

CR

CYPRUSREVIEW
A Journal of Social Sciences

Fall 2022, Volume 34, Number 2

Published by the University of Nicosia
ISSN 1015-2881 (Print) | ISSN 2547-8974 (Online)

DISCLAIMER

The views expressed in the articles and reviews published in this journal are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the University of Nicosia, the Editorial Board, or the Editors.

P.O. Box 24005
1700 Nicosia, Cyprus
T: 22-842301, 22-841500
E: cy_review@unic.ac.cy
www.cyprusreview.org

SUBSCRIPTION OFFICE:

The Cyprus Review
University of Nicosia
46 Makedonitissas Avenue
1700 Nicosia, Cyprus

Copyright: © 2022
University of Nicosia, Cyprus
ISSN 1015-2881 (Print), 2547-8974 (Online)

All rights reserved.
No restrictions on photo-copying.
Quotations from *The Cyprus Review*
are welcome, but acknowledgement
of the source must be given.

EDITORIAL TEAM

EDITORIAL BOARD

EDITORIAL TEAM

Editor-in-Chief: Dr Christina Ioannou
Consulting Editor: Prof. Achilles C. Emilianides
Managing Editor: Dr Emilios A. Solomou
Assistant Editors: Dr Michalis Kontos
Dr Giorgos Charalambous

Publication Designer: Thomas Costi
Linguistic Editors: Tereza Skarvelaki
Elisavet Papageorgiou
Book Reviews Officer: Andria Andreou

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dr Constantinos Adamides University of Nicosia
Dr Othon Anastasakis University of Oxford
Prof. Panayiotis Angelides University of Nicosia
Prof. George Christou University of Warwick
Dr Odysseas Christou University of Nicosia
Prof. Costas M. Constantinou University of Cyprus
Prof. em. Van Coufoudakis Indiana University–
Purdue University Indianapolis
Prof. Alfred de Zayas Geneva School of Diplomacy
and International Relations
Prof. Thomas Diez University of Tübingen
Prof. Dimitris Drikakis University of Nicosia
Prof. Marios Evriviades Neapolis University Pafos
Prof. Hubert Faustmann University of Nicosia
Prof. Kevin Featherstone European Institute,
London School of Economics
and Political Science
Prof. Vassilis Fouskas University of East London
Dr Michael Given University of Glasgow

Dr Christina Hajisoteriou	University of Nicosia
Prof. Evanthis Hatzivassiliou	National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
Prof. em. Robert Holland	University of London
Dr Sofia Iordanidou	Open University Cyprus
Prof. Andreas Kapardis	University of Cyprus
Dr Vassilis Kappis	University of Buckingham
Prof. Savvas Katsikides	University of Cyprus
Dr Erol Kaymak	Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD)
Prof. Mary Koutselini	University of Cyprus
Prof. Petros Lois	University of Nicosia
Prof. Neophytos Loizides	University of Kent
Dr Diana Markides	Independent Researcher
Prof. Farid Mirbagheri	University of Nicosia
Dr Yael Navarro	University of Cambridge
Prof. Phedon Nicolaides	University of Maastricht
Dr Petros Papapolyviou	University of Cyprus
Prof. Stelios Perrakis	Neapolis University Pafos
Prof. Constantinos Phellas	University of Nicosia
Prof. Oliver Richmond	University of Manchester
Prof. Heinz Richter	University of Mannheim
Dr Soterios Rizas	Research Centre for the Study of Modern Greek History, Academy of Athens
Prof. Spyros Sakellaropoulos	Panteion University
Prof. Paul Sant Cassia	University of Malta
Dr Sertaç Sonan	Cyprus Academic Dialogue
Dr Angelos Syrigos	Panteion University
Dr Ioannis Tellidis	Kyung Hee University
Prof. Andreas Theophanous	University of Nicosia
Prof. Alina Tryfonidou	Neapolis University Pafos
Prof. Demetris Vrontis	University of Nicosia
Dr Craig Webster	Ball State University

CONTENTS

Contributors	12-19
Letter from the Editor-in-Chief	20-22
ARTICLES	
CHARLOTTE STEFFEN The German Pilgrims and Travellers of Limassol from 1192 until 1978	25-39
MARTYNA ELERIAN, EMILIOS A. SOLOMOU, ELENA C. PAPANASTASIOU Native, Cosmopolitan, or Cypriot? Identity Development and Sense of Belonging Among International School Students in Cyprus	41-70
HARITINI TSANGARI, CHRISTINA MICHAILIDOU, LIA CHARALAMBOUS, CHRISTINA KING Online Education during Lockdowns: Comparing its Impact on Physical and Psychological Wellbeing, in University Faculty and Students	71-90
EVANGELOS SFAKIANAKIS An Alternative Model for Bankruptcy Prediction under Stressed Conditions: The Case of Listed Companies in Greece and Cyprus	91-116
BOOK REVIEWS	
VAN COUFOUDAKIS Tassos Papadopoulos, Archive Τάσσος Παπαδόπουλος, Αρχείο by Tassos Papadopoulos Research Centre	119-121
DIANA MARKIDES Insular Destinies. Perspectives on the History and Politics of Cyprus by Paschalis Kitromilides	122-127
STEPHANOS CONSTANTINIDES Rodis Roufos: An Author in Trying Times – Occupation, Resistance, Cypriot Struggle [Ρόδης Ρούφος: Ένας Συγγραφέας σε Καιρούς Δοκιμασίας – Κατοχή, Αντίσταση, Κυπριακός Αγώνας] by Alexandros D. Bazoukis	128-130
YIANNIS PAPADAKIS I am Cyprus: 25 Stories of the Migrant and Refugee Experience in Cyprus by Annetta Benzar	131-132

CHRISTOPHOROS CHRISTOPHOROU Left in Modern Cypriot History [Η Αριστερά στη Σύγχρονη Κυπριακή Ιστορία] by Giorgos Camelaris	133-137
NIKOS MOUDOUROS 8+2 Myths about Turkish Foreign Policy [8+2 Μύθοι για την Τουρκική Εξωτερική Πολιτική] by Zenonas Tziarras	138-142
ANTONIOS STRATAKIS Does Energy Cause Ethnic War? East Mediterranean and Caspian Sea Natural Gas and Regional Conflicts by Andreas Stergiou and Marika Karagianni	143-147
NADIA KORNIOTI The Cyprus Tribute and Geopolitics in the Levant, 1875-1960 by Diana Markides	148-152
LEONIDAS VATIKIOTIS On Journalistic Ethics [Περί Δημοσιογραφικής Δεοντολογίας] by Giorgos Pavlidis	153-157
STERGIOS MITAS Philosophy of Law. Basic elements – Methods – Currents of Thought [Φιλοσοφία Δικαίου. Στοιχεία – Μέθοδοι – Ρεύματα Σκέψης] by Charis Papacharalambous	158-165
IOANNIS P. GIOKARIS Tort Law in Cyprus by Achilles C. Emilianides and Christiana Markou	166-168
PETROS KONSTANTINIDES Constitutional Law and Federations by Iacovos Kareklas	169-174
ALEXANDER-MICHAEL HADJILYRA One for all, Sylvain Béraud and the Latins of Cyprus [Unus pro omnibus, ο Sylvain Béraud και οι Λατίνοι της Κύπρου] by Iosif Hadjikyriakos	175-179

<p>GEORGE DRITSAS Ioannis Karatzas: The Cypriot Comartyr of Rigas [Ιωάννης Καρατζάς: Ο Κύπριος Συμμάρτυρας του Ρήγα] by George I. Sourlas</p>	180-184
<p>DEMETRA DEMETRIOU We Travel in Dangerous Seas: George Theotokas and Cyprus. [Ταξιδεύουμε σε Θάλασσες Επικίνδυνες: Ο Γιώργος Θεοτοκάς και η Κύπρος] by Giorgos Georgis</p>	185-188
<p>FOIVI CHRISTODOULOU 200 Years since the 1821 Greek Revolution. The Cost and the Contribution of Cyprus. [200 Χρόνια από την Ελληνική Επανάσταση του 1821. Το Τίμημα και η Συμβολή της Κύπρου] by Petros Paparolygiou</p>	189-192
<p>MICHALIS STAVRI The National Movement of the Greek Cypriots During the Last Period of the British Occupation 1950-1960 [Το Εθνικό Κίνημα των Ελληνοκυπρίων κατά την Τελευταία Περίοδο της Αγγλοκρατίας 1950-1960] by Sophia Argyriou</p>	193-196
<p>KYRIACOS KOLOVOS The Gang [Η Συμμορία] by Makarios Droussiotis</p>	197-203
<p>MARIOS SIAMMAS 361st Infantry Battalion – A Chronicle of Defending the Betrayed Homeland [361 Τάγμα Πεζικού – Χρονικό Προάσπισης Προδομένης Πατρίδας] by Charalambos Alexandrou</p>	204-206
<p>ELENI LEONTIDOU Latsia: The Story of a Colony that Became a Metropolis [Λατσιά: Η Ιστορία μιας Αποικίας που Έγινε Μητρόπολη] by Andreas Christofi</p>	207-209
<p>Call for Papers</p>	213-214



CONTRIBUTORS

Lia Charalambous is PhD candidate and Adjunct Faculty of the Physiotherapy Programme at the University of Nicosia. She is a paediatric Physiotherapist. She holds an MSc in Advancing Paediatric Practice from Sheffield Hallam University and she is the manager of Ergastirio Physiotherapias in Nicosia since 1997. Her research interests include observation, measurement and management of infants' motor development.

Foivi Christodoulou is PhD candidate in Modern and Contemporary History at the Department of History, Politics and International Studies of the School of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities of Neapolis University. She holds a BA degree in Studies in Greek Culture, with specialisation in History, Archaeology and Art and an MA degree in History, with specialisation in Modern and Contemporary History. Her research interests focus on the Modern History of Cyprus and in particular on personalities whose actions have greatly influenced the political, economic and social life of the island during the British Rule.

Christophoros Christophorou is an independent researcher specialising in Media, Media Regulation, Elections and Political Communication. He studied Education in Cyprus and Paris, and Political Science in Athens and Lille (France), where he obtained his PhD. He has worked as a senior press officer in the Public Service, as the first Director of the Cyprus Radio and Television Authority and as Assistant Professor at the University of Nicosia. He has participated in media expert groups and has been an external media expert of the CoE for many years. He is the creator of www.eklektor.org on Cyprus elections, society and politics, and is the author of books on elections. He has also published on political behaviour, the press and other issues.

Stephanos Constantinides was educated in Athens and Paris-Sorbonne and taught political science and history at Laval University, the University of Montreal and the University of Quebec at Montreal. He has published extensively in three languages: French, Greek and English. He is a poet, critic and author of several novels.

Van Coufoudakis is Professor Emeritus of Political Science in the Indiana University system and Rector Emeritus at the University of Nicosia. He has written extensively on Cyprus, Greek-Turkish relations and US foreign policy in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Demetra Demetriou is Adjunct Lecturer at the University of Nicosia and a Senior Research Fellow at the Cyprus Centre of European and International Affairs (CCEIA), University of Nicosia. She holds a PhD (*summa cum laude*) in Comparative Literature from Paris-Sorbonne University (Paris IV). She has taught at the University of Cyprus and the Open University of Cyprus. Her recent essays, focusing on the work and politics of Yiannis Ritsos, George Seferis and on contemporary women's writing, have been widely published in leading scholarly journals and publications. She was a finalist for the Mediterranean Poetry Prize (Rome, 2021).

George Dritsas is PhD candidate at the Department of Philosophy at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (UOA), with specialisation in the History of Philosophy and Ideas. He graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy of the same University. He has presented in numerous conferences, and many of his essays and articles have been published in journals and edited volumes.

Martyna Elerian is a History Assessment Specialist for Cambridge Assessment International Education. She holds a PhD in International Relations from the University of Nicosia and a Master's degree in History from Nicolaus Copernicus University. Her research focus is on multiple dimensions of international education, including international schools, international mindedness, global citizenship, and intercultural education. Dr Elerian spent 10 years teaching in international schools, where she was also responsible for the development and internationalisation of courses in History, Geography, and Media Studies. She and has been involved in various international educational programs, such as Model United Nations, European Youth Parliament, International Duke of Edinburgh's Award, and World-Class Scholar Program.

Ioannis P. Giokaris is Lecturer of Business and Law at Frederick University. He has previously worked at the School of Law of the University of Nicosia as Adjunct Lecturer, and at Global Training in Limassol as an instructor. His fields of interest are Law of Contracts, Company Law, Competition Law, Public International Law, Inheritance Law, International Organisations, and Tax Law.

Alexander-Michael Hadjilyra, is an independent researcher and teacher. He holds a BA in *English and Greek Language and Literature* from National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, and an MA in *Social and Political Theory* from the University of Cyprus. He has been researching the religious groups in Cyprus (Armenians, Maronites, Latins) since 2008, and has published numerous books and

articles on the topic. He has delivered numerous lectures and presentations on a variety of subjects, and has also appeared on a number of TV and radio programmes, as well as in documentary films.

Kyriakos Kolovos is a mathematician and a PhD candidate at the Open University of Cyprus, with a focus on political communication. He holds an MA degree in “Communication and new Journalism” from the Open University of Cyprus. His research interests focus on strategic political communication and inter-party conflicts.

Petros Konstantinidis is PhD candidate in Law and Adjunct Lecturer in the School of Law of the University of Nicosia. He is a law graduate of the University of Athens. He holds a Master’s degree in European Law and Integration from the University of Leicester, UK and a Master’s Degree in Human Rights and Social Justice from the University of Nicosia. From 2010 until 2019 he worked as a practicing lawyer-advocate. Since October 2019 he has been an Officer of Legal Affairs at the Cyprus University of Technology. He is the author of the book *The Horizontal Effect of Fundamental Rights in the Cypriot Legal Order* (Hippasus Publications, Nicosia 2016).

Nadia Kornioti is Associate Lecturer and Project Manager at the Cyprus Campus of the University of Central Lancashire (UCLan Cyprus). She specialises in Public International Law. Her research interests include Public International Law, International Legal History and Theory, Comparative Public Law, Refugee and Migration Law, and Memory Studies. She also has a long-term interest in the Law’s practical and theoretical interaction with the Social Sciences and the Humanities. Her PhD thesis examined inter-communal violence in Cyprus from 1958 to 1968, from an interdisciplinary ‘law and history’ perspective.

Eleni Leontidou is an independent researcher and a historian. She graduated from the National Kapodistrian University of Athens and continued her studies at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In 2017 she was awarded a PhD in History from the University of Cambridge. She has published articles on Medieval History. She worked at the House of European History, the Costas and Rita Severis Foundation and as an independent researcher on OECD projects. She has also collaborated with the European University’s Centre for Risk and Decision Sciences, working on the history of Health and Safety in Cyprus.

Diana Markides is a historian specialising in the colonial history of Cyprus in regional perspective. From 1999 until 2004 she was a senior research fellow at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies at the University of London. The book she co-authored with Robert Holland, *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean 1850 – 1960*, (Oxford University Press, 2006) was co-winner of the Runciman Award in 2007. She has taught at the University of Cyprus, and, as an associate research fellow there, researched and wrote the book, *The Cyprus Tribute and Geopolitics in the Levant, 1875–1960*, published in 2019 by Palgrave Macmillan.

Christina Michailidou is programme coordinator of Physiotherapy at the University of Nicosia. She obtained a Master's degree and PhD in Physiotherapy from Brunel University, and has also held a post-doc position at UCL, London. She is a specialist in Graded Exercise Therapy for Chronic Fatigue and has worked for years at King's College Health Partners and Royal Free Hospital, London. Her interests include chronic fatigue and pain, quality of life and rehabilitation.

Stergios Mitas is Assistant Professor in Legal Philosophy and Public Law at the School of Law of the University of Nicosia. He has authored the monograph *Solidarity as a Fundamental Legal Principle* (Sakis Karagiorgas Foundation, Athens, 2016), co-edited the volumes *The Power and the Law* (Hippasus Law Publishing, Nicosia - Athens, 2019) and *Law and Literature* (Hippasus Law Publishing, Nicosia - Athens, 2020), and has also published several journal articles in the fields of legal philosophy and political philosophy, public law and fundamental rights.

Nikos Moudouros is Lecturer at the Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cyprus. He obtained his MA (2007) from the University of London – SOAS and his PhD (2012) from the University of Cyprus (Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies). He is the author of the books *State of Exception in the Mediterranean. Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot Community* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021); *The transformation of Turkey. From the Kemalist domination to 'Islamic neo-liberalism'* (Alexandria Publications, Athens 2012, in Greek). He has published articles in, among others, *Journal of Globalizations* (2013), *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* (2014), *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* (2014), *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* (2016), *Journal of Nations and Nationalism* (2017), *Journal of Muslims in Europe* (2019), *Journal of British Middle Eastern Studies* (2021). He has also contributed chapters in

other books. His research interests are the political economy of Turkey, Islamism, contemporary Turkish political thought, and contemporary history of the Turkish Cypriot community.

Yiannis Papadakis is Professor of Social Anthropology at the Department of Social and Political Sciences of University of Cyprus. He is the author of *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide* (I. B. Tauris/Bloomsbury, London, also translated in Greek and Turkish) among others. His published work has focused on ethnic conflict, nationalism, memory, history education, cinema, migration and, recently, cemeteries from a comparative perspective.

Christina Papadopoulou-King is Adjunct Faculty at the Physiotherapy Programme at the University of Nicosia and a physiotherapy clinician. She holds an MSc in Physiotherapy from the University of East London. She previously worked as a researcher and clinician at INPUT pain unit St Thomas' Hospital and the Royal Marsden Hospital London. Her research interests include the management of pain and complex musculoskeletal disorders.

Elena C. Papanastasiou is Dean of the School of Education at the University of Nicosia. She has received her PhD in Measurement and Quantitative Methods from Michigan State University and an Honors B.Sc. in Elementary and Kindergarten Education from The Pennsylvania State University. She held academic positions at the University of Kansas and the University of Cyprus. Her research interests lie in the fields of Assessment, Process Data, and Research Methodology. Prof. Papanastasiou serves as the General Assembly representative of Cyprus in the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), while in 2014 she was elected in the Standing Committee of the IEA. In 2018 she was awarded the status of Fellow at the Association for Educational Assessment-Europe in which she also serves as a Council Member.

Evangelos Sfakianakis is professionally engaged in actively managing funds as a Portfolio Manager at Asset Management firms. He is a graduate of the Department of Economics of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. He holds an MBA degree and was awarded his doctorate from the Department of Business Administration of the University of Piraeus. The title of his PhD thesis is: "Creating Models for Predicting the Risk of Bankruptcy of Greek Businesses". His main research interest lies in the field of Finance and focuses on analysing the fundamentals of businesses and evaluating investments.

Marios Siammas is an independent historical researcher. He holds a BA in Politics and History from Panteion University of Athens, an MA in War and Conflict in the Modern World from Brunel University of London, and a PhD from King's College London, Defence Studies Department. His PhD focused on the contribution of Cyprus in the Second World War. He has presented his work at international conferences and has contributed chapters to international book editions. He is currently working towards his first monograph.

Emilios A. Solomou is Director of the UNESCO Chair at the University of Nicosia. He received his BA (Hons) in History from the University of Cardiff. His postgraduate studies are in the field of History and History Methodology and Didactics. He received his Doctorate from the University of Middlesex (UK). He has been teaching Cyprus History and History Didactics at the University of Nicosia. Dr Solomou is the President of the Cyprus Society of Historical Studies, a Fellow of the Historical Association of Great Britain, Vice President of the Cyprus Pedagogical Association, and a member of many other professional associations and organizations in Cyprus, the U.K and the U.S.A. He is the Managing Editor of the Cyprus Review published by the School of Law of the University of Nicosia. Author of many articles, he has also edited the books *Colonial Cyprus 1878-1960* and *Independent Cyprus 1960-2010* with Prof. H. Faustmann, *Nikos Kazantzakis – Indigenous and Ecumenical* and *Cretan Folk Verses (Mantinades)*, *The Armenian Genocide and the Cyprus Press 1914-1923*, *Crete and Cyprus: Crossroads of Nations and Civilizations*, *‘Improving School Effectiveness and Teaching in Conditions of Multicultural Pluralism*, and *Modern Approaches to Teaching Immigrant Children with the Use of Technology*”. He has also written *A Historical Dictionary of Cyprus* with Farid Mirbagheri.

Michalis Stavri holds a PhD in History from the University of Cyprus. His research interests focus on the history of ideas, cultural history, and nationalism. He participated in various research projects and is the author of several articles on the modern and contemporary history of Cyprus. His monograph “Ενιαίον Κόμμα Εθνικόφρονος Παρτάξεως” (2019) has been awarded the Junior Researcher Award in History and Political Sciences (The Cyprus Review First Annual Book Awards).

Charlotte Steffen is an independent researcher, and scholar. She is presently working on her PhD at Portsmouth University. Within her research she is

particularly interested in the cross-cultural transfer of knowledge and its influence on the individual experience and impact on the global culture. She holds a Bachelor's in Liberal Arts and Sciences from Tilburg University and a Master in Art & Heritage: Policy, Management and Education from Maastricht University.

Antonios Stratakis is PhD Candidate in the Department of Maritime Studies of the University of Piraeus. He is a shipping economist, having received a *BSc in Industrial Management and Technology*, and *MSc in Maritime Studies from the University of Piraeus*. He has teaching experience in educational groups and colleges, collaborating with the *Aegean College*, *the University of Essex*, *IST College* and *California Metropolitan University*. He has also worked in companies and shipbroking offices as a shipping markets analyst. He has presented his research work at International Conferences, while his research has been accepted in International Academic Journals.

Haritini Tsangari is Professor at the Department of Accounting, Economics and Finance, School of Business, University of Nicosia. Prof. Tsangari holds a BSc in Mathematics and Statistics from the University of Cyprus, an MSc in Statistics and a PhD in Statistics, both from the Pennsylvania State University. She is currently the Director of Doctoral Programmes of the School of Business and the Vice President of the Cyprus Statistical Society. She has published numerous academic papers, many of which have received awards, and she has been widely cited. Her research includes Applied Statistics in Finance, Management and Healthcare, especially on job satisfaction and retention, sustainable investing, the use of Artificial Intelligence, social and work inclusion and gender equality.

Leonidas Vatikiotis teaches Journalism in the faculty of Communication and New Journalism of the Open University of Cyprus, as well as Economics of Innovation at the University of Peloponnese. He studied Statistics at the University of Piraeus, and his doctoral dissertation on the field of Political Economy considered the causes of the 1970s economic crisis. Since 1991, he has been working as a journalist specialising in foreign affairs and the economy. He has worked in many media outlets, and as a commentator in Greek TV news. He had the scientific supervision of many economic and social documentaries and has translated many economic books in Greek.

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

Dear Readers,

My journey as Editor-in-Chief of *The Cyprus Review* began five years ago, in 2017, when I took over the reins of the Journal. Ever since then, a new learning experience of invaluable academic and administrative worth began for me. While upholding the ethical principles and standards of scientific publication, which are also safeguarded by our very strict double-blind review process, we also started our march to an eco-friendly journal system, successfully transitioning from hard paper to a paperless environment.

Throughout the last five years we worked very hard to promote Cyprological research, by pursuing a very vigorous book review process. Our quest is to send for review every Cyprological book published in a certain year, so as to support this kind of research and encourage it further. This issue in fact includes 20 book reviews – a testament of our dedication to support Cyprological research work. Our Annual Book Awards Ceremony (CRABA), which has by now become well-established, is meant to honour these researchers and authors in their different disciplines and promote their published work even further, while inspiring others to engage in the field.

This year's CRABA took place on 28 November 2022 and for the first time since its inception, it was held by physical presence. The books under consideration were those written in 2021. In the category of History and Political Science, the 'Stanley Kyriakides Award' was conferred to Kostis Kokkinoftas for his book *Κύπρος και 1821* (Κέντρο Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου), while the Junior Researcher Award was conferred to Dr Constantina Constantinou for her book *Ο Αντίκτυπος του Ελληνικού Εμφυλίου στην Κύπρο* (Rizes). In the field of Social Sciences, the 'Peter Loizos Award' was conferred to Dr Nicos Satsias for his book *Έναυσμα Πρόνοιας – Το ελάχιστο εγγυημένο εισόδημα στην Κύπρο* (Hippasus), while Dr Kyprianos Louis received an Honourable Mention for his book *Επιχειρηματικότητα και Οικονομική Στρατηγική στην Κύπρο κατά το πρώτο μισό του 19ου αιώνα: Η περίπτωση του Γεωργάκη Μαρκαντωνίδη* (Κέντρο Επιστημονικών Ερευνών). In the field of Law, the 'Constantinos Emilianides Award' was conferred to Prof. Natasa Mavronicola for her book *Torture, Inhumanity and Degradation under Article 3 of the ECHR: Absolute Rights and Absolute Wrongs* (Hart). The 'Lifetime Achievement Award'

was conferred to Dr Kypros Chrysostomides in recognition of his significant body of published work, especially on the international aspects of the Cyprus Question.

This issue includes four articles. The first, by Charlotte Steffen, considers the case of German pilgrims and travelers of Limassol from 1192 until 1978. Steffen brings forward the different German narratives within Limassol by following these streams of pilgrims and travelers, and investigates the decrease in the number of pilgrims around the 14th century, as well as the increase in the number of travelers who specifically came to Limassol during the 18th century.

Martyna Elerian, Emiliou Solomou and Elena Papanastasiou explore the case of identity development and sense of belonging among students of international schools in Cyprus, where the diversity of the Cypriot society comes together and overlaps, and where students enter a ‘third space’ created at the interstices of society, that is non-native and non-host.

Haritini Tsangari, Christina Michailidou, Lia Charalambous and Christina King examine the impact of online education during lockdowns on the academic community in Cyprus and Greece. They compare its impact on the physical and psychological well-being in University faculty and students.

Finally, Evangelos Sfakianakis investigates bankruptcies of listed manufacturing firms domiciled in Greece and Cyprus by introducing a bankruptcy prediction model that employs discriminant analysis. It is suggested that this can be a valuable tool in the hands of the involved stakeholders, such as investors, risk officers and the competent authorities.

At the end of this issue you can find our open Call for Papers on *Performing Arts in Cyprus: Embodied Identities*, which aims to attract submissions dealing with the trends in contemporary performing arts in Cyprus, with a particular focus on dance, theatre, and performance art, as a way to articulate and theorise political and historical trends in the arts, society, and community.

Christina Ioannou
Editor-in-Chief

ARTICLES

The German Pilgrims and Travellers of Limassol from 1192 until 1978

CHARLOTTE STEFFEN¹

Abstract

The city of Limassol held an important harbour for pilgrims and travellers of various nationalities who came to Limassol from all different walks of life. The aim of this paper is to bring forward the different German narratives within Limassol by following the streams of pilgrims and travellers that passed through over the decades. It will also investigate the decrease in the number of pilgrims around the 14th century and the rise of travellers who specifically came to Limassol during the 18th century, concluding that there was no actual decrease but a lack of documentation due to the constant passing of Cyprus from one power to the next.

Keywords: German, pilgrims, travellers, Limassol, Cyprus

Introduction

Cyprus had always been a place for pilgrims and travellers. From as early as the 11th century and even earlier, it had been one of the most vital stops for those who were on their way to the Holy Land.² The City of Limassol had an important harbour from which it was easy to come to land and leave again. Amongst these travellers and pilgrims coming to Limassol was also the occasional German. A reason for such a journey in the 12th century was, most likely, either having committed crimes against the Church and looking for holy absolution through pilgrimage or having become an extension of the Pope's flaming sword, trying to win back Jerusalem on a crusade.

However, from the 18th century on, one is able to observe a shift, as the traditional and constant stream of Christian pilgrims was replaced by a colourful trickle of

¹ PhD Candidate, Portsmouth University.

² Maria Ktori, 'Impressions, Itineraries and Perceptions of a Coastscape: The Case of Medieval Paphos' in Matthew Keith and Amanda Evans (eds), *ACUA, Underwater Archaeology Proceedings 2018* (Advisory Council on Underwater Archaeology, 2018) 71.

individuals, such as archaeologists,³ journalists,⁴ and even a pilot⁵ who stopped in Limassol during his trip around the world.

It must be pointed out that there is a clear distinction between pilgrims who pass through Limassol on their journey to their sacred goals, such as Duke Alexander von Pfalz-Zweibrücken,⁶ who was on a journey of penance, and travellers who have their own reasons to visit a place, such as Richard Schneider,⁷ who travelled specifically to Cyprus and by extension to Limassol. The aim of this paper is to investigate within which historical context these Germans arrived in Limassol, as well as to illustrate the shift from pilgrim to traveller.

This will be done first by presenting the overall historical context of Cyprus during the time-period covered in this paper (1192-1978). This study will then describe the importance of Limassol in the journey of the pilgrim, before showing a slow but steady metamorphosis into the German traveller. Finally, it will conclude by high-

³ An example of one of these archaeologists who came to Cyprus was Max Ohnefalsch-Richter. He came to Cyprus in 1878 under British jurisdiction and excavated all over Cyprus. He sold what he found to various European museums. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Cyprus, the Bible and Homer: Contribution to Cultural, Art and Religious History of the Orient in Antiquity. With special Consideration to my own twelve-year Research and Excavation on the Island Cyprus (Kypros die Bibel und Homer: Beiträge zur Cultur-, Kunst- und Religionsgeschichte des Oriens im Altertume. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung eigener zwölfjähriger Forschungen und Ausgrabungen auf der Insel Cypern)* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co, 1893) (in German).

⁴ One of the journalists was Karl Schneider who had visited and travelled all over Cyprus for his research on how the native Cypriot population was dealing with the new British population; Karl Schneider, *Cyprus under the British: Travel Sketches (Cypern unter den Engländern: Reise-Skizzen)* (Köln: M. Du Mont-Schauberg, 1879) 130-132 (in German).

⁵ Von Gronau was, during his lifetime, one of the best aviators in the history of not just Germany but the world. He had come to fame through several record-breaking flights, such as being the first person to cross the Atlantic from the East to the West in a float plane. Anonymous, 'Gronaus Flight Home, On the way to Baghdad', (Gronaus Heimflug, Auf den Weg nach Baghdad) *Karlsruher Tageblatt* (Karlsruhe, 31 of October, 1932) 1 (in German).

⁶ For details concerning German pilgrims, one must greatly rely on Paravicini's *Late Middle Ages European Travel Reports*.

In his work, not only does he provide the collection of an extensive list of all the Germans who went on pilgrimage during the Middle Ages, but he also gives a clear outline of the geographical journey that they followed, as well as any surviving written primary sources and what these entail. His work is often viewed as greatly complementary to Reinhald Roricht's work, whose research on medieval pilgrimage is considered to be essential when working on this theme. Christian Paravicini, *Late Middle Ages European Travel Reports. An Analytical Bibliography. Part 1: German Travel Reports (Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters Eine analytische Bibliographie. Teil 1: Deutsche Reiseberichte)* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2010) 268 (in German).

⁷ Schneider (no 3) 130-132.

lighting the importance of Limassol as a connection point between people from all different walks of life.

A Short Historical Context of Cyprus during the Medieval Period of 1192-1878

Cyprus' advantageous geographical location between the East and the West, as well as its natural resources almost immediately sealed the island's fate as a place under some sort of almost constant occupation. Indeed, during the medieval period, Cyprus was under the Lusignan rule (1192-1489) before it was passed on to the Venetians (1489-1571).⁸

During the Lusignan rule that lasted from 1192 until 1489, there was a period that was almost completely ignored scholastically speaking, and which essentially began in 1196 and ended in 1233.. It is the period when Cyprus had become a fief of the Holy Roman Empire. A fief refers to an estate of land, especially one held on condition of feudal service.⁹ In the case of Cyprus, Aimery of Lusignan had sworn to acknowledge the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI's suzerainty, if the emperor sent a royal crown to him. This was done and Cyprus was proclaimed a Kingdom in 1196.¹⁰ This gave way to an event of utmost historical importance for Germany. Franz Von Löher describes in the history section of his book *Cyprus: Nature and Landscape, People and History*, what he believed was the version of events that occurred. More specifically, he describes how in the 13th century, the Holy Roman Emperor of Germany, Fredrich II, on his way to Jerusalem during the sixth crusade, decided to land in Cyprus, which at the time was under his liege. He did so to call out Henry I, also known as Henry the fat, as King of Cyprus. However, control of the island was upheld by the brothers Phillip and Johan d' Iblin. The d' Iblins where one of the oldest and noblest houses in Cyprus who held a significant amount of power, having been placed there as support for Henry's mother, Alice, the widowed queen of Jerusalem, until Henry came of age and was thus proclaimed King. However, the family d' Iblin had

⁸ Carr declared that the 15th and 16th centuries are: 'one of the richest of all periods of Cypriot painting' with over twenty painted churches and 'dozens of icons.' Annmarie Weyl Carr, 'Byzantine and Italians on Cyprus: Images from Art' (1995) 49 *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (343).

⁹ Löher was a German jurist and historian who travelled extensively. It's not clear as to why he came to Cyprus, but he writes extensively on the island and its history. Franz von Löher, *Cyprus, Traveller Reports about Nature, Landscape, People and History (Cypers, Reisebeirchte ueber Natur and Landschaft, Volk und Geschichte)* (Stuttgart: J. D. Gottaschen Buchhandlung, 1878) (in German).

¹⁰ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 'Amalric II' , available at <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Amalric-II> (last accessed 1 September 2021).

become so powerful that it was questionable if they would relinquish power to Henry, or even worse, if they would someday decide to take over all of Cyprus, thus usurping the power from the German emperor.

In his text, von Löher describes how Friedrich II landed in Limassol on 12 July 1228 and then called both Henrich I and Johan d'Iblin (Philip had died previously) to be present on his vessels. The cause of the meal was the emperor questioning Johann d' Iblins motives for power as he had been previously told by his courtiers that d' Iblin was posing an immense threat. Furthermore, the population of Cyprus took this as an opportunity to call upon the emperor under whose jurisdiction Cyprus was under, to act as a judge. The crime: the noble family of Ibelin stood accused of embezzling money for their own profit from the taxes meant for the German crown. Hence, two days after the emperor's arrival in Cyprus, Johan d'Iblin together with his sons and courtiers found themselves in Limassol at the banquet. Thus, that banquet had by extension become both a dinner, a trial, and an investigation session for tax evasion. According to von Löher, after dinner was finished, King Friedrich raised his voice and said:

Two things, Herr Johan, I demand of you. You must give back the castle in Beirut as it belongs to the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the income of Cyprus over the last ten years since the beginning of rule you must show me the bills, as is my right since I am the lord here by the grace of the Emperor and Kingdom.¹¹

The matter was resolved by d'Iblin, who gave the King two of his sons and twenty knights as hostages to take with him on his holy crusade. The King promised that he would take care of d'Iblin's sons and knights 'and god willing to make them rich and powerful'.¹² However, the next part is where the sources differ. Von Löher states that at the same night, d'Iblin, his followers, and his sons fled from Limassol to find refuge in their castle in Nicosia and prepare for siege.

What must be remembered in this case is that von Löher, despite mainly being a jurist and a politician, is also a traveller who largely finances his travels from selling his travel journals. The most likely market for him to sell his books at the time would be Germany, which explains why his book is written in German. Furthermore, Friedrich II is one of the most famed German emperors, who is known for his diplomatic skills that led to him eventually becoming King of Jerusalem, rather than the more traditional approach of pure muscle power and belief in the righteousness of one's

¹¹ von Löher (no 8) 310.

¹² von Löher (no 8) 312.

actions through God. It can therefore be stated that he is a very important figure in German history. Presenting him as anything but such during a time where German patriotism was on the rise,¹³ with Otto von Bismark directing Germany into a prosperous and economically stable position, might not have been good for von Löher's publication. Therefore, it may be that he wrote something that was more in line with the myth surrounding Fredrich that existed in the minds of the Germans at the time.

Emperor Friedrich's presence in Cyprus is confirmed by various credible sources,¹⁴ such as that dramatic dinner and its after effect. However, the counter story of events that occurred is the following:

Shortly after his arrival, Frederick summoned John of Ibelin to join him at a banquet in Limassol and to bring with him his sons, his supporters, and the young king....soon the emperor's soldiers surrounded the Cypriots; Frederick made his demands, but John refused to comply, delivering a fierce speech; the emperor was enraged and made several threats; John had to surrender two of his sons and promise to appear before the High Court of Jerusalem before leaving for Nicosia; and the two sons of the lord of Beirut were put in prison in the tower of the Hospitallers, who supported the emperor and whose tower was apparently the most fortified place in Limassol at the time.¹⁵

Here it must be pointed out that Phillip of Novara was highly antagonistic against the Frankish claim to Cyprus.¹⁶ Hence, he cannot be viewed as an entirely reliable narrator, and it is currently not clear what was truly stated during this dinner. However, the aftereffects of this dinner would essentially escalate into the War of the Lombard which lasted from 1299 until 1233, after which Friedrich would only return one more time to Cyprus in 1229 where 'he married King Henry I to Alice of Montferat and handed over the kingdom's administration to his group of supporters, before embarking again from Limassol for the West'.¹⁷

¹³ von Löher himself was counted as one of the people during the March revolutions of 1848 in Germany, where the German population revolted against the antiquated societal, political, and economic structures that, despite having failed, caused the modernisation of the German State. Hans Joachim Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions in German-Speaking Europe* (Routledge, 2014).

¹⁴ Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, Chris Schabel, 'Limassol Under Latin Rule 1191-1571' in Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, Chris Schabel (eds), *Lemesos, A History of Limassol in Cyprus from Antiquity to the Ottoman Conquest*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015) 215.

¹⁵ Nicolaou-Konnari, Schabel (no 12) 215.

¹⁶ David Abulafia, *Friedrich II: A Medieval Emperor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) 175.

¹⁷ Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel (no 12) 215.

Shortly after Emperor Fredrich left, Cyprus fell completely back under Lusignan control before it was sold to the Venetians in the 13th century. The Venetians would lose Cyprus to the Ottomans in 1571.¹⁸ During the three centuries of Ottoman domination (1571-1878), the Ottoman Empire transferred the administration of Cyprus to Britain, which annexed the island in 1914, declaring it a Crown Colony¹⁹ in 1925. Cyprus was considered a key country to Asia and one of the outposts securing the route to India,²⁰ thus sealing its fate as a place under constant occupation before the island could even consider any sort of defence.

Rise of the Pilgrim

A pilgrimage is defined as 'a journey undertaken for a religious motive. Although some pilgrims have wandered continuously with no fixed destination, pilgrims more commonly seek a specific place that has been sanctified by association with a divinity or other holy personage'.²¹ Going on pilgrimage was by no means a new concept. For instance, Christians had been going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem since the late antiquity. The primary reason for someone to go on a Christian pilgrimage during the 11th and 12th centuries was mainly for religious piety and to see Jerusalem 'with their own two eyes'.²²

During this specific time of medieval pilgrimage and up until the 16th century, when there is a knowledge gap, Limassol became a harbour of great importance for the German pilgrim. After the fall of Accon in 1191, going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem was forbidden to not give any money to the Ottomans, but only ten years later the same number of pilgrims were on their way to Jerusalem as before.²³ In the 12th and

¹⁸ Frederick Madden and John Darwin (eds), *The Dependent Empire, 1900-1948: Colonies, Protectorates and Mandates. Select Documents on the Constitutional History of the British Empire and Commonwealth*, Volume VII (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 524, 525.

¹⁹ Captain C. W. J. Orr, *Cyprus under British Rule* (London: Zeno, 1972), 44.

²⁰ Three months after the conquest Disraeli [the prime minister of the United Kingdom] said, 'In taking Cyprus the movement is not Mediterranean. It is Indian. Percy Arnold, *Cyprus Challenge. A Colonial Island and its Aspirations* (London: Hogarth Press, 1956) 208.

²¹ Michael S. Coleman, 'Pilgrimage' in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (17 February 2021), available at <https://www.britannica.com/topic/pilgrimage-religion> Last accessed 2 September 2021).

²² Röhrich is considered to have laid the foundation for all modern research on crusades. Despite his work not being used in the main relevant lexica works due to him never teaching on a university level, his vast insight into the theme is still relevant and must be considered whenever writing about German pilgrimage. Reinhold Röhrich, *German Travelling Reports to the Holy Land (Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande)* (Innsbruck: Wagnerischen Universitaets-Buchhandlung, 1900) 1 (in German).

²³ Röhrich (no 21) 4

13th centuries, the clerical pilgrim was dominated by abbots and bishops. For example, Wilhelm von Boldensele undertook the journey for penance, as he had decided to leave behind his life as a monk, and, on his journey, stopped in Limassol.²⁴ Apart from being dangerous, going on pilgrimage was also expensive. Usually, individuals who would go on such a journey had a substantial amount of wealth and status, or were part of the court of someone with such a status, essentially relying on one's superior's protection like in the 11th and 12th centuries. Nevertheless, most Germans who went on a pilgrimage between the 12th and 16th century were still rich and descended from nobility or the clergy, such as Duke Alexander von Pfalz-Zweibrücken.²⁵ He went on a pilgrimage for penance as he had imprisoned his older brother in a dungeon in order to take his place as a Duke.

This brings us to the second reason for the change in the German pilgrim, which was the improvement of the Venetian-German relations, as things changed in the 13th until the late 14th century. An argument may be made that the improved relations to Venice also meant that even the less rich could afford to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Thus, many Germans took this as an opportunity to leave their home for a substantial amount of time to travel.

The journey of a pilgrim to Jerusalem would follow a certain blueprint. Indeed, the pilgrim would begin his journey already at home by putting on the Habit of a Pilgrim. He would grow a beard, stick a red cross on his robe, another visible hat on his forehead and a sack filled with food. In the 16th century, one would stick the Jerusalem cross on their chest. To go to the Holy Land and, by extension, Jerusalem via mainland Europe, the safest and quickest route was via Cyprus, as it remained a stronghold of Christianity under the Venetian rule until the late 14th century. Therefore, the pilgrim would first travel to Venice. Venetian ships provided the fastest and most comfortable connection between Europe and Jerusalem and were preferred by all German pilgrims who wanted to reach Jerusalem in the shortest possible time. In Venice or earlier, the pilgrim would have made a contract with ship owners for his journey to the Holy Land. The contract spanned various points including how much money was to be paid to the ship owner, what food and drink would be supplied, and how long a ship was allowed to stay anchored. Indeed, the area of interest for this particular paper concerning Limassol is that the captain was only allowed to take the ships to the normal harbours, and it was stated explicitly that in a harbour in Cyprus,

²⁴ Paravicini (no 5) 31

²⁵ Paravicini (no 5) 268.

the patron was not allowed to keep the ship there for more than three days due to the bad air. An example of such a traveller who took on that journey was Gaudenz von Kirchberg whose servant, Friedrich Steigerwallder, wrote down tmemoirs of the journey.²⁶ Brunner was a German priest of the 15th century, who visited Cyprus in the summer of 1470. He made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land via Venice, from where he took a galleon that sailed the route of Parenzo, Zadar, Lesina, Ragusa, Korfu, Zante, Methnoi, Venetico, Tzia, Crete, Crete, and Rhodes before reaching Cyprus and and thence leaving for Palestine.²⁷

To be allowed to go on a pilgrimage, everyone first needed a letter of travel by the Pope, but, later, one was able to obtain one through a prelate. If one had gone on a pilgrimage without such a letter, one would have run the risk of being excommunicated and would have only received absolution through a guardian of Jerusalem.²⁸ If one had gone on a pilgrimage without such a letter they would have been known as Lutheran heretic. Women had also partaken in pilgrimage since the very beginning of Christianity from as early as the fifth century. However, idea of women going on a pilgrimage was not entirely acceptable'.²⁹ Women were later on fully discouraged from going to the Holy Land or even go on a ,pilgrimage to Rome as 'the Church Fathers argued vehemently that a woman should be cloistered in order to remain spiritual.³⁰ In any case, they would still accompany their husbands on their pilgrimage, often dressed as men. Again, this angered the Church, since 'female tonsure and wearing men's clothing had already been forbidden by the Council of Gangra and a century later by the Theodosian Code pain of anathema',³¹ until the Church outright forbid it.³²

Eventually, Venice lost Cyprus to the Ottoman Empire in the late 14th century-early 15th Century,³³ thus putting an end to the pilgrimage. After Cyprus fell under Ottoman rule in 1571, it became rather difficult to find any direct traces of German pilgrims in Cyprus. It is a rather unlikely possibility for pilgrims to have suddenly stopped going on a pilgrimage entirely. However, a valid reason for the drop in the

²⁶ Paravicini (no 5) 163.

