday life. Another distinction is that between civic and ethnic nationalism. The former signifies a specific variant emphasizing a shared civil or political belongingness embracing people located in the same geographic space whereas the second denotes a national identity pointing to common nationality, culture and tradition. One case pertains more to “liberal” nationalism and the other to “conservative” nationalism.

On the basis of the above we can be led to a geography of nationalism and highlighting of the difference between western and non-western nationalisms. Although there is a distinct and recognized continuity from the European ideological currents of the 19th century, at the same time very important, and inevitable, changes have occurred, from the moment that nationalism begins to involve cultures entirely different from those that existed, and exist, in the West.

Christofis and Kyritsi subsequently endeavour to link the concept of nationalism to Marxism, focusing on the fact of the liberation process of the former colonies in the first post-war decades and its linkage with the demand for socialism. This effort has come to be associated with more general developments in the social sciences which have been conducive to a more intensive and fruitful investigation of the nationalist phenomenon.

In the first part of the book there is an examination of early manifestations of nationalism in Cyprus. From the viewpoint of methodology the section in question corresponds to the first and second phase of Hroch’s schema for the historical development of nationalist movements. The first phase is characterized by the study and promotion of the linguistic, cultural and, often, historical characteristics of a dominated ethnic group without explicitly posing the question of securing national self-determination. In the second phase, a significantly large number of activists mobilises to awaken the national consciousness of its nationals, with a view to constructing a future nation.

Basic elements in the first phases of the Cyprus question, as presented in the book, are the emergence of those social groups, which, in conjunction with the activation of political institutions, provided the incentive for the rise of Greek nationalism on the island in the first years of the 20th century. A phenomenon that was

intensified once the Greek national self was constituted against the national other. This empirical description is reinforced by reference to the three conflicting currents in research on nationalism: a) the primordialism whose view is that national identities are historically embedded because nations have their roots in a common cultural heritage and language which lead to a demand for, and the establishment of, national states b) the modern constructivists who approach the nation as artificial construction of an invented tradition or as an imagined community, attributing emphasis to the linking of ethnogenesis to the phenomenon of industrialization. This process is the product of an ideological plan originating from the modern state and/or from the most powerful social strata c) the ethnosymbolism embodying a critique of modernism, considering that for the creation of a nation state, importance must be assigned to elements such as myths, symbols, and traditions. The second part of the book corresponds, from the theoretical viewpoint, to the third phase of nationalism in accordance with the Hroch schema. It is the period when nationalism wins mass support. The book covers the period from 1940 up to the Turkish invasion in 1974.

The third part deals with the question of endogenous Cypriot nationalism (Cypriotness). In this connection, it is interesting how the numerically small Armenian community has been integrated into Cypriot society, and particular into Greek Cypriot society, without losing elements of its own specific national identity. The contributors to the book see this as a potential model for coexistence in a future unified Cypriot state.

The fourth part concerns the local-global relation with the Cypriot question. The national liberation movements after the Second World War linked the anti-colonialist demand with socialism, but it very soon became clear that the national dimension overshadowed a certain Marxist rhetoric. In that context both the Greek Left and its Turkish counterpart functioned more as nationally responsible forces following the official policy of their states on the Cyprus question than as agents for social emancipation and internationalist solidarity. Naturally at that level too there were differences because the Turkish Left (and specifically The Workers' Party of Turkey) in a first phase favoured protection of Turkish Cypriots from the prospect of *enosis* of Cyprus with Greece, without this meaning Turkish intervention outside of the borders of Turkey. In the next phase, they aligned themselves with official Turkish foreign policy, also accepting external intervention. Another aspect linked with the aforementioned was the entry of Cyprus into the Non-Aligned Movement

which, above and beyond the endeavors of Makarios to manoeuvre between the USA and the USSR, was also a consequence of the development within the Greek Left of considerable sympathies for the movements of the Third World.

As indicated, the book operates both at a theoretical and at an empirical level. On the theoretical level the value of the book is that, on the one hand, it highlights the basic (vertical) approaches to the phenomenon of nationalism (primordialism, modernism, national symbolism) but also the specialized (horizontal) approaches (formal/informal, official/unofficial, civic/ethnic). Also emphasized is the uncompleted attempt to link with Marxism particularly in the first post-war period. Included among the virtues at the empirical level is the highlighting of a number of questions around giving prominence to the nationalist phenomenon in Cyprus (the role of women, the relation of Cyprus to the Third World, the integration of the Armenians, the role of the Legislative Council, the incitement of reflexes of prejudice in small children, the resignification of the Turkish Cypriot identity through the arrival of the settlers). Finally there should be emphasis on the value, not always self-evident, of the participation of Turkish Cypriot writers in the publication of a book on Cyprus.

All in all *Cypriot Nationalism in Context* is work of originality focusing attention on a number of aspects of Cypriot nationalism that have so far not been investigated in depth, and this makes it worthy of the attention of people concerned “professionally” with the subject but also with the general public. From this viewpoint it would be worthwhile for the book to be published both in Greek and in Turkish. Beyond the above, there are questions on which more detailed discussion would make the book richer thematically.