²⁷ Paravicini (no 5) 164.

²⁸ Röhrich (no 21) 6.

²⁹ Sylvia Schein, 'Bridget of Sweden, Margery Kempe and Women's Jerusalem Pilgrimages in the Middle Ages' (1999) 14(1) *Mediterranean Historical Review* 44-58.

³⁰ Schein (no 28) 46.

³¹ Schein (no 28) 47.

³² Röhrich (no 21) 6.

³³ Madden and Darwin (eds) (no 17) 524, 525

numbers of pilgrims could simply be the lack of documentation and availability. Since Venice no longer had a hold on Cyprus, the route Venice-Cyprus-Jerusalem was no longer in common use, hence alternative routes had to be supplied, which somewhat gives an indication on how many Germans were using that route to Cyprus. Thus, it is not entirely clear why this gap of knowledge exists. By the time the British had taken over Cyprus, going on a pilgrimage no longer had the same appeal as it did two hundred years previously. The Industrial Revolution that was just beginning and taking hold of Europe allowed for faster travel, while changes in social and governmental structures meant people were no longer bound to the place they were born into nor did they need the approval of their feudal lord to leave.³⁴

The Rise of the Traveller

As mentioned previously, with the societal and economic changes now taking place, including easier access to means of transport, it was easier for people to leave their homes for travel. Thus, it became more common for people to view Cyprus as an actual travelling destination rather than a short layover.

Before going further into describing the different travellers that arrived in Limassol, it is important to clearly define what a traveller is, considering the context of this research. The main difference between a traveller and a pilgrim in the context of this paper is their purpose of arrival in Limassol. A pilgrim, as previously described, would not stay in Cyprus longer than three days, which was a fact stated in the contract he had made with the Venetian ship captain.³⁵ A traveller would arrive in Cyprus, and by extension Limassol, with the purpose of exploring the island.

Most German travellers were lured to Cyprus due to its geographical location that gave rise to its fascinating archaeological heritage. Cyprus was and still is one of the oldest archaeological sites in Europe, allowing for a plethora of excavations as far back as the Bronze Age and even earlier. Hence, several books have been written about the archaeology of Cyprus.³⁶ In some cases, the island's flora and fauna were of enough interest to encourage documentation.³⁷ There is one archaeologist of particular inter-

³⁴ Madden and Darwin (no 17) 524, 525.

³⁵ Röhrich (no 21) 10.

³⁶ Max Ohnefalsch-Richter (no 2).

³⁷ Unger and Kotschy document Cyprus' nature, soil, and plants exist, as well as what plants grow and have grown in Limassol. Franz Unger, Theodor Kotschy, *The Island of Cyprus and its Physical and Organic Nature with Consideration of its Previous History (Die Insel Cypern, ihrer Physischen und Organischen Natur nach mit Rücksicht auf ihre frühere Geschichte)* (Wien: Braumüller, 1865) (in German).

est who remained in Limassol, Justus Sigismund, who died in 1876 and lies buried in Limassol. A reference to him can be found in the work of Richard Schneider.³⁸

Schneider was a German journalist who was sent to Cyprus shortly after the rule of the island passed from the Ottomans to the British in 1878 to see how the Cypriot population would behave under the new occupation. He travelled the entire island and strengthened his conviction that there is an emancipation of the Christian state from the Muslims. Schneider arrived in Cyprus shortly after it falls under the control of the British. He stated that Limassol was the most civilised city of Cyprus.³⁹

He described the clean and straight streets and praised the locals for being diligent. He further stated that the only issue with Limassol is its geographical distance from the Mesaoria⁴⁰ and the difficulty of building a harbour due to the strong winds blowing from all directions, which are constantly destroying the dock. He describes the waves as being so strong that they, at times, reach far into the streets. This is also, he states, the main reason why Limassol is of no interest to the British, hence why the people of Limassol have not seen much of their new British rulers, except for the Governor. He concluded that for this emancipation, the British occupation of Cyprus acted as a catalyst. However, what is of particular interest in his work is the story he narrates about encountering Justus Sigismund, a young German archaeologist, who suddenly died due to the injuries that he sustained during a fall while doing his work in Amanthunta.

He had been very popular all over the island and was given one of the greatest funerals that had been seen in years. The entire town followed his casket, including spiritual leaders, bishops and religious puppets that were only used for events of much importance. There was a dispute over the funeral. Originally, it was meant to be conducted by Pater Celestiona of the Franciscan order. He was the first to reach the body of the archaeologist and ensured the delivery of the body to Limassol. However, the Greeks (according to Schneider) did not want to miss this chance of showing their sympathies to the Germans and pointed out that Sigismund was a protestant, which explained why the Catholics were not able to bury him. Schneider visited the grave and described it as the most beautiful in the entire graveyard. Sigismund's grave has the inscription 'Here rests the German academic Dr. Justus Sigismund from Leipzig.

³⁸ Karl Schneider (no 3) 130-132.

³⁹ Schneider (no 3) 130-132.

⁴⁰ *The Mesaoria is the name given to the broad plain that extends across Cyprus*

An unfortunate fall ended on the 3rd of May in 1876 his hopeful and young life.⁴¹ His grave can still be observed to this day.⁴²

Other travellers, such as Von Löher who visited Cyprus in 1887, describe Limassol in their travel journals as being the most European-looking city in all of Cyprus.⁴³ Von Löher spends several of the passages in his book describing the architecture of the houses which were usually made of clay and wood. He describes clay housing as being especially beautiful in the Turkish Quarters. He also describes how Turkish Cypriot girls acted the same way as the girls in Smyrna and Constantinople. 'Upon seeing a foreigner from a distance, the girls would cover themselves fully from head to toe. Upon passing the strangers, the pretty ones amongst the group would drop their veil (schleier) a bit so that one would be able to view their smiling faces'.⁴⁴ He comments that the frauenschleier (female veil) appears to be very popular all over the orient, as women do not wish to take it off.

Another Traveller was a journalist from the *Badische Presse* who arrived in Cyprus in 1930 to interview the, oldest man in the world at the time, Giuseppe/Joseph, who lived in the Franciscan monastery,⁴⁵ whom the journalist had dubbed Der Schwarze Methusaalem.⁴⁶ The stream of travellers did not stop as did Eugene Obherhummer, who visited Cyprus in 1903 and was tasked to go by the Royal Bavarian Academy of Science in 1886, to work on a project describing the topography and geography of the Greek islands of which Cyprus was one. In his book, he goes into various different topics, including several literary references that past empires had made on Cyprus.⁴⁷ Indeed, events in Cyprus were irregularly covered in German newspaper magazines such as *Karlsruhe Zeitung* which in 1879 informed the public about how the German

⁴¹ Schneider (no 3) 130-132.

⁴² Maria Chara, 'A German Archaeologist Stays Forever in Cyprus', available at Cyprus Alive. Com (last accessed 3 September 2021). <https://www.cyprusalive.com/en/a-german-archaeologist-stays-forever-in-cyprus>

⁴³ von Löher (no 8) 275.

⁴⁴ von Löher (no 8) 275.

⁴⁵ Friedrich Freiksa, 'The Black Methusalem' (Des Schwarze Methusalem) *Badische Presse* (Karlsruhe, 9 May 1930) 2 (in German).

⁴⁶ Methusaalem was a character in *Asterix and Obelix*, a French comic which remains immensely popular in Germany to the present day.

⁴⁷ Eugen Oberhummer, *The Island Cyprus A Study of the Land based on a Historic Background* (*Die Insel Cypem, Eine Landeskunde auf Historischer Grundlage*) (München: Theodor Ackermann, Königlicher Hof, 1903) (in German).

Consulate in Limassol was withdrawn due to a misunderstanding between the Consul and the British authorities.⁴⁸

The beginning of the First World War also somewhat marks the end of the German travellers in Limassol as they had been before. The final one was the German pilot von Gronau, who in 1932 was on his record-breaking flight around the world and had to stop in Limassol. He describes his encounter with Limassol as follows:

We could have not expressed our joy with greater cries when the Mediterranean Sea appeared before our eyes. The first great setback for our joyous emotions was eminent when we saw the harbour that had been recommended to us on Limassol, Cyprus, and had to come to the realization that it was more of an open bay. It was a rather rough sea hence the anchoring and re-fuelling was in no-way enjoyable. One comforted us by telling us that the day before there had been such a storm that a landing would have been impossible. We tried to leave as soon as possible the next morning and were welcomed in Europe with storm and rain and for the first time in a very long time we were able to experience the wonderful feeling of cold.⁴⁹

Von Grau remained the last German traditional adventure travellers to arrive in Limassol. Shortly after his trip, the frail piece that had embalmed Europe was destroyed with the beginning of World War Two. After that period, the travellers and pilgrims were replaced by refugees fleeing the horrors of war.

Conclusion

It is clear from the information above that the change from pilgrim to traveller cannot be truly pinned to a singular historic event. It is hereby argued that this would mainly be due to the existing gap during the Ottoman rule. The reason for this gap is presently unknown and could be further investigated in more extensive research. Nevertheless, when the British took control over Cyprus and established their colonial rule, they ignited a renewed interest in Cyprus (and therefore Limassol). This, in turn, would re-vitalise the overall interest in documenting the life in this new colony, and the effects that it would have on the geographical location surrounding Cyprus. Travellers would now mainly see Cyprus as a destination rather than a layover. Hence, the time of the great pilgrimages had come to an end. Adding to its end was, as

⁴⁸ Anonymous, 'Unofficial Part' (Nicht Amtlicher Teil) *Karlsruhe Zeitung*, (Karlsruhe 8 July 1879) 1.

⁴⁹ Wolfgang von Gronau, 'Diary Entired from my Flight Around the World' ('Tageblaetter von meinem Weltflug') *Karlsruhe Tagesblatt* (Karlsruhe, 11 November 1932) 3 (in German).

mentioned in the previously, the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, which took over Europe and allowed for faster and more frequent travel. Since then, the amount of people moving from one country to another became much more saturated with travellers due to the increased freedom of movement that people were experiencing due to no longer solely requiring a religious reason to travel. With the beginning of the Second World War, an indefinite halt was also put on the travellers, as any travelling towards or over Cyprus was no longer possible until the war was over. However, it is somewhat poignant that the final adventurous traveller, von Grau, has quite a few similarities with the first most notable traveller, Friedrich II. Limassol had not been their primary destination, and when they arrived there, the situation was not what they had expected. However, it was part of their journey and of vital importance for their legacy and life. This was a sentiment that one could argue befits anyone, be it pilgrim or traveller, who passed through Limassol, never mind if they stayed for three months, three years, or forever.

Bibliography

- Anonymous 'Gronaus Flight Home, On the way to Baghdad', (Gronaus Heimflug, Auf den Weg nach Baghdad) *Karlsruher Tageblatt* (Karlsruhe, 31 October, 1932) 1 (in German).
- Anonymous, 'Unofficial Part' (Nicht Amtlicher Teil) *Karlsruhe Zeitung*, (Karlsruhe, 8 July 1879) 1 (in German).
- Abulafia D., *Friedrich II: A Medieval Emperor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
- Arnold P., *Cyprus Challenge. A Colonial Island and its Aspirations* (London: Hogarth Press, 1956).
- The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 'Amalric II', *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2021), available at <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Amalric-II> (last accessed 1 September 2021).
- Captain Orr C. W. J., *Cyprus under British Rule*. (London: Zeno, 1972).
- Carr A. W., 'Byzantine and Italians on Cyprus: Images from Art' (1995) 49 *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 339-357.
- Chara M., 'A German Archaeologist Stays Forever in Cyprus', available at Cyprus Alive. Com (last accessed 3 September 2021). <https://www.cypusalive.com/en/a-german-archaeologist-stays-forever-in-cyprus>

- Coleman M. S., 'Pilgrimage' in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, available at <https://www.britannica.com/topic/pilgrimage-religion> (last accessed 2 September 2021).
- Freiksa Fr., 'The Black Methusalem' (Des Schwarze Methusalem) *Badische Presse* (Karlsruhe, 9 May 1930) 2 (in German).
- Hahn H. J., *The 1848 Revolutions in German-Speaking Europe* (Routledge, 2014.)
- Ktori M., 'Impressions, Itineraries and Perceptions of a Coastscape: The Case of Medieval Paphos' in Matthew Keith and Amanda Evans (eds), *ACUA, Underwater Archaeology Proceedings 2018* (Advisory Council on Underwater Archaeology, 2018) 71-84
- Madden F., J. Darwin (eds.), *The Dependent Empire, 1900-1948: Colonies, Protectorates and Mandates. Select Documents on the Constitutional History of the British Empire and Commonwealth Volume VII* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994).
- Nicolaou-Konnari A., C. Schabel, 'Limassol Under Latin Rule 1191-1571' in Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Schabel (eds), *Lemesos, A History of Limassol in Cyprus from Antiquity to the Ottoman Conquest* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015) 195-361.
- Oberhammer E., *The Island Cyprus A Study of the Land based on a Historic Background (Die Insel Cypem, Eine Landeskunde auf Historischer Grundlage)* (München: Theodor Ackermann, Königlicher Hof, 1903) (in German).
- Ohnefalsch-Richter, M., *Cyprus, the Bible and Homer: Contribution to Cultural, Art and Religious History of the Orient in Antiquity. With special Consideration to my own twelve-year Research and Excavation on the Island Cyprus (Kypros die Bibel und Homer: Beiträge zur Cultur-, Kunst- und Religionsgeschichte des Orient im Altertume. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung eigener zwölfjähriger Forschungen und Ausgrabungen auf der Insel Cypem)* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co, 1893) (in German).
- Paravicini C., *Late Middle Ages European Travel Reports. An Analytical Bibliography. Part 1: German Travel Reports (Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters Eine analytische Bibliographie. Teil 1: Deutsche Reiseberichte)* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2010) (in German).
- Röhrich R., *German Travelling Reports to the Holy Land (Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande)* (Innsbruck: Wagnerischen Universitaets-Buchhandlung, 1900) (in German).

- Schein. S., 'Bridget of Sweden, Margery Kempe and Women's Jerusalem Pilgrimages in the Middle Ages' (1999) 14(1) *Mediterranean Historical Review* 44-58.
- Schneider K., *Cyprus under the British: Travel Sketches (Cypern unter den Engländern: Reise-Skizzen)* (Köln: M. Du Mont-Schauberg, 1879) (in German).
- Unger Fr., Th. Kotschy, *The Island of Cyprus and its Physical and Organic Nature with Consideration of its Previous History (Die Insel Cypern: ihrer physischen und organischen Natur nach mit Rücksicht auf ihre frühere Geschichte)* (W. Braumüller, 1865) (in German).
- von Gronau W., 'Diary Entired from my Flight Around the World' ('Tageblaetter von meinem Weltflug') *Karlsruhe Tagesblatt* (Karlsruhe, 11 November 1932) 3 (in German).
- von Löher F., *Cyprus, Traveller Reports about Nature, Landscape, People and History (Cypers, Reisebeirchte ueber Natur and Landshaft, Volk und Geschichte)* (Stuttgart: J. D. Gottaschen Buchhandlung, 1878) (in German).

Native, Cosmopolitan, or Cypriot? Identity Development and Sense of Belonging Among International School Students in Cyprus

MARTYNA ELERIAN,¹ EMILIOS A. SOLOMOU,² ELENA C. PAPANASTASIOU³

Abstract

Cyprus is a culturally diverse island where people of different nationalities, ethnicities, religions, and social status have learned to live together. This phenomenon can be observed in Cyprus' international schools, where the superdiversity of the Cypriot society comes together and overlaps; and where students enter a 'third space' created at the interstices of society, that is non-native and non-host. In this paper, we explore these students' sense of belonging to both their host (Cyprus) and heritage cultures, and the role played by international schools in the development of the two. The sense of belonging, as well as its challenges which go hand in hand, are important aspects of social integration and provide insights into how individuals relate to their environment and whether they feel socially connected or disconnected from it. This is especially important in the context of Cyprus because of the increasing number of long-term migrants who consider Cyprus their 'home', and who create their own cultural and social space on the island.

Keywords: international schools, Cyprus migration, Third Culture Kids, identity, sense of belonging

Introduction

In its recent history, Cyprus has become a country of immigration. The ongoing crisis in the Middle East has brought political refugees and asylum seekers from the Arab countries; and after the USSR collapsed in 1991, many people came from Eastern Europe. Cyprus' accession to the EU (2004) triggered large-scale immigration from Central Europe, with 23,558 EU citizens registering in the island in 2005, and 42,630 in 2008, after the accession of Romania and Bulgaria.⁴ Since then, the number of

¹ Independent Researcher, PhD in International Relations and European Studies.

² Director of UNESCO Chair, Lecturer in History and History Didactics, School of Law, University of Nicosia.

³ Dean, School of Education, University of Nicosia.

⁴ Nicos Trimikliniotis, 'Migration and Freedom of Movement of Workers: EU Law, Crisis and the Cypriot States of Exception' (2013) 2 *Laws* 440.

immigrants has continued to grow. Between 1998 and 2018, Cyprus reported an average of 15,000 migrants per year.⁵ The profile of the migrant in Cyprus, however, is not unitary. Migrant workers must be distinguished from the elite migrants who are highly skilled and are often privileged holders of prestigious posts in business.⁶ Furthermore, there is a noticeable increase of migrants who are long term-residents living in Cyprus for more than five years. Between 2014 and 2019, their number rose from 4,116 to 27,168. Moreover, between 2007 and 2018, 25,867 people obtained Cypriot citizenship.⁷

Today, Cyprus is a culturally diverse island where people of different nationalities, ethnicities, religions, and social status have learned to adapt and live with each other. To a large extent, the Greek-Cypriot society and the migrants have blended through friendships, employment, marriages, and offspring. Therefore, migration to Cyprus not only has an economic dimension, but also a significant social one. The presence of a large population of well-off foreign parents resulted in the opening of many international schools (IS) on the island. These schools provide education in English and are often chosen by foreign parents over the Greek State schools, as the latter provide education in Greek and remain largely ethnocentric.⁸ Furthermore, several Greek-Cypriot parents also choose IS as an educational option that will secure their children's university placement mainly in the UK. Therefore, IS in Cyprus accommodate local and foreign students.

IS students enter a 'third space' created at the interstices of society, that is non-native and non-host. Research often refers to the IS migrant students as Third Culture Kids (TCK),⁹ and the IS local students as Third Culture Indigenous Kids (TCIK).¹⁰ This is because completing an international programme of studies while growing up within a multicultural environment contributes to students' identity development. It can be argued that the IS experience can lead students to become cosmopolitan

⁵ Olga Demetriou, 'Migration, Minorities, and Refugeehood in Cyprus' (2021) *Jahrbuch für Europäische Ethnologie* 91.

⁶ Trimikliniotis (no 2).

⁷ Demetriou (no 3).

⁸ See Christina Hajisoteriou, 'Intercultural Education? An Analysis of Cypriot Educational Policy' (2012) 54(4) *Educational Research* 451.

⁹ David Pollock, Ruth Van Reken, *Third Culture Kids: Growing up Among Worlds* (3rd edn, Boston: Nicholas Brealey, 2009).

¹⁰ Nkechi Emenike, David Plowright, 'Third Culture Indigenous Kids: Neo-Colonialism and Student Identities in Nigerian International Schools' (2017) 16(1) *Journal of Research in International Education* 3.

citizens who respect local and global cultural diversities, and who approach others with willingness and openness.¹¹ It can also be argued that as a result of studying in an international school, children are losing their heritage (national, religious, ethnic) identity, as these schools are most often driven by a western, liberal, humanist philosophy to which all need to adjust.¹² Alternatively, as a result of marginalisation, some students may strengthen their traditional cultural and religious practices.¹³

Migration and minorities in Cyprus have been studied in a number of aspects. A notable body of work has been done in the field of education in terms of the growing diversity in Cyprus' State schools, including the issue of national identity among Greek-Cypriot children,¹⁴ as well as the issue of identity and sense of belonging of migrant children in State schools.¹⁵ Overall, these studies reported that migrant children in Cyprus State schools are frequently marginalised, often feel pressure to assimilate to the mainstream Greek-Cypriot educational system, and can experience alienation and incidents of racism. Such circumstances can negatively affect their identity development.

¹¹ Fazal Rizivi, 'International Education and Production of Global Imagination' in Nicholas Burbules, Carlos Torres (eds), *Globalization and Education: Critical Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2000) 205; Nigel Bagnall, *Global Identity in Multicultural and International Educational Contexts: Student Identity Formation in International Schools* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

¹² Julia Resnik, 'Sociology of International Education – an Emerging Field of Research' (2012) 22(4) *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 291; Jagdish Gundara, *Interculturalism, Education and Inclusion* (Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd, 2000).

¹³ Fred Dervin, 'Cultural Identity, Representation and Othering' in Jane Jackson (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Intercultural Communication* (London: Routledge, 2011).

¹⁴ See e.g. Panayiotis Stavrinides, Stelios Georgiou, 'National Identity and In-group/out-group Attitudes with Greek-Cypriot Children' (2011) 8(1) *European Journal of Developmental Psychology* 87; Peter A.J. Stevens et al., 'Testing the Relationship between Nationalism and Racism: Greek-Cypriot Students' National/Ethnic Identities and Attitudes to Ethnic Out-groups (2014) 40(1) *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 1736; Peter A. J. Stevens et al., 'Minority Students' Responses to Racism: The Case of Cyprus. (2016) 64(1) *British Journal of Educational Studies* 77.

¹⁵ Evgenia Partasi, 'Intercultural Education in Cyprus: Policy and Practice' in Charis Psaltis et al. (eds), *Education in a Multicultural Cyprus*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publish, 2017) 134; Evgenia Partasi, 'Identity and Belonging in a Culturally Diverse Classroom in Cyprus' (2009) 9(4) *International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations* 146; Id., 'Experiencing Multiculturalism in Greek-Cypriot Primary Schools' (2011) 41(3) *Compare* 371; Elena Skapoulli, 'Gender Codes at Odds and the Linguistic Construction of a Hybrid Identity' (2004) 3(4) *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 245; Panayiotis Angelides, Tasoula Stylianou, James Leigh 'Multicultural Education in Cyprus: A Pot of Multicultural Assimilation?' (2004) 15(3) *Intercultural Education* 307; Christina Hajisoteriou, Panayiotis Angelides, 'Promoting Immigrant Parental Involvement in Culturally-Diverse Schools Through a Multiple Perspectives Approach' (2016) 11(2) *International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning* 145; Christina Hajisoteriou, Christiana Karousiou, Panayiotis Angelides 'Successful Components of School Improvement in Culturally Diverse Schools' (2018) 29(1) *School Effectiveness and School Improvement* 91.

In this paper, we aim to explore Cyprus' international schools in terms of students' identity development and sense of belonging to their heritage and host cultures, and the role played by IS in relation to these two elements. By focusing on physical and abstract indicators of belonging, we ask how TCK and TCIK in Cyprus' international schools approach the notions of identity and belonging in terms of their first and second culture. Moreover, what are the perceptions of IS headteachers and teachers about these schools' role in terms of students' identity development?

This study is significant, as it firstly contributes to Cyprus' research field in education by providing data and the framework of international schooling on the island, as well as discusses the issues of belonging and identity beyond State schooling. Secondly, in the context of Cyprus, the study depicts the issue of migration and minorities in Cyprus beyond the generally acknowledged historical minority groups and draws attention to migrant families with middle-to-high socioeconomic status. The sense of belonging and the potential challenges to this sense are important aspects of social integration and provide insights into how individuals relate to their environment and whether they feel socially connected or disconnected from it.¹⁶

Theoretical Framework

International Schools are to a great extent independent institutions that have the liberty to establish their own ethos and rules of conduct, and their community of teachers and students vary in terms of their cultural, national, and linguistic backgrounds, and previous educational experience.¹⁷ IS follow an international curriculum, such as the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program (IBDP), the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE), etc. These programmes provide education that is implemented internationally, incorporate global, cultural, and linguistic issues, and by having international credibility and acceptability, allow students to access international tertiary education.¹⁸ Currently there are 22 primary schools, and 26 secondary schools in Cyprus,¹⁹ that have a diverse population of students and teachers, use primarily English as a language of instruction, and at the secondary

¹⁶ Lucas Fuchs et al., 'The Challenged Sense of Belonging Scale (CSBS)—a Validation Study in English, Arabic, and Farsi/Dari among Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Germany' (2021) 3(3) *Meas Instrum Soc Sci* 1.

¹⁷ Mary Hayden, *Introduction to International Education* (London: Sage, 2006).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Cyprus Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sports, Private Primary and Secondary Education (2022), available at http://www.moec.gov.cy/en/private_education.html (last accessed 20 February 2022).

level, provide internationally recognised examinations that allow students international university entrance. Private schools in Cyprus are approved and licensed on an individual basis by the Cyprus Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sports. International schools are categorised under ‘similar type’ and ‘different type’ schools.²⁰ ‘Similar type’ schools, alongside the international curriculum, are required to include a substantial amount of the time and material of the main courses covered in the State schools. In this study, these will be called ‘Internationally Cypriot Schools’ (ICS). ‘Different type’ schools are to a large extent free to choose their curriculum, which for the majority, is the UK and international curricula. Nonetheless, some restrictions from the ministry still apply e.g. compulsory lessons of Greek language. In this study, these will be called ‘Internationally British Schools’ (IBS).

Such an international education can influence students’ identity development.²¹ The conceptualisation of identity has been widely debated across academic fields and in many different aspects: cultural identity, ethnic identity, racial identity, religious identity, gender identity, and institutional identity, to name a few. Thus, in this theoretical section we will focus on the areas and issues of identity that are relevant to the purpose of this study. Cultural identity refers to: [...] specific features of a certain cultural group or groups with shared characteristics, such as racial, ethnic, or geographic origins [...] formed by adopting beliefs, norms, habits, language patterns, or practices of a cultural community or communities that an individual believes to belong to.²²

Over the years, the discourse of cultural identity has shifted from the structural-functional paradigm of a single identity to post-structuralism and post-modernism, which advanced the concept of multiple identities.²³ McLean and Syed used master narratives as forms of discourse to define identity as a ‘subjective, constructed, and evolving story of how one came to be the person one currently is. This story integrates the past, present, and future providing the individual with a sense of personal

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Stephen Ball, Dimitra Nikita, ‘The Global Middle Class and School Choice: A Cosmopolitan Sociology’ (2014) 17(3) *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* 81.

²² Anatoli Rapoport, ‘The Changing Meaning of Citizenship and Identity and a Perspective Model of Citizenship Education’ in Joseph Zajda, Suzanne Majhanovich (eds.) *Globalisation, Cultural Identity and Nation-Building. Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research*, Vol. 23 (Springer, Dordrecht 2021) 37.

²³ Joseph Zajda, Suzanne Majhanovich, ‘Cultural Identity in the Global Era’ in Joseph Zajda, Suzanne Majhanovich (eds.), *Globalisation, Cultural Identity and Nation-Building. Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research*, Vol. 23 (Springer, Dordrecht 2021) 1.

continuity'; however, although 'for many individuals whose lives fit in with societal structures, these master narratives are functional and unproblematic', for others this may mean that they 'need to construct or adopt an alternative narrative'.²⁴ For example, members of the minority group may reject the minority culture in favour of the majority culture or do the opposite in order to conform to their own group norms,²⁵ indicating that one can control the level of national or cultural self-identification.²⁶

Students in international schools vary in terms of their cultural, national, and linguistic backgrounds. Their educational experience and the time they reside in the host country contributes to identity development. Pollock and Van Reken used the term *Third Culture Kid* to describe a: 'person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture'.²⁷ For TCK there are no 'master narratives' but a number of fragmented, partly-shared, alternative narratives, and their past, present, and future rarely provide them with a sense of personal continuity. TCK relate to their 'first culture' (their passport country, their parents' homeland culture); 'second culture' refer to other places that are non-native to them, but where they have lived for a substantial amount of time, and 'third culture' which signifies the community of people with whom they share a similar experience.²⁸ The 'third culture' does not unite the first and the second culture but rather provides a space for their unbalanced incorporation.²⁹ TCK can be considered to be similar to second-generation immigrants, as neither fully enter the home or host society. However, even though second-generation migrants are ethnically rooted in their country of origin, they become culturally at home in their destination country,³⁰ TCK frequently build relationships with all the cultures, while not having full ownership of any of them.³¹ Therefore, these individuals have some sense of belonging to both their host and native countries but are not fully committed to either.

²⁴ Moin Syed, Kate McLean, 'Personal, Master, and Alternative Narratives: An Integrative Framework for Understanding Identity Development in Context' (2016) 58(6) *Human Development* 318, 320.

²⁵ George A. Akerlof, Rachel E. Kranton, 'Economics of Identity' (2000) 115(3) *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 715.

²⁶ Davis Miller, *On Nationality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

²⁷ Pollock, Van Reken (no 7) 19.

²⁸ Tina Quick, *The Global Nomad's Guide to University Transition* (Summertime Publishing, 2010).

²⁹ Jacqueline Knörr (ed.), *Childhood and Migration: from Experience to Agency* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2005).

³⁰ Tracy Reynolds 'Ties That Bind: Families, Social Capital and Caribbean Second Generation Return Migration' (2008) 46 Working Paper (London: South Bank University and University of Sussex) 1.

³¹ Pollock, Van Reken (no 7) 13.

Furthermore, to distinguish the experience of local students in international schools, Emenike and Plowright referred to them as Third Culture Indigenous Kids (TCIK),³² due to the dichotomy between the local context and the school's culture that these students operate in. TCIK have to conform to the community that exists within their country but does not represent their nation, culture or beliefs.³³ This can be considered problematic in postcolonial countries³⁴ and in conflict processes (such as Cyprus), where the solidification of ethnic groups through the formation of a strong national identity has a significant influence on the functioning of the Nation-State.³⁵ Students in an international school environment can lose some of their traditions if these are not constantly reinforced by the home culture.³⁶ For example, students in Belgium and Serbia acknowledged that as a result of studying in international school, knowledge of their national history suffered.³⁷ TCIK international school students in Vietnam pictured themselves representing the English-cosmopolitan image, rather than the Vietnamese-local.³⁸ Other studies among IS students found that Anglo-Western identities were considered superior to others.³⁹ Therefore, 'international education can be a homogenizing induction into Western-dominated global culture [...] rather than the encouragement of diversity, which is espoused in intercultural learning.'⁴⁰

³² Emenike, Plowright (no 8).

³³ Barbara Deveney, 'An Investigation into Aspects of Thai Culture and its Impact on Thai Students in an International School in Thailand' (2005) 4(2) *Journal of Research in International Education* 153; Maha Frangie, 'The Negotiation of the Relationship Between Home and School in the Mind of Grade 6 Students in an International School in Qatar' (2017) 16(3) *Journal of Research in International Education* 225.

³⁴ Mico Poonoosamy, 'The International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme in Post-Colonial Mauritius: Reaffirming Local Identities and Knowledges' (2010) 30(1) *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 15; Id. 'Third Culture Kids' Sense of International Mindedness: Case Studies of Students in Two International Baccalaureate Schools' (2018) 17(3) *Journal of Research in International Education* 207.

³⁵ Rumelili Bahar, Jennifer Todd, 'Paradoxes of Identity Change: Integrating Macro, Meso, and Micro Research on Identity in Conflict Processes' (2018) 38(1) *Politics* 3.

³⁶ Veronica Wilkinson, Mary Hayden, 'The International Baccalaureate Diploma and Student Attitudes: An exploratory Study' (2010) 9(1) *Journal of Research in International Education* 85.

³⁷ Sinéad Fitzsimons, 'Students' (Inter)National Identities within International Schools: a Qualitative Study' (2019) 18(3) *Journal of Research in International Education* 274.

³⁸ Trang Thi Thuy Nguyen, Hoa Thi Mai Nguyen, 'Thinking Globally or "Glocally"? Bilingual Identity of Vietnamese International School Students' (2017) 85 *International Journal of Educational Research* 24.

³⁹ Lucy Bailey, 'The Experiences of Host Country Nationals in International Schools: A Case-Study From Malaysia' (2015) 14(2) *Journal of Research in International Education* 85; Fitzsimons (no 35).

⁴⁰ Michael Allan, 'Understanding International Education Through Discourse Theory: Multinational, International, Multicultural or Intercultural?' in Richard Pearce (ed.), *International Education and*

However, it can also be argued that TCKs challenge traditional assumptions of what it means to identify as and belong to a particular race, nationality, or ethnicity,⁴¹ and have a 'cultural liberty'⁴² to choose how they want to go about their inherited religions, traditions, nationalities - what they want to show, and what they want to hide.⁴³ As Rizvi explains:

With formative international experience, they are able to look at the world as dynamic and multicultural. This is so because they operate within a hybridized space and are equally comfortable in more than one cultural site. Their identity is intercultural with multiple cultural defining points. They typify a new global generation.⁴⁴

To better understand TCK identity development, Nette and Hayden⁴⁵ focused on the issue of belonging rather than identity itself. In psychology studies, the sense of belonging refers to one's need and satisfaction of being a part of a larger community; in sociology, to the issues of inclusion and exclusion, and the general feeling of 'being at home'.⁴⁶ Nette and Hayden referred to indicators of belonging that are places to which TCK have some kind of 'physical' link. The two strongest indicators of belonging are the country of birth and the passport country, which relate to their 'first' culture. However, an indicator of belonging can also be a place where the TCK's family is located, or a place where they lived for a very long time. Attachment to places relates to the lived experiences thus 'questions of "who we are" are often intimately related to questions of "where we are"'.⁴⁷ The above physical indicators of belonging are important because they give TCK a sense of a tangible place where home is or where they come from, i.e. 'a concrete solution to a somewhat abstract dilemma'.⁴⁸

However, for TCK the connection between the sense of belonging, and a physical location can be scattered and/or unclear.⁴⁹ Drawing from Pfaff-Czarnecka's definition

Schools: Moving Beyond the First 40 years (Bloomsbury Academic, 2013) 149, 160.

⁴¹ Pollock, Van Reken, (no 7).

⁴² Miller (no 24); Dervin (no 11).

⁴³ Wilkinson, Hayden (no 34).

⁴⁴ Rizvi (no 9) 223.

⁴⁵ John Nette, Mary Hayden, 'Globally Mobile Children: The Sense of Belonging' (2007) 33(4) *Educational Studies* 435.

⁴⁶ Fuchs et al. (no 14).

⁴⁷ John Dixon, Kevin Durrheim 'Displacing Place-Identity: A Discursive Approach to Locating Self and Other' (2000) 39(27) *British Journal of Social Psychology* 27.

⁴⁸ Nette, Hayden (no 43) 5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

of belonging as ‘an emotionally charged, ever-dynamic social location’⁵⁰ one’s sense of belonging is not stable and fixed, nor connected to a physical space. Therefore, on an abstract level, issues of culture and language,⁵¹ as well as strong connections with family and friends,⁵² can also be considered tangible indicators of belonging. Language is fundamentally attached to one’s personal, national, and ethnic identity,⁵³ and TCK often use language rather than geographical location as a factor by which they define themselves.⁵⁴ Furthermore, some TCK locate their belonging based on the relationships they form with other people.⁵⁵ Thus, we can look at the indicators of belonging as physical and abstract bonds in the context of one’s identity. Moreover, the abstract indicators of belonging can navigate one towards places of physical belonging, and the opposite. Therefore, in this article we explore the types of relationships students in international schools may have with their first and second culture by focusing on physical and abstract indicators of belonging. We ask the question of how TCK and TCİK in Cyprus’ IS approach the notions of identity and belonging in terms of their first and second culture. Furthermore, we explore how IS in Cyprus approach their students’ identity and belonging in terms of building and maintaining students’ relationships with their first and second culture, by asking what the perceptions of headteachers and teachers about the role of IS in terms of students’ identity development are.

Research Context and Method

This paper shares results of a mixed-methods study in six international schools in Cyprus. The quantitative strand of the study involved questionnaires that were administered to students and teachers. The qualitative strand consisted of data obtained

⁵⁰ Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka, ‘Multiple Belonging and the Challenges to Biographic Navigation (2013) (MMG Working Paper13-05) Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, available at WP_13-05_Pfaff-Czarnecka_Multiple-belonging.pdf (mpg.de) (last accessed 20 February2022)13.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Wilkinson, Hayden (no 34).

⁵³ Zajda, Majhanovich (no 21).

⁵⁴ Michael Tannenbaum, Jenny Tseng, ‘Which one is Ithaca? Multilingualism and Sense of Identity Among Third Culture Kids’ (2015) 12(3) *International Journal of Multilingualism* 276.

⁵⁵ Heidi Sand-Hart *Home Keeps Moving* (The McDougal Publishing Company, 2010); Kathleen Daniel, ‘A Canary Sings on the Road to Athens’ in Gene H. Bell-Villada et al. (eds), *Writing Out of Limbo: International Childhoods, Global Nomads and Third Culture Kids* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011) 132.

from semi-structured interviews with headteachers, and open-ended questions from the teacher questionnaires.

This study was conducted based on the convergent parallel design⁵⁶ by implementing both strands in concurrent timing in one phase of the research process; both qualitative and quantitative components were weighed equally and analysed independently before the results were combined for the overall interpretation.⁵⁷ The qualitative data were analysed through thematic analyses.⁵⁸ To ensure the credibility of coding, the themes were then reviewed by the authors, and final decisions were made⁵⁹ with the final codes and themes being both, 'data-driven' and 'theory-driven'.⁶⁰ Moreover, the data were continually inspected throughout the analysis to secure rigour and consistency. Regarding the quantitative data, all statistical analyses were conducted with the use of SPSS 28 for Windows, where descriptive and inferential statistics were used for the analyses.

In terms of the validity of mixed-methods, understood as 'employing strategies that address potential issues in data collection, data analysis, and the interpretations that might compromise the merging or connecting of the quantitative and qualitative strands of the study and the conclusions drawn from the combination',⁶¹ we addressed credibility, validity, and reliability separately for each of the two strands.⁶² Since the two strands addressed the same issues, and were completed by the same population, it enabled the comparability and triangulation of the data.⁶³

We used stratified purposive sampling where: 'the stratified nature of this sampling procedure is characteristic of probability sampling, whereas the small number of cases typically generated through it, is characteristic of purposive sampling'.⁶⁴ The sampling process included the choice of schools, where we included both: ICS and

⁵⁶ John Creswell, Vicky Plano Clark, *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research* (Sage Publications, 2010).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Virginia Braun, Victoria Clarke, 'Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology' (2006) 3(2) *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 77.

⁵⁹ John Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Sage, 2009).

⁶⁰ Braun, Clarke (no 56).

⁶¹ Creswell, Plano Clark (no 54) 239.

⁶² Anthony Onwuegbuzie, R. Burke Johnson 'The Validity Issue in Mixed Research' (2006) 13(1) *Research in the Schools* 48.

⁶³ Creswell, Plano Clark (no 54).

⁶⁴ Charles Teddlie, Fen Yu, 'Mixed Methods Sampling. A Typology with Examples' (2007) 1 *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 77, 90.

IBS across regions. This was followed by the choice of students, where we aimed to stratify across gender, age, and nationality. Furthermore, we aimed to include teachers and headteachers within these schools from a variety of subjects. Overall, 288 participants took part in this study: 206 students, 76 teachers and 6 headteachers. Table 1 presents sample sizes in the three researched Internationally British schools (IBS) and the three researched Internationally Cypriot schools (ICS).

Table 1. Sample size of study participants in Internationally-Cypriot and Internationally British schools

	Internationally Cypriot Schools	Internationally British Schools	Total
Students	103	103	206
Teachers	43	33	76
School leaders	3	3	6

In total, 206 secondary school students took part in the study. Participants included 80 males (42.3%) and 109 females (57.7%). In terms of age and class level, 102 students (49.5%) were studying in lower secondary school (ages 11-14); and 104 students (50.5%) were studying in upper secondary school (ages 15-18). The study included students of different religions: 53.8% of students were Christians and 12.5% were non-Christians. A relatively large percentage of students (33.7%) declared to be atheists, agnostics or unaffiliated. Out of the 206 participants, 32.5% were born in Cyprus. Out of the 67.5% who were born abroad, 34% had lived in Cyprus for four years or more, and 33.5% less than four years. Regarding national and ethnic background, over 50 different nationalities and ethnicities were found.

For the purpose of this study, the students were divided into two groups: Third Culture Kids (TCK), who are the foreigners, and Third Culture Indigenous Kids (TCIK), who are Cypriots. A statistically significant difference between nationality groups and school type was observed ($\chi^2(5)=13.448$, $p=0.020$). In Internationally Cypriot schools (ICS) there were higher frequencies of Cypriot and Half-Cypriot student participants and lower frequencies of international student participants compared to Internationally British schools (IBS). Regarding half-Cypriots who only had one Cypriot parent, a decision was made not to consider them as TCIK since they consistently presented very different results compared to the Cypriots whose both parents were from Cyprus. As a result, three student groups were created: foreigners, Cypriots, and half-Cypriots (Table 2). Although this breakdown is particularly informative, since there were relatively few students in some of the categories, es-

pecially when broken down by the school type, only descriptive statistics could be performed in many of the analyses.

Table 2. Sample breakdown according to Foreigners, Cypriots, half-Cypriots, and school type.

	Internationally Cypriot Schools	Internationally British Schools	Total
Foreigners	57	81	138
Cypriots	16	4	20
Half-Cypriots	30	18	48
Total	103	103	206

Overall, 76 teachers (20 males, 56 females) took part in the survey: 43 teachers (56.6%) from ICS and 33 (43.4%) from IBS. The respondents were teachers of a variety of subjects: STEM (20.3%) Languages (31.9%), Humanities (33.3%), and Other (14.5%). Education-wise, 76.3% of participants studied in Anglophone countries (Canada, USA, UK, Australia).

Six headteachers took part in the interviews (two males and four females). All, alongside their management responsibilities, were also active subject teachers. Out of the six, five of the headteachers were British, and one was Cypriot. All the English headteachers were UK trained with teaching experience in the UK. All participants had been settled in Cyprus for many years.

To address ethical issues, such as confidentiality, informed consent, data access and ownership, we secured the approval of the Cyprus Bioethics Committee and the approval of the Cyprus Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sports. We considered the participants' age and language skills. The schools and the parents were well-informed about all aspects of the research. Only children who themselves agreed to participate and whose parents permitted them to do so were involved in the study. All data regarding both minor and adult participants were collected on an anonymous and voluntary basis.

Findings

Students' Views on Their Sense of Belonging in Relation to Their First and Second Culture, and the Role of IS.

Since language is considered an indicator of belonging to the heritage culture, the students were asked to self-assess their native-language knowledge. As presented in Table 3, the majority of students considered themselves mostly fluent in speaking,

reading, and writing. None of the participants claimed that they speak their native language at the lowest level, and in general, students found themselves confident in their levels of knowledge of their native language. However, there is a major disparity between how the participants assessed their fluency in speaking to their fluency in writing. Although 81.5% of them considered themselves to be fluent speakers, only 55.0% considered themselves as fluent in writing.

Table 3. Students self-assessed knowledge of their native language

	Fluent	Intermediate	Poor	Very poor
Speaking	81.5%	17.0%	1.5%	-
Reading	70.1%	21.9%	5.0%	3.0%
Writing	55.0%	31.5%	9.0%	4.5%

At the second stage, a new indicator was calculated by summing the student responses in all three language categories (speaking, reading, and writing). This produced a score that ranged from 3-12, that was used as an overall indicator of their native language knowledge. When these results were broken down by student categories (Cypriots, half-Cypriots, and foreigners), the results showed that on average, the Cypriot students considered themselves to be slightly more fluent than half-Cypriots and foreigners (Table 4). Nonetheless these differences were very minor, suggesting that all students maintain the knowledge of their native languages no matter their ethnic background or locational proximity to their first culture. It should also be noted that there were no overall differences between the two types of schools in terms of the students' native language knowledge.

Table 4. Descriptive statistics of self-assessed student native language knowledge by type of school

	Mean			Std. Deviation		
	ICS	IBS	Total	ICS	IBS	Total
Cypriot	11.07	11.00	11.05	2.17	1.41	1.98
Half-Cypriot	10.71	10.88	10.78	1.86	1.71	1.78
Foreigner	10.89	10.60	10.72	1.66	1.85	1.78
Total	10.86	10.66	10.76	1.77	1.80	1.79

The Greek language is the native language of Cypriots (TCIK) who all find themselves to be fluent communicators outside of school. Greek can also be considered at least one of the native languages of half-Cypriots, of which 80.9% claimed to be able to communicate in outside of school. However, for foreigners (TCK), the Greek language is an indicator of belonging to their second culture i.e. Cyprus. Only 35.8%

of foreign students claimed that they can speak Greek outside of school, indicating that the knowledge of Greek among the foreigners is relatively low. When comparing the responses of the half-Cypriots on this question, it is noteworthy that almost all ICS half-Cypriots (93.1%) stated that they communicate in Greek outside of school, compared to 61.1% of half-Cypriots who attended IBS. Also, 27.8% of these students said that they could do that, but they choose not to.

Table 5. Percentage of students' responses regarding communicating in Greek in real life.

		Internationally Cypriot Schools (ICS)	Internationally British Schools (IBS)	Total
Cypriot	Yes	100	100	100
	I can but I choose not to	-	-	-
	No	-	-	-
Half-Cypriot	Yes	93.1	61.1	80.9
	I can but I choose not to	-	27.8	10.6
	No	6.9	11.1	8.5
Foreigner	Yes	37.5	34.6	35.8
	I can but I choose not to	14.3	21	18.2
	No	48.2	44.4	46
Total	Yes	63	41.7	52.2
	I am but I choose not to	8	21.4	14.8
	No	29	36.9	33

It can be observed that ICS students were much more willing and able to communicate in Greek in real life compared to IBS students. There is a statistically significant difference between IBS and ICS based on chi-square tests results ($\chi^2(2)=11.474$, $p=0.003$). Compared to 41.7% of students from IBS, 63% of ICS students said that they use the Greek language outside of school. Moreover, 21.4% of students from IBS admitted that despite having the ability, they chose not to speak the Greek language in real life. This is a much higher number of students than in ICS where only 8% of students claimed the same.

Secondly, we asked students some questions that relate to the knowledge about their native country. On a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1=very poor to 4=very well, students were asked to self-assess how well they know the history of their native country. As shown in Table 6, which presents the average of their responses, students

were generally confident regarding the knowledge of their native country history. The average responses from all groups, regardless of the type of school they attended, were all higher than 2.5, which was the mid-point of the scale. The strongest results were obtained by the Cypriot students (\bar{x} =3.18). Foreigners (\bar{x} =2.74) and half-Cypriots (\bar{x} =2.68) had similar and lower levels of responses in the current variable regarding the history of their native country. It is also noteworthy, that there were no overall differences between the two types of schools in this variable.

Table 6. Descriptives of students' self-assessed knowledge of the history of their native country by type of school.

	Mean			Std. Deviation		
	ICS	IBS	Total	ICS	IBS	Total
Cypriot	3.23	3.00	3.18	.439	.816	.529
Half-Cypriot	2.69	2.67	2.68	.891	.840	.862
Foreigner	2.70	2.77	2.74	.755	.779	.767
Total	2.77	2.76	2.76	.780	.785	.781

The participants were also asked two basic questions related to knowledge about their native country: to name three historical figures, and to name the current leader of their native country. The vast majority of students (78.7%) were able to name their leaders correctly; however, only 55.7% could name three people of historical significance to their native country. In fact, 20.6% of students did not name anybody. To examine this further, a new variable was created that ranged from 0 to 4, based on the number of current or past leaders of historical significance that the students could name correctly. When we compared the student results according to their ascribed identities (Table 7), yet again the Cypriot students performed overall the strongest by being able to name an average of 3.25 individuals, compared to 2.57 individuals named by half-Cypriots, and 2.58 by foreign students. On average, the students in IBS had slightly higher levels of knowledge on this variable (\bar{x} =2.71) compared to the students in ICS (\bar{x} =2.95).

Table 7. Descriptives of students' knowledge about their leaders and historical figures by type of school.

	Mean			Std. Deviation		
	ICS	IBS	Total	ICS	IBS	Total
Cypriot	3.30	3.00	3.25	1.03	1.00	1.00
Half-Cypriot	2.62	2.50	2.57	1.65	1.41	1.55
Foreigner	2.62	3.05	2.87	1.48	1.39	1.44
Total	2.71	2.95	2.83	1.49	1.39	1.44

The students from both types of schools were also asked to self-assess their familiarity with Cyprus' history and traditions on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1=very poor to 4=very well. In this variable, there was a lot more variation based on the student's ethnicity and the type of school they attended (Table 8). By examining the breakdown of the average responses by the school type, the Cypriots in the ICS had the highest average score on this question, with an average score of 3.32. What is noteworthy is that half-Cypriots felt quite strongly about their knowledge about the history and traditions of Cyprus, and presented much higher scores (\bar{x} =3.04) than the foreigners (\bar{x} =2.62). This finding came in contrast to previous findings where the results of half-Cypriots and foreigners were quite similar. Overall, however, the students in the ICS had slightly higher levels of knowledge about the history and traditions of Cyprus (\bar{x} =2.73) compared to the students in the IBS (\bar{x} =2.51).

Table 8. Descriptive statistics of students' self-assessed knowledge of the history and traditions of Cyprus by type of school

	Mean			Std. Deviation		
	ICS	IBS	Total	ICS	IBS	Total
Cypriot	3.33	3.25	3.32	.617	.500	.582
Half-Cypriot	3.14	2.89	3.04	.693	.758	.721
Foreigner	2.37	2.40	2.38	.555	.540	.545
Total	2.73	2.51	2.62	.733	.624	.687

To assess the students' sense of belonging in terms of building and maintaining relationships with their first and second culture, a new variable was created by combining student responses to four items measured on a dichotomous yes-no scale. These items asked whether the students listened to the music or watched movies from their native country, whether they read or watched news from their native country, whether they kept in touch with their friends from their native country, and whether they could continue education in their native country. As percentages, many students (73%) claimed that they listen to music and watch movies from their native country, and many claimed that they read or watch the news from their native country (74.3%). Furthermore, most of the students claimed that they keep in touch with their friends from their native country (80.1%) but only a small majority (55.8%) stated that they could continue education in their native country. When these results were combined into a single variable on a scale from 0 to 4, and broken down based on their ascribed identities, once again, the Cypriot students had the highest scores (\bar{x} =3.46), followed by the foreign students (\bar{x} =2.89), and then by the half-Cypriots

(\bar{x} =2.38). There were very small variations between the results of students from ICS (\bar{x} =2.83) and IBS (\bar{x} =2.77) (Table 9).

Table 9. Descriptive statistics of students' sense of belonging to their native culture by type of school.

	Mean			Std. Deviation		
	ICS	IBS	Total	ICS	IBS	Total
Cypriot	3.66	3.00	3.46	.50	.00	.51
Half-Cypriot	2.40	2.33	2.37	1.22	1.41	1.28
Foreigner	2.94	2.86	2.89	.95	1.03	1.00
Total	2.83	2.77	2.80	1.07	1.10	1.08

Although there were no large differences between students from the two school types, a decision was made to compare overall school differences based on the various ways in which the students connected to their home countries. As presented in Table 10, IBS students were more likely to claim that they watch the news from their native country (81.4%) compared to 67% of ICS students ($\chi^2(1)=4.731$, $p=0.030$). This is noteworthy because ICS have significantly higher frequencies of Cypriot and half-Cypriot participants, include elements of Cyprus' state programme of study, and the local news is widely available, thus we expected them to present better results in these areas. However, IBS students were less likely to keep in touch with their friends from their native country (73.8%) compared to 87% of the ICS students ($\chi^2(1)=4.501$, $p=0.034$). Moreover, IBS students were less likely to feel that they would be able to continue education in their native country (48%) compared to 64% of ICS students ($\chi^2(1)=4.581$, $p=0.032$).

Table 10. Chi-square results of student links to their native countries by school type.

	Internationally Cypriot Schools (ICS) (%)	Internationally British Schools (IBS) (%)	Chi-square results
Watch the news from their native country	67	81.4	($\chi^2(1)=4.731$, $p=0.030$)
Keep in touch with their friends from their native country	87	73.8	($\chi^2(1)=4.501$, $p=0.034$)
Are able to continue education in their native country	64	48	($\chi^2(1)=4.581$, $p=0.032$)

In terms of building and maintaining relationships with their second culture (i.e. Cyprus), we did find that students engage with the local community. As presented in

Table 11, it was expected that Cypriots and half-Cypriots would have close friends and family in Cyprus, although the results were slightly lower among the half-Cypriots. However, it is noteworthy that 73.1% of foreigners claimed that they also have close Cypriot friends and family. There were no overall differences between the two types of schools in terms of the students having close Cypriot friends or family.

Table 11. Percentage of students who have close Cypriot friends or family by school type.

	Internationally Cypriot Schools (ICS) (%)	Internationally British Schools (IBS) (%)	Total
Cypriot	100%	100%	100%
Half-Cypriot	96.5%	100%	97.8%
Foreigner	72.7%	73.4%	73.1%
Total	84%	79%	

Finally, we also included a question on where the students feel ‘at home’. As presented in Table 12, most of the students chose the hybrid option of Cyprus and another native (foreign) country (45.5%), and 34% referred to Cyprus alone. Only 15.5% of participants said that they feel ‘at home’ in their native (foreign) country, and 5% did not feel a sense of belonging to any of the above given options.

At the stage of more detailed analysis, we observed that the vast majority of Cypriots (88.9%) claimed that they feel ‘at home’ in Cyprus. Interestingly, 11.1% chose Cyprus and another foreign country that they consider native. This may be because some of the Cypriot respondents were born or spent some time of their early childhood outside of Cyprus. This suggests that they retain a connection to these foreign countries. Half-Cypriots, on the other hand, were very divided in regards to their sense of belonging to Cyprus. Although 47.9% chose Cyprus, 35.4% felt ‘at home’ both in Cyprus and in their other native country. Interestingly, while the IBS half-Cypriots were much more likely to affirm their connection only to Cyprus, ICS half-Cypriots were much more divided with 43.3% opting for Cyprus, and 40% for Cyprus and the other native country. This is noteworthy because ICS place emphasis on the development of the Cypriot identity while IBS do not. At the same time, a slightly higher number of IBS half-Cypriots felt ‘at home’ only in their other native country (16.7) compared to ICS half-Cypriots who stated the same (13.3).

Table 12. Results regarding the percentages of where the students feel at home.

Student category	Where do you feel at home?	ICS (%)	IBS (%)	Total
Cypriot	Cyprus	85.7	100	88.9
	Native (Foreign) Country	-	-	-
	Cyprus and Native (Foreign) Country	14.3	-	11.1
	None of the above	-	-	-
Half-Cypriot	Cyprus	43.3	55.6	47.9
	Native (Foreign) Country	13.3	16.7	14.6
	Cyprus and Native (Foreign) Country	40	27.8	35.4
	None of the above	3.3	-	2.1
Foreigner	Cyprus	10.9	29.1	21.6
	Native (Foreign) Country	27.3	11.4	17.9
	Cyprus and Native (Foreign) Country	52.7	54.4	53.7
	None of the above	9.1	5.1	6.7
Total	Cyprus	31.3	36.6	34
	Native (Foreign) Country	19.2	11.9	15.5
	Cyprus and Native (Foreign) Country	43.4	47.5	45.5
	None of the above	6.1	4	5

Just like half-Cypriots, foreigners also referred to their hybrid sense of belonging to both Cyprus and their native country (slightly above 50% across both school types). Out of those who decided to affirm their sense of belonging only to one place, 21.6% chose Cyprus and 17.9% chose their native country. It is interesting to note that, just like half-Cypriots, IBS foreigners were more likely to affirm their sense of belonging to Cyprus (29.1%) rather than their native country (11.9%), and ICS foreigners to their native countries (27.3%) rather than to Cyprus (10.9%).

Headteachers' and Teachers' Views on the Role of IS in Students' Identity Development in Relation to their First and Second Culture

In trying to determine students' connection to their first culture, and how IS influence it, headteachers generally presented a view that students' heritage cultures are rooted in them anyway, but by being exposed to different cultures, and by operating in-between the school, the host, and the family culture, they take on new cultural layers which widen their worldview and deepen their intercultural understanding. As explained by one IBS headmistress:

They are Third Culture Kids. They've got their original country, they've got the Greek culture in Cyprus, while they have also got the country that they live in; and then they've got this British system that is yet another one that they have

added into the mix. I would hope that they keep hold of their ethnic identity [...] but also be aware of the global issues and the other people, places and cultures that they are experiencing [...] I hope that because of the inclusiveness and the multiculturalism of the school, students will have tolerance and understanding of other cultures and other religions.

To corroborate that, 71% of teachers found students to be equally comfortable in more than one cultural setting. Those who gave examples of how cultural diversity can be observed in the school, referred to indicators of belonging such as language: 'Students tend to become friends and group according to language.' They also commented on students maintaining relationships with their first culture in terms of dress code, taking specific days off, and diet. These were evident in a number of comments such as: 'Israeli students take time off to celebrate religious holidays, Muslim students fast during Ramadan, Russian students are often away for the first few days of January as Christmas falls on 6th January'. These comments not only represent the IS cultural diversity, but also teachers' awareness of it, and the schools' respect for it. As one teacher explained: 'We follow Christian celebrations but acknowledge those from other cultures. Lessons in all subjects have an awareness of multicultural factors'.

In ICS, which provide some of the State schools' programme and Greek-Orthodox religious instruction, teachers noted that the cultural differences are visible in students' participation in school religious and national events, and participation in certain lessons. Therefore, in ICS the observed cultural differences relate to the Greek-Cypriot (TCIK) and the foreign (TCK) populations of students, rather than the diversity of the school population in general. As one teacher noted: 'Since the school is largely made up of Greek-Cypriot students, religious, ethnic events are all celebrated within the school and our culture and religion are promoted'.

Teachers of both types of schools believe that having a strong ethnic identity adds to the student's well-being and high self-esteem (78%). One teacher noted that 'students should be inspired by their own cultural identity', and another found that having a strong ethnic identity is a 'factor that determines success'. Headteachers, on the other hand, emphasised the importance of students understanding their roots, but, as noted by one, 'not to a level of extremism'. In a diverse school community, for intercultural understanding to take place, some strong national perceptions need to be lessened, as one IBS headteacher explained: 'you have to dilute nationalistic beliefs a little, to be able to coexist. You have to be more understanding of each other

[...] At times we have had Pakistanis and Indians, we had Serbs and Croats. So obviously you cannot celebrate nationalities and cultures in the same way as you would in a mono-cultural school'. This approach of cultural neutrality was also presented by some IBS teachers, as one noted: 'I treat all students as there are no cultural differences. We talk about respect and acceptance for people's individuality in a wider spectrum'. Furthermore, because of the circumstance of migration itself, students do not celebrate their traditions the same way as they would in their own countries. An IBS headmistress pointed out that preserving cultural traditions, beliefs, etc. should be in the hands of parents 'if they want their children to continue having their national, cultural celebrations or having their particular traditions, then, when living in a different country, they need to teach these things to their children.'

In both types of schools, teachers generally believe that their school is promoting an understanding of different national characteristics and behaviours (62%). In terms of the related practices, 89% of teachers said that they adapt their teaching to be more responsive to the needs of diverse student groups, because, as one teacher noted: 'students from different countries have different educational experiences and consequently have varying expectations [...] Some students expect to be taught in a traditional manner with a teacher-centred approach [...] others seek to have a dialogue and discussion'. Moreover, the majority (54%) of teachers noted that they include teaching about heritage cultures of their students and display students' work (e.g. artwork) that reflects students' cultures and ethnic background, but stressed that this relates to the possibilities their subject and their curriculum offers. Teachers gave examples of how they do that in several subjects. An economics teacher referred to studying different markets to 'become familiar with goods and services that we don't use in our everyday life, but others do'. A history teacher commented that 'one can easily target history of the students' heritage. It helps them to find lessons relevant [...] e.g. I can cover some Chinese history in class with Chinese students.' Projects related to students' heritage cultures were also mentioned by English and Art teachers across schools. Moreover, opportunities are given for students to share their cultural heritage during whole school events. One teacher commented: 'When celebrating certain international days we offer students from different cultural backgrounds the opportunity to share their experiences with the school.'

Nonetheless, students overall do internationalise, and such change is unavoidable because of the circumstances they are in, as one headteacher pointed out: 'I would

not say that it necessarily has anything to do with the reduction of their family culture'. The IBS headteachers believe that one does not cancel the other:

You do not need to focus on national identity to be able to develop a well-educated, well-rounded individual. I think they should be aware of their background and aware of their history. But instead of relying on that [...], they need to look forward to what they can contribute to the whole community rather than what they can contribute by being part of their own community.

Headteachers and teachers do not find internationalisation as a force that acts against one's ethnic identity, but rather as an opportunity that expands one's perspective beyond their heritage identity. As one teacher commented, 'students who attend schools with a diverse population can develop an understanding of the perspectives of children from different backgrounds and learn to function in a multicultural, multi-ethnic environment.'

In terms of students' connection to Cyprus, as ICS headteachers explained, due to the Ministry's requirements, Greek-Cypriot students take Greek language lessons at a native level. Moreover, they need to take subjects such as Classical Appreciation, Greek History and Religious Education that are taught in Greek. Foreign students are not expected to participate in these subjects but are expected to take Greek as a foreign language. In IBS, Greek is taught as a foreign language according to the Ministry's requirements. However, as observed by the IBS headteachers, students do not learn or use the language at a conversational level. One headteacher observed that the Greek language is not seen by students and parents as a language that is widely spoken, which for them, limits the usefulness of its learning. However, all three IBS' headteachers believe that students get enough academic knowledge to be able to operate in Greek and, often, pass external Greek language exams.

Furthermore, when considering local engagement in terms of the participation in national holidays, ICS participate in parades which are an important part of national holidays in Cyprus, as well as celebrate other important Cypriot traditions. As one teacher listed: 'Church visits at Christmas and Easter [...] celebrations of national events such as 25th March, 1st April, 28th October, celebrations of Green Monday, Tsiknopempti'. Having a majority Cypriot population, these events are a very important part of the ICS school year, and as one teacher noted, 'a number of students participate enthusiastically in national anniversary celebrations' in the 'spirit of pride and belonging'. This attitude is different among IBS who have a more international population, and do not particularly wish to celebrate Cyprus national holidays the way the

nationals would do. However, they are keen to teach children about Cyprus through organising trips or by introducing units about Cyprus into their curricula. As one headmaster pointed out, ‘we have introduced for all primary and the lower secondary a unit about local history and geography’. What emerges is a very specific relationship IBS have with the local community. On one hand, they do want to engage with local people and organisations, and they teach students about Cyprus; on the other hand, they do not get involved in the Cypriot-national agenda, as they primarily want to stay politically and culturally neutral.

Overall, it can be observed that according to teachers and headteachers, students retain their connection to their first culture, and IS try to support that in a number of ways during lessons, whole-school events, and extracurricular activities. At the same time, headteachers, especially in IBS, understand that to maintain harmony in a multinational environment, a certain level of cultural neutrality must be exercised. Furthermore, even though ICS headteachers and teachers, try to appreciate and accommodate the needs of the international population of their schools, they also work towards building the national identity of their native population. Nonetheless, the participants from both types of schools see international education and studying in a multinational environment as a positive experience for students that does not diminish their native identity or sense of belonging to their heritage culture, but which instead leads to the development of cosmopolitan perspective and intercultural understanding.

Discussion

In this study, we aimed to explore the notions of identity and belonging among TCK and TCİK in two types of international schools in Cyprus. We observed that international school students do not lose the connection and the sense of belonging to their first culture, and to a large extent, maintain their native identity. The sense of belonging to their first culture is mostly based on the indicator of language and maintaining connections, which corroborates other studies on TCK in IS.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, we did notice that students’ knowledge about their native country and of the native language is to a certain extent deficient. This is also in line with other studies on TCK in different countries,⁶⁶ and a natural effect of being an international school student. Nonetheless, in our study, this deficiency did not seem to influence students’

⁶⁵ Tannenbaum, Tseng (no 52), Sand-Hart (no 53), Daniel (no 53).

⁶⁶ Wilkinson, Hayden (no 34), Fitzsimons (no 35).

sense of belonging to their heritage cultures, especially among the TCIK (Cypriots). This is a different outcome compared to other studies where TCIK students in IS pictured themselves as representing the English-cosmopolitan image or considered Anglo-Western identities to be superior to others.⁶⁷ With that said, we also observed that half-Cypriots consistently presented lower scores than foreign and Cypriot students whose parents came from the same country. Although half-Cypriots presented a higher level of knowledge about Cyprus than foreigners, their results suggested a lower sense of belonging to their native country (no matter their choice of it) than foreigners. This is significant to building a Greek-Cypriot national identity as an important factor in creating, operating, and maintaining the Nation-State.

In terms of students' attachment to their second culture, which is understood as a place where students have lived for a very long time, Cyprus is a birthplace for more than a third of the participants; for another third, it is a place where they have lived for more than four years of their very young lives. Thus, for many, Cyprus is a physical indicator of belonging, a place where *home* is. This sense of physical belonging does not translate to the abstract indicators of belonging like knowledge of Cyprus' language or culture. Most of the respondents admitted that they knew little about Cyprus' history and traditions. Nonetheless, in this aspect we found major differences between the approach of the two types of international schools. As ICS have higher numbers of Cypriot students, foreign students in these schools are exposed to the Cypriot language and culture at a higher level than in IBS by default. ICS openly celebrate—and to a large extent reinforce—their Greek-Cypriot identity through the inclusion of some elements of Cyprus' national curriculum, and the active celebration of events such as 25 March, where TCIK students engage in socio-political action based on their national identity. IBS have a more multinational population and do not particularly wish to celebrate Cyprus' national holidays, or any particular culture in that matter. What we found significant is that TCK and TCIK studying in the neutral environment of IBS present a similar sense of belonging to their native country. On the other hand, TCIK studying in ICS present a higher sense of belonging to their native country than TCK studying in ICS.

Furthermore, international schools as the 'third culture' do not unite the first and the second culture but rather provide a space for their unbalanced incorporation.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Nguyen, Nguyen (no 36), Bailey (no 37), Fitzsimons (no 35).

⁶⁸ Knörr (no 27).

Similarly to the results presented by other studies,⁶⁹ the researched here IS did not see the development of an international attitude as an obstacle to maintaining one's cultural belonging, but rather as a route to the development of intercultural understanding and global mindedness. Having a strong value system does not contradict having an open-minded attitude, nor does having an international attitude reduce one's native identity; to the contrary, it can lead to greater self-awareness. The perspective presented by the headteachers of both types of schools is similar in terms of the belief that students should be aware of their cultural identity. However, they acknowledged the distinction between 'allowing for differences' and 'identifying differences', and that remaining neutral is the way to preserve a status-quo. They focused on the development of more hybrid, cosmopolitan identities, leaving the choice and task of the development of native identities to parents. However, while the commitment to neutrality was more evident among headteachers, many teachers gave examples of how they incorporate students' heritage cultures into their lessons and give students the opportunity to discuss their cultures and background to grow and explore their heritage identities. This above-described overall attitude of IS in Cyprus combined with the international programme of study may be the reason for the difference in experience between migrant students in Cyprus' international schools and State schools.⁷⁰ IS students do not feel pressured to assimilate to the mainstream native educational system, as their diversity is appreciated and seen as a strength and an opportunity for the development of intercultural understanding among all students. With this approach, students not only keep their sense of belonging to their heritage culture but also develop a positive attitude towards their second culture i.e. Cyprus and the Cypriot society.

Overall, we observed that students present a sense of belonging to both their first and second culture. However, in terms of their first (Heritage) culture, they relate to abstract indicators of belonging, such as language, culture, and connections with family and friends. In terms of the relationship with their second (Host) culture, they refer to physical indicators of belonging — Cyprus being a place where they have

⁶⁹ Rizvi (no 9); Wilkinson, Hayden (no 34); Mary Hayden, Cynthia Wong, 'The International Baccalaureate: International Education and Cultural Preservation' (1997) 23(3) *Educational Studies* 349; Jonathan Young, 'All the World's a School' (2017) 31(1) *Management in Education* 21; Fitzsimons (no 35); Bagnall (no 9); Simon Taylor, 'Globally-Minded students: Defining, Measuring and Developing Intercultural Sensitivity: Part 1' (2013) 33(1) *International Schools Journal* 65; Id., 'Globally-Minded Students: Defining, Measuring and Developing Intercultural Sensitivity: Part 2' (2014) 33(2) *International Schools Journal* 26.

⁷⁰ For research in Cyprus' State schools see footnotes no 12 and no 13.

lived for several years, where their home is, but where they do not become culturally rooted. Calling Cyprus 'home' does not disrupt their connection to their heritage background. Instead, to an extent, they develop more hybrid and globalised identities and can comfortably operate in more than one cultural setting.

The last point we would like to make refers to Cyprus' migration and minority issues. The superdiversity of the Cypriot society was pointed out by scholars researching intercultural education in Cyprus' State schools.⁷¹ In this paper, we presented the superdiversity of the island's IS. If we observe this phenomenon among youth, it also exists among the adult population by default. Hence, beyond the generally acknowledged historical minorities of Cyprus (Armenians, Maronites, and Latins), we can observe the emergence of micro-minorities which, in the context of Cyprus, create their own micro-cultures their own cultural and social space; one of them being international schools. We recommend considering Cyprus' superdiversity beyond the research areas of education, and historical minorities, and giving more attention to adult long-term immigrants of middle to high socioeconomic status, double-citizenship holders, and the next generation of Greek-Cypriot citizens born to one or both migrant parents.

References

- Akerlof G.A., R. E. Kranton, 'Economics of Identity' *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (2000)115(3) 715-753.
- Allan M., 'Understanding International Education Through Discourse Theory: Multinational, International, Multicultural or Intercultural?' in Pearce R. (ed.), *International Education and Schools: Moving Beyond the First 40 years* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2013) 149-166.
- Angelides P., T. Stylianou, J. Leigh, 'Multicultural Education in Cyprus: A Pot of Multicultural Assimilation?' (2004) 15(3) *Intercultural Education* 307-316.
- Bagnall N., *Global Identity in Multicultural and International Educational Contexts: Student Identity Formation in International Schools* (New York: Routledge, 2015).
- Bahar R., J. Todd, 'Paradoxes of Identity Change: Integrating Macro, Meso, and Micro Research on Identity in Conflict Processes' (2018) 38(1) *Politics* 3-18.

⁷¹ Hajisoteriou et al. (no 13).

- Bailey L., 'The experiences of Host Country Nationals in International Schools: A Case-Study from Malaysia' (2015) 14(2) *Journal of Research in International Education* 85-97.
- Ball S. J., D. P. Nikita, 'The Global Middle Class and School Choice: A Cosmopolitan Sociology' (2014) 17(3) *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* 81-93.
- Braun V., V. Clarke, 'Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology' (2006) 3(2) *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 77-101.
- Creswell J., *Research design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Sage, 2009).
- Creswell J. W., V. L. Plano Clark, *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research* (Sage Publications, 2010).
- Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture, Private Primary and Secondary Education (2022), available at: http://www.moec.gov.cy/en/private_education.html (last accessed 20 March 2022).
- Daniel K., 'A Canary Sings on the Road to Athens' in Gene H et al. (eds), *Writing Out of Limbo: International Childhoods, Global Nomads and Third Culture Kids* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011) 132-151.
- Demetriou O., 'Migration, Minorities, and Refugeehood in Cyprus' (2021) *Jahrbuch für Europäische Ethnologie* 91-120.
- Dervin F., 'Cultural Identity, Representation and Othering' in Jane Jackson (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Intercultural Communication* (London: Routledge, 2011) 181-194.
- Deveney B., 'An Investigation into Aspects of Thai Culture and its Impact on Thai Students in an International School in Thailand' (2005) 4(2) *Journal of Research in International Education* 153-171.
- Dixon J., K. Durrheim, 'Displacing Place-Identity: A Discursive Approach to Locating Self and Other' (2000) 39(27) *British Journal of Social Psychology* 27-44.
- Emenike, N. W., D. Plowright, 'Third Culture Indigenous Kids: Neo-Colonialism and Student Identities in Nigerian International Schools' (2017) 16(1) *Journal of Research in International Education* 3-17.
- Fitzsimons S., 'Students' (Inter)National Identities Within International Schools: A Qualitative Study' (2019) 18(3) *Journal of Research in International Education* 274-291.

- Frangie M., 'The Negotiation of the Relationship Between Home and School in the Mind of Grade 6 Students in an International School in Qatar' (2017) 16(3) *Journal of Research in International Education* 225–235.
- Fuchs L., J. Jacobsen, L. Walther et al. 'The Challenged Sense of Belonging Scale (CSBS)—A Validation Study in English, Arabic, and Farsi/Dari Among Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Germany' (2021) 3(3) *Meas Instrum Soc Sci* 1-16.
- Gundara J., *Interculturalism, Education and Inclusion* (Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd, 2000).
- Hajisoteriou C., 'Intercultural Education? An Analysis of Cypriot Educational Policy' (2012) 54(4) *Educational Research* 451–67.
- Hajisoteriou C., P. Angelides, 'Promoting Immigrant Parental Involvement in Culturally-Diverse Schools Through a Multiple Perspectives Approach' (2016) 11(2) *International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning*, 145-162.
- Hajisoteriou C., C. Karousiou, P. Angelides, 'Successful Components of School Improvement in Culturally Diverse Schools' (2018) 29(1) *School Effectiveness and School Improvement* 91-112.
- Hayden M., *Introduction to International Education* (London: Sage, 2006).
- Hayden M., C. Wong, 'The International Baccalaureate: International Education and Cultural Preservation' (1997) 23(3) *Educational Studies* 349–61.
- Knörr J. (ed.), *Childhood and Migration: From Experience to Agency* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2005).
- Miller D., *On Nationality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)
- Nette J., Hayden M., 'Globally Mobile Children: The Sense of Belonging' (2007) 33(4) *Educational Studies* 435-444.
- Nguyen T., H. Nguyen, 'Thinking Globally or "Glocally"? Bilingual Identity of Vietnamese International School Students' (2017) 85 *International Journal of Educational Research* 24-32.
- Onwuegbuzie A., R. Johnson, 'The Validity Issue in Mixed Research.' (2006) 13(1) *Research in the Schools* 48–63.
- Partasi E., 'Identity and Belonging in a Culturally Diverse Classroom in Cyprus' (2009) 9(4) *International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations* 146-156.

- Partasi E., 'Experiencing Multiculturalism in Greek-Cypriot Primary Schools' (2011) 41(3) *Compare* 371-386
- Partasi E., 'Intercultural Education in Cyprus: Policy and Practice.' in Charis Psaltis et al. (eds), *Education in a Multicultural Cyprus*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publish, 2017) 134–154.
- Pfaff-Czarnecka J., 'Multiple Belonging and the Challenges to Biographic Navigation (2013) (MMG Working Paper 13-05) Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, available at WP_13-05_Pfaff-Czarnecka_Multiple-belonging.pdf (mpg.de) (last accessed 20 March 2022).
- Pollock D., R. Van Reken, *Third Culture Kids: Growing up Among Worlds* (3rd edn, Boston: Nicholas Brealey, 2009).
- Poonosamy M., 'The International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme in Post-Colonial Mauritius: Reaffirming Local Identities and Knowledges' (2010) 30(1) *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 15-30.
- Poonosamy M., "'Third Culture Kids" Sense of International Mindedness: Case Studies of Students in Two International Baccalaureate schools' (2018) 17(3) *Journal of Research in International Education* 207-227.
- Quick T., *The Global Nomad's Guide to University Transition* (Summertime Publishing, 2010).
- Rapoport A. 'The Changing Meaning of Citizenship and Identity and a Perspective Model of Citizenship Education' in Zajda J., S. Majhanovich (eds), *Globalisation, Cultural Identity and Nation-Building. Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research*, Vol. 23 (Springer, Dordrecht 2021) 37-50.
- Resnik J., 'Sociology of International Education – An Emerging Field of Research' (2012) 22(4) *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 291-310.
- Reynolds T., 'Ties That Bind: Families, Social Capital and Caribbean Second Generation Return Migration' Working Paper 46 (London: South Bank University and University of Sussex, 2008).
- Rizvi F., 'International Education and the Production of Global Imagination' in Burbules N., C. Torres (eds), *Globalization and Education: Critical Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2000) 205-227.
- Sand-Hart H., *Home Keeps Moving* (The McDougal Publishing Company, 2010)
- Skapoulli E., 'Gender Codes at Odds and the Linguistic Construction of a Hybrid Identity' (2004) 3(4) *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 245-260.

- Stavrinides P., S. Georgiou, 'National Identity and In-group/Out-group Attitudes with Greek-Cypriot Children' (2011) 8(1) *European Journal of Developmental Psychology* 87-97.
- Stevens P.A.J. et al., 'Testing the Relationship between Nationalism and Racism: Greek-Cypriot Students' National/Ethnic Identities and Attitudes to Ethnic Out-groups' (2014) 40(1) *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 1736- 1757.
- Stevens P.A.J. et al., 'Minority Students' Responses to Racism: The Case of Cyprus' (2016) 64(1) *British Journal of Educational Studies* 77-95.
- Syed M., K. McLean, 'Personal, Master, and Alternative Narratives: An Integrative Framework for Understanding Identity Development in Context' (2016) 58(6) *Human Development*, 318-349.
- Tannenbaum M., J. Tseng, 'Which one is Ithaca? Multilingualism and Sense of Identity Among Third Culture Kids' (2015) 12(3) *International Journal of Multilingualism* 276-297.
- Taylor S., 'Globally-Minded Students: Defining, Measuring and Developing Intercultural Densitivity: Part 1' (2013) 33(1) *International Schools Journal* 65-75
- Taylor S., 'Globally-Minded Students: Defining, Measuring and Developing Intercultural Sensitivity: Part 2' (2014) 33(2) *International Schools Journal* 26-34.
- Teddle C., Yu F., 'Mixed Methods Sampling. A Typology with Examples' (2007) 1 *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 77-100.
- Trimikliniotis N. 'Migration and Freedom of Movement of Workers: EU Law, Crisis and the Cypriot States of Exception' (2013) 2 *Laws* 440-468.
- Wilkinson V., M. Hayden M., 'The International Baccalaureate Diploma and Student Attitudes: An Exploratory Study' (2010) 9(1) *Journal of Research in International Education* 85-96.
- Young J., 'All the World's a School' (2017) 31(1) *Management in Education* 21-26.
- Zajda J., S. Majhanovich, 'Cultural Identity in the Global Era' In Joseph Zajda, Suzanne Majhanovich (Eds.), *Globalisation, Cultural Identity and Nation-Building. Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research*, Vol. 23 (Springer, Dordrecht 2021) 1-16.

Online Education during Lockdowns: Comparing its Impact on Physical and Psychological Wellbeing, in University Faculty and Students

HARITINI TSANGARI,¹ CHRISTINA MICHAILEDU,²
LIA CHARALAMBOUS,³ CHRISTINA KING⁴

Abstract

This paper examines the academic community in Cyprus and Greece, during the Covid-19 lockdowns, when Universities shifted to online education. Daily routine, mental health (anxiety and depression), physical health (pain) and quality of life were measured. Cross-comparisons were performed (before vs. during lockdown or based on socio-demographic characteristics). Interesting results were obtained. There was an overall increase in hours spent sitting and sleeping. Students slept significantly more than faculty and faculty worked for longer hours with fewer breaks. Students were more negatively affected psychologically compared to faculty, whereas females were more negatively affected, both physically and mentally. Since the pandemic continues, working from home remains a solution in many cases, while distance learning has been shown to be efficient, with Universities adopting it as an alternative method in their programmes. Proper training should aim to protect the mental and physical health of the University community during remote work or work under stressful conditions.

Keywords: online learning, Covid-19 pandemic, mental health, quality of life, pain

Background of the Study

Two years have passed since the World Health Organization (WHO) declared the Covid-19 outbreak as a public health emergency of international concern and the first cases of Covid-19 were recorded in Europe, including Cyprus and Greece, in March 2020. The Covid-19 pandemic has resulted in repeated and alternate periods of lockdowns and restrictions worldwide. Two years later, the pandemic is still within the community. As a consequence, working from home is also still a necessary solution

¹ Professor, School of Business, University of Nicosia.

² Assistant Professor, School of Sciences and Engineering, University of Nicosia.

³ Adjunct Faculty, School of Sciences and Engineering, University of Nicosia.

⁴ Adjunct Faculty, School of Sciences and Engineering, University of Nicosia.

that enables a continuation of output in various sectors. However, when the pandemic started, people from different occupations, including the education sector, did not have great experience with working remotely⁵.

Sudden changes in daily life and work routine of people can inevitably impact physical and mental wellbeing. Studies during the pandemic have reported sleep disturbances, pain due to prolonged sitting during working from home, reduced physical activity, as well as psychological distress (e.g., anxiety, depression), among various populations^{6 7 8}.

With the first lockdown and closures of establishments, Universities were required to rapidly change their teaching modes of delivery, from face-to-face to online. Online learning has proved to be a necessity during lockdowns and generally in the current era of the Covid-19 pandemic. However, remote working during lockdowns indirectly forced University faculty and students into adopting a sedentary lifestyle, with increased inactivity and reduced exercise. In addition, online education was applied in many cases without enough time for preparation or training, potentially increasing psychological distress.

Many studies before the pandemic had shown that University students constitute a vulnerable group and experience stress and anxiety during their studies^{9 10}. It is thus of great interest to examine how the pandemic has affected University students, both physically and mentally. On the other hand, University faculty have also been experiencing unprecedented changes in work conditions. Empirical evidence showed that

⁵ Amit Kramer & Karen Z. Kramer, 'The Potential Impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic on Occupational Status, Work from Home, and Occupational Mobility' (2020), 119 *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 103442.

⁶ Piya Majumdar, Ankita Biswas & Subhashis Sahu, 'COVID-19 Pandemic and Lockdown: Cause of Sleep Disruption, Depression, Somatic Pain, and Increased Screen Exposure of Office Workers and Students of India' (2020), 37(8) *Chronobiology International* 1191.

⁷ Jacob Meyer & al., 'Joint Prevalence of Physical Activity and Sitting Time during COVID-19 among US Adults in April 2020' (2020), 20 *Preventive Medicine Reports* 101256.

⁸ Cristina Mazza & al., 'Nationwide Survey of Psychological Distress among Italian People during the COVID-19 Pandemic: Immediate Psychological Responses and Associated Factors' (2020), 17(9) *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 3165.

⁹ Hellen M. Stallman, 'Psychological Distress in University Students: A Comparison with General Population Data' (2010), 45 *Australian Psychologist* 249.

¹⁰ Nasser M. Al-Daghri & al., 'Perceived Stress Scores among Saudi Students Entering Universities: A Prospective Study during the First year of University Life' (2014), 11 *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 3972.

their mean levels of anxiety and depression during lockdowns and related e-learning periods were twice the relevant mean scores of the general population^{11 12}.

Undoubtedly, teaching and learning have benefitted from digital transformation during the pandemic, worldwide. Has this technological convenience been accompanied by any health burdens? The aim of the present study was to investigate the impact of the first lockdown period on the daily habits, physical and mental health, as well as general quality of life in the University community in Cyprus and Greece, focusing on cross-comparisons between faculty and students.

Methodology

Design

A cross-sectional survey was conducted. The questionnaire was self-completed, distributed in Cyprus and Greece via University email lists, using a snowball sampling method. Participants were adults, University students or faculty. The data collection was between the fourth week of University closures and two weeks after full countries' lockdown. The study obtained approval by the National Bioethics Committee of Cyprus (Approval Number: EEBK EII 2020.01.92). Completion and submission of the electronic questionnaire was considered informed consent.

Research Instruments

The questionnaire included five parts:

- (1) Socio-Demographic characteristics;
- (2) Daily routine (before and during lockdown), including sleep and working routine, hours spent resting or sitting, smoking and drinking habits;
- (3) McGill Pain Questionnaire (Short-Form) (SF-MPQ), to measure pain prevalence and intensity: SF-MPQ is a valid and reliable scale, translated in more than 15 languages, and has been widely used to assess pain^{13 14}. The present study used

¹¹ Christina Maria Van Der Feltz-Cornelis & al., 'Workplace Stress, Presenteeism, Absenteeism, and Resilience amongst University Staff and Students in the COVID-19 Lockdown' (2020), 11 *Frontiers in Psychiatry* 588803.

¹² Konrad Kulikowski, Sylwia Przytuła & Lukasz Sulkowski, 'E-learning? Never again! On the Unintended Consequences of COVID-19 Forced E-learning on Academic Teacher Motivational Job Characteristics' (2022). 76 *Higher Education Quarterly* 174.

¹³ Ronald Melzack & Joel Katz, 'Pain Measurement in Persons in Pain' in Patrick D Wall & Ronald Melzack (eds), *Textbook of Pain* (3rd edition) (Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone, 1994) 337.

¹⁴ Lynn R Gauthier & al., 'Validation of the Short-Form McGill Pain Questionnaire-2 in Younger and Older People with Cancer Pain' (2014), 15(7) *Journal of Pain* 756.

the Greek version of the SF-MPQ¹⁵. The scale consists of 15 descriptive adjectives measuring pain sensation (Pain Rating Index, PRI), where eleven are Sensory and four are Affective items. They are self-rated by the respondents according to their intensity level, on a 4-point rating scale (0=none, 1=mild, 2=moderate, 3=severe). Both the sensory score (S-PRI) and the affective score (A-PRI) are calculated by adding the sensory and affective intensity items respectively. The total score (Total-PRI) is the sum of all 15 intensity items. A visual analogue scale (VAS_week) was included to describe the average pain intensity (0=no pain to 100=worst possible pain), during the previous week (i.e. during lockdown);

- (4) Hospital Anxiety and Depression Scale (HADS), to assess mental health: HADS is a 14-item self-completed scale, which measures both anxiety and depression, using seven items for each, on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 3 (most of the time). It has been widely used, translated into many languages and has been shown to have good psychometric properties^{16 17}. The total HADS score is the sum of the 14 items (ranging from 0 to 42) and for each subscale (HADS-anxiety and HADS-depression) the score is the sum of the respective seven items (ranging from 0–21). High scores on the scales/subscales show high levels of anxiety or depression. The following cutoff points have been used in literature for each subscale: 0-7=Normal, 8-10=Borderline abnormal (borderline case) and 11-21=Abnormal (case)¹⁸;
- (5) Quality of Life: The EQ-5D-5L questionnaire was used to assess health status and quality of life. It is a reliable and valid measure used in various health settings and translated in many different languages^{19 20}. EQ-5D-5L assesses health in five different dimensions, namely Mobility, Self-Care, Usual Activities, Pain/Discomfort and Anxiety/Depression, rated on a scale of 1-5, where 1=no problems and

¹⁵ George Georgoudis, Jacqueline A. Oldham & Paul Watson, 'The Development and Validation of a Greek Version of the Short-Form McGill Pain Questionnaire' (2000), 4(3) *European Journal of Pain* 275

¹⁶ Christine Bocéréan & Emilie Dupret, 'A validation study of the Hospital Anxiety and Depression Scale (HADS) in a large sample of French employees' (2014) 16(14) *BMC Psychiatry* 354.

¹⁷ Ingvar Bjelland & al., 'The validity of the Hospital Anxiety and Depression Scale. An updated literature review' (2002) 52(2) *Journal of Psychosomatic Research* 69.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Dominik Golicki & al., 'Interim EQ-5D-5L Value Set for Poland: First Crosswalk Value Set in Central and Eastern Europe' (2014) 4 *Value in Health Regional Issues* 19.

²⁰ Gimena Hernandez & al., 'EuroQol (EQ-5D-5L) Validity in Assessing the Quality of Life in Adults With Asthma: Cross-Sectional Study' (2019) 21(1) *Journal of Medical Internet Research* e10178.

5=extreme problems/unable to do. A descriptive profile is given from the first part of the questionnaire, using a five-digit code, according to the rating in each item. A health state index score (EQ-score) is calculated from individual health profiles using the EQ-5D-5L value set, based on the appropriate weight values and scoring²¹.

Statistical Analysis

Descriptive statistics were first obtained. Normality tests (Kolmogorov-Smirnov) were used to examine the distribution of numerical scales. Non-normality was indicated for all variables ($p < 5\%$). Various tests were implemented for the comparisons, including Wilcoxon signed rank tests, Mann-Whitney U tests, Spearman's rho coefficients and Chi-square tests of independence. Reliability analysis for the scales of interest was done. All the analyses were performed using the statistical software SPSS, Version 25.0.