The first, which in my opinion warrants some questioning is that a more social/class approach to the phenomenon, and indeed over time, is conspicuous by its absence. In other words, I think that a study of the evolution of nationalism would be enriched by a cross-sectional examination of the growth of the capitalist system within the Cypriot social formation. Something like this would start from a basic question: was there a clear distinction between the two communities during the later Ottoman period which, with the advent of the British, evolved into an emergence of the two nationalisms? And if this is the case, to what extent did the economic superiority of some strata of the Greek Cypriot element contribute to the shaping of the Greek consciousness and in what way did the economically subordinate Orthodox sections of the population adopt this consciousness? Correspondingly, to

what extent did the Cypriot economy in the 20th century, in the evolution of which the Greek Cypriot economic elite played a decisive role, sow division between the two communities?

Similarly, a highlighting of the relations of the two communities with their “mother fatherlands” would add further interest. This not in the sense of the dispatch of diplomatic delegations and so on (such aspects have been adequately covered in the existing literature) but in the light of the degree to which the Orthodox and Muslims of Cyprus considered themselves part of the Greek and Turkish nations respectively. In addition to this it is also important to determine from when this began to happen in a majoritarian sense within each community (e.g. how the Orthodox of Cyprus became committed to the establishment of an independent Greek state).

One final point: the first territorial division of the island took place in 1963/64 and was completed with the Turkish invasion of 1974. The passage of such a long period has undoubtedly dimmed memories of cohabitation. Because of what device could one leap over, in a general sense, not only the problems created by nationalisms but also the reality of years of separation? One possible answer to that could be the content of the article on the Armenian community. Even then a number of reservations emerge: the Armenian community had essentially been incorporated in the Greek community with which it has a religion in common and there are no historical memories of enmity (in contrast to the relation of the Armenians with the Ottoman Empire and Turkey). Moreover when the incorporation process took place the Armenians did not have their own nation-state. Obviously, the above observations pertain to questions that require further study and elaboration. They are covered by the present volume, but only marginally. However, even this limited reference to them adds further interest to this in any case fine publishing endeavour.

SPYROS SAKELLAROPOULOS

CALL FOR PAPERS

The Cyprus Review (Spring 2020)

The Cyprus Review invites submissions
for its upcoming Spring 2020 issue on

Gender in Cyprus: Equality, Rights, and Beyond

There is a constantly growing literature adopting a gender-based exegesis and/or gender-oriented perspective as both a research method and a doctrinal area in a vast spectrum of scientific disciplines, ranging from humanities, social sciences, law, and politics, to natural sciences, sports, and statistics. This comes as no surprise, since gender, much like all proto-societal notions, bears significant philosophical, political, economic, legal, and even metaphysical connotations. Moreover, the amplification of the interdisciplinary scholarly debate around the notion of gender and its implications in the conduct of scientific research has been part and parcel of the emergence of such intellectual fields as gender, feminist, queer, sexual diversity, and LGBTQI+ studies. The upcoming Spring 2020 issue of *The Cyprus Review* will focus on the parameters of *Gender in Cyprus: Equality, Rights, and Beyond*. The issue intends to serve as a platform for introducing gender-based approaches into the scientific *topos* of Cyprological studies. We encourage authors to contribute to this effort through original scientific research pertinent to a broad range of Cyprological topics touching upon the issue of gender, with special but not exclusive, focus on the interplay between gender and equality, as well as gender and rights.

We especially encourage original papers dealing with such subjects as:

- Social and/or societal construction of gender
- Gender representations in the context of family, workplace, or the socio-political arena
- LGBTQI+ perspectives on gender; queerness and the construction of gender; normativity, non-binarity, and gender identity
- Gender identity; gender fluidity; gender reassignment
- Gender visibility, inclusivity, and/or awareness

- Gender as a notion of domestic, European, and international law
- Gender rights; gender *qua* right; gender and human rights
- Gender equality; gender participation; gender-sensitive policies and affirmative action; gender quotas; gender empowerment
- Language and gender; gender as a language; gender as a narrative
- Gender targeting; gender biases; gender *qua* role and source of expectations
- Gender and the concept of the political; gender as a political concept; gender and political representation
- Gender in the context of labour policy and/or praxis; gender and capital
- Gender and the Welfare State in liquid modernity
- Gender parameters in the framework of international or regional stability, peace, and security operations
- Gender victimality; gender-based violence (GBV); harassment on the basis of gender and/or sexual harassment; gender-related mobbing; gender in mass atrocity context; gender and armed conflict
- Toxic masculinity; lookism; the culture of *machismo*

This is not an exclusive list. On the contrary, we urge prospective authors to think out of the box, endorse bold new ideas, and research the various aspects of gender in the context of equality or rights, but also beyond them. All articles should be relevant to the case of Cyprus, thus enhancing Cyprological studies and research.

Submission Instructions

- Authors should consult the journal's guidelines for submission which can be found at: <http://cyprusreview.org/index.php/cr/information/authors>
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- Interested scholars should send their papers to the following email address <cy_review@unic.ac.cy> or submit their articles through our online platform available at the review's web page <https://cyprusreview.org>, **not later than 1 February 2020**.
- All submissions should be identified in the email subject with the heading **'TCR Spring 2020, Gender in Cyprus'**