Results

Socio-demographic Characteristics

A total of 308 respondents were included in the final sample. Most participants were University students and the majority of them were from Cyprus.

Table 1 presents the descriptives for the main socio-demographic characteristics of the sample. (see next page)

Daily Routine

Results in Table 2 indicate significant differences before and during lockdown, as well as between students and faculty.

Both students and faculty significantly increased their hours of sleep during the lockdown; students would generally sleep for more hours compared to faculty. In addition, both groups significantly increased their sitting hours during lockdown. For example, 22% of students would sit for more than ten hours before the lockdown, compared to 52% during the lockdown. Similarly, only 29% of faculty would sit for more than ten hours before, compared to 47% during the lockdown.

Students significantly decreased consumption of alcohol during the lockdown ($p < 0.001$). They would also drink less compared to faculty during the lockdown, as opposed to no significant differences before the lockdown. Faculty significantly in-

²¹ Nancy J Devlin & al., 'Valuing health-related quality of life: An EQ-5D-5L value set for England' (2018) 27(1) *Health Economics* 7.

Table 1. Sample socio-demographic characteristics

Variables	Total sample (N=308)	University Students (N=217 - 70.5%)	University Faculty (N=91 - 29.5%)
Age (in years)	M=28.8 (SD=11.06)	M=23.0 (SD=4.6)	M=42.8 (SD=9.4)
	F (%)	F (%) (N=217)	F (%) (N=91)
Gender			
Male	105 (34.1%)	69 (31.8%)	36 (39.6%)
Female	203 (65.9%)	148 (68.2%)	55 (60.4%)
Country during lockdown			
Cyprus	178 (57.8%)	110 (50.7%)	68 (74.7%)
Greece	130 (42.2%)	107 (49.3%)	23 (25.3%)
Marital status			
Single	206 (66.9%)	180 (82.9%)	26 (28.6%)
Married	63 (20.5%)	8 (3.7%)	55 (60.4%)
Other	39 (12.6%)	29 (13.4%)	10 (11.0%)
Type of University			
Private	140 (45.5%)	82 (37.8%)	58 (63.7%)
Public	168 (54.5%)	135 (62.2%)	33 (36.3%)
Year of study			
1 st year		40 (18.5%)	
2 nd year		45 (20.8%)	
3 rd year		48 (22.2%)	
4 th year		48 (22.2%)	
More than 4 years		35 (16.2%)	
Years of work			
<5 years experience			33 (35.9%)
5-10 years			26 (28.3%)
15-20 years			19 (20.7%)
> 20 years			15.2%)

creased consumption of caffeine during the lockdown. Students consumed less caffeine compared to faculty, before and during lockdown.

A significantly higher percentage of faculty experienced working routine changes, compared to students (89% vs. 75% respectively). Among those with a working routine change, faculty reported significantly more than students working more hours or not having regular breaks during lockdown compared to before, while students reported working fewer hours compared to before lockdown or having breaks more often. Most respondents had body energy reduction, while academics had significantly higher levels of energy reduction compared to students ($p=0.008$).

Additional results (not in table) showed significant gender differences in terms of body energy reduction, where females had higher levels of body energy reduction compared to males during the lockdown ($p=0.046$). For example, 46% of females reported extreme reduction of energy, compared to 33% of males. When comparing the two countries between them, no significant differences in daily habits were generally found, with the only difference being that respondents in Greece slept for more hours during the lockdown compared to Cyprus ($p<0.001$): 40% of respondents in Greece slept between eight to ten hours, compared with only 24% in Cyprus; 16% in Greece slept more than ten hours, compared with 8% in Cyprus; 44% in Greece slept for less than eight hours, compared with as high as 67% in Cyprus.

Table 2. Daily habits and working routine of students and faculty: comparisons within groups (before-during lockdown; Wilcoxon signed ranks test) and between groups (students vs. faculty; Chi square test).

Variables	University Students (n=217)			University Faculty (n=91)			Students vs. Faculty
	Before lockdown %	During lockdown %	Before vs. During p	Before lockdown %	During lockdown %	Before vs. During p	p
Hours sleeping							
< 6 hours	12.9%	7.4%	$p<0.001^{**}$	18.7%	15.4%	$p=0.011^*$	Before:
6-8 hours	63.1%	40.1%		72.5%	68.1%		$p=0.016^*$
8-10 hours	22.1%	37.3%		8.8%	14.3%		During:
> 10 hours	1.8%	15.2%		0.0%	2.2%		$p<0.001^{**}$
Hours sitting							
< 6 hours	30.9%	8.8%	$p<0.001^{**}$	27.5%	11.0%	$p<0.001^{**}$	Before:
6-8 hours	30.9%	22.1%		29.7%	23.1%		$p=0.498$
8-10 hours	15.7%	17.1%		14.3%	18.7%		During:
10-12 hours	10.1%	20.3%		14.3%	18.7%		$p=0.959$
> 12 hours	12.4%	31.8%		14.3%	28.6%		

Alcoholic drinks (weekly)							
None	36.4%	62.2%		33.0%	49.5%		Before:
1-2 gl./week	39.6%	24.9%		39.6%	24.2%		p=0.406
3-4 gl./week	14.3%	7.4%	p<0.001**	19.8%	17.6%	p=0.085	
5-6 gl./week	6.9%	1.8%		7.7%	7.7%		During:
>6 gl./week	2.8%	3.7%		0.0%	1.1%		p=0.003**
Caffeinated drinks (daily)							
None	17.1%	18.9%		7.7%	8.8%		Before:
1-2	56.2%	48.8%	p=0.140	50.5%	44.0%	p=0.029*	p=0.030*
2-4	25.3%	29.0%		39.6%	39.6%		During:
> 5	1.4%	3.2%		2.2%	7.7%		p=0.024*
Smoking before lockdown							
Yes	23%	—	—	19.8%	—	—	p=0.529
No	77%			80.2%			
If yes, increased smoking during lockdown?							
Yes, extremely	5.9%			15.0%			
Yes, a lot	7.8%			0.0%			
Yes, a little	27.5%			40.0%			
The same	13.7%	—	—	25.0%	—	—	p=0.127
No, I reduced:	45.1%			20.0%			
Working routine change							
Yes	75.1%			89.0%			
No	24.9%		-	11.0%			p=0.006**
If yes, how:							
Work more hours	24.3%			62.5%			p<0.001**
No frequent breaks	16.4%			33.8%			p=0.003**
Work fewer hours	42.1%		-	15.0%			p<0.001**
More frequent breaks	35.5%			15.0%			p=0.001**
Body energy reduction							
Yes, extremely	38.2%			50.5%			
Yes, moderately	26.7%			11.0%			p=0.008**
Yes, a little	35.0%			38.5%			
Not at all	0.0%			0.0%			

*Difference is significant at 5% level. ** Difference is significant at 1% level.

Pain Levels

Among the 308 participants, 143 (46.4%) reported experiencing pain during lockdown and thus completed the SF-MPQ. Cronbach’s alpha values were 0.815 for the Total-PRI, 0.747 for S-PRI and 0.791 for A-PRI, showing high internal consistency and reliability. In general, pain intensity was reported at rather low to moderate levels for all SF-MPQ scales. Total-PRI had a mean of 9.45, S-PRI a mean of 7.24, A-PRI a mean of 2.20 and VAS a mean of 16.64.

Table 3 shows the results on pain. Significant gender differences were identified in terms of pain, with females having higher pain intensity compared to males in all SF-MPQ scales, as well as differences between countries, with people from Cyprus reporting higher level in A_PRI and VAS, compared to Greece. No significant differences existed between faculty and students, or between ages.

Table 3. Pain measurements: cross-comparisons between demographic groups (Mann-Whitney U tests for gender, country, status; Spearman’s rho for age)

	S_PRI			A_PRI			Total_PRI			VAS_week		
	Mean	Mean rank	p	Mean	Mean rank	p	Mean	Mean rank	p	Mean	Mean rank	p
Gender												
Male	3.73	18.77	0.010**	0.45	19.91	0.011**	4.18	16.27	0.003**	13.91	53.72	0.007**
Female	8.00	34.25		2.57	35.11		10.63	33.69		17.44	75.47	
Country												
Cyprus	8.41	34.53	0.137	2.87	36.55	0.045*	11.14	33.09	0.188	19.55	75.02	0.045*
Greece	6.25	27.80		1.44	27.59		7.87	27.21		12.71	61.16	
Status												
Student	7.35	32.63	0.361	2.12	30.98	0.243	9.64	31.09	0.621	14.96	68.88	0.475
Faculty	6.86	27.64		2.44	37.06		8.77	28.38		20.42	74.16	
Age												
	rho=-0.117		0.365	rho=-0.013		0.919	rho=-0.121		0.357	rho=-0.031		0.717

*Significant differences at the 5% level. **Significant differences at the 1% level.

Anxiety and Depression

HADS was completed by all participants. Reliability was satisfactory with Cronbach’s alpha at 0.876 for the total HADS, 0.868 for the Anxiety scale and 0.765 for Depression scale. The mean levels of depression and anxiety were rather low, with HADS mean of mean 12.63, Anxiety mean 6.11 and Depression mean 6.52. Cross-comparisons were

performed. Results showed that University students had higher levels of both anxiety and depression compared to faculty during the lockdown. Similarly, females had higher levels of anxiety and depression. Finally, a significant negative relation existed between age and HADS scales, indicating that higher age relates with lower depression and anxiety. The results on anxiety and depression appear in Table 4.

Table 4: Anxiety, depression and quality of life: cross-comparisons between demographic groups (Mann-Whitney U tests for gender, country, status; Spearman’s rho for age)

	HADS			HADS-Anxiety			HADS-Depression			EQ-5D-5L INDEX		
	Mean	Mean rank	p	Mean	Mean rank	p	Mean	Mean rank	p	Mean	Mean rank	p
Gender												
Male	10.59	128.75	<0.001**	4.83	128.60	<0.001**	5.76	134.59	0.005**	0.90	190.11	<0.001**
Female	13.68	167.82		6.77	167.89		6.91	164.80		0.84	136.08	
Country												
Cyprus	12.79	156.02	0.478	6.15	155.24	0.598	6.64	156.06	0.471	0.86	146.42	0.119
Greece	12.28	148.76		5.99	149.85		6.28	148.71		0.87	162.23	
Status												
Student	13.81	168.89	<0.001**	6.68	166.41	<0.001**	7.12	168.62	<0.001**	0.86	147.96	0.044*
Faculty	9.82	120.18		4.75	126.11		5.08	120.84		0.88	170.10	
Age												
	rho=	-0.233	<0.001**	rho=	-0.204	<0.001**	rho=	-0.227	<0.001**	rho=	0.110	0.054

*Significant at 5% level. ** Significant at 1% level.

Quality of Life

The EQ-score was calculated from individual health profiles, using the EQ-5D-5L value set. EQ-score ranged from 0.132 to 1.00, with a mean of 0.863 (SD=0.134) and a median of 0.134. It was examined if there are significant differences in EQ-index in terms of personal characteristics ($\alpha=0.05$). The results showed significant gender differences, where males had on average significantly higher EQ values (better quality of life) compared to females during the lockdown. In addition, faculty had, on average, significantly higher EQ values compared to students, during lockdown. No significant differences existed in relation to country during lockdown, while marginally significant differences existed in relation to age (at $\alpha=0.1$), with higher ages having higher levels in quality of life. Table 4 has details of the quality of life comparisons.

Discussion

The change from face-to-face to online education during the pandemic has reconfigured the routine of University faculty and students worldwide. The present study has shed light to the effects of lockdown on the University community in Cyprus and Greece.

To begin with, daily habits changed during the lockdown. Students decreased alcohol consumption and they also consumed less alcohol compared to faculty. Studies before the pandemic report up to two in three University students drinking, with half of them occasionally getting drunk, and with social reasons being the main drinking motive^{22 23}. The decrease in alcohol consumption during the lockdown for students may be due to the fact that the social reasons associated with drinking before lockdown could not apply during the restrictive measures that prohibited gatherings and with bars being closed. University faculty, on the other hand, significantly increased caffeine consumption during lockdown. An association between caffeine intake and weekly work hours had been previously indicated in literature²⁴. Since the present study found an increase in working hours for faculty during the lockdown, the increase in caffeine intake agrees with this relation.

Based on our study, both faculty and students had a significant change in work routine, however, faculty with a significantly higher prevalence. In addition, significant differences existed in the type of change, with faculty reporting 'working for more hours during the lockdown' and 'having no frequent breaks' at a significantly higher rate compared to students, as opposed to students who reported 'working for fewer hours during the lockdown' and 'having more frequent breaks'. Longer work hours was a consequence of faculty having to cope with the sudden shift of their face-to-face teaching to the preparation of online material and teleconferencing/online sessions or faculty meetings, with many having to use technology they were not familiar with. Students, on the contrary, were able to have more breaks during online classes compared to being in a classroom, especially if they were not obliged to turn on their cameras.

²² Carmen Aceijas & al., 'Determinants of Health-Related Lifestyles among University Students' (2017) 137(4) *Perspectives in Public Health* 227.

²³ Marie-Pierre Tavalacci & al., 'Prevalence of Binge Drinking and Associated Behaviours among 3286 College Students in France' (2016) 16 *BMC Public Health* 178.

²⁴ Harris R. Lieberman, Sanjiv Agarwal & Victor L. Fulgoni, 'Brief Daily Patterns of Caffeine Intake and the Association of Intake with Multiple Sociodemographic and Lifestyle Factors in US Adults Based on the NHANES 2007-2012 Surveys' (2019) 119 *Journal of the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics* 106.

Similarly, sitting time increased. More than half of students and almost half of faculty sat for more than ten hours daily. The above is a natural effect of the restriction of movement and the lack of outdoor (or indoor) activities, while prolonged sitting in front of the computer was also inevitable for both faculty and students, due to the online classes, and with faculty additionally having to do research or administrative work online. Young adults, aged 18-34, have been reported to sit for more than eight hours a day during lockdown in other studies²⁵.

Long working hours and prolonged sitting have been generally associated in literature with (1) subjective complaints (e.g., sleep problems and fatigue), (2) health-related problems (e.g., pain), (3) Mental Health problems (e.g., depression, anxiety) and (4) lower Quality of Life^{26 27}. The aforementioned problems have been evaluated in the current study and are discussed below:

(1) Regarding sleep problems and fatigue, a significantly higher energy reduction was found for faculty compared to students, a possible effect of the longer working hours. Both faculty and students increased their sleeping hours during lockdown in comparison to before, with students sleeping significantly more hours than faculty; more than one in three students slept eight to ten hours daily. Feeling sleepy and increasing day time napping have been similarly evidenced as consequences of working from home in other studies²⁸.

(2) Pain levels were assessed. Overall, the mean pain intensity during lockdown was low to moderate and no significant differences existed in pain levels between faculty and students. However, the results showed that women reported higher pain intensity compared to men. Lower pain threshold and pain tolerance by women have been previously reported and a number of factors could contribute to this, like the 'psychosocial' mechanism which allows women to acknowledge pain, or cognitive factors like depression, anxiety and stress, which are more common in women²⁹.

(3) The strict isolation measures leading to the closure of Universities negatively affected mental health. In our study, University students reported more anxiety and depression during lockdown than faculty. Similar findings were reported in other

²⁵ Meyer & al. (no 7)

²⁶ Claire C Caruso & al., 'Long Working Hours, Safety, and Health: Toward a National Research Agenda' (2006) 49 *American Journal of Industrial Medicine* 930.

²⁷ Zhaojia Ye & al., 'Influence of Work Duration or Physical Symptoms on Mental Health among Japanese Visual Display Terminal Users' (2007) 45(2) *Industrial Health* 328.

²⁸ Majumdar, Biswas, Sahu (no 6)

²⁹ Roger B. Fillingim & al., 'Sex, Gender, and Pain: A Review of Recent Clinical and Experimental Findings' (2009) 10(5) *Journal of Pain* 447.

studies. For example, empirical evidence showed that, during lockdown, one in three students reported depressive symptoms and nearly one in four reported anxiety, with most reporting mild anxiety levels^{30 31}. An increase in anxiety levels for students in Cyprus was also reported in another study³². Stress, isolation and loneliness have been common problems among students, with loneliness being reported by three out of four students³³. Students are often isolated in dorm rooms, unable to see family and friends, with limited outdoor activities and social interaction. In general, the younger age is reporting higher levels of social isolation, which affects their life satisfaction³⁴. Apart from University students, younger faculty, under the age of 30, similarly report higher levels of anxiety and depression than those over 30³⁵. The negative effect on the mental health on younger ages is verified in the current study.

Gender differences were identified. Women experienced more energy reduction (almost half reported extreme energy reduction) and higher levels of anxiety and depression than men. In particular, depression was borderline abnormal and anxiety slightly below. Literature has shown that women are generally at a higher risk for anxiety disorders or depression^{36 37}. During the pandemic women report more psychological distress, with mothers reporting higher stress levels and young women being more uncertain about the future³⁸. The fact that women, especially faculty, were more emotionally and physically distressed during the lockdown could be related to their effort to respond to multiple roles. For example, they had to deal with child-care whilst working from home, as children also stayed at home during lockdowns. In Mediterranean countries, including Cyprus and Greece, women have tradition-

³⁰ Majumdar, Biswas, Sahu (no 6)

³¹ Wenjun Cao & al., 'The Psychological Impact of the COVID-19 Epidemic on College Students in China' (2020) 287 *Psychiatry Research* 112934.

³² Ioulia Solomou & Fofi Constantinidou, 'Prevalence and Predictors of Anxiety and Depression Symptoms during the COVID-19 Pandemic and Compliance with Precautionary Measures: Age and Sex Matter' (2020) 17 *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 4924.

³³ Iman Deznabi & al., 'Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on the Academic Community - Results from a Survey Conducted at University of Massachusetts Amherst' (2020) 2(2) *Digital Governance: Research and Practice* 22.

³⁴ Ruta Clair & al., 'The Effects of Social Isolation on Well-being and Life Satisfaction during Pandemic' (2021) 8(1) *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications* 28

³⁵ Van Der Feltz-Cornelis & al. (no 11)

³⁶ Carmen P. McLean & Emily R. Anderson, 'Brave Men and Timid Women? A review of the Gender Differences in Fear and Anxiety' (2009) 29 *Clinical Psychology Review* 496.

³⁷ Evridiki Papastavrou & al., 'Gender Issues in Caring for Demented Relatives' (2009) 3(1) *Health Science Journal* 41.

³⁸ Van Der Feltz-Cornelis & al. (no 11)

ally been assumed to be responsible for most housework and childcare³⁹. Related literature has shown that generally during lockdowns women provided most of the childcare without home support⁴⁰; staying at home, isolated from social activities and being the main caregiver for children could thus contribute to creating such stressors.

Our study did not show any significant differences between the two countries, Cyprus and Greece, in terms of the negative effect of lockdown on mental health or quality of life in the academic community. The two countries have similar characteristics and are in the same geographical area, however similar results were obtained from other studies, with comparative analyses of more than 45 countries with diverse cultures and in various geographic regions^{41 42 43 44 45}. Although some country differences were evidenced, a general conclusion was deducted regarding the detrimental impact of lockdown on the mental health of faculty and students.

(4) Good quality of life is the main objective of current societies and it is a goal that should be pursued even during challenging periods. The current study found significant differences between groups: students had lower quality of life than faculty (younger people also had lower than older people) and females had lower quality of life than males. As activities that could reduce social isolation and improve quality of life are limited during a lockdown period, more attention should be paid to physical activity: lack of physical activity has been found to predict mental health problems, whereas exercise has a positive effect on psychological health and quality of life^{46 47}.

³⁹ Catia Nicodemo & Robert Waldmann, 'Child-Care and Participation in the Labor Market for Married Women in Mediterranean Countries' (2009). IZA Discussion Paper No. 3983.

⁴⁰ Josephine Jellen & Heike Ohlbrecht, 'Parenthood in a Crisis: Stress Potentials and Gender Differences of Parents During the Corona Pandemic International' (2020) *Dialogues on Education* 7, Special Issue 44.

⁴¹ Cao & al. (no 31)

⁴² Walter Leal Filho & al., 'Impacts of COVID-19 and social isolation on academic staff and students at universities: a cross-sectional study' (2021) 21 *BMC Public Health* 1213.

⁴³ Laura Giusti & al., 'Predictors of academic performance during the covid-19 outbreak: impact of distance education on mental health, social cognition and memory abilities in an Italian university student sample' (2021) 9(1) *BMC Psychology* 142.

⁴⁴ Deznabi & al. (no. 33)

⁴⁵ Mario Jojoa & al., 'The Impact of COVID 19 on university staff and students from Iberoamerica: online learning and teaching Experience' (2021) 18(11) *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 5820.

⁴⁶ Van Der Feltz-Cornelis & al. (no 11)

⁴⁷ Grazia Maugeri & al., 'The impact of physical activity on psychological health during Covid-19 pandemic in Italy' (2020) 6(6) *Heliyon* e04315.

In addition, the reduced physical activity, in combination with longer sitting hours and disturbed sleep during lockdowns, could lead to increased pain, especially in the back, neck or in the form of headaches^{48 49 50}. Pain, on the other hand, is known to negatively affect the quality of life, as well as productivity^{51 52}. Indeed, recent studies have empirically shown the negative impact of lockdown on the work and productivity of both students and faculty^{53 54}. For example, in the aforementioned studies, the vast majority of faculty and students were unable to perform normal work or studies at their institution for a long period of time, while students also presented impairment in concentration and learning and the latter identified as the strongest predictor of poor academic performance.

Our results have identified specific groups at risk; although the whole academic community was negatively impacted due to the restrictions and imposed sedentary lifestyle, the findings show that there were between-group differences in the effect. Students, and the younger population in general, were more affected in terms of mental health, whereas faculty experienced more changes in work routine, longer work hours and reduction in body energy. In addition, gender differences existed, with females being more vulnerable, both in terms of mental and physical health. Attention should be paid on how each group can best manage the emerging needs.

For example, the role of Universities is very important, in terms of the support offered to their academic communities. Evidence showed that, for students, a better educational experience and online learning during lockdown was associated with the perception of the experience as beneficial and with the support offered by the University, while quality of life was maintained for staff who experienced a positive professional experience, with access to services and products⁵⁵. In terms of mental health, positive coping strategies, rational and detaching coping styles could be im-

⁴⁸ Majumdar, Biswas, Sahu (no 6)

⁴⁹ Meyer & al. (no 7)

⁵⁰ Christina Michailidou & al., 'Pain and stiffness as consequences of an imposed sedentary lifestyle, in the university community' (2022) 39(6) *Archives of Hellenic Medicine* 772

⁵¹ Bill H McCarberg & al., 'The Impact of Pain on Quality of Life and the Unmet Needs of Pain Management: Results from Pain Sufferers and Physicians Participating in an Internet Survey' (2008) 15(4) *American Journal of Therapeutics* 312.

⁵² Harris Allen, David Hubbard & Sean Sullivan, 'The Burden of Pain on Employee Health and Productivity at a Major Provider of Business Services' (2005) 47(7) *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine* 658.

⁵³ Filho & al. (no 42)

⁵⁴ Giusti & al. (no 43)

⁵⁵ Jojoa & al. (no 45)

plemented. These have been documented to be the most powerful and effective for the management of depression and anxiety, as opposed to problem- or emotion-focused strategies, which may partly explain the higher levels of stress and depression⁵⁶. Alleviating the psychological burden of women, for example by offering more household or childcare assistance, is also necessary, especially during periods such as lockdowns that provide additional stress and anxiety to working women that deal with multiple roles. In terms of physical health, it is recommended that planned and feasible physical activity interventions be incorporated into the workplace health promotion policy. Exercising, as well as office ergonomics, should be encouraged, for reducing pain prevalence and inactivity and maintaining good physical function and home-based habits.

Conclusion

The Covid-19 pandemic continues, with restrictions or social distancing measures worldwide. Even if lockdowns are not necessary, students are often forced to isolate and work remotely online, either because they are positive cases or close contacts of cases, or due to other problems that prohibit them from attending their Universities or leaving their countries. It is evident that Universities around the world committed significant resources, investing time and money on enhancing their infrastructure in readiness for the sudden change. It is also expected that this technology and distance learning in general will prevail in the future, irrespective of the pandemic or lockdowns. Working from home and online education have become a necessity, while distance learning programmes have now generally been established as an alternative option in education. Therefore, self-care, whenever feasible, or targeted interventions, may help mitigate the harmful effects of remote working and sedentary lifestyle, for people in academia. Strategies should ensure that the aforementioned emerging problems will not give rise to chronic physical and mental health issues, that would inevitably lead to economic consequences, namely increased healthcare costs, work absences and lower productivity. The aftermath on our academia study provides lessons to be learned and take-home messages.

⁵⁶ Evridiki Papastavrou & al., 'Caring and Coping: The Dementia Caregivers' (2011) 15(6) *Aging & Mental Health* 702.

References

- Aceijas C., S. Waldhäus, N. Lambert et al., 'Determinants of health-related lifestyles among university students' (2017) 137(4) *Perspectives in Public Health* 227-236. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1757913916666875>
- Al-Daghri N.M., A. Al-Othman, A. Albanyan et al., 'Perceived stress scores among Saudi students entering universities: A prospective study during the first year of university life' (2014) 11 *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 3972–3981. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph110403972>
- Allen H., D. Hubbard & S. Sullivan, 'The Burden of Pain on Employee Health and Productivity at a Major Provider of Business Services' (2005) 47(7) *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine* 658-670. <https://doi.org/10.1097/01.jom.0000171054.57677.4c>
- Bjelland I., A.A. Dahl, T.T. Haug et al., 'The validity of the Hospital Anxiety and Depression Scale. An updated literature review' (2002) 52(2) *Journal of Psychosomatic Research* 69–77. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0022-3999\(01\)00296-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0022-3999(01)00296-3)
- Bocéréan C. & E. Dupret, 'A validation study of the Hospital Anxiety and Depression Scale (HADS) in a large sample of French employees' (2014) 16(14) *BMC Psychiatry* 354. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12888-014-0354-0>
- Cao W., Z. Fang, G. Hou et al., 'The psychological impact of the COVID-19 epidemic on college students in China' (2020) 287 *Psychiatry Research* 112934. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychres.2020.112934>
- Caruso C.C., T. Bushnell, D. Eggerth et al., 'Long Working Hours, Safety, and Health: Toward a National Research Agenda' (2006) 49 *American Journal of Industrial Medicine* 930–942. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajim.20373>
- Deznabi I., T. Motahar, A. Sarvghad et al., 'Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on the Academic Community - Results from a survey conducted at University of Massachusetts Amherst' (2020) 2(2) *Digital Governance: Research and Practice* 22. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3436731>
- Devlin N.J., K.K. Shah, Y. Feng et al., 'Valuing health-related quality of life: An EQ-5D-5L value set for England' (2018) 27(1) *Health Economics* 7 -22. <https://doi.org/10.1002/hec.3564>
- Filho, W. L., T. Wall, L. Rayman-Bacchus, L. et al., 'Impacts of COVID-19 and social isolation on academic staff and students at universities: a cross-sec-

- tional study' (2021) 21 *BMC Public Health* 1213. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-021-11040-z>
- Fillingim R.B., C. D. King, M. C. Ribeiro-Dasilva et al., 'Sex, gender, and pain: a review of recent clinical and experimental findings' (2009) 10(5) *Journal of Pain* 447-485. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpain.2008.12.001>
- Gauthier L.R., A. Young, R.H. Dworkin et al., 'Validation of the short-form McGill pain questionnaire-2 in younger and older people with cancer pain' (2014) 15(7) *Journal of Pain* 756-770. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpain.2014.04.004>.
- Georgoudis G., J.A. Oldham & P. Watson, 'The development and validation of a Greek version of the short-form McGill Pain Questionnaire' (2000) 4(3) *European Journal of Pain* 275-281. <https://doi.org/10.1053/eujp.2000.0186>.
- Giusti L, S. Mammarella, A. Salza et al., 'Predictors of academic performance during the covid-19 outbreak: impact of distance education on mental health, social cognition and memory abilities in an Italian university student sample' (2021) 9(1) *BMC Psychology* 142. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40359-021-00649-9>
- Golicki D., M. Niewada, B.V. Hout et al., 'Interim EQ-5D-5L Value Set for Poland: First Crosswalk Value Set in Central and Eastern Europe' (2014) 4 *Value in Health Regional Issues* 19-23. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.vhri.2014.06.001>
- Hernandez G., O. Garin, A.L. Dima et al., 'EuroQol (EQ-5D-5L) Validity in Assessing the Quality of Life in Adults With Asthma: Cross-Sectional Study' (2019) 21(1) *Journal of Medical Internet Research* e10178. <https://doi.org/10.2196/10178>
- Jellen J. & H. Ohlbrecht, 'Parenthood in a Crisis: Stress Potentials and Gender Differences of Parents During the Corona Pandemic International' (2020) *Dialogues on Education* 7, Special Issue 44-51.
- Jojoa, J., E. Lazaro, B. Garcia-Zapirain et al., 'The Impact of COVID 19 on university staff and students from Iberoamerica: online learning and teaching Experience' (2021) 18(11) *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 5820. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph18115820>
- Kramer A. & K.Z. Kramer, 'The potential impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on occupational status, work from home, and occupational mobility' (2020) 119 *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 103442. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2020.103442>
- Kulikowski K., S. Przytuła & L. Sułkowski, 'E-learning? Never again! On the unintended consequences of COVID-19 forced e-learning on academic teacher mo-

- tivational job characteristics' (2022) 76 *Higher Education Quarterly* 174–189. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hequ.12314>
- Lieberman H.R., S. Agarwal & V.L. Fulgoni, 'Brief Daily Patterns of Caffeine Intake and the Association of Intake with Multiple Sociodemographic and Lifestyle Factors in US Adults Based on the NHANES 2007-2012 Surveys' (2019) 119 *Journal of the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics* 106114. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jand.2018.08.152>
- Majumdar P., A. Biswas & S. Sahu, 'COVID-19 pandemic and lockdown: cause of sleep disruption, depression, somatic pain, and increased screen exposure of office workers and students of India' (2020) 37(8) *Chronobiology International* 1191–1200. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07420528.2020.1786107>
- Maugeri G., P. Castrogiovanni, G. Battaglia et al., 'The impact of physical activity on psychological health during Covid-19 pandemic in Italy' (2020) 6(6) *Heliyon* e04315. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2020.e04315>
- Mazza C., E. Ricci, S. Biondi et al., 'Nationwide Survey of Psychological Distress among Italian People during the COVID-19 Pandemic: Immediate Psychological Responses and Associated Factors' (2020) 17(9) *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 3165. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17093165>
- McCarberg B.H., B.D. Nicholson, K.H. Todd et al., 'The Impact of Pain on Quality of Life and the Unmet Needs of Pain Management: Results from Pain Sufferers and Physicians Participating in an Internet Survey' (2008) 15(4) *American Journal of Therapeutics* 312-320. <https://doi.org/10.1097/MJT.0b013e31818164f2>
- McLean C.P. & E.R. Anderson, 'Brave men and timid women? A review of the gender differences in fear and anxiety' (2009) 29 *Clinical Psychology Review* 496-505. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2009.05.003>
- Melzack R. & J. Katz, 'Pain measurement in persons in pain' in P.D. Wall & R. Melzack (eds), *Textbook of pain* (3rd edition) (Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone, 1994) 337-351.
- Meyer J., M. Herring, C. McDowell et al., 'Joint prevalence of physical activity and sitting time during COVID-19 among US adults in April 2020' (2020) 20 *Preventive Medicine Reports* 101256. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pmedr.2020.101256>

- Michailidou, C., L. Charalambous, C. King et al., 'Pain and stiffness as consequences of an imposed sedentary lifestyle, in the university community' (2022) 39(6) *Archives of Hellenic Medicine* 772-780.
- Nicodemo C. & R. Waldmann, 'Child-Care and Participation in the Labor Market for Married Women in Mediterranean Countries' (2009). *IZA Discussion Paper* No. 3983. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1351147>.
- Papastavrou E., H. Tsangari, A. Kalokerinou et al., 'Gender issues in caring for demented relatives' (2009) 3(1) *Health Science Journal* 41-53.
- Papastavrou E., H. Tsangari, G. Karayiannis et al., 'Caring and coping: the dementia caregivers' (2011) 15(6) *Aging & Mental Health* 702-711. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13607863.2011.562178>
- Ruta C., M. Gordon, M. Kroon et al., 'The effects of social isolation on well-being and life satisfaction during pandemic' (2021) 8(1) *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications* 28. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-021-00710-3>
- Solomou I. & F. Constantinidou, 'Prevalence and Predictors of Anxiety and Depression Symptoms during the COVID-19 Pandemic and Compliance with Precautionary Measures: Age and Sex Matter' (2020) 17 *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 4924. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17144924>
- Stallman H.M., 'Psychological distress in university students: A comparison with general population data' (2010) 45 *Australian Psychologist* 249-257. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00050067.2010.482109>
- Tavolacci M.P., E. Boerg, L. Richard et al., 'Prevalence of binge drinking and associated behaviours among 3286 college students in France' (2016) 16 *BMC Public Health* 178. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-016-2863-x>
- Van Der Feltz-Cornelis C.M., D. Varley, V. L. Allgar et al., 'Workplace Stress, Presenteeism, Absenteeism, and Resilience Amongst University Staff and Students in the COVID-19 Lockdown' (2020) 11 *Frontiers in Psychiatry* 588803. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsy.2020.588803>
- Ye Z., S. Honda, Y. Abe et al., 'Influence of work duration or physical symptoms on mental health among Japanese visual display terminal users' (2007) 45(2) *Industrial Health* 328-333. <https://doi.org/10.2486/indhealth.45.328>

An Alternative Model for Bankruptcy Prediction Under Stressed Conditions: The Case of Listed Companies in Greece and Cyprus

EVANGELOS SFAKIANAKIS¹

Abstract

Firm bankruptcies have been tantalising investors, risk managers, markets, entrepreneurs/ investees, regulators, or even the State/ government as they may cause disruptions in the modus operandi of the interested stakeholders. The period during and after the financial and the subsequent sovereign crisis proved to be important from that perspective, especially for countries that faced an extended adverse economic environment, such as Greece and Cyprus. This study attempts to predict bankruptcies of listed manufacturing firms domiciled in Greece and Cyprus by introducing a bankruptcy prediction model that employs discriminant analysis (DA) over a balanced matched sample of 42 firms for the period 2008-2015. Evidence is provided that a series of financial ratios (quick ratio, cash flow interest coverage, and economic value added (EVA) divided by total assets) significantly affect the predictability of bankruptcies in both countries. As a matter of fact, the tested determinants exhibited strong classification accuracy, well in advance (three years), reflecting the global financial health of the firm under examination. This can be a valuable tool in the hands of the involved stakeholders, such as investors, risk officers, and the competent authorities.

Keywords: bankruptcy, discriminant analysis, distressed economies, economic value added, financial ratios, manufacturing firms

Introduction

The Great Financial Crisis (GFC) of 2008 caused unanticipated global turmoil and a series of economic shocks. International markets were subjected to a new economic framework with long-term implications for the financial sector. Countries that were already distressed, facing debt amounts that had been accumulating over the years, like countries of the European South – among which the most proclaimed example/ case is Greece – entered a prolonged and painful financial crisis that definitely left its

¹ Adjunct Professor of Finance, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens.

mark in their recent history. A rescue mechanism was put to work, offering a lending mechanism that would render the borrowing cost of these countries - and especially Greece - viable (also referred to as 'bail-out'). At the same time though, the public and private finances of the country had to be restructured so that the debt was serviceable; this resulted into a series of fiscal/ austerity measures which affected materially the (incomes of) households and enterprises of the country. The reduction of revenues led several firms to the verge of bankruptcy with a material number of them actually filing for bankruptcy.

Just across Greece, Cyprus was dealing too with a similar economic situation. However, after experiencing severe negative spillovers from the Greek debt crisis, which began in 2010, Cyprus was compelled to execute a new banking practice known as bail-in. This led uninsured depositors (defined in the European Union as people with deposits larger than €100,000) in the Bank of Cyprus to lose a substantial portion of their deposits.

Both countries had similar economic problems to deal with, during the same period, making them, at many levels, closely connected. This provided the opportunity to establish a new bankruptcy prediction model for distressed economies that discriminates bankrupt from non-bankrupt firms in Greece and Cyprus, using a combined sample.

Academics and practitioners – primarily from the disciplines of finance and accounting - have put over the years remarkable efforts in predicting bankruptcies. Such predictions are of increased importance to all stakeholders during periods of financial crises. Starting with investors (both shareholders and creditors) it is evident that they are interested in the evolution of the creditworthiness and default rates of the firms that are candidates for investment before placing their capital in them. Consequently, a wide range of bankruptcy prediction models have been generated. Researchers have employed a series of methods, the most well-known of which are discriminant analysis (DA), probit analysis, neural networks, etc. The contribution of Altman with his Z-score model (1968), based on discriminant analysis, has been influential.

This study aims at developing a model that employs an appropriate set of predictor variables, using discriminant analysis, that *ex ante* predicts bankruptcy on a combined sample of both Greek and Cypriot listed manufacturing firms.

Literature Review

Univariate discriminant analysis (UDA) seems to have been the founding stone of models that attempt to predict bankruptcy, followed by multivariate discriminant analysis (MDA). The first studies employing each of these analyses were (i) for UDA, this of Beaver (1966) who identified an array of financial ratios which exhibited a good predictive capacity; and (ii) for MDA, this of Altman,² who introduced the infamous Z-Score model. Ever since, this approach has been applied to several country-specific datasets (as depicted in Table I that follows).

Table I: Country specific firm bankruptcy predictive models

Country of domiciliation	Author and year
US	Altman (1968)
	Altman & Ors (1977)
	Altman (2000)
	Bhandari & Iyer (2013)
Italy	Pozzoli and Paolone (2016)
Vietnam	Tung and Phung (2019)
	Thin & Ors (2020)
Greece	Sfakianakis (2018, 2021)
Visegrad group (Slovakia, Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary)	Kliestik & Ors (2018)
	Kovacova & Ors (2019)
Cyprus	Ioannou & Ors(2020)

Beyond country specific studies, we discern a series of literature strands (i) focusing on one or more sectors/industries; (ii) employing one or more methods; and (iii) testing for different financial ratios. As far as the first strand is concerned, Altman³ produced possibly the first comprehensive research at global level, by advancing his initial model –applied to private and public, manufacturing and non-manufacturing firms–⁴ to an array of private firms from all industries except from the financial sector, domiciled in 31 European countries, China, Colombia, and the United States.

² Edward I. Altman, ‘Financial ratios, Discriminate Analysis and the Prediction of Corporate Bankruptcy’ (1968) 23(4) *Journal of Finance* 589-609.

³ Edward I. Altman & Ors, ‘Financial Distress Prediction in an International Context: A Review and Empirical Analysis of Altman’s Z-Score Model’ (2017) 28(2) *Journal of International Financial Management & Accounting* 131–171.

⁴ Edward I. Altman, *Corporate Financial Distress: A Complete Guide to Predicting, Avoiding and Dealing with Bankruptcy* (2nd edn, New York: Wiley, 1983).

Other researchers concentrated on a specific industry, such as banking;⁵ small and medium enterprises (SMEs);⁶ manufacturing;⁷ and retail.⁸

When it comes to the methods employed, we note the application of logit⁹ and probit¹⁰ analysis in addition to DA. Combinations of analyses are also noted, such as discriminant, logit, and probit analysis¹¹ or discriminant and logit analysis.¹²

When it comes to the variables tested, we observe that the majority of the relevant studies involve one or more of the ordinary financial ratios, such as liquidity, solvency, profitability, leverage, and activity. The use of the economic value added (EVA) as predictor variable is first noted in Sfakianakis.¹³ The comparative advantage of EVA¹⁴ versus other performance metrics is that it unveils the genuine profitability of

⁵ Timothy J. Curry, Peter J. Elmer, Gary S. Fissel, 'Equity Market Data, Bank Failures and Market Efficiency' (2007) 1259(6) *Journal of Economics and Business* 667 – 676; Laura Chiaramonte, Federika Poli, Mingming Zhou, 'How Accurately Can Z-Score Predict Bank Failure?' (2016) 25(5) *Financial Markets Instructions & Instruments* 333–360.

⁶ Francesco Ciampi, 'The Need for Specific Modelling of Small Enterprise Default Prediction: Empirical Evidence from Italian Small Manufacturing Firms' (2017) 12(12) *International Journal of Business and Management* 251-262; Muhammad M. Ma'aji, Nur A.H. Abdullah, Karren L.H. Khaw, 'Predicting Financial Distress among SMEs in Malaysia' (2018) 14(7) *European Scientific Journal* 91–102.

⁷ Rim El Khoury, Roy Al Beaino, 'Classifying Manufacturing Firms in Lebanon: An Application of Altman's Model' (2014) 109(1) *Procedia: Social and behavioural sciences* 11-18; Evangelos Sfakianakis, 'Can Z-Score Model Predict Listed Companies' Failures in Greece? Evidence from an Empirical Investigation in the Food and Drinks Industry' (2018) 17(12) *Empirical Economics Letters* 1403-1410.

⁸ Amalendu Bhunia, F. Chand, Ruchira Sarkar (2011), 'A Study of Financial Distress based on MDA' (2011) 3(2) *Journal of Management Research* 1–11; Ashok Panigrahi, 'Validity of Altman's "Z" Score Model in Predicting Financial Distress of Pharmaceutical Companies' (2019) 4(1) *NMIMS Journal of Economics and Public Policy* 65-73.

⁹ James A. Ohlson, 'Financial Ratios and the Probabilistic Prediction of Bankruptcy' (1980) 18(1) *Journal of Accounting Research* 109-131; Loredana Cultrera, Xavier Bredart, 'Bankruptcy Prediction: The Case of Belgian SMEs' (2016) 15(1) *Review of Accounting and Finance* 101-119; Nur A.H. Abdullah & Ors, 'Predicting Financially Distressed Small-And Medium-Sized Enterprises in Malaysia' (2019) 20(3) *Global Business Review* 627–639.

¹⁰ Alexandros Benos, George Papanastasopoulos (2007), 'Extending the Merton Model: A Hybrid Approach to Assessing Credit Quality' (2007) 48(1-2) *Mathematical and Computer Modelling* 47-68.

¹¹ Clive Lennox, 'Identifying Failing Companies: A Re-Evaluation of the Logit, Probit and D.A Approaches' (1999) 51(4) *Journal of Economics of Business* 347-364

¹² A. Bunyaminu, Mohammed Issah, 'Predicting Corporate Failure of UK's Listed Companies: Comparing Multiple Discriminant Analysis and Logistic Regression' (2012) 94 *International Research Journal of Finance and Economics* 6-22; Matus Mihalovic 'Performance Comparison of Multiple Discriminant Analysis and Logit Models in Bankruptcy Prediction' (2016) 9(4) *Economics & Sociology* 101-118.

¹³ Evangelos Sfakianakis, 'Bankruptcy Prediction Model for Listed Companies in Greece' (2021) 18(2) *Investment Management and Financial Innovations* 166-180.

¹⁴ Stern Stewart and Co. (now known as Stern Value Management) developed the EVA concept in 1991 to evaluate the performance of business organisations expressed as value generation for shareholders.

firms as it appropriately captures the return they offer to shareholders for using their capital. The ordinary financial ratios may render a company 'profitable' without recognising the payoff towards the shareholders. By taking into consideration the cost of equity, EVA reflects the profit or loss during each reporting period.¹⁵ Consequently, EVA is a metric that captures the actual profitability of a firm and mirrors management performance.

On top of this rationale, the inclusion of EVA in a bankruptcy model is justified by the available literature. EVA (i) can signal upcoming bankruptcy when the value of a firm becomes negative from positive;¹⁶ (ii) is not created by firms in the verge of distress;¹⁷ (iii) indicates decreased bankruptcy probability when it increases;¹⁸ (iv) is the most often used metric in evaluating the financial health of a firm;¹⁹ and (v) increases the explanatory power of bankruptcy prediction models.²⁰ The use of EVA in bankruptcy prediction models is fully aligned with its attributes identified in the available literature.

Methodology, Data, and Variables

The present research creates a bankruptcy prediction model that addresses distressed economies, using discriminant analysis (DA). The model will adjust itself on the basis of the period that precedes bankruptcy (t-1, t-2, and t-3); it employs at all times a common collection of variables and achieves significant discrimination among both Greek and Cypriot listed, bankrupt and non-bankrupt, manufacturing firms.

Methodology

The methodology deployed in this manuscript relies on univariate and multivariate discriminant analysis. Both UDA and MDA were employed in order to identify the variables that optimally allow the discrimination between bankrupt and non-bank-

¹⁵ Laura Vasilescu, Ana Popa, 'Economic Value Added: Pros and Cons' (2011) 1(13) *Finante – Provo-carile Viitorului (Finance – Challenges of the Future)* 60-65.

¹⁶ Salmi Timo, Ilka Virtanen, 'Economic Value Added: A Simulation Analysis of the Trendy, Owner-Oriented Management Tool' (2001) 90 *Acta Wasaensia* 1-33.

¹⁷ R.B Pasaribu, 'Financial Distress Prediction in Indonesia Stock Exchange: Case Study of Trade Industry Public Company' (2008) 11(2) *Journal of Economics Business and Accounting* 153-172.

¹⁸ Saeid Anvarkhatibi, Ramin Mohammadi, Jamal Mohammadi, 'Investigation of the Effect of the Value Added, Earning Quality and Leverage Ratio on Bankruptcy in Organizations Accepted in Tehran's Stock Market' (2013) 2(2) *European Online Journal of Natural and Social Sciences* 223-229.

¹⁹ Marta B. Beros, Nicholas Recker, Melita Kozina, 'Economic and Social Development (Book of Proceedings)' *27th International Scientific Conference on Economic and Social* 1-905.

²⁰ Sfakianakis (no 12).

rupt companies. The DA approaches by construction permit the categorisation of observations into non-intersecting sets based on the ranking produced by the appropriate quantitative predictor variables. The quality of this categorisation is strongly connected with the information contained in the predictor variables. The mathematical equivalent is essentially an optimisation problem, as the objective is to derive a set of coefficients (a_i 's) that multiply the financial ratios (x_i 's) in a linear equation of the form $z = a_0 + a_1x_1 + a_2x_2 + \dots$. The discriminant criterion under consideration, where $\lambda = \frac{\text{(between group variance on z-scores)}}{\text{(within group variance on z-scores)}}$.

To elaborate on the use of UDA and MDA we note that UDA on one hand: (i) is used to realise that most of the selected financial ratios exhibited strong classification power even at a univariate level; and (ii) facilitated the separation of financial ratios to realise that liquidity, solvency, and performance ratios are the stronger in terms of classification capability. MDA, on the other hand, is perceived as more advantageous (by several researchers such as Altman, Taffler, and others) for producing bankruptcy prediction models, as it compiles a broad range of characteristics common to the relevant firms and the interaction among them.

By comparing UDA with MDA, one can see that the competitive advantage of MDA lies within (i) the simultaneous consideration of the metrics used for group assignments – whereas UDA considers one at a time; and (ii) the utilisation of indicators that may be deemed weak by UDA. As a result, the use of UDA is restricted to the provision of supplementary information compared to MDA that is used as a decision-making approach.

Following the aforementioned discussion, in this study MDA was performed for a period of one to three years before bankruptcy to identify the three predictor variables, the combination of which can accomplish a significant discrimination (bankrupt versus non-bankrupt), as far as three years prior to bankruptcy.

Data

The dataset comprises Greek and Cypriot listed/ public manufacturing firms for the period 2008–2015 which covers the years during and after the financial and – the subsequent— debt crisis. Data is drawn from the Datastream International and Bloomberg databases and is used for the estimation of the explanatory variables (Table II). The dataset is composed of 21 non-bankrupt firms (14 Greek and 7 Cypriot) and 21 firms (from 7 sectors) that did go bankrupt during the period under investigation (with no exceptions). The status of each firm (active, bankrupt) was validated through the Greek and Cypriot registries. The active and bankrupt firms were

matched into groups based on their industry and asset size, yielding a sample of 21 pairs of firms (42 in total). The last disclosed financial statement is one that corresponds to the year prior to bankruptcy (t-1). The analysis was not limited though to only one year before the bankruptcy took place; it was extended as far as three years before its occurrence (t-1, t-2 and t-3), as the ability to distinguish between healthy and bankrupt companies early enough is indicative of the validity of the model and the discriminating capacity of its variables.

Variables

As mentioned earlier, this paper aims at identifying a collection of variables – including novel ones – that exhibit significant classification power in order to address the bankruptcy prediction problem with a fresh approach. Our guide in the quest of the appropriate variables is the recent literature, as well as the methods used by practitioners. This yields an inventory of candidate variables/ financial ratios - that are to be further assessed (Table II) - split into six ratio categories. The literature review section revealed that the first five out of the six ratio categories have been studied. It is only Sfakianakis²¹ who has tested performance-indicating ratios (such as EVA), to realise that they have embedded an important amount of information relevant to a company’s effectiveness, overall strength, and health.

Table II: Initial list of potential predictor variables

Ratio’s category	Name	Definition
Liquidity	Working Capital ratio	Working Capital / Total Assets
Liquidity	Current ratio	Current Assets / Current Liabilities
Liquidity	Quick ratio	Quick Assets / Current Liabilities
Liquidity	Cash ratio	Cash / Current Liabilities
Liquidity	$\Delta(\text{liquidity})$ ratio	Current ratio t – Current ratio t-1
Solvency	OCF / CL ratio	Operating Cash Flow / Current Liabilities
Solvency	OCF / CE ratio	Operating Cash Flow / Capital Expenditure
Solvency	Interest coverage ratio	Operating Cash Flow / Interest Expense
Solvency	Interest coverage ratio	EBIT / Interest Expense
Solvency	OCF / TD ratio	Operating Cash Flow / Total Debt
Leverage	Debt ratio	Total Debt / Total Assets
Leverage	$\Delta(\text{Debt})$ ratio	Debt ratio t – Debt ratio t-1

²¹ Sfakianakis (no 12).

Profitability	Return on Capital Employed	EBIT / Capital employed
Profitability	EBIT margin	EBIT margin / Total Sales
Profitability	Basic Earning power (ROI)	EBIT / Total Assets
Profitability	Internal growth rate	Retained earnings / Total Assets
Efficiency	Asset Turnover ratio	Total Sales / Total Assets
Efficiency	Δ (Asset Turnover) ratio	Asset ratio t – Asset ratio t-1
Efficiency	Equity Turnover ratio	Total Sales / Total Equity
Performance	EVA / TA	EVA / Total Assets
Performance	EVA / MV	EVA / Market Value
Performance	RI / TA	Residual Income / Total Assets
Performance	RI / MV	Residual Income / Market Value

The potential variables assembled for evaluation are listed in Table II. According to the literature, the majority of studies on bankruptcy prediction used only five ratio categories for analysis. However, six ratio categories were examined in this research. The following ratios were chosen for analysis: liquidity, solvency, leverage, profitability, efficiency, and performance. The list was compiled using both recent studies and common practice methods.

The variable selection process – as evidenced by other researchers – involves trial and error. We follow this route as well to select the appropriate set of predictor variables – both from a theoretical and a practical perspective. Consequently, candidate variables supported by the relevant theoretical background were tested.

UDA, initially, unveiled the significance of several liquidity, solvency, and performance indicators, which was, to a certain extent, anticipated, as liquidity and solvency ratios seem to be broadly included and even prevail in the models studied in the available literature. MDA followed and was performed on a series of combinations of candidate variables that were considered promising. The combination that exhibited strong classification accuracy, tackling bankruptcy in a comprehensive manner, involved three variables – EVA/ total assets, quick ratio, and cash interest coverage ratio - each of which revealed information about the company under investigation (each from a different angle) as well as its integrity. In predicting potential bankruptcies, it is crucial to be able to tell well in advance whether a company will go bankrupt or not. Consequently, MDA was applied separately for each year before bankruptcy (t-1, t-2, and t-3), to generate models that showed strong discrimination ability even three years before the bankruptcy, attesting to their significance and their global classification capacity.

The variables that qualified as per our tests are:

- EVA/total assets

EVA - developed by Stern Stewart and Co. in 1991 to evaluate the performance of business organisations - is a performance indicator that (i) reflects the genuine profitability of a company; (ii) gauges financial performance with net wealth (estimated as operating profit less the cost of capital adjusted for taxes on a cash basis). As realised in the literature review section, EVA is interrelated with financial distress, as EVA can signal upcoming bankruptcy,²² and public companies that do not generate EVA face high distress risk.²³ EVA is scaled by total assets so as to normalise and project significant classification accuracy when either UDA or MDA are employed.

- Quick ratio = (current assets – inventory – prepaid expenses) / current liabilities

The available research provides conflicting results with regards to the strength of the relationship between liquidity ratios and financial distress. In theory, lack of liquidity can lead to financial distress as the current assets do not suffice to cover the current liabilities. Following this rationale, the analysis undertaken in this research also encompasses the most frequently used liquidity ratios (Table II). The quick ratio is probably the most proclaimed liquidity ratio as it shows superior classification capacity when either UDA or MDA are employed.

The quick ratio reflects whether a firm is capable of paying its current liabilities without resorting to its inventory or reaching to additional funding; the higher (lower) its value the higher (lower) the liquidity and the financial health of the firm. As elaborated above, the quick ratio captures financial distress, as, when a firm cannot cover its current liabilities, then this is potentially a prelude of future bankruptcy.

- Cash interest coverage ratio = (operating cash flow + interest + taxes) / interest

The chosen solvency ratio comes from the cash flow statement and not from accrual accounting-based metrics. Bhandari and Iyer²⁴ note that a small number of research papers has relied on cash flow metrics, and that, moreover, they demonstrate questionable success. However, as cash inadequacy can lead to bankruptcy (as is often cited in the relevant literature), one can infer that cash flow metrics are key to predicting financial distress or default. Beaver (1966) realises that the predominant indicator in discriminating going-bankrupt from healthy firms is operating cash flows divided by total debt.

Nevertheless, before a company becomes unable to meet its total debt obligations, it has to be in place to meet its interest obligations from its operating cash flows.

²² Timo, Virtanen (no 15).

²³ Pasaribu (no 16).

²⁴ S. B Bhandari, R. Iyer, 'Predicting Business Failure Using Cash Flow Statement Based Measures' (2013) 39(7) *Managerial Finance* 667-676.

Consequently, the interest coverage ratio provides a clearer picture of a firm’s ability to make interest payments than the operating cash, which is clearly an indication of a healthy or distressed entity. Before becoming unable to meet debt obligations, a firm is most likely unable to meet interest expense, which, if accumulated, can lead to unserviceable debt. Therefore, the interest coverage can signal firms that are in the verge of bankruptcy.

The analysis that follows will provide evidence that these three variables combined can deliver superior classification accuracy even three years before a bankruptcy as they embed comprehensive information that can be carried over to the interested parties when used altogether.

Results and Analysis

In applying MDA, we first tested for correlation and collinearity for each year prior to bankruptcy for all variables. The capacity of the model to carry this comprehensive information that was mentioned in the previous section is justified by the fact that the chosen ratios exhibit no material correlation or collinearity, and thus a model with a small number of chosen measurements was developed.

To facilitate the presentation of our models, this section is divided into three subsections, one for each of the years preceding bankruptcy. The collection of variables that has been chosen for our models

$$\begin{aligned}
 X_1 &= \text{EVA scaled by } \frac{\text{EVA}}{\text{Current Assets} - \text{Inventories}} \\
 X_2 &= \text{Quick ratio} = \frac{\text{Current Liab}}{\text{Operating Cash Flow} + \text{Interest} + \text{Tax}} \\
 X_3 &= \text{Cash flow coverage of interest} = \frac{\text{Interest}}{\text{Interest}}
 \end{aligned}$$

Results One Year Before Bankruptcy (t-1)

Table III displays the descriptive statistics (mean, median, and standard deviation) for each selected variable for the bankrupt (21) as well as the non-bankrupt (21) firms and for all (42) firms of the sample. We used the StatGraphics statistical software in order to perform MDA.

Table III: Descriptive group statistics (t-1)

Variables	Bankrupt firms (21)			Non-Bankrupt firms (21)			Total firms (42)		
	Mean	Median	SD	Mean	Median	SD	Mean	Median	SD
EVA/TA	-0,3593	-0,0568	1,1434	0,0520	0,0000	0,1857	-0,1536	-0,0001	0,8445
Quick ratio	0,2419	0,1861	0,2077	2,2536	1,3015	3,6879	1,2477	0,6358	2,7988
(OCF+INT+TAX)/INT	-2,5753	-1,3526	6,5737	0,3553	0,3103	4,3384	-1,1100	-0,4641	5,7589

Table III presents summary statistics (mean, median, standard deviation) on EVA/TA, the quick ratio, and the (OCF+INT+TAX)/INT ratio across bankrupt firms, non-bankrupt firms, and the entire sample of firms for the $t-1$ period. The matched sample consists of 42 manufacturing enterprises listed on the Greek and Cypriot Stock Exchanges with sufficient data from the Datastream and Bloomberg databases to compute accounting variables over the $t-1$ year-period (one year before bankruptcy). Furthermore, the legitimacy of each firm's status (bankrupt, non-bankrupt) was double-checked using the Greek General Commercial Registry (G.E.MI) and its Cypriot counterpart to completely eliminate firms that are neither bankrupt nor operating.

The canonical discriminant functions of our model are shown in Table IV. The effectiveness of the recommended bankruptcy prediction model is evidenced by the high significance of the X2-statistic of the estimated discriminant function (at the 0.0032 level), as well as the notable level of canonical correlation observed (0.549), indicating an efficient model in discriminating among the groups.

Table IV: Outline of canonical discriminant functions (t-1)

Eigen Values								
Function	Eigen value	Percentage of variance	Cumulative percentage	Canonical correlation	Wilks' λ	X ²	df	Sig.
1	0.431	100	100	0.549	0.699	13,792	3	0.0032

Table IV demonstrates the proposed model's canonical discriminant functions for $t-1$. The model is highly significant, with high overall levels of efficacy and discrimination ability.

Table V presents the standardised and unstandardised coefficients. The former show the relative importance of each variable in predicting business bankruptcies; the quick ratio with a value of 0.876 appears to be the most important variable for one year prior to the actual bankruptcy. The latter are utilised in the model in order to estimate the firm discriminant score. Table VI displays the centroid scores; the average discriminant score for a bankrupt (non-bankrupt) company is -0.641 (0.641 respectively). Consequently, for a score close to -0.641 (0.641) the firm is classified as bankrupt (non-bankrupt respectively).

Table V: Coefficients of the discriminant function (t-1)

	Standardised coefficients	Unstandardised coefficients
EVA/TA	0.447	0.533
Quick ratio	0.876	0.327
(OCF+INT+TAX)/INT	0.785	0.138
Constant		-0,174

Table V presents the standardised and unstandardised coefficients of the model, indicating the relative significance of each variable in forecasting business bankruptcies during the $t-1$ period. Due to its large standardised coefficient, the quick ratio variable is the most crucial variable for forecasting

bankruptcy one year before (0.876). The betas in the proposed model's equation for $t-1$ are the unstandardised coefficients.

Table VI: Group centroids ($t-1$)

Groups	Discriminant function
	Group centroids
Bankrupt (B=0)	-0,641
Non-Bankrupt (B=1)	0,641

Table VI displays the suggested model's group centroids for $t-1$. In more detail, a company with a discriminant score of -0.641 is classified as bankrupt ($B=0$) since bankrupt companies tend to project a score near that figure. Non-bankrupt firms, on the other hand, tend to project a score near 0.641 , hence a firm with a discriminant score close to that number is classified as non-bankrupt ($B=1$).

The previous discussion leads to the equation of our discriminant model for bankruptcy prediction one year prior to its occurrence:

$$Z = -0.174 + 0.533 * X_1 + 0.327 * X_2 + 0.138 * X_3$$

where:

Z is the discriminant score.

95.24% of all given cases were re-classified accurately, corresponding to an accurate prediction of 20 out of the 21 bankrupt firms and 20 out of the 21 non-bankrupt firm. Table VII captures the model performance.

Table VII: Classification results ($t-1$)

Actual	Group Size	Predicted 0	Predicted 1
Bankrupt (B=0)	21	20	1
		(95.24%)	(4.76%)
Non-Bankrupt (B=1)	21	1	20
		(4.76%)	(95.24%)
Percent of cases correctly classified: 95.24 %			

Table VII presents the model's classification results for the $t-1$ period. 95.24 % of all cases were successfully reclassified using the proposed model. One year before bankruptcy, the model correctly predicted 20 out of 21 bankrupt enterprises and 20 out of 21 non-bankrupt enterprises. To put it differently, the model successfully reclassified 40 out of 42 cases, suggesting strong discriminating ability.

As a result, the recommended model demonstrates strong discriminating capability as it correctly re-classified 40 out of 42 firms (95.24%). Furthermore, it shows that the combination of the selected variables encompasses significant information with regards to the firms under investigation.

In what follows, the same analysis is repeated to assess the behavior of these variables two and three years prior to the occurrence of the bankruptcy –mapping in this way the predicting capacity of the variables with the passage of time.

Results Two Years Before Bankruptcy (t–2)

Table VIII displays the descriptive statistics two years before bankruptcy for each selected variable for both bankrupt (21) and non-bankrupt (21) companies, and for all (42) companies of our sample. To perform the MDA we used the StatGraphics statistical software this time as well

Table VIII: Descriptive group statistics (t–2)

Variables	Bankrupt firms (21)			Non-Bankrupt firms (21)			Total firms (42)		
	Mean	Median	SD	Mean	Median	SD	Mean	Median	SD
EVA/TA	-0,1874	-0,0487	0,7163	0,4126	0,0001	0,7318	0,1126	0,0000	0,8417
Quick ratio	0,5938	0,5423	0,4702	1,3127	1,3419	0,8101	0,9465	0,7679	0,7546
(OCF+INT+TAX)/INT	-1,8101	-0,0079	7,2158	1,4258	0,6964	5,1430	-0,1921	0,0486	6,4712

Table VIII presents summary statistics (mean, median, standard deviation) on EVA/TA, the quick ratio, and the (OCF+INT+TAX)/INT ratio across bankrupt firms, non-bankrupt firms, and the entire sample of firms for the t–2 period. The matched sample consists of 42 manufacturing enterprises listed on the Greek and Cypriot Stock Exchanges with sufficient data from the Datastream and Bloomberg databases to compute accounting variables over the t–2 year-period (two years before bankruptcy). Furthermore, the legitimacy of each firm’s status (bankrupt, non-bankrupt) was double-checked using the Greek General Commercial Registry (G.E.MI) and its Cypriot counterpart to completely eliminate firms that are neither bankrupt nor operating.

The canonical discriminant functions, which incorporate valuable information on the significance and effectiveness of the selected variables and the model employed at time t–2 years, are depicted in Table IX. This is evidenced by the X2-statistic which posts a high significance (at the 0.000 level), as well as the high level of the canonical correlation for t–2 (0.706), which is indicative of its capacity to discriminate among the groups.

Table IX: Outline of canonical discriminant functions (t–2)

Function	Eigen Values							
	Eigen value	Percentage of variance	Cumulative percentage	Canonical correlation	Wilks’ λ	X ²	df	Sig.
1	0.995	100	100	0.706	0.501	26,593	3	0,0000

Table IX demonstrates the proposed model’s canonical discriminant functions for t–2. The model is highly significant, with high overall levels of efficacy and discrimination ability.

Table X presents the standardised coefficients, which indicate that the most important variable to accurately predict bankruptcy two years in advance is EVA/TA (with a value of 0.718). This indicator can be used along with the results of Table V for t-1 year to elaborate on the nature of bankruptcy itself. This is a consequence of the realisation that in most cases, a company does not file for bankruptcy suddenly. On the contrary, bankruptcy is the outcome of a rather long and volatile/ bumpy process. One needs to treat a potential bankruptcy in the short-term differently from a bankruptcy in the long-term. For short-term periods (such as one year) the liquidity ratios can be quite efficient into conveying the relevant information. For long(er)-term periods (2 or 3 years) performance ratios – such as EVA/TA - seem to be more suitable, as they carry more information than liquidity ratios pertaining to the global financial status of a firm. The proposed model adjusts itself depending on the period when bankruptcy approached (t-1, t-2, and t-3) and encompasses both liquidity and performance ratios so as to better capture the firm's overall financial health.

Table X: Coefficients of the discriminant function (t-2)

	Standardised coefficients	Unstandardised coefficients
EVA/TA	0.718	0.620
Quick ratio	0.539	0.798
(OCF+INT+TAX)/INT	0.484	0.075
Constant		-0,886

The standardised and unstandardised coefficients of the model are provided in Table X, indicating the relative importance of each variable in predicting business bankruptcies during the t-2 period. Because of its high standardised coefficient, EVA/TA is the most crucial variable for forecasting bankruptcy two years earlier (0.718). The unstandardised coefficients are the betas of the proposed model's t-2 equation.

The previous discussion leads to the equation of our discriminant model for bankruptcy prediction two years prior to its occurrence – based on the unstandardised coefficients:

$$Z = -0.886 + 0.620 * X_1 + 0.798 * X_2 + 0.075 * X_3$$

where:

Z is the discriminant score.

Table XI shows the group centroids, which can assist in classifying a firm as either bankrupt or non-bankrupt – depending on its score (in a way similar to the 1-year prior bankruptcy case).

Table XI: Group centroids (t-2)

Groups	Discriminant function
	Group centroids
Bankrupt (B=0)	-0,974
Non-Bankrupt (B=1)	0,974

Table XI provides the proposed model's group centroids for t-2. A firm with a discriminant score of -0.974 is classified as bankrupt (B=0), because bankrupt enterprises tend to project a score near that value. Non-bankrupt firms, on the other hand, tend to project a score close to 0.974, hence a firm with a discriminant score near that number is classified as non-bankrupt (B=1).

This classification is done based on the proximity to the centroid values; if a company posts a score close to -0.974 – the average discriminant score of a bankrupt firm (0.974 - the average discriminant score of a non-bankrupt firm respectively), then the firm is categorised as bankrupt (non-bankrupt respectively). A score that is close to zero (middle point) indicates indifference.

Table XII: Classification results (t-2)

Actual	Group Size	Predicted 0	Predicted 1
Bankrupt (B=0)	21	20 (95.24%)	1 (4.76%)
Non-Bankrupt (B=1)	21	2 (9.52%)	19 (90.48%)
Percent of cases correctly classified: 92.86 %			

The model's classification results for the t-2 period are shown in Table XII. 92.86 % of all cases were correctly reclassified using the proposed model. Two years before bankruptcy, the model correctly predicted 20 out of 21 bankrupt firms and 19 out of 21 non-bankrupt firms. As a result, the suggested t-2 model demonstrated excellent classification accuracy, correctly predicting 39 of 42 given cases two years before bankruptcy.

92.86% of all firms were re-classified accurately, corresponding to an accurate prediction of 20 out of the 21 bankrupt firms and 19 out of the 21 non-bankrupt firms. Table XII captures the model performance.

All in all, the recommended model for t-2 (2 years before bankruptcy) accurately re-classified 39 out of 42 firms (92.86%). This outcome is noteworthy and subscribes to the overall contribution of the proposed set of variables in bankruptcy prediction.

Results Three Years Before Bankruptcy (t-3)

Table XIII displays the descriptive statistics three years before bankruptcy for each selected variable for both bankrupt (21) and non-bankrupt (21) companies, and for

all (42) companies of our sample. To perform MDA we used the StatGraphics statistical software this time as well.

Table XIII: Descriptive group statistics (t-3)

Variables	Bankrupt firms (21)			Non-Bankrupt firms (21)			Total firms (42)		
	Mean	Median	SD	Mean	Median	SD	Mean	Median	SD
EVA/TA	-0,1601	-0,0416	0,2659	0,3019	0,0001	0,5355	0,0709	0,0000	0,4818
Quick ratio	0,6240	0,5447	0,5079	1,6647	1,4634	0,9787	1,1443	0,8945	0,9374
(OCF+INT+TAX)/INT	1,5790	0,1119	3,9599	1,7907	0,9841	8,4871	1,6848	0,8188	6,6232

Table XIII presents summary statistics (mean, median, standard deviation) on EVA/TA, the quick ratio, and the (OCF+INT+TAX)/INT ratio across bankrupt firms, non-bankrupt firms, and the entire sample of firms for the t-3 period. The matched sample consists of 42 manufacturing enterprises listed on the Greek and Cypriot Stock Exchanges with sufficient data from the Datastream and Bloomberg databases to compute accounting variables over the t-3 year-period (three years before bankruptcy). Furthermore, the legitimacy of each firm's status (bankrupt, non-bankrupt) was double-checked using the Greek General Commercial Registry (G.E.MI) and its Cypriot counterpart to completely eliminate firms that are neither bankrupt nor operating.

The canonical discriminant functions - displayed in Table XIV - incorporate valuable information on the significance and effectiveness of the chosen variables and the model employed at time t-3 years. This is evidenced by the X2-statistic which posts a high significance (at the 0.000 level), as well as the high level of the canonical correlation for t-3 (0.728), which is indicative of its capacity to discriminate among the groups.

Table XIV: Outline of canonical discriminant functions (t-3)

Function	Eigen Values							
	Eigen value	Percentage of variance	Cumulative percentage	Canonical correlation	Wilks' λ	X ²	df	Sig.
1	1,128	100	100	0.728	0.470	29,078	3	0,0000

Table XIV demonstrates the proposed model's canonical discriminant functions for t-3. Three years before bankruptcy (t-3), the model is quite significant with high overall levels, indicating effectiveness and a great discrimination ability. The standardised coefficients (with values 0.830 and 0.902, respectively) - reported below in Table XV - indicate that the variables X_1 and X_2 exhibit a strong importance as well.

Table XV: Coefficients of the discriminant function (t-3)

	Standardised coefficients	Unstandardised coefficients
EVA/TA	0.830	1,915

AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL FOR BANKRUPTCY PREDICTION UNDER STRESSED CONDITIONS

Quick ratio	0.902	1,130
(OCF+INT+TAX)/INT	0.411	0,061
Constant		-1,530

The standardised and unstandardised coefficients of the model are shown in Table XV, demonstrating the relative importance of each variable in predicting business bankruptcies during the t-3 period. Because of their high standardised coefficients, the quick ratio and EVA/TA variables are equally useful for forecasting bankruptcy three years earlier (0.902 and 0.830, respectively). However, because the EVA/TA variable has a greater unstandardised coefficient than the quick ratio variable, it takes the lead in the equation. The betas in the proposed model's equation are the unstandardised coefficients.

The previous discussion leads to the equation of our discriminant model for bankruptcy prediction three years prior to its occurrence – based on the unstandardised coefficients as demonstrated in Table XV:

$$Z = -1.530 + 1.915 * X_1 + 1.130 * X_2 + 0.061 * X_3$$

where:

Z is the discriminant score.

Table XVI shows the group centroids, which can assist in classifying a firm as either bankrupt or non-bankrupt – depending on its score (in a way similar to the 2-year prior bankruptcy case).

Table XVI: Group centroids (t-3)

Discriminant function	
Groups	Group centroids
Bankrupt (B=0)	-1,037
Non-Bankrupt (B=1)	1,037

Table XVI demonstrates the proposed model's group centroids for t-3. A firm with a discriminant score near -1.037 is classified as bankrupt (B=0), because bankrupt enterprises tend to project a score near that value. Non-bankrupt enterprises, on the other hand, tend to project a score close to 1.037, so a firm with a discriminant score near that number is classified as non-bankrupt (B=1).

This classification (for the t-3 case) stems from the proximity to the centroid values; if a company receives a score close to -1.037 – the average discriminant score of a bankrupt firm (1.037 - the average discriminant score of a non-bankrupt firm respectively), then the firm is sorted as bankrupt (non-bankrupt respectively). Similarly to the t-2 case, a score in the area of zero (middle point) denotes indifference.

Table XVII: Classification results (t-3)

Actual	Group Size	Predicted 0	Predicted 1
--------	------------	-------------	-------------

Bankrupt (B=0)	21	19	2
		(90.48%)	(9.52%)
Non-Bankrupt (B=1)	21	4	17
		(19.05%)	(80.95%)
Percent of cases correctly classified: 85.71 %			

The model's classification results for the $t-3$ period are shown in Table XVII. 85.71 % of all cases were successfully reclassified using the proposed model. Three years before bankruptcy, the model correctly predicted 19 out of 21 bankrupt firms and 17 out of 21 non-bankrupt firms. The model successfully predicted 36 of 42 cases, suggesting high discriminating power and classification accuracy.

85.71% of all firms were re-classified accurately, corresponding to a precise prediction of 19 out of the 21 bankrupt firms and 17 out of the 21 non-bankrupt firms. Table XVII captures the model performance. It is important to note that the model faced greater difficulty in discriminating the non-bankrupt from the bankrupt firms. This clearly showcases the negative impact that the economic crisis had to the core fundamentals of the majority of the firms, even the non-bankrupt ones.

All in all, the recommended model for $t-3$ (3 years before bankruptcy) accurately re-classified 36 out of 42 firms (85.71%). This outcome outlines the appropriateness of the proposed mix of variables in discriminating firms throughout time.

Discussion

A similar study²⁵ was conducted on a solely Greek sample that resulted in a different model that nevertheless uses the same set of predictor variables. Both models (of the present study and of the study for Greek firms only) adjust themselves to reflect the number of years before bankruptcy ($t-1$, $t-2$, and $t-3$); the weights of the incorporated variables adapt as necessary. Both models conclude that the liquidity ratios seem to be the most important indicators when a (probable) bankruptcy is tested in the short term ($t-1$). Nonetheless, the performance indicators prevail (over liquidity ratios) when a long(er)-term (probable) bankruptcy is tested. The chosen combination of variables, used in both models, blends the predicting efficiency of the liquidity ratios (for the short-term) and of the performance indicators (for the long-term). Further blending of the previous ratios with the chosen solvency ratio (cash flow coverage of interest ratio) leads to a model that posts highly significant classification accuracy between bankrupt and non-bankrupt firms, even in times of distress.

²⁵ Sfakianakis (no 12).

A relevant study is this of Gerantonis & Ors²⁶ that examines the success of the Z-score, as initially developed by Altman in 1968, to predict the bankruptcies of Greek publicly-listed firms up to 3 years prior to them taking place. They realised that the model correctly predicted 66%, 52% and 39% of the cases under investigation for (t-1), (t-2) and (t-3), i.e. one year, two years and three years before the bankruptcy actually happened. Even though the results of the model of this study are significantly superior (compared to Altman's), it is of great interest to test the classification accuracy and overall performance of the respective model developed for Greek firms²⁷ that uses the same set of predictor variables, on this study's mixed sample of publicly-listed Greek and Cypriot firms.

As far as bankruptcy prediction one year before (t-1) bankruptcy is concerned, the equation for the model developed for Greek firms²⁸ is:

$$Z = -2.369 + 0.283 * X_1 + 3.474 * X_2 + 0.033 * X_3$$

where:

Z is the discriminant score.

If the firm's discriminant score turns out to be negative (positive), then the firm is classified as bankrupt (non-bankrupt). The greater --in absolute value-- the score is, the healthier (if positive)/ more troubled (if negative) the firm is.

Throughout the mixed sample of the current study, the model developed for Greek firms²⁹ managed to predict correctly 38 out of 42 given cases (90,48%) one year prior to their bankruptcy, even though it was supposed to achieve perfect fit exclusively for Greek listed firms.

As far as bankruptcy prediction two years before (t-2) bankruptcy is concerned, the equation for the model developed for Greek firms³⁰ is:

$$Z = -0.084 + 3.833 * X_1 + 0.565 * X_2 + 0.079 * X_3$$

where:

Z is the discriminant score.

Again, depending on the firm's score, the firm is classified as either bankrupt (negative score) or non-bankrupt (positive score).

²⁶ Nikolaos Gerantonis, Konstantinos Vergos, Apostolos Christopoulos 'Can Altman Z-Score Model Predict Business Failure in Greece?' (2009) 12 *Research Journal of International Studies* 1 - 11.

²⁷ Sfakianakis (no 12).

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

The Z-scores provided by the model developed for Greek firms,³¹ correctly classified 35 out of 42 (83,33%) cases under investigation of the mixed sample of the current study, two years prior to bankruptcy, proving its strong predictability once again, regardless the non-Greek-firm-only sample.

Last but not least, as far as bankruptcy prediction three years before (t-3) bankruptcy is concerned, the equation for the model developed for Greek firms (Sfaki-anakis, 2021) is

$$Z = -1.101 + 5.270 * X_1 + 1.643 * X_2 + 0.013 * X_3$$

where:

Z is the discriminant score.

Once again, depending on the firm's score, the firm is classified as either bankrupt (negative score) or non-bankrupt (positive score).

The model developed for Greek firms³² continued to produce great results three years prior to bankruptcy too, managing to correctly predict 34 out of 42 (80,95%) given cases.

Consequently, the model developed for Greek firms³³ showcased great predictability even throughout its application to a combined sample of two distressed economies (Greece's and Cyprus's) rather than strictly to the Greek listed firms only. That mainly happened due to the fact that both economies share an adequate amount of characteristics and were both distressed during the same 2008-2015 period. The Greek model, unlike the existing bankruptcy models, was destined for a wide application on a distressed economy. As a result, showcasing good predictability on a dataset that consists of firms taken from distressed economies makes sense, even if it is not strictly Greek firms. However, the proposed model of the present study surely achieves greater classification accuracy than the model developed for Greek firms³⁴ when applied to the sample that blends both distressed economies. Nevertheless, both models manage to produce far superior results through their application to distressed economies compared to those delivered by Altman's (1968) 'Z-score'. Regarding the selection and applicability of the models, if one is to investigate bankruptcy strictly on Greek firms, the Greek model appears to be more appropriate. On the other hand, if one is to analyse the possibility of a potential bankruptcy in a more generic frame-

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

work using a dataset based on distressed economies (like the Greek and the Cypriot one), then the proposed model of the current study is the more appropriate one.

The present paper contributes to the available literature on bankruptcy prediction in three directions: (i) it captures the impact of the financial crisis on the evolution of bankruptcies in Greece and Cyprus, the two countries that were probably hit the most; (ii) it employs novel performance metrics, e.g. EVA, in order to predict bankruptcies not only one but even two and three years before their occurrence, thus offering a comparative advantage to our approach over the available approaches (at least to the best of our knowledge); and (iii) it offers a simple model involving three predictor variables that are based on an equal number of financial ratios —established independently of the model in advance and not for the needs of the model— that capture the global status of a company and offer significant classification accuracy.

Conclusion

This analysis aims at offering a fresh approach to the bankruptcy prediction effort among listed manufacturing companies compared to the available literature in the field. To do so, it involved a sample of such companies in Greece and Cyprus. The recorded efforts so far have involved predictor variables taken from financial statements that relied to accrual accounting solely. The first attempt to incorporate performance ratios (such as EVA) among the model variables was our study on the Greek listed manufacturing firms.³⁵ The recommended array of variables unveils the superiority of our models in classifying firms at distressed times. This success is noteworthy as Bhandari and Iyer³⁶ note that only limited papers have employed cash flow metrics and with mediocre results.

This paper relied on an equally balanced matched sample of 42 Greek and Cypriot listed manufacturing firms (including all firms that filed for bankruptcy in the period 2008-2015). The choice of Greece and Cyprus is justified by the fact that on the one hand they have similar economic and social structures, and on the other they both underwent the 2008 financial crisis in a rather harsh manner, which makes them the appropriate candidates for bankruptcy studies. The method applied to our dataset was MDA for periods of one year ($t-1$), two years ($t-2$), and three years ($t-3$) prior to bankruptcy. This led to a model that relies on the same combination of variables (EVA/TA, quick ratio and cash flow coverage of interest) and that adjusts itself depending on the time period that elapsed before bankruptcy ($t-1$, $t-2$, and $t-3$). The

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Bhandari, Iyer (no 23).

model correctly classified 95.84%, 92.86% and 85.71% of cases one, two and three years prior to the occurrence of bankruptcy respectively.

These percentages indicate that the chosen combination of variables exhibits superior classification capacity even three years before the bankruptcy took place. Judging from this result, we infer that the selected blend of financial ratios captures globally the financial health of a company and thus predicts bankruptcies in a reliable manner for Greek and Cypriot firms.

As is the case in all studies, our analysis reveals some limitations, which are not new to the bankruptcy prediction research. We note that the explanatory variables employed (financial ratios and EVA) are derived from accounting data, which means that they are subject to potential calculation errors. Furthermore, a series of possibly significant—for the classification accuracy—determinants have not been taken into account, as their quantification is not always straightforward. Such determinants may be (relevant to) macroeconomic and industry specific conditions, the variability of business conditions, as well as competitiveness.

Future research is envisaged in two different directions. One is to extend the models to Greek and Cypriot non-listed small and medium enterprises (SMEs), considering the fact that the firms studied in the present paper were listed in the stock exchanges of the two countries. Another is to augment the sample space to manufacturing firms from all European countries with distressed economies, thus testing the efficacy of the selected variables to Eastern European countries.

References

- Abdullah, N. A. H., Ahmad, A. H., Zainudin, N., & Rus, R. M., (2019), “Predicting financially distressed small-and medium-sized enterprises in Malaysia”, *Global Business Review*, Vol. 20 No.3, pp. 627–639.
- Almamy, J., Aston, J. & Ngwa, L. N., (2016), “An evaluation of Altman’s Z-score using cash flow ratio to predict corporate failure amid the recent financial crisis: evidence from the UK”, *Journal of Corporate Finance*, Vol. 36, pp. 278–285, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcorpfin.2015.12.009>
- Altman, E. I., Iwanicz-Drozowska, M., Laitinen, E. K. & Suvas, A. (2017), “Financial Distress Prediction in an International Context: A Review and Empirical Analysis of Altman’s Z-Score Model”, *Journal of International Financial Management & Accounting*, Vol. 28 No. 2, pp. 131–171, <https://doi.org/10.1111/jifm.12053>

- Altman, E.I. (1968), "Financial ratios, discriminate analysis and the prediction of corporate bankruptcy", *Journal of Finance*, Vol. 23 No. 4, pp. 589-609.
- Altman, E.I. (1983), *Corporate Financial Distress: A Complete Guide to Predicting, Avoiding and Dealing with Bankruptcy*, 2nd ed., Wiley, New York, NY.
- Altman, E.I. (2000), "Predicting financial distress of companies: revisiting the Z-score and Zeta® models", working paper, Stern School of Business, New York University, New York, NY.
- Altman, E.I., Robert, G.H.&Narayanan, P. (1977), "Zeta analysis: a new model to identify bankruptcy risk of corporations", *Journal of Banking & Finance*, pp. 29-51.
- Anvarakhatibi, S., Mohammadi, R.&Mohammadi, J. (2013), "Investigation of the effect of the value added, earning quality and leverage ratio on bankruptcy in organizations accepted in Tehran's stock market", *European Online Journal of Natural and Social Sciences*, Vol. 2 No. 2, pp. 223-229.
- Asgarnezhad, N. B. & Soltani, M. (2016), "Designing a bankruptcy prediction model based on account, market and macroeconomic variables (Case Study: Cyprus Stock Exchange)", *Iranian Journal of Management Studies (IJMS)*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 125-147.
- Beaver, W.H. (1966), "Financial ratios as predictors of failure", *Journal of Accounting Research*, Vol. 4 No. 3, pp. 71-111.
- Benos, A.&Papanastasopoulos, G. (2007), "Extending the Merton model: A hybrid approach to assessing credit quality", *Mathematical and Computer Modelling*, Vol. 48 No. 1-2, pp. 47-68, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.mcm.2006.12.012>
- Beros, M. B., Recker, N. & Kozina, M. (2018), "Economic and Social Development (Book of Proceedings), 27th International Scientific Conference on Economic and Social, pp. 1-905.
- Bhandari, S.B.&Iyer, R. (2013), "Predicting business failure using cash flow statement based measures", *Managerial Finance*, Vol. 39 No. 7, pp. 667-676, <https://doi.org/10.1108/03074351311323455>
- Bhunia, A., Chand, F. & Sarkar, R., (2011), "A Study of Financial Distress based on MDA", *Journal of Management Research*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 1-11.
- Bunyaminu, A., & Issah, M. (2012), "Predicting Corporate Failure of UK's Listed Companies: Comparing Multiple Discriminant Analysis and Logistic Regression", *International Research Journal of Finance and Economics*, Vol. 94, pp. 6-22.

- Chiaromonte, L., Poli, F. & Zhou, M., (2016), “How accurately can z-score predict bank failure?” *Financial Markets Instructions & Instruments*, Vol. 25, No. 5, pp. 333–360.
- Ciampi, F. (2017c), “The need for specific modelling of small enterprise default prediction: empirical evidence from Italian small manufacturing firms”, *International Journal of Business and Management*, Vol. 12, No. 12, pp. 251-262.
- Cultrera, L.&Bredart, X. (2016), “Bankruptcy prediction: the case of Belgian SMEs”, *Review of Accounting and Finance*, Vol. 15 No. 1, pp. 101-119,<https://doi.org/10.1108/RAF-06-2014-0059>
- Curry, T.J., Peter, J.E. & Gary, S.F. (2007), “Equity market data, bank failures and market efficiency”, *Journal of Economics and Business*, Vol. 1259 No. 6, pp. 667 - 676.
- El Khoury, R. & Al Beaino, R. (2014), “Classifying manufacturing firms in Lebanon: an applications of Altman ´s model”, *Procedia: Social and behavioural sciences*, Vol. 109 No.1, pp. 11-18.
- Gerantonis, N., Vergos, K., & Christopoulos, A. (2009), “Can Altman Z-Score Model Predict Business Failure in Greece?” , *Research Journal of International Studies*, Is 12, pp. 1 - 11.
- Ioannou, C., Lois, P. & Makrygiannakis, G. (2020), “Exploration of the Bankruptcy Risk Levels and their Main Determinants of Acquired Listed Companies in Cyprus”, *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 32 No.1, pp. 137-170.
- Kliestik, T., Vrbka, J. & Rowland, Z. (2018), “Bankruptcy prediction in Visegrad group countries using multiple discriminant analysis”, *Equilibrium. Quarterly Journal of Economics and Economic Policy*, Vol. 13, No.3, pp. 569 - 593.
- Kovacova, M., Kliestik, T., Valaskova, K., Durana, P. & Juhaszova, Z. (2019), “Systematic review of variables applied in bankruptcy prediction models of Visegrad group countries”, *Oeconomia Copernicana*, Vol. 10, No.4, pp. 743-772.
- Lennox, C. (1999), “Identifying failing companies: a re-evaluation of the logit, Probit and D.A approaches”, *Journal of Economics of Business*, Vol. 51 No. 4, pp. 347-364, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0148-6195\(99\)00009-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0148-6195(99)00009-0)
- Lois P, A Christodoulou. (2019) , “Impact of the Global Financial Crisis and Resulting Bail-In on the Audit of Cypriot Banks”, *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 31 No. 2, pp. 79-118.

- Ma'aji, M. M., Abdullah, N. A. H. & Khaw, K. L. (2018). Predicting Financial Distress among SMEs in Malaysia. *European Scientific Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 7, pp. 91–102.
- Mihalovic, M. (2016), “Performance comparison of multiple discriminant analysis and logit models in bankruptcy prediction”. *Economics & Sociology*, Vol. 9 No.4, pp. 101-118.
- Ohlson, J.A. (1980), “Financial ratios and the probabilistic prediction of bankruptcy”, *Journal of Accounting Research*, Vol. 18 No. 1, pp. 109-131, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2490395>
- Panigrahi A., (2019), “Validity of Altman’s “Z” Score Model in Predicting Financial Distress of Pharmaceutical Companies”. *NMIMS Journal of Economics and Public Policy*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 65-73.
- Pasaribu, R.B. (2008), “Financial distress prediction in Indonesia stock exchange: case study of trade industry public company”, *Journal of Economics Business and Accounting*, Vol. 11 No. 2, pp. 153-172.
- Pozzoli, M. & Paolone, F., (2016), “An Overlook at Bankruptcy Prediction in Italy in 2016: An Application of the Altman’s Model on Failed Italian Manufacturing Companies In The 2016 - First Quarter”, *International Journal of Accounting and Financial Reporting*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 293-309.
- Sfakianakis, E. (2018), “Can Z-score model predict listed companies’ failures in Greece? Evidence from an empirical investigation in the Food and drinks industry”, *Empirical Economics Letters*, Vol.17 No. 12, pp. 1403-1410.
- Sfakianakis, E. (2021), “Bankruptcy prediction model for listed companies in Greece”, *Investment Management and Financial Innovations*, Vol. 18 No. 2, pp. 166-180.
- Taffler, R.J. (1982), “Forecasting company failure in the UK using discriminant analysis and financial ratio data”, *Journal of Royal Statistical Society, Series A (General)*, pp. 342-358, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2981867>
- Thinh, T. Q., Tuan, D. A., Huy, N. T., & Thu, T. N. A., (2020), “Financial distress prediction of listed companies – empirical evidence on the Vietnamese stock market”, *Investment Management and Financial Innovations*, Vol. 17 No. 2, pp. 377-388, [http://dx.doi.org/10.21511/imfi.17\(2\).2020.29](http://dx.doi.org/10.21511/imfi.17(2).2020.29)
- Timo, S.&Virtanen, I. (2001), “Economic value added: a simulation analysis of the trendy, owner-oriented management tool”, *Acta Wasaensia*, Vol. 90, pp. 1-33.

- Tung, D. T. & Phung, V. T. H., (2019), “An Application of Altman Z-Score Model to Analyze the Bankruptcy Risk: Cases of Multidisciplinary Enterprises in Vietnam”, *Investment Management and Financial Innovations*, Vol. 16 No. 4, pp. 181–91, [http://dx.doi.org/10.21511/imfi.16\(4\).2019.16](http://dx.doi.org/10.21511/imfi.16(4).2019.16)
- Vasilescu, L. & Popa, A. (2011), “Economic value added: pros and cons”, *Finante – Provocarile Viitorului (Finance – Challenges of the Future)*, Vol. 1 No. 13, pp. 60-65.

**BOOK
REVIEWS**

Tassos Papadopoulos, Archive (4 vols.) **[Τάσος Παπαδόπουλος, Αρχείο (4 τόμοι)]**

Tassos Papadopoulos Research Centre

Nicosia, 2021

ISBN: 9789925775309

This unique publication contains documents and commentary on the history of Cyprus (1934-2008). It is a major contribution to the study of the political history of the former British colony and island Republic. The documents included in this four volume edition come from the personal archives of Tassos Papadopoulos, a UK educated lawyer, well known Cypriot politician, and former President of the Republic of Cyprus.

Tassos Papadopoulos is the first among the first seven presidents of the Republic of Cyprus to have left behind such an organised personal archive. It is hard to know whether Papadopoulos' predecessors, successors and other major Cypriot political figures kept similar archives, or when these archives may become available to researchers and the general public. In some cases, like in that of the late Vassos Lysarides, many of his archives were destroyed during the turmoil leading to the coup against President Makarios and the 1974 Turkish invasion of the Republic of Cyprus. A good precedent for this edition were the memoirs of Stella Soulioti, Cyprus' first Minister of Justice. The second volume of her memoirs contains an important collection of diplomatic and other documents dating from the first years of the Republic of Cyprus.¹ These archives, thankfully, were rescued during the 1974 Turkish invasion. Other than these publications, we are left with personal political commentaries, often of limited documentary value.

The documents included in the four volumes reviewed here, are a small but representative sample of Papadopoulos' voluminous personal archive. Thus, the challenge for the Centre has been organising and digitising documents mainly from the period of 1955-2008. The documents include minutes of cabinet and other government agency meetings on domestic and foreign policy issues, speeches and other relevant documents from the history of independent Cyprus. A good part of this documentary material will be new to the average reader.

¹ *Fettered Independence: Cyprus 1878-1964*, Minneapolis, Mn: Minnesota Mediterranean and East European Monographs, University of Minnesota, 2006.

Papadopoulos, as a young man, was involved in the Cypriot liberation struggle. At the age of 24 he became Minister of the Interior. Since then, he held a variety of cabinet posts, was elected to the Cypriot Parliament and was involved in the formation of various Greek Cypriot political parties. Both he and the late Vassos Lyssarides recommended to Archbishop Makarios the rejection of the 1959 London/Zurich independence agreements, as they considered them to be divisive and granting rights to Turkey in the sovereign Republic of Cyprus. The complete Papadopoulos archives will be available to researchers in the coming years as the Centre continues classifying and digitising these records. The objective of the Centre is to become a scientific institution devoted to the study of the Republic of Cyprus. The archives contain a wealth of historical, political and diplomatic material not easily accessible from other open sources.

Each of the four volumes is edited by a different Cypriot scholar, whose lengthy introduction provides political and historical context of the documents included. Volume I (1934-1974) is edited by Charalambos Alexandrou. The reader will find material on the challenges facing the newly independent Republic of Cyprus and its leadership. Included among the documents are the minutes of the first cabinet meeting following the Turkish Cypriot withdrawal from the institutions of the Republic of Cyprus, and the controversial Plumer document on the plans of the Turkish Cypriot leadership following the collapse of the London/Zurich agreements. There is also interesting documentary material on the so-called 'Akritas Plan', and on the dispatch of arms from Turkey to the Turkish Cypriot community. Included in Volume I is documentary material on the intercommunal talks prior to the 1974 Turkish invasion; on the assassination of Georkadjis; and the assassination attempts against President Makarios and Vassos Lyssarides. Volume I, also includes useful material on the formation of Greek Cypriot political parties.

Volume II is edited by Lykourgos Kourkouvelas. It focuses on post invasion Cyprus (1974-1991). It contains minutes of meetings of the National Council; meetings on the missing; minutes from various diplomatic meetings; the replacement of Glafkos Clerides by Papadopoulos in the intercommunal talks; various documents on the Waldheim initiatives and the Clifford mission to Cyprus. There are also various presentations by Papadopoulos assessing the post invasion diplomatic situation. Other documents include minutes of meetings with de Cuellar, and minutes of meetings between President Spyros Kyprianou and de Cuellar. Volume III is edited by Michalis Kontos. It covers the period of 1991-2003 and examines various proposals

for the resolution of the Cyprus problem and the negotiations leading to the accession of Cyprus to the EU. Some 46 documents supplement this volume. Volume IV examines the period of 2003-2008, the Papadopoulos presidency and his untimely death. This volume includes Papadopoulos' historic address calling for the rejection of the Annan Plan in the 2004 referendum. The title of this volume is the 'rescue' of the Republic of Cyprus, and the accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the EU and to the Eurozone. This volume is edited by Giorgos Kentas. It is an important volume on the crowning diplomatic achievement of the Republic of Cyprus in the aftermath of the Turkish invasion. This is also the period marked by Turkey's attempt to proclaim the Republic of Cyprus as 'defunct', while Anglo-American resolution proposals linked Cyprus' EU accession to the acceptance of plans for the resolution of the Cyprus problem promoted by British and Turkish diplomacy.

Each volume contains a chronology of events for the period under discussion. There are also introductory comments by Chrysis Pantelidis, the first Executive Director of the Tassos Papadopoulos Research Centre; introductory comments by the president of the executive council of the Tassos Papadopoulos Research Centre and introductory remarks by the respected Cypriot historian Petros Papapolyviou, who is now in charge of the Centre. The reader will also find a list of persons referred to in the various documents included in each volume, along with an index of the documents included in each volume.

As Chrysis Pantelidis, the Centre's original director, says in his introduction 'verba volent, scripta manent' (words fly, the written text remains). Anyone interested in the political history of the Republic of Cyprus will find this four volume documentary collection to be a most valuable addition to the literature on Cyprus and the Cyprus problem. I hope that other Cypriot political leaders will organise and open their archives to the general public. I always admired Tassos Papadopoulos for his brilliant mind and his respect for the written record. The Centre named after him has performed a major contribution to the study of Cyprus by undertaking the monumental task of organising and digitising the Papadopoulos archives and eventually making them available to the interested public. This edition should be part of any serious collection devoted to the study of Cyprus.

Van Coufoudakis

Insular Destinies. Perspectives on the History and Politics of Cyprus

Paschalis Kitromilides

Routledge

London, 2021 (242 pp.)

ISBN: 9781032085296

Paschalis Kitromilides, himself an expatriate Cypriot, is a leading specialist in the intellectual and social history of modern Greek culture. This new volume brings together a diverse collection of 14 studies published by him over the years. The title of the book, *Insular Destinies*, reflects the theme which draws the studies together, the focus being on the interplay 'between the inside and the outside'. Here, the more immediate focus on domestic situations seeks to compensate for the tendency of recent political historiography to concentrate on the externality of the island's fate. The manner of external interventions cannot be truly understood without an insight into the long-term political and social currents *within* the island. This point is emphasised by the author. The publication, to use his own words 'hints' at ways in which the modern tendency to compartmentalise historiography can be countered.

The book is divided into three sections, the final one including a substantial bibliography. The first section focuses on the early modern period. Context is provided by a useful account of the island's chequered history from BC until 1959. The ensuing studies offer, among other things, penetrating access to the intellectual yearnings of expatriate Lusignan Cypriots for their island. An insightful analysis of the tax rebellions of the mid-19th century underlines the common needs and grievances of Muslims and Christians in a rural insular society. A study that slightly diverts from the main theme, but one which I found fascinating, is entitled 'The anonymity of a prominent woman in 18th century Cyprus', the prominent woman being the wife of the well-known Dragoman, Christophakis Constantinou. It indicates the extent to which even prominent and powerful women were resigned to remaining in the shadows in a deeply patriarchal society. In a later comment on the diachronistic nature of gender inequality and anonymity, Kitromilides points to an inscription unearthed during metro construction works in Athens, on a stele commemorating the death of a woman who is identified only as someone's wife.

The important study on Kyprianos, Archbishop of Cyprus from 1820 to 1821, re-

verts to the central theme of external influences and consequent domestic developments. The 20 years spent by the young Kyprianos in Moldavia at a time when fervour for the enlightenment and revolution was seeping eastwards from Europe, could not fail, as Kitromilides argues, to influence his thinking, his enlightened attitude to the founding of major schools in Nicosia and Limassol being a case in point. The Archbishop's description of Demetrios Themistocles, the director he brought over from the great philosophical school in Smyrna to direct the Limassol school, as 'a philhellene and a patriot' reflects that sense of being part of a broader community, a sense so vital to marginalised islanders. Nevertheless, Kyprianos' bearing in July 1821, the month of his execution, reflects his keen sense of pastoral responsibility, the need to protect his flock against the consequences of regional turmoil. He is shown to display an awareness of the context of power relations in the Ottoman empire and the ways these power relations affected the collective life of Cypriot society. The admiration and respect felt by the eminent Victorian traveller and writer John Carne, who had met the Archbishop in Nicosia that month, is captured in the final quote from his account of the meeting. 'If nothing but blood would satisfy the governor's cruelty, he was ready to shed his own rather than they should perish'.

In the following chapter, Kitromilides analyses a report by Antonio Vondiziano, representative of the Levant Company, on the situation in Cyprus, for 1821. Vondiziano clearly believed that the Ottoman governor of the island saw the uprising in Greece as an opportunity to decapitate the leaders of the Greek population. In doing so, he sought to subdue his main rivals for the control of the island's people and its resources, long since the main issue in Cypriot politics. By implicating them in an intention to participate in the broader revolution, he received sanction for his butchery. Kitromilides places the report in a vivid context of consular life in Larnaca and publishes it in full.

In the final chapter of part one, Kitromilides turns to poetry, 'unquestionably the most important form of literary expression' of the collective yearnings and aspirations in Cypriot culture. A brief survey of the end of the Ottoman period, when there was no printing press in the island, indicates sparse literary activity. Such activity as there is, is derived, he observes, from a few intellectuals, Cypriots by birth, who moved between the island and the great centres of Hellenism in the Eastern Mediterranean. He describes this as a period that founded 'the systematic study of the Hellenic character of Cypriot civilisation' They would convey to the island, the intellectual currents prevalent in these centres of modern Greek culture.

Kitromilides focuses on the two major Cypriot poets of the early years of Brit-

ish rule, Vassilis Michaelides and Demetris Lipertis. He suggests that, through their work, which began in *katharevousa*, but evolved to composition in the Cypriot dialect, Cypriot culture attained self-consciousness. He emphasises the fact that 'there is nothing folk about their language'. It showed that what was considered a peripheral and, indeed, semi-barbaric Greek dialect possessed remarkable poetic powers and could provide a medium for great art.

But here is where the commonality of the two poets is shown to end. While Vassilis Michaelides is a great epic poet, his gifts as an epic poet comparable to those of any great craftsman of the genre, Lipertis is 'a great master of the art of genuine lyricism'.

Kitromilides observes the negligible English cultural influence during British rule, with Cypriot literature becoming one of the main vehicles of resistance to it in the 1950s.

Part two consists of studies on the Cyprus problem which, written mostly in the immediate post-1974 period, have an immediacy that has since been lost. Readers are confronted with the tragically radical impact of the Turkish invasion on the lives of individual Cypriots and on the long-established patterns of island life. 'As of this time of writing', Kitromilides observes in one study, 'the Cypriot refugees are spending their second winter under tents'. Nearly half a century later, the trauma and pain are dulled.

Continuing on the theme of the interaction between internal and external factors, pervading the studies in part one, Kitromilides' first study in part two, 'The dynamics of ethnic conflict in Cyprus', aims to convey 'a sense of the dialectic between endogenous and exogenous forces which constitutes the essence of every political situation'. He stresses that intervention and imperialism in their subtle contemporary forms are possible, to a considerable extent, because domestic conditions in the 'host' country 'provide the needed opportunities'. Citing Fernand Braudel's observation that events of history 'make use of' Mediterranean islands, he sets out to examine *how* outside forces have made use of the ethnic differences within the Cypriot society.

The ethnic geography of the island is described as 'the most eloquent testimony to the pattern of peaceful co-existence' founded on 'a shared folk piety and a common life style conditioned by the agricultural cycle of rural life'. Even the conversion of Christian Cypriots to Islam, motivated essentially by financial need, did not alter the character of traditional rural society. 'Religion became a pretext for conflict', Kitromilides observes, 'only whenever it was politically motivated to that end'.

This, as well as subsequent studies, analyse how the traditional island pattern of peaceful coexistence was eroded by modern politics, urbanisation and education. Kitro-

milides pinpoints the first stirrings of irredentist nationalism, which were codified in an appeal by the Cypriot prelates and lay notables to John Capodistrias, head of state, in newly liberated Greece in 1827, but observes that it began to manifest itself as a political force much later, accelerated by the social and economic modernisation that took place during the British rule. Meanwhile, nationalism as a political force was inevitably facilitated by the British utilisation of communal separatism in political institutions.

Kitromilides emphasises the importance of the sense of dignity and self-respect created within the Greek Cypriot community by the Enotist ideal. He stresses the significance of having a sense of 'identity with a cultural entity much broader than the Ottoman periphery or colonial parochialism in which the Cypriots were trapped'. Considering the relevance of nationalism in the case of Cyprus, Kitromilides underlines the significance of language.

In medieval Cyprus important surviving sources document a separate Greek Cypriot language that could provide a hypothetical basis for a distinct Cypriot 'nation'. This option was aborted by the Ottoman conquest of the island, which integrated the islanders into the broader Orthodox Greek-speaking society under Ottoman rule, the Rum millet. This development taught the Cypriots that they belonged to a wider ethnic community, a fact that was welcomed from the Balkans to Asia Minor because it brought the promise of modernisation and freedom. It supplied 'a cultural system for making sense of historical experience'. Kitromilides notes that it is a grave error to dismiss the Greek language as an artificial, externally imposed or concocted phenomenon within the island.

In the domestic political arena, allowed during British rule, Enotist nationalism was weaponised by the new political forces emerging from lower in the social strata, inducing a more impassioned response from the establishment. The growing demand for Enosis among the Greek Cypriot population could only invoke a greater consciousness of national identity in all communities. Nevertheless, Kitromilides argues, while inter-communal cooperation was encouraged in rural areas by a modern cooperative moment, disagreement over the future national status of the island remained academic during the period preceding the Second World War, which can therefore be described 'by the absence of ethnic conflict'.

A post-war political atmosphere encouraged promotion of the principal of self-determination, which the British government refused to consider. This accelerated extreme nationalism, spiked by fierce competition between left and right on the island. The outbreak of a violent campaign for union with Greece was bound to raise inter-communal tension, although the Greek Cypriots' target remained the British.

Post Second World War, the Turkish Cypriots, increasingly within a Turkish embrace, leaned towards separatism and partition for the first time.

Kitromilides describes this entrenchment of extremism among the Turkish Cypriots—something, he suggests, that the extremist fringes of EOKA, despite repeated attempts, failed to achieve on the Greek Cypriot side— as one of the most exacerbating elements in the ethnic conflict in the twenty years from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s, because it provided one of the major domestic conduits of outside intervention and the distortion of ethnic relations.

The resulting ethnic conflict was not resolved, but frozen by the 1959 settlement. Kitromilides stresses that the constitutional framework of the Republic of Cyprus was designed to accommodate ethnic differences. In subsequent years, any possibility that economic prosperity would result in any form of ‘integrative revolution’ was effectively blocked by the institutionalisation of ethnic dualism in the 1960 Constitution. The author observes that the strong external linkages make domestic politics very vulnerable to foreign influences and international instability. The presence of fully fledged and autonomous social structures in each group may have been responsible for the crystallisation of ethnic polarisation.

Unusually, the author focuses on leadership failures as a major reason for the inability to control the intensity of intercommunal crises in Cyprus. He argues that, especially in the 1956–1958 and 1963–1964 phases, a motivation to control it was absent and the political leaders concerned opted to press for the full achievement of their objectives rather than accept compromise. ‘Nationalism’, he observes, ‘should be guided and instructed, rather than flattered and extended’. He stresses that ‘this suggestion is put forward here as a point of discussion to be resolved by further research’, but adds that ‘the evidence, so far, seems to support this view’.

Moving on to external interference, which he describes as ‘the most catastrophic and exacerbating source of conflict’, Kitromilides stresses the need to understand that it could only be effective by making use of the developing social and political trends within the island. In the case of Cyprus, he pinpoints the very close relationship between the two Cypriot communities and Greece and Turkey respectively as a key factor, because it fortified the intransigence of the communities on the island.

The author describes Cyprus as a classic case of two articulate ethnic communities, a demographic majority and a substantial minority (in a ratio of approximately 4 to 1) having to coexist in a state, with the easy solution of separation precluded from among their choices by the facts of geography, ethnic demography and economic vi-

ability, yet failing to achieve political community and consequently shouldering the appalling costs of conflict, foreign invasion and violence on a large scale.

Kitromilides describes his diagnosis as 'much more a criticism of the past'. Racial discrimination became, in a way, the price of the minority's agreement to participate in the bicomunal partnership of the republic. He highlights the fact that, because it officially preserved traditional ethnic identities, the republic could not capture the emotional allegiances of its subjects and failed to nurture a shared loyalty for the common homeland. The two communities' aspirations, he stresses, continued in conflicting directions.

The respective nationalist legacies of the majority and minority communities which remained intact in the new political structure constituted a powerful ideological factor which pushed the republic in a direction opposite to that of an 'integrative revolution'.

Not surprisingly then, since the 1960s, what the author famously terms as 'the dialectic of intolerance' which divided the two communities, has tended to silence timid voices against communal isolation and antagonism. I should like to conclude with Kitromilides' salient observation that the motivation of political leadership makes all the difference in the achievement of compromise and that this was precisely what the island lacked. The Greeks felt they had sacrificed too much. The Turks feared they had too much to lose. The major channel through which foreign conspiracies were made operational was the lack of motivation on the part of local leadership groups to make the republic work, however difficult this might have been. External interference has been a major factor, but the author makes the important, yet probably unpopular observation that it is dangerous to use it as a scapegoat. Majorities indeed have to respect minorities' sensibilities and act with good will towards them, as the author stresses, but majorities also have their rights.

Kitromilides attributes part of the reason for the failure to resolve this chronologically thorny issue to 'cognitive inadequacies'. He therefore urges all those who aspire to judge and act in the Cyprus Question to educate themselves. He describes his book as 'no more than a chart for the apprentice navigators in a sea with many reefs and shallows'. I would urge all such apprentices and their masters to make use of it.

Diana Markides

Rodis Roufos: An Author in Trying Times – Occupation, Resistance, Cypriot Struggle
[Ρόδης Ρούφος: Ένας Συγγραφέας σε Καιρούς Δοκιμασίας - Κατοχή, Αντίσταση, Κυπριακός Αγώνας]

Alexandros D. Bazoukis
Epikentro Publishers
Athens, 2021 [pp.480]
ISBN: 978-618-204-075-1

I initially heard of Rodis Roufos when I was a high school student; he was then a consul in Nicosia. At that time, I also learned he was a writer. When the Cyprus struggle ended, he published the *Bronze Age*, his novel about the struggle of 1955-59. I followed closely the discussions and debates related to his publication. In the Cypriot press, critics were perhaps quite cautious or mostly negative because Roufos' novel was considered not to express the reality of the struggle, especially Alexis Balafaras, his central fictional hero. Alexis was a cosmopolitan character who mainly expressed what the writer might have imagined about the struggle rather than the reality of the struggle itself.

At a later stage, I learned that his previous work, the trilogy, *The Chronicle of a Crusade*, consisted more of the narrative of occupation and resistance in Greece from the point of view of the right wing rather than the narrative of the writers of the left wing. Some even saw the *Bronze Age* as a continuation of *The Chronicle of a Crusade*.

As a student in Athens, I made the acquaintance of left wing poet Dimitris Doukakis, who generally had a positive opinion of Roufos' Cypriot novel, and even of his *Chronicle*, although he recognized that his perspective of social classes clashed with his left wing orientation. However, he did recognise his spiritual and intellectual honesty.

He wanted to know why the *Bronze Age* was criticised so much. At the time, the opinion I had about Roufos' novel was not a negative one. It had a good plot and was aesthetically pleasing. However, I had my reservations about the reality the book conveyed, which I found to be largely foreign to the one I had experienced. At this point, I found that those who were critical of him were right. But, on the other hand, I did not agree that a novel should express the easy patriotic rhetoric that many implied at the time.

In an exemplary and exhaustive study, Alexandros D. Bazoukis presents the Greek and Cypriot criticism of Rodis Roufos' trilogy with the general title *The Chronicle of a Crusade* [*The Root of the Myth* (1954), *March in the Dark* (1955), *The Other Shore* (1958), and in a second, improved and consolidated edition in 1972], a reference to the occupation and resistance and for the *Bronze Age* (1960) –in the case of his Cypriot struggle novel.

The author stands with a critical spirit towards the historical and political conditions that shaped the critical discourse towards the work of Roufos, without avoiding, as he mentions, its shortcomings, silences, as well as its anchorings. He discusses its gaps, inconsistencies, ideological and aesthetic regressions, 'all the problematic aspects that were identified from the beginning in the first volume of the trilogy and led the author to a large extent to corrective interventions in the revised and definitive edition of *The Chronicle of a Crusade* during the April's Dictatorship'.

In the *Bronze Age*, the author focused on an attempt to show the continuation of the Dion and Alexis, the autobiographical 'duo' of the trilogy, from Greece in the 1940s to British-occupied Cyprus in the 1950s.

Of course, Bazoukis' research is primarily based on written texts, the criticisms written about Roufos' work and the discussions which followed them. But it is also based on many testimonies of people who knew him, his relatives and others, as well as on information drawn from his archives and especially his correspondence. He also used elements from newspapers and magazines of the time, as well as from recent historical and philological studies. He attempts to clarify the participation and role of Roufos in the Greek resistance movement and the Cypriot struggle, since these experiences formed the material for his novels.

The author of the study also notes:

Given that any 'reality' in works of fiction can only obey the aesthetic necessities imposed by a certain literary genre, the books of Roufos under examination were seen in the light of an idiosyncratic mix of topical (documentary), autobiographical, ideological and adolescent novel.

Between history and literature, ideology and aesthetics, 'reality' and fiction, testimony and apology for (both individual and collective) traumas, the present study -apart from a new approach to his most contested works and a well constructed effort to insert them to their time and the current broader socio-political, ideological and cultural climate prevailing during which these books have been written (but also have been criticised)- has attempted, on the basis

of intra-textual elements and extra-textual synapses and associations offered to 'suspected' (or 'adequate') reader (and researcher), to move with critical orientation and at the same time interpretive in the direction of commenting on various authorial choices of Roufos; the main one of which stood typical characterisation of his works, that is to say that, despite the overtly autobiographical character of *The Chronicle of a Crusade* or the *Bronze Age*, it is not about simple 'testimonies', but about novels.

The book is prefaced by Thanasis Valtinos, the author of *Orthokosta* (1994), who with his novel called into question the left wing orthodoxy on the issues of occupation and resistance. Valtinos' fiction manages to challenge the leftist ideological tone of the period and to highlight, if not steer, the shifting trends in Civil War Greek historiography.¹

The path opened by Valtinos was followed by revisionist historians and political scientists, with Stathis Kalyvas and Nikos Marantzidis being the main representatives. A causative link was established between *Orthokosta* and the so-called 'revisionist' historians who were seen by the Left as justifying the security battalions that cooperated with the Germans.

In 20 March 2004, two Greek political scientists, professors Stathis Kalyvas (Yale University) and Nikos Marantzidis (University of Macedonia, Greece), published an article in the book review supplement of the daily newspaper *Ta Nea* under the title, 'Νέες Τάσεις στη Μελέτη του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου' (New Trends in the Study of the Civil War). What followed was an intense and rigorous debate in the paper's supplement, which lasted for around eight months. The series of articles were published under the general title 'Διάλογος για την Ιστορία' (Dialogue on History).²

It's in this new climate that Bazouki's book about Roufos was written, in an exemplary scientific manner and with respect to the facts. The study offers a new, critical approach to the work of Roufos, by placing it in the sociopolitical, ideological and spiritual climate of the era in which it was created.

It would be interesting if similar studies were written for other authors, too.

Stephanos Constantinides

¹ See the volume of *Études helléniques / Hellenic Studies* 18, No. 1, Spring / Printemps 2010 <https://ejournals.lib.uoc.gr/index.php/hellst/article/view/562/478>.

² See Manos Avgeridis, University of Athens, 'Debating the Greek 1940s: Histories and Memories of a Conflicting Past since the end of the Second World War', in <https://ejournals.epublishing.ekt.gr/index.php/historein/article/view/9400>

I am Cyprus: 25 Stories of the Migrant and Refugee Experience in Cyprus

Annetta Benzar

Armida Publications

Nicosia, 2020 [pp. 216]

ISBN: 978-9925-573-22-6

‘Memory has become a battlefield. We no longer fight with words but with stories... Yet, these stories are soon lost, forgotten, burned to the ground and buried in the soil. Left in suitcases at the bottom of a lake. There is rarely a memorial for them,’ writes Annetta Benzar in the introduction of her book *I am Cyprus*. Her evocative writing makes me imagine a memorial created from concrete suitcases in the bottom of the lake. It reminds me of Nigeria-born novelist Chimamanda Adichie’s warning about the dangers of hearing only a single story about a person, community or country.

Benzar, who grew up in Cyprus when her family moved there from Belarus, has written a powerful, evocative and challenging book about identities in Cyprus, collecting 25 stories of migrants and refugees. These are the people whose stories are not often heard, stories of people trapped in margins and trying to overcome borders: stories of people across the divide, stories of immigrants, of Cypriots and others displaced, of LGBTQ+ individuals, of artists, among others. The stories were collected between 2017 and 2018 and written in collaboration with their protagonists. Her literary and literature background is evident in her powerful writing as she offers her own thoughts, comments and observations: ‘the Old City [of Nicosia] leads you to lose you...’. Or elsewhere: ‘[T]here is a smell, a blend of leftover chili, fresh dog waste, body sweat and mosquito repellent...’ You may not be able to imagine this bouquet of smells, but somehow you feel it. It speaks to you about the atmosphere of the place she describes (the Occupy Buffer Zone movement in Nicosia) and about the kinds of humans and non-humans who were there.

With stories, she urges us to move beyond numbers, or more specifically beyond ‘the numbers game’ which is used by politicians, often through distortion, to frighten and create moral panics regarding migrants and refugees. While there is no doubt that this book is also informed by her academic and theoretical background, her choice of focusing on individuals’ own voices is a welcome addition to theoretical and academic analyses of these issues which, more often than not, relegate the individual

narratives to the margins of the text. By bringing together stories of Cypriot refugees with those of many others who recently fled wars, she attempts to connect the experiences of violent displacement. This is a clear, and I would suggest, welcome political gesture in the context of Cyprus, where Cypriots, even Cypriot refugees, often show little empathy to others' stories of forceful uprooting.

We hear the voices of the protagonists of her stories, which are enlivened through Benzar's acute observations: 'she laughs but there are creases at the corners of her eyes, an anxious frown resting on her face.' The combination of autobiographical stories, enriched with Benzar's evocative writing, provides an entry point into these individuals' life-narratives, allowing us to intimately meet them, sharing their large and mundane concerns, their hopes and dreams, their nasty or positive experiences in Cyprus. While these pertain to stories of concrete individuals, they provide vivid glimpses into broader collective stories.

The power of her writing emerges in part from the shortness of the stories, making the reader crave for more. I hope we will get to hear more from her.

Yiannis Papadakis

Left in Modern Cypriot History
[Η Αριστερά στη Σύγχρονη Κυπριακή Ιστορία:
Από την Ίδρυση του ΚΚΚ-ΑΚΕΛ μέχρι
την Έναρξη του Αγώνα της ΕΟΚΑ,
τ. Α΄, Β΄ Έκδοση (Βελτιωμένη)]

Giorgos Camelaris
Nicosia, 2021 [pp. 473]
ISBN: 978-9963-9422-4-4

[Η Αριστερά στη Σύγχρονη Κυπριακή Ιστορία:
Από την Έναρξη του Αγώνα της ΕΟΚΑ
μέχρι και το Σχέδιο Ανάν, τ. Β΄]

Giorgos Camelaris
Nicosia, 2021 [pp. 377]
ISBN: 978-9963-9422-5-1

The two-volume book by Giorgos Camelaris is an ambitious endeavour that he hopes will be ‘a humble contribution’ to a systematic scientific analysis of the Left in Cyprus. The term ‘Left’ is reserved only for the *Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα Κύπρου* (Cyprus Communist Party-KKK) and its successor *Ανορθωτικό Κόμμα Εργαζομένου Λαού* (Progressive Party of the Working People-AKEL). Although very reluctant to accept this exclusivity on the term, I will use it in the present article as a means for the reader to follow the author’s thoughts and arguments. As noted in the book’s introduction, the scope of the author’s work is specific. It is to examine the extent to which the Left ‘has benefited or caused harm to Cyprus’ course and struggles for freedom’ and whether things would have been different had Cyprus’ leadership acted in unity for the common interest of the people. Thus, what is under scrutiny are the positions and policies of KKK and AKEL on the Cyprus Problem, significant aspects and major events that marked its long history.

The first volume, which covers the period from the first appearance of communist groups in Cyprus during the 1920s up to the start of the EOKA struggle against the British rule in 1955, is divided into eight chapters. It starts with the formation of

the first communist cells, the foundation of the Cyprus Communist Party, in August 1926, and the creation of AKEL, in April 1941. The presentation of the protagonists, the key features and ideological positions, and the main activities of the communist movement is completed with an overview of the situation in the conservative camp. The relations of the Greek Cypriots with Greece from the late 18th to the early 20th century, and the demand for *Enosis* (Union of Cyprus with Greece) are reviewed in the second chapter. The participation of Cypriots in the struggles of the Greek people, the revival of Cypriot hopes for union with Greece following the start of British rule, and the aborted offer by the British of *Enosis* in exchange for Greece's siding with the allies in WWI are described in detail. The communists' choice of independence, as a step to joining a project of Balkan Soviet Socialist Federation, anti-religious views, enmity with the Church and opposition to the mainstream demand for *Enosis*, are examined in Chapter 3. They are viewed as the starting point of a division among Greek Cypriots. The chapter that follows is about the popular uprising of October 1931, labelled *Oktovriana*. The initial negative stance of the KKK towards the events was not sufficient enough to be spared by the British, and the party was outlawed, with its leadership banned or expelled from the island. WWII was another issue where KKK was found to adopt contradictory positions, described in Chapter 5. From an 'indifferent' stance of the KKK for an 'imperialist' war, AKEL adopted a position to 'fight against fascism', and, in 1943, decided to have its cadres and members enlist in the army, to join the allied forces. Next come the end of the war and British offers for a constitution, instead of *Enosis*. Chapters 6 and 7 examine AKEL's new course, which was a solitary one, against the positions of the Church and the conservative forces; beyond the fact that it accepted the invitation to participate in the Consultative Assembly in 1947-48, it also set a new goal, self-government and independence. According to testimonies, there had been, within the party, thoughts about an armed struggle against the British. The aborted effort of the Consultative Assembly led the party to re-engage itself on the track of *Enosis* in stronger terms, under the slogan '*Enosis, only Enosis*'. This was also a period of internal conflicts and changes in leadership. The Chapter on the referendum for *Enosis*, organised by the Church on 15 January 1950, is presented as the only period of cooperation between the Left and the conservative forces, which the author labels throughout the book 'the *Enosist front*'. According to the author, the general view that the initial idea for a referendum belonged to AKEL is not correct, as this idea preexisted in the ranks of the Church and the conservative forces.

In his second volume, Giorgos Camelaris covers the period from the start of the EOKA struggle against the British rule, in 1955, to the vote for the Annan Plan, in 2004. Chapter 1, about the EOKA struggle and AKEL's absence from and opposition to it, is followed by another 12 chapters: The party was outlawed in December 1955 and its leadership held in custody. This did not constitute an obstacle to finding ways to remain active (Chapter 2) and take positions on developments, the constitutional proposals by Lord Radcliffe and the Macmillan Plan (Chapter 3). Representatives of the Left were also present with Makarios in London, in February 1959, and were among the few persons who disagreed with the signing of the London and Zürich agreements (Chapter 4). During the period until the declaration of Independence, AKEL, which was allowed to operate again, supported Yiannis Clerides, who opposed Makarios in the December 1959 presidential elections. Soon after, it had to settle for only five out of 35 seats in parliament (Chapter 5) and became a staunch Makarios supporter until his death in 1977. The party backed the President's attempt to amend the Constitution (the 13-point proposal) as a way of lifting obstacles to the smooth functioning of the State (Chapter 6), while it attributed the ensuing intercommunal conflict to problems inherent to the Constitution, 'a by-product of imperialism' (Chapter 7). Throughout the period that followed the signing of the agreements in London, AKEL sustained its support and voted for the parliament's resolution for *Enosis*, in June 1967, under the weight of threats and pressures against the Cypriot leadership from the Athens junta. It followed Makarios' shift to a 'feasible solution', i.e. independence, in January 1968 (Chapter 8). In the following chapters, the author examines the positions of AKEL towards aspects of a possible solution to the Cyprus Problem in the light of the invasion and occupation of part of the island by the Turkish Army; the issue of the return of displaced Greek Cypriots (Chapter 9), the acceptance of federation as the solution to the Problem (Chapter 10), bizonality as a feature of a federal solution (Chapter 11) and its presence in proposed settlement plans and ideas (Chapter 12). The last chapter of the book is on the Annan Plan, its main provisions, the rejection of the Plan by the late President Tassos Papadopoulos, and the so-called 'soft No' by AKEL, to 'consolidate the Yes' in the referendum.

No theoretical framework is presented by Giorgos Camelaris. His methodology mainly consists of confronting views and policies of AKEL with what the author considers as fundamental positions of the Greeks of Cyprus on the Cyprus Problem, aspects of it and notable historical events. He makes use of an impressive number of citations from a variety of sources and comments on them. The main sources of

these citations come from official AKEL documents, books, party activity accounts and other documents written by party officials; a wealth of press excerpts comes from newspapers published by the first communist groups, and the mouthpieces of KKK and AKEL. The majority of citations in the second volume come from the newspaper *Χαράβη* (Haravgi), founded in early 1956. In this respect, the narrative in parts of the second volume appears as a timeline of views and positions published in Haravgi. For earlier periods, mainly after the founding of AKEL, citations, mainly criticism, and critical views, come from books and documents that party officials at the time wrote after having been expelled from the party or after leaving it.

The main narrative of the author on the Cyprus Problem and notable events is that of mainstream groups and officials, mostly adopted or implied as *the* truth, the correct views and positions that all those involved should have adopted. This approach accommodates the Greek Cypriot writing of history by either presenting facts and their interpretation uncritically or keeping silent on others. For example, while adopting the Greek Cypriot version of events about the Christmas 1963 events and the breakout of violence under the term *Tourkantarsia* (Turkish rebellion), with a focus on Turkish Cypriot arming policies (which is a fact), Giorgos Camelaris did not present any critical account of Greek Cypriot plans to change fundamental provisions of the Constitution unilaterally. The main tool to this change-by-force, the Akritas Plan (and, consequently, the arming of Greek Cypriot paramilitary groups under the leadership of State officials) is labelled a defensive plan, 'not aiming to extinguish Turkish Cypriots'. Not to mention that the escalation of tensions and the armed confrontation that erupted on Christmas 1963 had been preceded by activities and actions by both sides, both in every day politics and everyday life, with violent incidents at a citizen level.

With respect to the above example and the question of the Left's positions and policies since the 1920s, the author's major argument is a valid one; when dealing with the Cyprus Problem, KKK and AKEL adopted a course of political action and policies that lacked consistency, and, most importantly, were not convincing, either as supportive to mainstream policies or in deviating from them. I dare say, the Left's major problem is not that it has not aligned them convincingly with the goals and means of action of the mainstream forces, the Church and the conservative front, but that KKK and AKEL failed to critically assess the situation, the broader environment in the region and the world, and to make genuine proposals and a plan of action of

their own. The absence of strategic planning is what Greek Cypriots have consistently been lacking, endlessly losing battles and ground.

Giorgos Camelaris has comprised a remarkable collection of citations by offering an overview of significant events and reviewing aspects of the Cyprus Problem that spread over a very long period of time. They are very useful as a source of knowledge, as well as a timeline of the evolution of the Cyprus Question. A critical reading of positions and policies of all sides, and, more importantly, contextualising them in the broader environment, not only that of narratives, would have greatly benefited the relevant literature. What was exactly the role of the broader environment and conditions (social, political, economic) that prevailed each time, how these affected Cyprus, what were the positions of other agents and what was the picture of political and other forces' dynamics affecting decisions and action of the protagonists?

As it is presented, the book provides a timeline and arguments that are useful to parties in their exchanges of blame. The long narrative and critical views about the Left would have gained in substance had it been an effort for synthesis and analysis. Such an effort would have greatly assisted the reader to have a deeper understanding of the Left and a critical appraisal of its policies, but also of the policies of Greek Cypriots, and of the substance of the Cyprus Problem as well.

Correction: The lift of the ban on AKEL took effect on 4 December 1959, not on 1 December. This has its own meaning, as this followed the submission of candidacies for the presidential election on the same day.

Dr Christophoros Christophorou

8+2 Myths about Turkish Foreign Policy **[8+2 Μύθοι για την Τουρκική Εξωτερική Πολιτική]**

Zenonas Tziarras

Geopol Publishing

Nicosia, 2022 [pp. 102]

ISBN: 978-9925-7860-0-8

Introduction

Turkish foreign policy is the question that preoccupies, perhaps more than any other, the Greek-speaking world, in journalistic coverage, in the exercising of diplomacy, and in research and analysis. This statement by Zenonas Tziarras, in the introduction of his book, is by no means incidental, since both Greece and Cyprus face serious and longstanding geopolitical problems with Turkey. However, it is also a fact that, despite the importance of the subject, quite often analyses of Turkey's foreign policy are characterised by misinterpretations and myths entailing some basic contradictions. On the one hand, there are attempts to interpret Turkey's foreign policy that exaggerate the capabilities of the Erdoğan government. On the other hand, there are analyses that underestimate the capabilities and role of Turkey.

It is on this very contradiction that Zenonas Tziarras attempts to open a dialogue, through his book *8+2 Myths about Turkish Foreign Policy*, published in Greek by Geopol Publishing in Nicosia. As the title of the book clearly states, this publication concisely examines ten basic myths, aiming to contribute to the public debate over the major issue of Turkey's foreign policy. Most of the myths under examination appear quite frequently in public debate both in Greece and Cyprus. A few of them relate more to how Ankara itself seeks to advance aspects of its foreign policy. The author's selection of the specific ten myths was based on more traditional, as well as contemporary themes of the country's foreign policy that have appeared in international and Greek literature, and also in current affairs.

As the author himself stresses in both his introduction and conclusion, the book condenses thematic sections that could stand on their own as individual pieces of research. They concern separate questions in need of further analysis. This is where the important dimension of Zenonas Tziarras' contribution lies. This specific text was not published with the aim of analysing and comprehensively answering all questions deriving from Turkey's foreign policy and which, in one way or another, concern Greece

and Cyprus. On the contrary, the aim of the publication is to set new foundations for comprehensive discussion and further research, based both on an integrated historical framework and on a specific theoretical framework. In this way, Tziarras' text could constitute an initial attempt at the pursuit of a prospective analysis of Turkey's foreign policy, which would not be limited by the Greek or Greek Cypriot perspective, but which would take into consideration the wider realities of Turkey itself, which, to a great degree, influence the exercise of its foreign policy.

At exactly the same level, the usefulness of this publication in Greek should be noted. Its positive contribution to the prospects for a deeper and more comprehensive dialogue in relation to Turkey's foreign policy is maximised, because the use of the Greek language naturally brings closer to society some of the important issues that concern political and diplomatic activity. At the same time, the myths explored by the book display contradictions, which perhaps form one of the major topics for a comprehensive piece of research in the future.

Structure and Content

Even though the author clarifies, right from the beginning of the book, that this is a concise attempt to discuss the myths accompanying Turkish foreign policy, he nevertheless ensures he sets a more general framework of analysis, which assists the theoretical deepening of the study. According to Zenonas Tziarras, Turkey seeks to become a great power in a position to negotiate on equal terms with the other great powers. It furthermore seeks to change, wherever it can, the status quo to its advantage. In the theoretical framework of *offensive realism*, the aforementioned constitute the essence of the definition of the revisionist state. Therefore, this book tries to reposition the public debate on Turkey's foreign policy, based on the hypothesis that Ankara's goal is not simply to ensure the security of the state, but much more to maximise its power and improve the position of the country in the international system. It is worth mentioning, however, that the author does not confine the debate on Turkish foreign policy myths to a one-dimensional discussion on revisionism. On the contrary, depending on the topic that arises in each section of the book, different theoretical schemes are concisely recorded, that help enrich knowledge and analysis of the policy Ankara is both internationally and regionally trying to implement.

The first myth the text explores focuses on the perception that Turkey's foreign policy never changes and has always been revisionist. As seen from the analysis, for many decades after the establishment of the modern Turkish state, the main direction of foreign policy was to preserve the status quo, with some exceptions, such as

the unsuccessful attempt to annex Mosul, and the later annexation of Alexandretta. In the same context, the author stresses that Turkey's more aggressive policy on the questions of Cyprus and the Aegean was more the result of a defensive–reactionary trend, with the countering of fabricated or real threats to the country's security in focus. On the contrary, as underlined in the book, during the AK Party period, a clearer attempt to change the status quo is recorded, through strategies of expanding Turkey's influence. Therefore, the perception that fosters the view of Turkish foreign policy as unchanging over historical time removes the possibility of assessing greater or lesser risks caused by the current phase of Erdoğan's truly revisionist policy.

The second myth is the one that construes Turkish foreign policy as chaotic and without a plan. It is precisely here that one of the most serious contradictions in relation to the first myth of unchanging historical continuity, or even the perception of a powerful Turkish state that can perfectly implement its strategy, can be found. As the author points out, using the example of Turkey's policy in the Eastern Mediterranean, Ankara proceeds with the upgrade of means, such as military power, that aim to serve long-term goals in the region; however, this policy is not implemented in a chaotic vacuum. On the contrary, it builds on previous efforts made in that direction, even if they were made in a different political and economic context or had different outcomes.

The third and fourth myth are summarised in the following contradiction: on the one hand, Turkish foreign policy is presented as fully rational, while on the other hand, Erdoğan is being portrayed as a completely irrational political leader. The author capitalises on the studies on strategic culture, through which the dialectic relation between foreign policy ideological motives and moments of realpolitik is highlighted -those circumstances, that is, which show that Ankara realises the limitations the international environment can place on its own goals.

The sequel of these contradictions is recorded by the author in the examination of the fifth and sixth myths, where Turkey is presented as a giant with feet of clay, ready to collapse, or a country which can, unhampered, dominate its region. In this context, Tziarras examines developments in the Kurdish problem as a regional issue, and reaches the conclusion that the general trends of the international system, in conjunction with regional developments, do not attest to the possibility of collapse of the Turkish state. At the same time, the author, through utilisation of the theoretical framework of hegemony and the combination of hard and soft power of states, claims

that the efforts of the Turkish state for hegemony are unsuccessful. However, these efforts should not be underestimated.

The seventh myth is the one which considers that Turkey's foreign policy changed because of rejection by the EU and is in juxtaposition with the tenth myth, which promotes the view that in the post-Erdoğan era the country will return to its pro-Western orientations. According to Tziarras, alternative pursuits, beyond the EU, existed even in the early years of Erdoğan's government. Therefore, the anti-Western orientation is not just a result of developments in Euro-Turkish relations, but has a historical depth and is influenced by wider realignments. This, according to Tziarras, is exactly the broader context in which Turkey's foreign policy in the post-Erdoğan era should be examined. Even if a more balanced and smoother relationship with the West is sought, the changes that have prevailed do not indicate that Turkey will turn into an obedient partner of the West.

Finally, the author reveals the eighth myth, which emphasises that Turkey has overextended itself, thus opening up prospects for a dramatic defeat, in conjunction with the ninth myth, which insists that the country is isolated. Tziarras explains that overexpansion is an element that characterised the age of empires and examines the aspects of Turkish expansion through the limits set by the modern international system. At the same time, he underlines that Turkey's isolation is indeed a development which was particularly strengthened after the 2016 coup attempt; however, it was not evident in very critical issues such as the Syrian problem and the confrontations in the Eastern Mediterranean. The author proves that, despite the blow to Turkey's relations with the West in recent years, issues such as the country's presence in Syria and its claims in the Eastern Mediterranean, have been treated, to say the least, with tolerance by powerful countries such as the US and Russia.

Conclusion

Zenonas Tziarras' book constitutes a valuable contribution to the creation of conditions for a comprehensive, scientific dialogue on Turkish foreign policy issues. Both the size of the book (102 pages) and the author himself make clear that it is not an integrated research effort, but a beginning for more comprehensive study of Turkish foreign policy. It should, therefore, be evaluated as such. The decision to write the book in Greek also adds value to its usefulness, since its general subject matter focuses on issues that preoccupy Greek current affairs almost daily. From the content of the book, one can identify different dimensions of a future research agenda in relation to the evolution of Turkey's foreign policy that will, in fact, not be limited to is-

sues of strictly Greek or Greek Cypriot interest. This arises precisely from the fact that Turkey's foreign policy does not focus exclusively on issues such as the Cyprus problem or the dispute in the Aegean. As Tziarras' book indicates, foreign policy priorities can be very different from what public opinion in Greece and Cyprus perceives. At the same time, Ankara's motives for specific political choices can be very different.

Nikos Moudouros

Does Energy Cause Ethnic War? East Mediterranean and Caspian Sea Natural Gas and Regional Conflicts

Andreas Stergiou and Marika Karagianni

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

(UK, 2019), [pp.220]

ISBN (10): 1-5275-4033-2

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-4033-0

The present book deals with a timeless and at the same time topical issue, regarding the possible correlation between energy and warfare or ethnic conflicts. The book analyses the 21st century upgraded role of natural gas and the wealth it accumulates, and tries to provide an answer on whether the successful exploitation of energy resources and the resulting economic benefits can be either a peace incentive or a catalyst for war, especially in 'fragile' regions.

Chapter 1 poses the theoretical considerations between energy and conflict, mainly focusing on a challenging part of the world, stretching from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Caspian Sea. Chapter 2 depicts the European Union's multiple and divergent approaches regarding energy security and relations with its energy suppliers. The chapter further analyzes EU's attempts to securitise reliable alternative energy suppliers through the establishment of new pipelines such as the Southern Gas Corridor. Chapter 3 focuses on the Eastern Mediterranean natural gas reserves, describing all the complexities of potential energy exploitation through supranational cooperation between friendly and non-friendly states in the region. Chapter 4 analyses the energy deposits of the Caspian Sea as a means of meeting European energy needs, explaining in detail the complexities, the limitations and the potentials between the states of the region.

It is interesting to note, within this context, that the book predicts a number of developments that indeed occurred after its release. For example, the energy crisis in Europe after the Russian invasion of Ukraine, which is mainly attributed to EU's indecisiveness to find alternative natural gas suppliers; and to the reluctance of major energy companies to exploit their potential energy reserves due to the coronavirus pandemic. Another prediction of the book is Turkey's assertive involvement in Libya's matters, due to its exclusion from the architectural energy frame of the East Mediterranean region.

The book investigates the relationship and potential interdependence between energy security and geopolitics. It stresses that energy security forms an integral part of the foreign and national security policy of every country that aims to build bilateral political, economic and military relationships. Energy garners the interest of friendly (Greece, Israel and Cyprus) and traditionally non-friendly states (Greece and Turkey) and is therefore associated with geopolitical rivalries on a geoeconomic level. As a result, the geopolitics of energy play a crucial role on the international political agenda.

Based on that assumption, the authors proceed in assessing the impact of large scale energy projects (such as the EastMed Pipeline or the Trans Caspian Gas Pipeline) on regional ethnic conflicts and the overall stability of a region. The study thus focuses on the regions of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Caspian Sea, well known for their energy resources, their multiple ethnicities and their deep-seated conflicts and disputes. The authors attempt to examine whether the exploitation of the above resources could incentivise peace and cooperation among the regional states or if it further complicates the already strained relations between them. According to the authors, the existing energy security literature has so far failed to sufficiently examine the impact of energy on ethnic conflicts, and in the few cases that it does, it provides mainly simplistic or manichaeistic conclusions.

The answer to the main question posed by the authors, of whether energy causes ethnic wars, is a definite no. The authors conclude that energy is an additional factor that either exacerbates existing ethnic conflicts to some extent (i.e Greece-Turkey maritime disputes in the Eastern Mediterranean) or has no direct influence at all, especially when it comes to deep-rooted ethnic conflicts and political disputes (i.e between Armenia and Azerbaijan about Nagorno-Karabakh in the wider Caspian Sea). It is proposed, though, that in some cases energy wealth has deepened the power game among regional actors (i.e Russia's role in the wider Southeast European region), but again it does not turn out to be an overriding factor for shaping relations between the countries involved.

The above thesis rests on the fact that conflict resolutions require quite complex procedures, under a specific political and social context, as well as the establishment of mutual trust between nations. The authors support that energy and the exploitation of resources can hardly incentivise or disincentivise this process.

Indeed, the discovery of new energy resources did not enable or facilitate multi-lateral regional political and defence cooperation. Strategic cooperation and partnerships emerged for other reasons and the energy dimension was either added later or was utilised for rapprochement reasons. For example, the establishment of the East-

ern Mediterranean Gas Forum was guided by broader geostrategic concerns, which reflected common perceptions of the countries involved, regarding their national security, and this despite the fact that energy did lie at the heart of the forum. The escalation of all regional ethnic and political conflicts, as well as the establishment of new regional alliances, had little to do with energy resources and occurred after certain political developments had taken place, such as the Mavi Marmara incident that led to the deterioration of relations between Turkey and Israel.

Indicatively, as pertains to the Eastern Mediterranean region, the authors conclude that the newfound energy wealth has left intact the ethnic and political conflicts that have been haunting the region for decades (i.e. Israel and Palestine), despite the fact that discoveries raised the prospect of regional energy market integration and the potential of collaboration in order to share the economic benefits and revenues. Towards this direction, some countries have signed Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) agreements with each other (i.e. Cyprus-Israel in 2010). Unfortunately, aspects such as high construction and operating costs of the EastMed pipeline, the downgrade of Russian and Turkish economic and geopolitical interests in the region, the impressive upgrade of relations between Israel, Egypt, Greece and Cyprus, have indefinitely postponed any plan about the exploitation of energy reserves. It is highlighted that, eventually, such benefits do not offer sufficient incentives to overcome entrenched political grievances. Moreover, the authors question the common perception that Eastern Mediterranean gas deposits can drastically alter the EU's energy security in the medium term.

As to the Caspian region, the authors reach two conclusions. The first is that Caspian Sea deposits did not bring economic peace, or the prospect of stronger economic integration, or shared economic benefits for the countries involved (Kazakhstan, Russia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Iran). The second conclusion is that the security architecture in the region has not been affected by the construction and operation of the various pipeline projects. The authors also point to the inability of the West (NATO and EU) to pull Caspian countries away from the Russian influence and, moreover, point out that its efforts to resolve the various regional conflicts did not have any remarkable results.

The study also expands on the changing dynamics of energy politics in the 'Southern Gas Corridor' project. Thus, they deal with the EU's energy diversification policy aiming to reduce European dependence on Russian gas, and with the United States' attempts to reduce Russian energy dominance over Europe by enabling EU to import more American LNG, which is a policy that clearly intensifies geopolitical competition between EU and Russia. The authors conclude that the above policy has a negligible

effect on the political equilibrium in the Caspian region. In addition, after thoroughly examining the EU-Russia relationship in the energy sector, the authors point out that Russia's competitive advantage lies in its vast energy resources and its ability to deliver them at a competitive price. By contrast, the EU's competitive disadvantage lies on long-lasting structural deficiencies, bureaucracy and lack of a common ground between member states -as they propose different energy supply sources and their interests thus diverge. The authors point to the 'necessarily symbiotic' relationship between Russia and the EU in terms of supply, as by 2025 Russia's share of EU gas consumption will be around 40%. As a result, the Southern Gas Corridor project is challenged by geopolitical factors and other competing pipelines. It is clear that the war in the Ukraine has upended this evaluation.

The authors also examine the role of Russia's diplomacy in the wider region of the Caspian and the Eastern Mediterranean Sea. They conclude that Russia's energy diplomacy is not politicised, contrary to common belief. They also highlight the Russian 'Near Abroad' interest (the term referring to Russia's broader geopolitical interests) and warn the West that it is not likely to be diminished in the future.

The above important argument seems to be verified today in a somewhat prophetic way, as, following Russia's invasion in the Ukraine and the imposed EU economic sanctions, energy security and sufficiency of member states is at stake and it will remain so, as far as there is no alternative option in the short term.

As such an alternative, the authors examine the emergence of Turkmenistan and its potential as a major energy player in the wider region. The authors claim that the construction of the Trans Caspian Gas Pipeline (TCGP) and its connection with Southern Gas Corridor could be a game changer. An important question lies in price competitiveness, as Russia keeps its advantage in the European market. Turkmenistan's energy policy could also head eastwards to new markets (China, Afghanistan, India). Another important question concerns Russia's potential engagement in the exploitation of Turkmenistan's gas reserves –the so-called 'Russian route', a possibility which poses a risk for the Southern Gas Corridor and EU's prospects.

The authors stress that the key factor would be the price of Turkmen gas in various markets, rather than the geopolitical rivalries, despite the fact that the exploitation of the resources was so far mainly dependent on security and less on economic rationale. Therefore, the authors conclude that the impact of energy trade in EU-Russia antagonism is limited or nonexistent.

Finally, the authors make a reference to the recent Prespes Agreement (between Greece and the Republic of Northern Macedonia) as another point that validates their

thesis. Despite the fact that the expected energy cooperation might have affected negotiations, the various arguments both governments used to convince their parliaments and societies had nothing to do with energy.

All things considered, it is claimed that energy reserves in the regions of the Caspian and the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, could under certain conditions provide an indigenous differentiated source of energy, but these can hardly contribute to overcoming longstanding regional conflicts. The settlement of these deep-rooted disputes does not depend on the successful exploitation of the resources, but instead requires the convergence of various political, social, and traditional security-related factors that hardly correlate with the gas reserves.

Furthermore, it is noted that investment decisions are related to several other conditions, such as energy market dynamics, commercial interests of energy companies, conditions of supply and demand etc. For instance, the EastMed Pipeline remains a difficult project with questionable technical and commercial viability, despite the United States previous political consent, as it is up to the markets and investors to decide whether they will engage or not, based on their own assessment criteria. On a wider basis, it is claimed that trade traditionally occurs irrespectively of politics, as no political pressure has ever managed to alter or curtail entrepreneurship. It is also highlighted that there is no political alliance that could directly or indirectly affect commercial viability and bankability of any project in the regions of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Caspian Sea.

Moreover, the authors point out that efforts should be made to craft a more localised and sustainable energy policy, that takes into account the limitations of the energy markets in the Caspian and the Eastern Mediterranean regions, as well as the technical (in terms of infrastructure etc.) capabilities of the parties involved.

It is quite intriguing that the authors provide original and sensitive information after conducting interviews with eponymous sources serving in high diplomatic, political, academic and business positions. This material is harmoniously combined with rich academic bibliography, creating a very convincing final outcome. As a result, the book could be of high importance to academics, political scientists, historians, policymakers and strategic investments consultants who wish to benefit in the field of energy geopolitics, strategic studies, economic diplomacy and international relations theory.

Stratakis M. Antonios

The Cyprus Tribute and Geopolitics in the Levant, 1875-1960

Diana Markides

Springer Nature, Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan

Cham, 2019 [pp. 259]

ISBN: 978-3-030-13776-2 (hardcover) / 978-3-030-13777-9 (eBook)

If the history of Cyprus pre-1974 remains a taboo -albeit one weakened with each passing year- the history of the early decades of British rule on the island remains hostage to this piecemeal approach observed in most engagements with Cypriot modern history. Even though there are few, but notable, exceptions the colonial history of Cyprus pre-1950 is heavily understudied. As indicated by the publishing years of the now classic works on this period,¹ there is clearly an urgent need today to revisit Cyprus' pre-independence history. Firstly, in order to benefit from the clarity gained by additional decades of distance between today and the early decades of the 20th century and, secondly, in order to use this clarity in further analysing the multilevel effects of 19th and 20th century imperialism and colonialism on Cyprus. Markides' book, which is the subject of the present review, achieves both of these objectives, not only with regard to Cyprus, but also in view of the history of the broader Eastern Mediterranean region; the Levant.

Even though the significance of the 'Cyprus Tribute', the revenue surplus payable to the Porte by the island's early British administration, is broadly recognised in the literature, the topic has usually been dealt with in a rather marginal manner within a broader context of events. This limited in-depth attention may be due to the highly technical and extensively specialised nature of the subject matter, since explaining and analysing the mechanics and the impact of the Cyprus Tribute requires an engagement with specialist terminology and a strong understanding of law and inter-

¹ Filios Zannetos F, *History of Cyprus Island: From the English Occupation until 1911 Vols 1-3* (Ιστορία της Νήσου Κύπρου: Από της Αγγλικής Κατοχής μέχρι το 1911 Τόμος 1-3) (First published 1910-1912, Nicosia: Epiphaniou 1997); George F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus Vols 1-4* (First published 1940-1952, Cambridge: CUP 2010); George S. Georghallides, *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis* (Nicosia: The Cyprus Research Centre 1985); George S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus, 1918-1926: With a Survey of the Foundations of British Rule* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre 1985); Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre 1996).

national economics. As a result, the analysis can be ‘unfriendly’ to both researchers and readers. To the former because of the need to engage with detailed aspects of 150-year-old norms of what -in present terms- could be designated ‘International Economic Law’, and to the latter (especially readers who do not speak English as their first language) due to the need to navigate through a maze of technical terminology, multilateral and bilateral agreements, and a network of early international institutions from the second half of the 19th century onwards.

Despite the challenging task, Diana Markides has achieved to give us a detailed historical account which not only focuses on the Cyprus Tribute and its impact on the island, but most importantly (as indicated by the term ‘Geopolitics’ in the title of the book) also situates the relevance of the Cyprus Tribute in broader regional developments. The book looks at various historical junctures of major significance for the region, expanding from the Crimean War (1853-1856) and the Ottoman loan taken from Britain and France in 1855, to the apex of the period of decolonisation, in the early 1960s. Hence, it covers a period of 85 years. The book is undoubtedly, therefore, a significant addition to past authoritative accounts on the subject, all of which deal with a narrower chronological and geographical scope.

The monograph is divided into six chronologically-ordered chapters, supplemented by an Epilogue and eight Appendices, the majority of which reproduce a number of primary legal sources (Conventions and Statutes). As was the case with previous works by Diana Markides, the present book refers to an impressive range of archival materials, as well as rare secondary sources published in the first half of the 20th century. In addition, instead of a single lengthy bibliography at the end of the book, each chapter lists a separate short bibliography, which is especially helpful for those researching a specific chronological period.

Chapter 1 (1875-1878), sets the scene by illustrating the linkages between the Crimean War and the loan taken by the Ottoman Empire from France and Britain, juxtaposed with the economic, political and geostrategic priorities of the French and the British in the Levant in the second half of the 19th century. It therefore uncovers for the reader the deeper issues leading Britain to obtain the administration of the island in 1878, challenging the ‘oversimplified perceptions’ (p. viii) which usually dictate the narratives on the early days of British rule in Cyprus. One such example is Markides’ detailed illustration of how the British, before settling for Cyprus, had considered the possibility of expanding control over Western Asia through the port

cities of Alexandretta or Smyrna. A witness to the contingency of historical events, and a factor which is often overlooked in mainstream Cypriot historiography.

Chapter 2 (1878-1883) turns to the negotiations between Britain and the Ottomans regarding the exact amount to be annually paid as Tribute. The analysis does not omit to bring into perspective the relevance of other tributes in the region, such as Egypt and the Bulgarian territories at the time, also considering the conflicting politico-military interests in the Mediterranean, and the numerous macro- and micro-economic factors which impacted British policy. The chapter is also illustrative of how the high revenue figures and estimations regarding Cyprus were misleading, as a result of lack of any investment in the local infrastructure of the island during the last century of Ottoman rule. An issue which also had a direct adverse impact on the welfare of the local population well into the first half of the 20th century.

The weak financial condition of the island and the dilemmas this brought for its British administration and the British government in London, are further elaborated upon in Chapter 3 (1884-1900). The chapter is especially enlightening when it comes to explaining the economic factors behind the dire living conditions of the Cypriot population at the turn of the century, which further deteriorated due to the additional taxation towards the payment of the Tribute. In this chapter Markides skilfully oscillates between local politics, including the earliest antagonism between Cyprus' Christian Orthodox and Muslim communities at the newly-established Legislative Council, and the priorities of the British government in London, which was concerned with the potentiality of British taxpayers being burdened with the repayment of the Tribute, instead.

In Chapter 4 (1900-1925) Markides elaborates how during the First World War (WWI) the Treasury kept collecting Tribute contributions, even though the repayment of the 1855 loan was no longer necessary. Once again, this development is situated within a broader geographical context, with references to the other remaining tribute at the time, the one in Egypt. The analysis shows how, in both cases, the tributes became a point of internal political contestation, and yet, during the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne, contrary to Egypt, the issue of the Cyprus Tribute remained unaddressed. Of particular interest was also the discussion of the relevance of the international law doctrine of State Succession, which was used during negotiations to contest the allocation of responsibility for the bonds under the 1855 loan, indicating the longterm direct link and effect of financial agreements between States, and the use of public international law as a negotiating tool in such instances.

Chapter 5 (1924-1931), is perhaps the least innovative of the book, since it deals with the well-studied years surrounding the abolition of the tribute in 1927, up to

the *Oktovriana* revolt of 1931. Here, too, however, Markides does not only deal with the known synergies and rivalries among the Greek and the Turkish Cypriot representatives in the Legislative Council. She takes a step further by illustrating the tensions between the British administration in Cyprus and the government in London, in the former's efforts to exercise pressure for the Tribute's abolition. Hence, the book initiates a new dimension that is rarely acknowledged in literature on colonialism. Namely, the internal disagreements between the British government in London and the governors of the colonial territories, contradicting narratives which usually take a more uniform approach in describing the colonial policy of the colonising powers.

The same multidimensional approach is maintained in the next chapter. It is known that dissatisfaction with the handling of the Tribute by the British was a catalyst for the 1931 *Oktovriana* revolt, and it is also known that the revolt was followed by the oppressive decade of Governor Palmer's rule. Chapter 6 (1931-1945) sheds more intensive light on the years following the *Oktovriana*, with a particular focus on the efforts of the British to reform and improve the welfare and the local infrastructure. Palmer is not portrayed solely as the dictatorial governor he is so often described as. Instead, he is also illustrated as a reformer, who wanted to increase foreign investment and establish a naval base in Famagusta, in an effort to make up for the revenue taken away from the local population under the pretext of the Tribute in the previous decades. Though potentially controversial, there is no doubt that this approach opens another previously neglected aspect of the island's colonial history, by shifting the focus away from the nationalisms of the two dominant ethnoreligious communities, and onto the priorities, actions and omissions of the colonial administration and the British government during the *Palmerokratia*. In parallel, the book continues to link local developments with broader imperial considerations in the Aegean, Egypt, and Palestine.

The substantive chapters are brought in line with the more recent history of the island in the Epilogue, which brings into the picture developments from the 1950s and 1960s. Therein, Markides shares extensive information and concrete figures on plans for reform and military spending in Cyprus at the time, including a plan for an air base in the Mesaoria plain, and a naval harbour in Famagusta (p. 215). Projects through which the British hoped to keep the local population in control, and which, had they been implemented, would have changed completely the face of the territory of the island as we know and experience it today. During the 'troubled' 1950s and 1960s, internally the Tribute was not an issue any more, even though it briefly resurfaced as part of the 1956 Radcliffe proposals for the island's governance (p. 217).

It is impressive, however, that the issue did maintain ‘an ethereal and sometimes troubling presence’ (ibid.) for British governments, even after the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, since it was not sooner than 1970 that the Treasury destroyed the last redeemed bonds of the 1855 loan (p. 226), burying the last traces of a chapter that had opened more than a century earlier.

Considering the breadth of the chronology and scope of issues addressed in the book under review, there is no doubt that the book would be of interest to anyone studying the politicoeconomic developments in the ‘Levant’ at the turn of the 20th century, regardless of disciplinary background. As an international lawyer, I found the book to be particularly informative on the financial and strategic machinations that impacted the last decades of Empire. The book is compatible with the ‘historical turn’ experienced in international legal research over the last two decades, some of which focuses in particular on the linkages between colonialism, international economic policy, and the impact the latter has to this day.² In that regard, I would be particularly keen to recommend the book to anyone researching colonial (pre-WWII) economic policy.

Even though at times the book could have taken a more critical position vis-à-vis the numerous actors the book engages with, Markides has written yet another well-researched, highly informative and exceptionally detailed historical account. The book’s broader geographical scope, which from my perspective constitutes its most significant innovation, offers important contributions to the interdisciplinary dialogues that need to take place if we are to improve our understanding of the subtle (often overlooked) connections that keep linking together the peoples of ‘the Levant’. Written a whole century after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, and an even longer time since the Crimean War - two definitive historical events for the territories expanding from the Black Sea, to the Balkans, and the Eastern Mediterranean - the book is especially timely given the renewed levels of uncertainty across these regions, at the time of writing.

Nadia Kornioti

² Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge: CUP 2005); Sundhya Pahuja, *Decolonising International Law: Development, Economic Growth and the Politics of Universality* (CUP 2011).

On Journalistic Ethics [Περί Δημοσιογραφικής Δεοντολογίας]

Giorgos Pavlidis

Ilias Epiphaniou Publications

Nicosia, 2021, pp. 368

ISBN: 978-9925-581-26-9

The contrast is too stark to remain unnoticed and uncommented on: at a time when journalism is going through a crisis and is being challenged, new and important publications are added to the literature that explores the theory and application of journalism. One of these publications is by the author Giorgos Pavlidis, titled *On Journalistic Ethics*. Its importance is highlighted by the author's work and activities. Apart from his teaching work, Pavlidis is the director of the Institute of Ethics and Public Policy of the Institute for Mass Media, and for many years, he was a member of Cyprus' Journalistic Deontology Board. Pavlidis' experience is reflected throughout the pages of the book and in the mixture of theory and practice that permeates it from beginning to conclusion.

The book is structured in three parts. The first part presents a contemporary theory of journalism for our time. This section is the most interesting. The second part consists of three investigative themes. Two of these have been drawn from recent experience in Cyprus and, as case studies, they both offer a test of the theory and lead to certain conclusions. The first case concerns a much-discussed interview given by singer Notis Sfakianakis to CyBC (PIK, the Cypriot public broadcaster). The second case concerns the coverage of the Helios, 14 August 2005 airplane tragedy by the Cypriot media. The third part includes public speeches and statements by the author regarding issues related to ethics, fake news, self-regulation, etc.

The special contribution of Pavlidis to journalism theory is found in the first part of the book, which consists of six chapters. It focuses on the 'moving target' of ethics, on all that surrounds and guarantees the two rules of journalism: First, report and make nothing up, and, second, trust your reporting.¹

In the first chapter, entitled Force of Authority, the author briefly reviews the impact of the media since the 20th century and to the present day. Two (of the many) highlights:

¹ Schudson, M., *Journalism: Why it Matters* (2020).

- The US bombing of Libya, on 16 April 1986, at a time coinciding with the highest... TV viewership.
- The spread of the Italian billionaire tycoon and politician Silvio Berlusconi's media empire.

If the first event encapsulates the use of the media by political power to secure consensus,² the second condenses the identification of the media with political and economic power. These are changes that fundamentally alter the conditions under which opinion is formed in the public sphere.³ Alongside the above, we can add that social reaction is also often subject to the allure of the image, resulting in Prime Time Activism, as media critics have described Greenpeace's attempt to attract TV media coverage with its inflatable rafts.⁴

From the second chapter, entitled Theory and Practice, we would single out the discussion the author initiates, a discussion on subjectivity and objectivity in reporting the news and/or fake news. Pavlidis, while defending the obligation to report the facts with the greatest possible accuracy, acknowledges at the same time the relativity that accompanies all reporting. For him, 'the observer paints events, he doesn't photograph them. In addition, as is the case with every painter and every artist, the observer-journalist will draw the picture as he perceives it, as he himself experiences it. It is up to him to choose what to put first and what to put second. What to emphasise and what not to emphasise, which hue will dominate' (p. 66).

The third chapter, entitled Dependencies and Incompatibilities, lists all those conflicts that divide journalists and which led the editor-in-chief of the New York Times to the not at all honourable conclusion that 'we are just intellectual prostitutes'.⁵ There are financial dependencies since the media are also businesses and not charities, attempts at bribery, advertising that funds the media, and, finally, three more types of dependencies: political-party, state-national and social relations' dependencies. It is a web of conflicts that permeates the lives of journalists and the media and that has been systematically targeted by codes of conduct and attempts at regulation. The aim each time is to preserve impartiality and integrity to the highest possible degree.

² Herman, E. Chomsky, N., *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988).

³ Habermas, J., *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (MIT Press, 1991).

⁴ Bolz, N., *Das ABC der Medien* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2007).

⁵ Boyer, O. R., *Labor's Untold Story* (1979).

The next three chapters constitute, in our view, the book's greatest contribution to journalism studies in Greece. The fourth chapter examines the self-regulation of media and journalists as a response to the deregulation of the broadcasting landscape and a simultaneous rejection of the arguments and practices of regulation. For the author, choices made by the Greek press, such as its stance in the 2015 Greek referendum, have led to the complete discrediting of press functionaries in the eyes of the citizens. This is evidenced by the very low ranking of Greek media in terms of credibility, indicatively in 36th place among 38 countries,⁶ in the context of international surveys. The author analyses the proposal of the Cyprus Committee on Journalistic Ethics (CCE) for a model of 'regulated self-regulation'. The term is derived from the German model of the operation of broadcasting supervisory authorities. The three pillars on which the CCE's proposal is based are:

- First, self-regulation -journalists decide their own affairs.
- Second, training of journalists and development -submission of their own proposals when there is a breach of ethics.
- Third, legal safeguarding of the Commission's independence.

The next chapter briefly outlines the history of the most important ethics codes and committees that have attempted to preserve the integrity of the profession since the 19th century. The author singles out the Convention of Bordeaux (1954), of Munich (1971), and of *The Washington Post*, that were systematised into a written text in the late 1980s.

The responsibility of journalistic organizations themselves to set ethical boundaries has been repeatedly pointed out in the relevant literature. In one view (of many), since there are no journalism laws, no regulations, no professional licensing, and no formal self-policing, and because journalism by its very nature can provide opportunities for exploitation, the burden falls heavily on the ethics and judgment of each journalist and the organisation in which they work.⁷

G. Pavlidis focuses on the code of journalism at the newspaper that featured in director Steven Spielberg's 2017 film *The Post* because of 'the measures the newspaper is taking to ensure the independence of its journalists. These measures touch on journalists' privacy, their interests, their "beliefs", their connections, and even the

⁶ Reuters Institute & University of Oxford, *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2019* (Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2019).

⁷ Kovach, B., Rosenstiel, T., *The Elements of Journalism (What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should Expect)* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2001).

interests that they and their relatives have. The Code makes it clear from the outset that all reporters and editors are required to inform the head of the press department of any financial interests that may conflict with their journalistic duties or merely create such an impression' (p. 175).

Particularly useful is the brief description the author then gives of the codes of ethics of many European countries: Austria, Belgium, France, Belgium, Germany, etc. Their comparative evaluation brings to the surface weaknesses, strengths, and, more importantly, the need for constant modernisation and renewal of the framework in Greece and Cyprus.

The first part concludes with an examination of the functioning of the Independent Regulatory Authorities in the audiovisual sector in Europe, which started their operation in the 1970s and 1980s in the wake of the privatisation of broadcasting. Since then, with constant technological progress and the convergence of technologies, the scope of regulation has changed dramatically. New areas are also constantly emerging that require regulation, such as copyright, the protection of citizens' privacy, etc. However, within contemporary explorations of journalistic ethics conducted in the quicksand of the last decades' changes, it has been pointed out that 'despite the vagaries of a "most viewed stories" popularity contest, we must honour the fundamental duty to report accurate, fair, substantive and indispensable information while surviving in the marketplace'.⁸

Finally, the author focuses on the Cypriot Regulatory Authority established in 1998 by a law regulating the foundation, establishment, and operation of private radio and television broadcasters in Cyprus.

By stating that the 'news platforms' Facebook, Twitter and Instagram are linked to software giant Microsoft, the author betrays a superficial relationship with developments and competition in the area of Big Tech (Smyrnaiois, 2018).⁹ Its main characteristic is the creation and dominance of an oligopoly often rendered by the acronym GAFAM (Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon, Microsoft). The dominance of this oligopoly is not only associated with aggressive acquisitions and mergers (Instagram and WhatsApp by Facebook, YouTube by Google through its parent Alphabet, etc.), but also with collusion and fierce competition. It is in this environment that the re-

⁸ McBride, K., Rosenstiel, T., *The New Ethics of Journalism – Principles for the 21st Century* (Sage, 2014).

⁹ Smyrnaiois, N., *Internet Oligopoly, The Corporate Takeover of Our Digital World* (Emerald Publishing Limited, 2018).

cent EU attempt to regulate the digital market by imposing restrictions on Big Tech's activities developed .¹⁰

However, Pavlidis' book condenses years of field experience and examines it through the eyes of an expert under the light of a constantly evolving theory, informed by two directions: The innovations taking place in media news and the progress achieved by ethical philosophy. It is a book that is useful for academics and scientists in the field of journalism, because of its specialisation in the field of deontology and ethics, as well as for journalists and citizens, because it teaches them to become more demanding towards the media. Moreover, the deepening knowledge of citizens and journalists, as similar publications proliferate, is one small contribution that can help overcome the crisis and benefit the journalistic profession.

Leonidas Vatikiotis

¹⁰ Espinoza, J., 'How Big Tech Lost the Antitrust Battle with Europe' *Financial Times* (London, 21 March 2022)

Philosophy of Law.
Basic elements – Methods – Currents of Thought
[Φιλοσοφία Δικαίου.
Στοιχεία – Μέθοδοι – Ρεύματα Σκέψης]

Charis Papacharalambous
Eurasia Publications
Athens, 2021 (pp. 360)
ISBN: 978-618-5439-34-7

The famous remark of that judge who, a few decades back, had confided that ‘books on legal interpretation and spirituality’ are the two types of publications he insisted *not to read*¹, seems to apply still today (at least for the former, dare we say, of the two book genres). Philosophical readings of law are anything but attractive for quite a few legal practitioners, who tend to profess instead a ‘straightforward engagement’ with –or a ‘pragmatic approach’ of– the field; in fact, ignoring that such a choice implies *already* some sort of theoretical stance. Whether, for instance, our practical-minded lawyer favors the idea that each applicable legal rule in a case has a ‘straightforward’, ready-made content (either drawn upon its textual semantics or the, so-called, legislator’s intent), or whether he/she proclaims that the law is nothing more ‘in practice’ than what the courts mean to apply, in both cases he/she adheres, however unconsciously, to a certain school of thought *within philosophy of law*; albeit, in our view, among the least philosophically interesting and sound, i.e. *legal positivism* (in both its versions: textualist and originalist) in the first case, *legal realism* in the latter.

Now, while encountering the indifference of the general legal audience,² philoso-

¹ James M. Landis, ‘A Note on “Statutory Interpretation”’ (1930) 43 (6) *Harvard Law Review* 886.

² Philosophy of law, needless to say, meets a fortiori with the indifference of the general, *non-legal*, public: the field is, after all, presumed to combine the technicalities of law with the –even more complex– philosophical jargon. From another point of view however, the case could very well be the inverse. Though a specialised law book obviously does not enlist non-specialists to its potential readers, the case might differ with a philosophy of law oeuvre: Such a work is not confined to just theorize upon the relevant problems of legal science, legal practice and procedures, but inevitably poses *the very question of justice as a philosophical problem*. It can serve therefore as an ideal point of entrance for a critical acquaintance with the field, appealing to the informed, even if not legally trained, reader. After all, no other socio-cultural area than the law actually concerns us all, directly affects each and every one of us in our everyday life, see what the lawyers call ‘normative effect’/‘regulatory power’ of the law. (Quite not surprisingly, the above remark, *sound to the core in any case*, serves as a famous opening line –and

phy of law scholarship is being normally carried out itself in a manner of somehow parallel theoretical soliloquies (on behalf of its community members). As it has rightly been pointed out,³ while other law field academics teach or write upon a, more or less, *commonly shared scientific scope and subject matter*, it is rare that two philosophy of law papers or teaching syllabi *do seem alike*. Not only concerning the areas and key-subjects they touch upon, but also their theorising approach. A certain distinction, moreover, which is often being used in the field,⁴ i.e. the ‘jurists’ legal philosophy’ vs ‘philosophers’ legal philosophy’, in other words the philosophical explorations having to do with the underlying problems of law and legal science (such as the truth-value of legal propositions, methodology of legal reasoning, foundations of the normativity of law etc.), as –supposedly– distinct from the broader philosophical questions concerning law and justice (see *what is a just society, how can a polity be legitimate* etc.), obscures rather than clears up the whole matter –especially if being put, in absolute terms, as a clear cut dividing-line.

Without a doubt, we are truly dealing here with an area of –radically– competing argumentations, methodologies, standpoints; regarding in any case debatable concepts and elusive values (justice, freedom, equality, interpretation, science, rights, political society, etc.); invoking after all a long history of thought that actually precedes its own history: human Reason got into reflecting upon law and justice many centuries before the philosophy-of-law field acquired its own discipline and name, which happened not before the late 18th/early 19th century. While the discipline’s own boundaries, in addition, need always to be defined and redefined (intersections with political and moral philosophy, contemporary theory etc.). In the meantime, we cannot simply undertake the work of recapturing, commenting on, or conversing with the above discourses and debates, *without doing philosophy on our own* (let us recall the famous Kantian line, according to which we cannot *learn philosophy*, but only *learn to philosophise*).

The book under review has the actual intent and proper resources to tackle the above issues, aiming to *address itself directly*, on one hand, to the *general legal audi-*

a successful, after all, *pen strategy* in order to capture the reader’s interest– for quite a few classical juridico-philosophical first pages, see inter alia Ronald Dworkin’s *Law’s Empire* and Karl Engisch’s *Einführung in das juristische Denken*, to cite but a couple of authoritative examples).

³ Raymond Wacks, *Understanding Jurisprudence. An Introduction to Legal Theory* (3rd edition, Oxford University Press, 2012) 2.

⁴ A distinction initially posed by the Italian philosopher Norberto Bobbio; it is used, nowadays, in most cases out of Bobbio’s context, having resulted in a rather uncritical obfuscation.

ence: it covers thoroughly, in a clear and systematic manner, all the ‘textbook topics’ and questions of the field (e.g. ‘natural law vs positive law’), along with ‘newer’ and rather cutting-edge approaches (e.g. legal feminism, psychoanalysis, etc.). The book truly serves, in this case, its own primary intention (as expressly stated by the author, p. 11), that is to fill a certain gap in the literature, actually, presenting a concise Greek-speaking *introductory work* to philosophy of law.

At the same time, on the other hand, the book makes an original, as we will try to show on the following lines, contribution to the specialised philosophy-of-law debates. The author proves first of all to be fully aware of the academic literature of the field (general, systematic or thematic-oriented), both international and Greek-speaking. The author is not only engaging critically with all the different approaches and lines of thought, but also never actually shows reluctance to debate them. He does so, adhering to certain *theses* and broader lines of *argument* that pervade the book, along the conversations, and adding a certain philosophical signature, which we will try to indicate and comment on. This contribution is *especially welcome* on behalf of everyone, within the legal philosophy community, who favours a critical theoretical approach in regards to law and justice (see –inter alia– *reflecting substantially on their very historical and social conditionalities*); whether or not they share entirely the philosophy standpoints of the author. We intend not to proceed with a chapter by chapter presentation. We basically aim at capturing the aforementioned broader lines and signature-marks.⁵

From the very first pages already, while exploring definitional, introductory and field-delineating issues of the discipline (i.e. what is philosophy of law and why it matters, as distinct from the science and theory of law, history of law, sociology of law et al.), the author comes to grips with the issue of the *law-and-morality relations*, a theme that keeps recurring in various lines along the book. Let us broadly recall that the ‘natural law/positive law’ debate, which is one of the age-old instances of the above relation problem, is not at all about defining the law in abstract; properly understood, it has to do with the core-problem of legal philosophy, regarding the values that come into question when dealing with the issue of human coexistence under general laws and legal institutions. As the author vividly states (p. 20), no matter if goddess Athena had initially commanded the cycle of private violence and unilateral claims of justice to end *in favor of a public legal system*, Antigone steadily comes

⁵ In any case, we will refrain from touching upon lines of thought and references of the author, with which we have not but minimal theoretical acquaintance (as in the cases of Heidegger and Deleuze).

reinstating the radical *demand for critique of the legal establishment* (see references to Aeschylus' *Oresteia* and Sophocles' *Antigone*, respectively). No wonder, then, that this issue comes reemerging implicitly to our everyday life, in the form of (political) critique of social injustices and arbitrary rule.

Papacharalambous proceeds in the book with a concise and handy reconstruction of the basic 20th century philosophical currents in law and legal thought: the resurgence of natural law theories, contemporary legal positivism and its variants, attempts for a *post-positivist* theoretical stance such as the 'legal interpretivism' of Dworkin et al. (ch. 5-6). All the above theories, more or less, notwithstanding legal positivism (which tends to present itself as rather *agnostic* in regards to values-discourse), touch upon the background matter that has to do with the normative grounds for living under a –coercive– legal and political system. The specific problem with legal positivism is not that it fails, contrary to its own proclamations, to cast all values-discourse and normative reasoning aside (e.g. professing social and legal stability). What is alarming, as Papacharalambous lucidly observes (see pp. 17-19, 100-105), is that the particular *normative thesis* legal positivism (wittingly or not) actually endorses, i.e. *the need for social stability and legal certainty*, ends up equating –due to its self-referring structure and its radical 'ethical indifference'– to a blind affirmation of *any political will in power* (as in the classical, Austin-type legal positivism), or *any legal functioning of just a competent body* (see the *legal voluntarism* of modern-day positivist theories).

Papacharalambous equally deals, in other chapters, with the methodological and epistemological aspects of law, i.e. the concept and sources of legal rule, legal interpretation and methods, the epistemological status of legal science, etc. (mostly on chapters 2-4). The problem areas that stand out here as of particular importance concern, a. the matter of the *truth-value of legal propositions* (pp. 50 ff.) and, b. the question *whether the law is 'science or art'* (71 ff.). Those problem areas are certainly interconnected, since they deal with the very nature –and *possibility*– of *knowledge about law and in law*.

The author rightly points out that the propositions about law are not subject to a (Popperian) falsification scheme, a truth-ascribing enterprise that *befits, strictly, the natural sciences* (p. 50). On the other hand, as the author insists throughout the pages, 'rightly thinking' about the law, whether it refers to dealing with particular legal issues, whether it relates to acquire certain knowledge about the legal system as a whole, does not depend at the end upon some sort of 'proper legal methodology' (e.g. inferring validly in terms of formal logic, recapturing the actual legislator's intentions,

or reconstructing the basic legal system's evaluations and principles –as suggested by various legal-method schools and viewpoints). It does not depend either, according to the author, upon a background theory of an 'ideal normativity', such as Habermas' 'communicative ethics', Rawls' 'theory of justice' or Dworkin's 'law as integrity' (see reconstruction and critique of the above theories in pp. 50 ff., 143 ff., 120 ff.).

The error the above approaches actually commit, according to Charis Papacharalambous, is that they build upon a *deontologically tainted* standpoint, that abstracts from the actual injustices of present social arrangements; a key point which the author in various lines reverts to. Legal positivism, along with all 'legalist' theories after all, remain blind to radical 'demands of justice', ending up being no more no less than just as an *instrument for the reproduction of systemic injustices*. Ideal theories of justice, on the other hand, address normative values that turn out to *generate false consciousness* (in fact idealising the actual legal institutions or masquerading real-life social conflicts). As the author remarks at this point, critical jurisprudence is expected nowadays to be self-reflective, engaging not exactly in, and no more than, just a philosophical normative endeavor, but –somehow inversely– into a *critique of normative ideology* itself (p. 71 and passim). Professor Papacharalambous steadily concludes throughout the pages (echoing in the case a *Frankfurtian critical theory* leitmotif) that the conventional representations of law are nothing but a 'false totality', maintained just by the exercise of power. The author is driven, therefore, to integrate substantially in his whole critical project: 1. a thorough examination of, what is famously called after Foucault, the 'micro-physics' of *power* (ch. 8-9); and 2. a certain philosophical treatment of justice that 'puts actual injustices and cruelty first' (ch. 10-11).

Legal philosophy, as the author argues, cannot properly theorise on law without dealing with *the problem of power and subtle power relations, political, economic, societal etc.* Little wonder then that the author deals at length on chapter 8 with: 1. Carl Schmitt's theory (pp. 178 ff.), whose 'political existentialism' keeps, for certain, addressing a thought-provoking challenge, regardless of whether we sympathise critically, we stand in radical rivalry, or whatever; 2. the American Critical Legal Studies movement, a school of thought that eminently rejects 'autonomous legal reasoning' and opts, instead, for grasping the *power politics beneath and within* the law, legal processes, interpretation etc. (pp. 163 ff); 3. Marxist readings, that unravel the law as consolidation of a certain balance of power (and class struggle) within capitalism, e.g. the brilliant analysis of Nicos Poulantzas, on whom the author insists (pp. 155 ff.).

Against this backdrop exactly, chapter 9 undertakes a critical examination of the

unequal relations of power *in the field of gender* (see patriarchy, gender violence, etc.). The author covers the whole range of basic feminist tenets and schools (i.e., *equality feminism, difference feminism, postmodern feminism*), leading skillfully to the current debates about *intersectionality/intersectional inequalities*; that is, the analytical framework that examines the way various forms of power and discrimination, based on gender, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation or gender identity, disability, etc., *intersect each other* and basically *compound themselves*.

Charis Papacharalambous has steadily remarked throughout the chapters that the philosophical study of justice is not at all some kind of a mere *philosophia contemplativa* project. Nor can we bet over the path, to his understanding, on some sort of ‘ultimate foundations of justice’, ‘essentialist moral criteria’ or an alleged ‘objective metatheory’ (pp. 71, 106, 131, 208-218). So, what are we left with, to be critically oriented in our philosophical reflection? The author appears to echo, once again, certain Frankfurtian theses, looking in the case for a broader ‘rationality’, rooted rather in the *nonconceptual* and the *experience of human suffering*. Already from the introduction of the book, he has preached for a ‘historically informed’ philosophy of law (p. 13), that treats and reconstructs its very subject-matter as a ‘palimpsest manuscript, engraved by the traces of history and the scars of human suffering’ (op. cit.).

Now, the philosophical direction –standing also as some sort of concluding thesis– that the author paves the way for at the final chapters (10-11) is the following (see pp. 213-218, 224-233, 247-254 and *passim*): Scars of human suffering and –past and present– wounds are the *ultimate material stands for the imperatives of justice*. Justice is therefore set as *infinite*, unattainable indeed; yet at the same time as *clear-cut commanding*. It turns out to be nothing else but our ‘infinite responsibility towards the Other’ (an idea drawn upon Levinas) –the other person being actually understood in his/her radical physicality (fragility, ability of suffering, etc.). Justice appears then to be a *spectre*: It keeps coming again, continually haunting law, while not being able to be brought into full presence. *Justice, at the end, reclaims itself only through active fighting against widespread evil and social falsehood* –as some kind of a debt fulfillment vis-à-vis the recurring Spectre (a clear reference, in the case, to the ‘philosophical hauntology’ Derrida employs in *Spectres de Marx*). While at the same time, philosophy of law justifies itself actually not, and no more, as a positive truth-acquiring path, but rather (à la manière de Frankfurt’s critical theory) as an *intellectual resistance act, distancing from and negating all forms of social negativity, false rationalisations, authority-serving patterns of thinking*.

Apart from its other qualities, the present work of Charis Papacharalambous is,

no doubt, theoretically challenging and thought-provoking. It constitutes besides, as we have already noted, a valuable contribution for the philosophical research-plan of those who, in the field of law, are struggling for a *contemporary critical theory of justice*. We stand fully in line with the view that philosophical reflection on justice, if it is not to be just defensive of the existing social arrangements, should not be carried out *in vacuo*, without deep considerations of its own sociohistorical correlatives; it needs instead to link in with an enlarged social theory standpoint, drawn on multiple disciplines and findings (see critique of political economy, social anthropology, psychoanalysis, critique of discourses and culture et al.), aiming exactly at comprehending the deep structure of human social coexistence, in its entirety of determinations and within historical dimensions. In our view actually, this is not a *second-step –or externally-related– move* regarding the philosophical foundation movement, but a crucial part of its own advancement (to be noted, from a philosophical point of view: *the postulate of freedom, after all, is inconceivable without, and inseparable from, the actual freedom-establishing conditions*).⁶

What we cannot however accept is that the field in question is *simply and in toto* reconstructible by mere reference to mechanisms of violence and power (as implied in many pages of the book, in line with Schmittian, Frankfurtian or American ‘Critical Legal Studies’ themes and points). A critical theory of justice must be able to study and reconstruct its subject matter as a field where *values are being socially advanced or –on the contrary– obstructed, perversely implemented, lifted and (potentially) restored*.⁷ Philosophising along a route of exploration of past injustices and suffering is not sound and successful, after all, if not being part of a broader *evaluative-normative* –and let us add, after all, *rational*– argumentation development: regarding *what is worth and what is not* in social relations and institutions (of the past, the present, and actually *in the making*). That is why, besides, we remain still in need, contrary to what certain modern-day postmodernist approaches submit, of meta-ethical credentials: we are talking about a necessary *background theory of moral objectivity*, no matter how arduous or philosophically demanding.⁸

⁶ See the lines of argument in this direction in Constantin Stamatis, *Justifying Principles of Justice from a Post-Kantian Standpoint* (2013) 99 (4) *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie* 452-453, 461.

⁷ Following in the case the *critical-normative* philosophical paradigm of Kosmas Psychopedis, see among others Kosmas Psychopedis, ‘Emancipating Explanation’, in Werner Bonefeld et al. (eds.), *Open Marxism vol. III. Emancipating Marx* (Pluto Press, 1995) 17-39.

⁸ The basic idea here is rather simple, yet utterly valid: *practical-moral commitment and normative correctness are substantially interrelated, since once we remove the one, the other gets lifted as well*. What is interesting is that the author, although appearing sympathetic in general to postmodernist ideas

It is evident that solely a *cognitivist* philosophical standpoint is capable of providing the *background essentials* that enable a unified, well-structured treatment –as a whole– of the *basic legal philosophy* (plus *methodology*) *field questions*: What is of actual interest here is not *just* the formal validity of legal reasoning and argumentation, but its very substantial correctness, in terms of advancing fundamental legal principles and values (: *equality, basic freedoms, substantial rule of law*, etc.). But the outmost pivotal question has to do with the practical-political implications which are at stake. A critical normative theory of the above sort can only, in our view: 1. construct a philosophically sound opposition-argument against social relations of *unfreedom, inequality* and *mutual indifference*; 2. prove able to assess positively, to the appropriate extent, the actually existing institutions of modern societies (arguing, e.g., in favor of *fundamental liberties, social justice* policies and *democratic rule*); while at the same time 3. reflect on how and why the above principles and institutions may be *undermined by the actual deep economic structure* of modern societies, or even serve, to a certain degree, as a *juridico-political and ideological condition perpetuating social relations of power, exploitation and injustice*.

Stergios Mitas

and contributions (see chapter 10), favors as well some aspects of the above criticism: He states that the 'standard objection', according to which the postmodernist discourse, as long as it lacks normative criteria, fails to construct an efficient philosophical and political argument *contra* present injustices, 'although remaining a rather school-type objection', *contains a grain of truth*, see p. 218.

Tort Law in Cyprus

Achilles C. Emilianides and Christiana Markou

Kluwer Law International

Alphen aan den Rijn, 2021 pp. 234

ISBN: 978-90-411-1573-7

Two top-tier academics in Cyprus, Professor Achilles Emilianides and Dr Christiana Markou, have united their powers and produced the first comprehensive book in English that deals with the Cypriot Tort Law.

In the first part of this excellent book, the authors analyse the general principles of Tort law, in a very clear and concise way. In the second chapter of the first part, the authors notably discuss the tort of defamation and the balancing exercise that courts undertake when they evaluate the freedom of expression on the one hand and the protection of one's personality on the other. The authors analyse the leading Cypriot cases in a critical way that helps the reader understand how judges of the Supreme Court have managed to keep this balance through their reasoning that is imperative in the context of a democratic society. Additionally, the authors engage in an analysis of other important torts, such as the torts of assault, false imprisonment, passing off, private and public nuisances. All these torts are discussed in a concise and fruitful way that is essential for lawyers and academics who are interested in tort law. Professionals from various fields that are interested in this topic can grasp the concepts discussed, and can apply them in the judicial practice and reality.

In the second part of the book, the authors discuss and elaborate on the concept of liability for the acts of others, the so-called 'vicarious liability'. The writers pay particular attention to this notion, and provide a comprehensive analysis of the various liability use cases that arise between employers and employees. The authors take stock of recent and relevant Cypriot and English case law; they dissect and scrutinise each case as relevant, and discuss the preconditions that must manifest when establishing vicarious liability. Similarly, the authors analyse the topic of liability that parents and teachers have for the negligent actions of their children and pupils, respectively. The authors connect the principles of common law, and explain how they are relevant to recent cases.

The second part of the book concludes with an original discussion on the liability that owners have for the damage caused by their animals. This is an issue of increas-

ing relevance and importance, since, nowadays, a significant and exponential number of individuals own animals, mostly dogs and cats. The authors therefore grasp this contemporary issue and analyse the features of the law that regulate such liability that owners have, as well as the conditions that need to be present when establishing such liability.

The fourth part of this comprehensive book discusses the statute of limitations and relevant limitation periods that practicing attorneys and concerned individuals need to bear in mind before bringing an action in tort. The authors discuss the original text of the Cypriot legislator, and the various changes over the years, aimed at modernising and simplifying the previous regime, which had often proved inefficient, confusing and, ultimately, outdated. The authors further provide comments on the provisions of the law, and provide their own insights as to how the legal framework and the statute of limitations can be further refined to truly reflect the societal needs, and the effective administration of justice.

An interrelated aim to the above is to simplify and effectuate the various legal actions in tort, and to adjudicate the legal actions in court at a quicker pace. The authors offer their views in a distinctive and fruitful way, while making meaningful suggestions that are imperative and practical. It is expected that Cypriot judges and Cypriot legislators will make use of this helpful commentary to improve and address the gaps and inconsistencies that exist in relation to the statute of limitations and relevant limitation periods. Different court cases and challenges may face a varying deadline, so this insightful overview is a meaningful companion when the parties of a case assess their options.

Another important topic of the book is in Chapter 2 of the fourth part, since the reader can find a refreshing review of the various defences that parties and other interested individuals can plead in court. The authors provide a concise and fruitful overview of the various defences at hand when dealing with such type of cases. Through this overview, the reader can understand the prerequisites and actual points that they need to establish when defending their case in a court of law. In particular, the authors dedicate a standalone chapter in the defence of contributory negligence. Such defence merits indeed a separate chapter, since this is the most common and used defence in cases of tort law. As such, the parties can dive into an extensive analysis of this widely used defence, and go through all the points that the authors helpfully and exhaustively discuss throughout. The practicing attorneys must also pay particular attention to this chapter, since they need to include them in the defence that

they draft on behalf of their client. The court of law cannot in itself examine whether such defence is applicable, which means that the affected party must explicitly invoke this defence and ask the court to recognise it.

Such clarifications are valuable and can have a significant impact for everyone that is charged, and/or defends, a tort case in a court of law. This book therefore offers a significant originality, since it provides a practical outlook, whereas other books in the field only approach the matter from a theoretical and academic standpoint.

This book is overall unique in that its authors adopt a comprehensive approach when handling the topics that they discuss. At the same time, the authors include wide-ranging case law with relevant decisions and opinions. The authors go a step further, making their book even more original, since they form their own suggestions in making the law a better fit for today's societal needs.

The book can serve and satisfy various needs. For starters, it is a valuable resource for law students, trainees, junior and senior lawyers who want to understand, but also delve deeper into the notions and issues of tort law. The book will further be a valuable resource for practicing lawyers, since it contains valuable case law and relevant analysis that they can use when they prepare for a case, advise a client, or defend a claim. Tort law is a topic of relevance, so it is important for practicing lawyers to ensure that they have a friendly handbook which can help them decipher some challenging tort-related questions. Further, the book will help Cypriot legislators and judges to better reflect on the controversies and challenges that arise when handling tort-related cases. Through this comparative companion, the judges can make the necessary changes to improve the law, and make it relevant for its time and the current societal needs.

The book overall will be an interesting and valuable resource for every professional who is interested in tort law, irrespective of his/her approaching angle. The book contains a plethora of examples, relevant case law and analysis, and contains just the right amount of food for thought that the reader needs to further think about and interrogate pertinent issues of tort law. This book will indubitably form an essential reading for every legal professional who wants to stay informed and who is puzzled and attracted by the always challenging issues that tort law poses.

Ioannis P. Giokaris

Constitutional Law and Federations

Iacovos Kareklas

Lexington Books

Lanham, Boulder, New York, London, 2021 (pp. 228)

ISBN: 978-1-7936-4273-8

The issue of the federal composition of a State, as a political system of government, has been of great concern to the Cypriot political life and public opinion for at least the last 40 years due to the Cyprus problem. At the same time, it is a subject of academic research and scientific work.

This book constitutes an important addition to the academic research, not only from a purely legal point of view, but because it combines elements of historiography and international relations, creating a complex scientific 'mosaic'. A distinctive feature of the book is the methodological and systematic analysis of the issues it deals with. Starting with a focus on the Cyprus issue, it highlights elements of history of law. Next, the author is engaged in an analysis of the main issue, which is the system of federal governance in the light of constitutional law, in particular human rights and how (if) this can be applied in the case of Cyprus.

The book begins with an outline of the historical-legal framework in Cyprus during the British occupation of the island (1878-1959). Of special importance are the references to historical data concerning the constitutional situation that prevailed on the island, as well as the constitutional contributions of the British on the Cyprus problem that arose during the process of independence of Cyprus and beyond (pp. 11-5).

Also, the author is not content with a simple historical account of facts, but proceeds to a scientific analysis of the special features of the Cyprus Constitution as it emerged after the Zurich-London Treaties and the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. The author analyses in a concise but comprehensive methodological way the basic characteristics of the Cyprus Constitution, namely that it is based on the existence of two communities, namely the Greek and the Turkish community, where, despite the numerical difference of the population between these two communities, as the author notes, the Constitution treats them equally in some cases. He concludes that the Cypriot constitutional text is considered as a detailed and rigid constitution, which was imposed on the Cypriot people without a preceding process of constitutional power. According to the author, the structural features of the Cypriot constitu-

tion seem to conflict with basic principles of international law, especially the right to self-determination. At the same time, it highlights the issues of internal governance and the problems that arise with the recognition of the veto power each of the two communities has, in terms of decision-making. Finally, he states the position that the Constitution of 1960 did not provide the necessary regulatory framework for the peaceful and common coexistence of the two communities, but instead paved the way for division and conflict (pp. 25-7).

In the second part, the author presents a very informative historical analysis of federal systems (federalism) starting from ancient Greece to modern cases, such as the USA. The importance of this historical analysis lies in the fact that the author highlights those theoretical and practical characteristics of the federal states, which help the reader understand the dogmatic foundation of the federal systems, as well as his position in relation to the proposed model of solution to the Cyprus problem, namely the bizonal bicomunal federation. The author, after his comparative and historical review, sets out his theoretical background, i.e., the conditions for when it is deemed necessary to implement a federal system: based on important political parameters and for security reasons concerning a specific area (pp. 69-70). However, the author does not stop here, but cites his own approach in relation to the case of Cyprus, where the model of the bizonal bicomunal federation itself does not meet the above requirements.

Of course, the author's position is not limited to this statement, but in the third part, with important historical and comparative references to federal systems of other countries, he explains why the bizonal bicomunal federation model not only does not offer a proper system of government, but also calls into question the adequate protection of human rights (pp. 75-80). First, it raises the general question of whether a federal system can be implemented in Cyprus. The author gives a negative answer considering that such a system is very difficult to implement.

The author's analysis concludes that the proposed model of federal solution for the case of Cyprus does not meet basic historical and political criteria of the federal States, such as the common foreign policy and security issues of the state that justify the adoption of such a particular system. With reports in cases of other States, he considers that the problem in Cyprus is that an artificial separation of the population of the island has been created (due to the illegal invasion and occupation), where with the specific model of federation 'unification' is attempted, while on the contrary the practical application and the purpose of creating a federal state is to unite the already

existing local governments-states under one political union, that of the federal government (pp. 71-3).

It is noteworthy that the author does not focus only on issues of public law, but expands his critique, relating the model of bizonal and bicomunal federation to international law and arguing that this model is not compatible with the basic right to self-determination of peoples according to the Charter of the United Nations. He then goes on to explain why the specific morphology of the federation is contradictory with fundamental rights, as basic rights such as settlement and movement are restricted based on racial or community criteria. Special mention is made by the author to the right to education and how this, according to the case law of international courts, should be protected, but also effectively provided within a federal framework (pp. 75-9). Furthermore, the author adds the European Union to the scope of his analysis. Following a discussion on historical examples in the form of scenarios, he considers that European law will conflict with a future system of bizonal bicomunal federation, especially in the field of protection of rights and fundamental freedoms of the Union (p. 85).

At the same time, in the present work, with a special analysis of international law, mainly a historical interpretation of international treaties, he explains why the so-called 1977 'High Level Agreements' between Makarios and Denktas, and 1979 between Kyprianou and Denktas, cannot be considered legally binding. But also, among other things, the author, making historical references around various international treaties, considers that the context under which the 1977 Agreements took place has elements of coercion in a treaty¹, a factor that makes it legally non-binding. Also, with his references to the Roman dogma *rebus sic stantibus*, he considers that with the proclamation of the 'TRNC' in 1983 in the occupied part of the island, the facts justifying the release from the 1977 Agreements have changed (pp. 89-92).

Of course, it should be said that the above 'agreements' were not made between states and/or recognized states, but between the President of the Republic of Cyprus, namely Archbishop Makarios, and Rauf Denktas as the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community. Also, it was not considered an international agreement, nor was it registered as such with the UN, but it is judged as a gentlemen's agreement of a

¹ The basic theoretical conception lies in the fact that an international treaty between states which are considered equal presupposes that it is done with the free will of these states. Therefore, the binding nature of an international peace agreement, after the end of hostilities where the victorious state essentially imposes its conditions on the defeated state, is called into question. See about *De Jure Belli ac Paris*, lib. II Chapter XII, section 10, Classics of International Law, Kelsey trans., p.348.

non-binding nature. In other words, the arrangements that took place in 1977 and 1979 between Makarios and Denktas and between Kyprianou and Denktas should be considered to be merely guidelines (a roadmap) for the conduct of bicomunal talks with a view to resolving the Cyprus problem and do not meet the conditions to be deemed an international agreement.

Another feature to be found in the present work is the author's comparative pervasiveness with other related systems of constitutional federation. Such a case is the analysis made on the main features of the American Constitution and its potential correlations with the case of Cyprus. With his references to important decisions of the American Courts, he explains how basic principles of constitutional law are applied, such as the separation of powers between federal and state bodies², and especially between the courts of the central government and those of the states. At the same time, the specific powers of the executive power are listed, mainly the relationship between the President and Congress, such as the authority to suspend officials³ (p. 121-5). Finally, a special reference is made to the legislative power and the ability of the Congress to legislate only on those subjects which the Constitution provides for. Mention is also made of the basic characteristics of the Congress, such as its division into two bodies, namely the Senate and the Lower House, as well as the legislative powers that these two bodies have between them.

After the above analysis, the author proposes his own position on the case of Cyprus, recording a model for Cyprus, based, on the American Constitution. Thus, on the question of the limitations of the federal states, so that they do not act at the expense of the coherence of the central government, the author suggests explicit limitations for them, such as the prohibition of the signing of international agreements on their part or even the determination of monetary policy, except if there is an express legislative authorisation to do so at the federal level. More generally, his interesting suggestion focuses on the fact that to maintain unity and cohesion between the local states and the central government there should be prohibitions in the states on certain subjects unless the federal law allows it (pp. 151-3)⁴. Also worth mentioning is his suggestion about the way the judiciary should work at the federal level but also in relation to the control of state legislation to achieve the unity and functionality of the federal state.

The last part deals with issues of international relations and, in particular, the

² See *Morrison v. Olson* 487 U.S. 654 (1988) και *Printz v. United States* 521 U.S. 898 (1997).

³ See *Myers v. United States* 272 U.S 52 (1926).

⁴ State action unconstitutional until congressionally authorised.

issue of security in the case of a solution to the Cyprus problem. According to the author, the United Nations institution failed to promote an adequate security system on the island, and this is due to the peculiarity of this international organisation that is the lack of mechanisms to enforce its will. Also, not even the system of guarantees – especially with Turkey’s right of military intervention– can provide a reliable system of political and legal security of the Cypriot State⁵. The author supports this position with references to similar examples in the international community, concluding that an agreement guaranteeing the independence of one state from another with the right of military intervention against the latter seems to conflict with the basic principles of independence, self-determination and equality of states as defined in the charter of the UN. On the other hand, he believes that the British Bases (SBA) established on the island can play a role in the external and internal security of the state. At the same time, he suggests that the security system be placed under the auspices of NATO and, to this end, he proposes that the British bases be placed under NATO administration. The author does not fail to mention the security system that was inaugurated in 1993 between Greece and Cyprus with the unified defence doctrine. Finally, in the intractable security equation, the author adds Israel and energy policy as factors that can lead to a broader security system in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The book concludes by quoting an interview of Lord Caradon, a former colonial governor. This interview includes very interesting but largely unknown historical elements of the constitutional and colonial history of Cyprus, which without a doubt constitute important and useful data for scholars.

The author’s main position is that any solution to the Cyprus problem should be based on full respect for international law and human rights, as well as consider the existence of an effective security system on the island. And this, according to him, the bizonal bicomunal federation is unable to offer. He cites the American model of federation as a basis for the form of solution of the Cyprus issue. Apart from the basic legal issues that the author tackles, especially in matters of constitutional and international law, he does not ignore the political dimension of the Cyprus issue. To this end, his scientific research and documentation is not limited to purely legal positions. This book addresses issues related to the fields of international relations and international security.

The scientific creativity and contribution of the author can also be found in the

⁵ See. I. Kareklas, ‘International Law and Diplomacy on the Turkish Military Intervention of Cyprus’, *Working Paper* No. 18/2011 (Athens: Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, 2011).

fact that he highlights theoretical, historical, and practical elements which have occupied the international community, but these elements seem to not have occupied or are still unknown in Cypriot political thought. Elements which would undoubtedly help move in the right direction towards solving the Cyprus problem. Finally, the combination of parallel scientific fields that emerge in the present opinion make it a useful academic tool for both the legal scholar and the political scientist.

Petros Konstantinidis

One for all, Sylvain Béraud and the Latins of Cyprus [Unus pro omnibus, ο Sylvain Béraud και οι Λατίνοι της Κύπρου]

Dr Iosif Hadjikyriakos

Press and Information Office

Nicosia, 2021 [pp. 99]

ISBN: 978-9963-50-534-0

According to Article 2 § 3 of the Constitution, the Armenian, Maronite and Latin minorities are classified as ‘religious groups’, all of which opted by a referendum, held on 13 November 1960, to belong to the Greek-Cypriot community. The Latins (Roman Catholic Cypriot citizens of European or Levantine descent) are the smallest religious group in number (about 2,500 persons) and the newest, chronologically, on the island.

The first origins of the Latin community can be traced back to 1126. During the Frankish (1192-1489) and the Venetian (1489-1570) Eras, considerable numbers of Catholics from Europe, Cilicia and the Levant settled in Cyprus, both secular and members of various religious orders; their long presence on the island left an indelible mark, such as the Franco-Byzantine architectural style, the Italo-Byzantine iconographical style, religious and administrative buildings, defensive works, dialectal words, village names, toponyms, etc.

As a result of the Ottoman conquest (1570-1571), the Latin population of the island perished, as they were either massacred or exiled, and their churches were turned into mosques. Despite the harsh oppression and onerous taxation during the Ottoman Era (1571-1878), religious and secular Latins did manage to return and establish themselves in Cyprus, mostly in Larnaca and Nicosia, although some eventually either became assimilated with the Greek Orthodox majority or were coerced into Islamisation.

With the arrival of the British, in 1878, came improved administration and religious tolerance, allowing Cypriots to prosper throughout the British Era (1878-1960). The Latin community was enlarged with Britons, Europeans, some Maronites, and even Catholic Armenians who arrived here as a result of the massacres and the Genocide. Furthermore, new religious and educational institutions were established in Nicosia, Larnaca, Limassol and Famagusta. Since 1960, the Latin community has

been officially represented,¹ initially in the Greek Communal Chamber (1960-1965) and afterwards in the House of Representatives.

Unlike the case of the Armenians² and the Maronites³, non-academic books and booklets⁴ (as opposed to articles in journals and/or chapters in books) exclusively on the Latins of Cyprus are a relatively new phenomenon: the such first booklet⁵ appeared in 2000; a supplement booklet⁶ circulated with the *Politis* newspaper on 23 November 2008, and afterwards a booklet and a book came out in 2010 and 2013, respectively⁷.

Following the publication into a book of his Master's thesis⁸ in 2012 (to our knowledge, the only so far dealing extensively with the Latin-Cypriot community), Alexander-Michael Hadjilyra co-operated with the Press and Information Office and the Office of the Latin MP, Benito Mantovani, and the first ever comprehensive government-funded publication exclusively on the Latins came out the same year⁹. This booklet, which was issued in an English and a Greek version, and was translated into Italian the following year, was part of a series of booklets, titled *Cyprus Religious Groups*¹⁰; an updated version, in all three aforementioned languages, was released in

¹ The following have served as Latin MPs: Anthony Pietroni (1960-1976), Felix Cirilli (1976-1991), Benito Mantovani (1991-2016) and Antonella Mantovani (2016-).

² The first book on the Armenians of Cyprus was *Ψευρριου Ἰηρη* (The Island of Cyprus), written in Armenian by Vahan Kurkjian (Pagouran) and printed at the National Educational Orphanage Printing House in Nicosia, 1903.

³ The first book on the Maronites of Cyprus was *Les Maronites de Chypre* (The Maronites of Cyprus), written in French by Vicar-General John-Michael Cirilli and printed at the Don Bosco Orphanage Printing House in Lille, 1898.

⁴ Earlier on, Dr Nicholas Coureas had written *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195-1312* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 1997), which was followed by *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1313-1378* (Cyprus Research Centre: Nicosia, 2010).

⁵ Ρούλα Ιωαννίδου-Σταύρου (Επ.), *Λατινικές Μονές, Σχολές και Εκκλησίες*. Γραφείο Προεδρικού Επιτρόπου, Λευκωσία, 2000.

⁶ Αλέξανδρος-Μιχαήλ Χατζηλύρας, *Οι Λατίνοι της Κύπρου* (ΧΡΟΝΙΚΟ, τεύχος 40). Εκδόσεις Αρκτίνο: Λευκωσία, 2008.

⁷ Paolo Pieraccini (Ed.), *The Franciscans in Cyprus/I Francescani a Cipro*. Edizioni Terra Santa: Milano, 2010 & *The Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land in Cyprus (1191-1960): Its Educational, Pastoral and Charitable Work and Support for the Maronite Community* (Studia Orientalia Christiana, Monographiae, n. 22). Fondazione Terra Santa: Milano, 2013.

⁸ Αλέξανδρος-Μιχαήλ Χατζηλύρας, *Η Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία και οι Θρησκευτικές Ομάδες*. Λευκωσία, 2012.

⁹ Alexander-Michael Hadjilyra, *The Latins of Cyprus*. Press and Information Office, Nicosia, 2012.

¹⁰ The other booklets in this series are: i) Alexander-Michael Hadjilyra, *The Armenians of Cyprus* (2012 and 2016, in English and Greek) and ii) Marianna Frangeskou & Alexander-Michael Hadjilyra, *The Maronites of Cyprus* (only 2012, in English, Greek and Italian).

2017. The next publication on the Latins, this time by the House of Representatives, came out in 2020 in Greek, English and Italian versions, and was based on an exhibition that had taken place in Nicosia (2019) and Limassol (2020)¹¹.

As part of its ongoing effort to promote awareness on the religious groups of Cyprus, in 2021 the Press and Information Office published two hard-cover, A4+ size volumes: *Unus pro omnibus, o Sylvain Béraud και οι Λατίνοι της Κύπρου (One for all, Sylvain Béraud and the Latins of Cyprus)* and *Αρμάνδος Τζιοζεφέν: 1931-2011 (Armando Josephin: 1931-2011)*. According to the PIO and the Latin Representative, Antonella Mantovani, these publications were prepared to highlight the centuries-old presence of the Latins in Cyprus, and also to enlighten readers about the Latin community, namely their origins, their contribution to Cyprus and their relations to the local society, of which they are an integral part.

The Béraud family, originally from La Ciotat township, to the southeast of Marseilles, France, has been linked with Cyprus since the late 17th century. Through his collection, as well as the family and personal stories recounted by distinguished professor Dr Sylvain Béraud (1933-), the history and presence of the Latin-Cypriot community unfold in the pages of this volume, which has been carefully illustrated with maps, engravings and photographs from the archives of Dr Béraud and the Phivos Stavrides Foundation - Larnaca Archives.

After a brief introduction by Elengo Frangoulides, Acting Director of the PIO at the time, an introductory note by Antonella Mantovani, Latin Representative at the House of Representatives, and a preface by the author, Dr Iosif Hadjikyriakos, the volume continues with a brief reference to the re-constitution of the island's Latin community in the 17th century, initially in the coastal town of Larnaca/Scala, where - in addition to their commercial and consular activities - churches, monasteries and schools were established.

Later on, mention is made to the earlier presence of the Latins on the island, during the glorious Lusignan and Venetian Eras (1192-1489-1570), and their multifarious contribution to the mosaic of Cyprus, in a variety of fields: law, architecture, painting, music, commerce, etc. Concise briefing on the family's historical background is given, such as names, origins, socioeconomic statuses, professions and activities. Through descriptions and photographs, we may trace Dr Béraud's lineage and family connec-

¹¹ Research, Studies and Publications Service of the House of Representatives, *The Latins of Cyprus*. Government Printing Office: Nicosia, 2020.

tions, not limited to just the French, but also Italian, Levantine, Greek-Cypriot and Maronite-Cypriot.

Each photo tells another story and it also opens up a window linking Larnaca with the rest of Cyprus, as well as Cyprus with other places in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially Alexandria, Egypt, where Dr Béraud was born. Whereas older stories are part of the family tradition, newer ones are more personal and contemporary; these stories speak of emperors and kings, politicians and clergy, war and peace, happiness and sadness, the arts, letters and sciences, different customs, habits, morals and fashion trends. The visual material captures our imagination and allows us to travel back to different decades and centuries!

The concept of the identity of the Latin community is prevalent throughout the text, especially in relation to the overwhelming Orthodox majority in Cyprus. Even though there is usually tolerance, marrying a person of a different religious denomination can sometimes be problematic, especially with older family members, as it has been highlighted in parts of the book. The inevitable reality of assimilation is also touched upon, without judgement or criticism, as well as the sizeable influx of foreign Roman Catholics from Southeast Asia, Eastern Europe and Central Africa in modern years. In fact, at the end of the book, and in his own handwriting, Dr Béraud concludes that the 1960 Latins are now part of history, as today's Latins are virtually indistinguishable from the rest of Cypriots, as a result of a '*great, total and irreversible cultural assimilation*', an ominous allusion to the all-levelling globalisation.

Larnaca is prominent throughout the text and across the various pictures, as a cosmopolitan town where, before the 1974 Turkish invasion, Greek-Cypriots, Turkish-Cypriots, Armenian-Cypriots, Maronite-Cypriots, Latin-Cypriots, Brits, Jews and Gypsies used to live and work together in harmony. Perhaps this is the volume's major weakness, namely that the Latin communities of Nicosia, Limassol and Paphos (and also pre-1974 Famagusta) have been somehow neglected. Conceivably, the PIO and the Office of the Latin MP plan on publishing other volumes on the subject, or maybe it was felt that Larnaca was to be given more prominence, as an effort to offset the emphasis that is often placed on Nicosia. Another oversight pertains to the absence of a structured family tree, in order to facilitate the reader while flicking through the texts and photographs of the various family members.

The pictures of various artefacts are fascinating, as they reveal a strong connection with the past and an excellent craftsmanship, back at a time when material objects were much more expensive, difficult to make and unique in appearance. Certificates

and medals are equally intriguing, being a tangible proof of the significance of Dr Béraud and his ancestors.

Even though the text has been written from a personal viewpoint, interesting facts and dates are also provided. After all, Dr Béraud has written numerous articles on the history of the Latin community of Cyprus; his doctoral thesis, titled *La culture française dans l'espace chypriote, de 1192 à 1971* (The French culture in the Cypriot space, from 1192 to 1971), was published in French by the Cultural Services of the Ministry of Education (1990), which also published it in Greek in 2008 (*Η γαλλική κουλτούρα στον κυπριακό χώρο, από το 1192 μέχρι το 1971*).

It is vital for more publications like this to be out there and to be readily available to students, researchers, scholars and every interested reader: for starters, they are a source of comprehensive and reliable information on the Latin-Cypriot community, and they address several questions about it; moreover, they can be used to raise awareness and also as the basis for articles, presentations, etc. on the subject and, why not, become a stepping-stone for further research. Learning about the multicultural mosaic that is Cyprus is a way of escaping from the monolithic ethno-religious approach on the history and culture of the island that has diachronically been promoted by various state, ecclesiastical, local and private agencies.

The volume was presented on 17 September 2021 at the Pattichion Municipal Museum - Historical Archive in Limassol, on 8 October 2021 at the Acropolis Park in Nicosia, and on 15 October 2021 at the House of Letters and Arts in Larnaca. Some of the material included in the volume was exhibited at the Centre of Visual Arts & Research in walled Nicosia, as part of the Francophonie celebrations for 2022: Open to the public between 18 March and 1 April 2022, the tribute to Dr Béraud was co-organised by the CVAR and the Consulate of Canada in Cyprus, and it included books, archives, photographs, memorabilia of the Latin community - all of which he donated to the CVAR - and also a short film.

Articles about the volume have appeared in newspapers, on web pages and on social media platforms. Its widespread promotion is essential: at any given time, a person searching about the minorities of Cyprus, or specifically the Latins, will come across some of these articles and, hopefully, they may decide to delve deeper, thus improving their existing knowledge and, perhaps, even enriching existing bibliography by producing new writings!

Alexander-Michael Hadjilyra

Ioannis Karatzas:
The Cypriot Co-martyr of Rigas
[Ιωάννης Καρατζάς:
Ο Κύπριος Συμμάρτυρας του Ρήγα]

George I. Sourlas
Elias Epiphaniou Publications
Nicosia, 2020 [pp. 136]
ISBN: 978-9963-271-48-1

Cypriot history, even before the beginning of the national Revolution of 1821, was in line with the course of the rest of the Greek world. Thus, the common desire for freedom and independence of the Greek nation was something that was burning in the hearts of the Greeks of Cyprus, too.

It is known that, on numerous occasions, Cypriot volunteers fought in the front line of the battles, from 1821 onwards, with the aim of throwing off the Ottoman-Turkish yoke. What is not known, however, but is equally important, is the fact of the participation of a Cypriot scholar of the diaspora, Ioannis Karatzas, in the pre-revolutionary plans made by the famous revolutionary Rigas Feraios and in the closed circle of his collaborators, with whom he, alas, met the same horrible fate. It is in this fact, as well as in aspects of Karatzas' personality, that the thorough biography by George I. Sourlas, sheds light on. It is the only existing printed biography of Karatzas, published by the Epiphaniou historical publications.

The author, in the first pages of his work, enlightens us about his intentions, referring -in the preface of his book- to Rigas; who, 'listening to his time', tried to become a pioneer and at the same time a servant of higher purposes, concerning the freedom of his people ('my partner is my whole nation', p. 7) and transforming himself into an early hero and martyr of the modern Greek nation. In this effort he was of course not alone, but on the contrary, he had seven other comrades who were martyred with him in the Nebojša Tower of Belgrade. There they were all killed on 24 June 1798, 23 years before the Greek Revolution. One of these 'unsung' heroes and collaborators of Rigas was Ioannis Karatzas from Cyprus, about whom this book was written, in an effort to restore his memory and present him to the Greek and foreign public.

In the first chapter of the biography, the author provides some very important information about Karatzas' early life. Thus, we learn that he was born in Nicosia, Cy-

prus, in 1767, probably a child of a wealthy merchant family, and probably attended the School of Greek Letters and Music or Ellinomouseion (founded in 1735), which was run by the Archbishops Philotheos, Paisios and Chrysanthos (p. 11). He also belonged to the second generation of the ‘early intellectual spring’¹ and was an important representative of the Greek Enlightenment (1774-1821), which displayed a more national and revolutionary direction, compared to the Western one, and paved the way for the armed national Revolution of 1821, adapting many elements to the Greek reality, with respect to both the Ancient and the Byzantine heritage.² In addition, he lived alongside the Archbishop and eventually ethnomartyr Kyprianos, who, apart from being a member of the revolutionary Society of Friends (*Filiki Eteria*), whose purpose was to secretly organise its members in order to prepare the ground for fighting off the Ottoman yoke, was also an important spiritual man of his time. The course of Karatzas’ life, however, was to be more adventurous.

At an early age, Karatzas left Cyprus and travelled to Central Europe, seeking his fortune in an environment that offered more economic and spiritual freedom. More specifically, he travelled to the two major centres of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, namely Vienna and Pest; while, he had previously resided in the Danubian Principalities and in Constantinople.

But his stays in Vienna, initially, and Pest were important and would prove decisive for him. In these two important centres of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and in general throughout its territory, a rich intellectual life had developed and a multitude of Greek communities had grown, which reached the number of 30 (p. 16).

In Pest, he occasionally worked as a candelabra lighter in the Orthodox Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, probably to alleviate economic hardship. This had led in the past to his intellectual work being underrated, and even to his paternity being questioned.

However, based on modern historical findings, we can now say with certainty that Karatzas had had a broad education, spoke three languages, namely Greek (ancient

¹ About the intellectual life of Cyprus, see. Kostis Kokkinoftas, *Cyprus and 1821* (Nicosia: Centre for Studies of the Holy Monastery of Kykkos, 2021), George K. Myaris, ‘Cyprus and the Spiritual Movement of the New Hellenism in the mid-18th Century and up to the Beginning of the 19th century’, *Cypriot Studies*, 71, 2009, pp. 69-95 and Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Cypriot Literacy (1571-1878): a Portrait View* (Nicosia: Centre for Scientific Research, 2002).

² K. Th. Dimaras, *Modern Greek Enlightenment* (Athens: Hermes, 1989) and Panagiotis Kondylis, *The Modern Greek Enlightenment: The Philosophical Ideas* (Athens: Themelio, 2008).

and modern), Latin and German,³ and his publishing and writing work was quite rich, which was, if not rare, quite sophisticated for that early period, when everything depended on personal will and hard work.

In particular, he published or wrote and published the following works: (a) the neo-Aristotelian *Introduction to Logic*, by George Sougdouris of Ioannina, (b) the *Pinax of Kevetus of Thebes*, an ancient Platonic philosopher; (c) the engraving of this *Pinax*, (d) his own ethical and literary work *Eros' Effects*, i.e. a moral-erotic history with songs themed after Constantinople, of which he wrote the third part together with his friend and collaborator and well-known representative of the Greek Enlightenment of his time, Athanasios Psalidas, (d) the popularized translation of the Bible, entitled *Holy History of the Old and New Testament*, by G. Zavira, e) the *Greek Calligraphy for Children*, and, finally, (e) the work of Joseph Petzel, *Dissertation and Critique on Greek and Other Languages* (pp. 40-1).

Out of these works only the first two are available nowadays, with an introduction by Karatzas himself, as well as his own work, *Eros' Effects*, which has many similarities, not coincidentally, we might say, to the, also ethical and literary, work of Rigas Feraios, *School of Delicate Lovers*. As we can see, all of his works were oriented towards education, the development of which was a central position of the Enlightenment. The only difference being that, in his case, it was oriented towards a 'subjugated genos' (nation), which he wanted to enlighten.

For this reason, he initially chose to publish the book *Introduction to Logic* by Sougdouris, since -apart from the fact that he wanted to highlight philosophy as the basic principle that stabilises every human condition and constitution, as he wrote in his introduction of this book- the author of this book had previously clashed with the more outmoded educational concepts of his time, namely the ecclesiastical authorities of Ioannina (p. 45). In the same line of connecting the pedagogical view of Enlightenment with a more modernised teaching practice, he published, in a separate book, the *Pinax of Kevetus of Thebes*, which was formerly provided to the students in the last pages of the official School Grammar. In this new form, he probably believed that it would not be a text detested by the students any more, frustrated as they were by the anachronistic educational system of their time; but, on the contrary, translated into a simpler form of Greek, it would be a better means, not only to introduce

³ Iliia Hadjipanagioti-Sangmeister, "The Library of the Cypriot Scholar Ioannis Karatzas. Reflections on his Intellectual Axis", in *Tribute to the University Teacher Vass. Sfyroera: from his Students* (Athens: Lyhnos, 1992), pp. 201-26.

the students to the philosophy of the Stoics, but also to more recent German philosophers, as is clearly seen from the addition of a German supplementary passage, translated by him, at the end of the original text (p. 51). Of course, he attempted the same with the Bible, republishing it in a more popularised form, the *Holy History of the Old and New Testament*, translated by G. Zavira (p. 68).

He did not stop at these didactic works, but instead wrote, as we have seen above, a literary work with philosophical and socio-political implications, the aforementioned *Eros' Effects*, which later become very popular in the Greek world. In this work, probably influenced by the German Enlightenment, he formulates a secularised moral philosophy that certainly does not resort to either moralism or materialism, but instead idealistically extols 'honest love' (p. 59).

In the second chapter, the author briefly provides the biographical details of the other six companions of Rigas and Karatzas, who, as we saw at the beginning of our text, were also executed. More specifically, the other six comrades were: (a) Efstratios Argentis, born in Chios from a rich merchant family, (b) the doctor Dimitrios Nikolidis from Ioannina, (c) the merchant and scholar, Antonios Koronios, also from Chios, d) the merchant Theocharis Touroundzias from Siatista and, finally, (e) the brothers Ioannis and Panagiotis Emmanouil from Kastoria. All of them were educated and relatively wealthy. An equally important fact is that the average age of Rigas' companions did not exceed 30 years (Karatzas 31, Argentis 31, Nikolidis 32, Koronios 27, Touroundzias 22, and the brothers Emmanouil 24 and 22 respectively), while he was the oldest, at 41 (p. 72).

In the third chapter, after having sketched, in the two preceding chapters, the portrait of Karatzas and of the circle to which he belonged, the author gives us the chronicle of the martyrdom of him and his companions. It must be said at this point that Greek scholars and revolutionaries had developed a conscious and organised 'conspiratorial activity', even at the level of an informal society of European type, that was based on a common core of ideas, long before the appearance of the *Filiki Eteria*.⁴

But Koronios' associate, Dimitris Economou, denounced the society to the authorities of Trieste, handing over to them two letters by Rigas, that had been intended for Koronios. In the letters, Rigas gave information about three boxes full of revolutionary texts, written by him, which had been sent to the shop of the merchant

⁴ Dimitrios Karaberopoulos, *The Synomotic Action of Rigas Velestinlis* (Athens: The Scientific Society for Study of Feres-Velestino-Rigas, 2009).

Antonis Niotis by Argentis and which were to be received by Koronios (p. 89). This led to the arrest of Rigas, who had gone to Trieste with the intention of travelling to Venice, where he intended to meet in person Napoleon the Great, probably to ask for his assistance in the uprising he had been preparing. This first arrest was followed by the arrests of the rest of his associates; the very first among them were Karatzas and Touroundzias.

The Austro-Hungarian authorities, and in particular the monarch Franz I, who had expressed a personal interest about this case, considered that the ideas and activities of the society would lead to a destabilisation of the Ottoman Empire, which would be dangerous for them, having previously confronted the activities of the Hungarian nationalist and academic Ignác Martinovics (pp. 103-4).

Despite the harsh interrogation by the Austro-Hungarian authorities, Rigas and his associates did not turn in or betray their comrades. Karatzas in particular, throughout the interrogation remained taciturn and rigid, not revealing that he was a publisher but repeating, on purpose, that he was only a candelabra lighter, even though his books had been confiscated by the authorities (p. 34). After these interrogations, the Austro-Hungarian authorities concluded that they were guilty of ‘conspiratorial activity’ and they were handed over to the Ottoman authorities, who, after long and horrible torture, finally sentenced them to death by strangulation in the Nebojša Tower, outside Belgrade, having found them guilty of ‘conspiracy’, in 1798 (p. 111).

In conclusion, the author George I. Sourlas offers us not only a detailed and multidimensional biography of a little known scholar of the Greek Enlightenment and a fighter of national liberation, but also, through his vivid, lyrical and literary narrative, the life chronicle of an integral personality and a revolutionary scholar; who, like his compatriots would do later, from the Phalanx of Cypriots to EOKA, fought with all available means for the shaking off of the foreign yoke, both for his homeland Cyprus and for Hellenism as a whole.

George Dritsas

**We Travel in Dangerous Seas:
George Theotokas and Cyprus.
[Ταξιδεύουμε σε Θάλασσες Επικίνδυνες:
Ο Γιώργος Θεοτοκάς και η Κύπρος]**

**Giorgos Georgis
Kastaniotis
Athens, 2019 [pp. 229]
ISBN: 9789600365719**

The book titled *We Travel in Dangerous Seas: George Theotokas and Cyprus* by Prof. of Modern History Giorgos Georgis is the author's new contribution to the intellectual history of the Cyprus issue, centered on the political interventions and the Cypriot reception of the acclaimed writer of the Greek 'generation of the 1930s' George Theotokas (1905-1966). A noted historian and former ambassador of Cyprus to Greece, Georgis in recent years has published two monographs that shed light on the political output of major literary figures, such as George Seferis and Stratis Tsirkas,¹ revealing aspects of the ideological context in which these writers lived and wrote that extend beyond their mere aesthetic output. Along the same lines, Georgis' new book, as I hope to show in this review, originally presents Theotokas' active participation in the formation of his era as a writer and a political thinker. It further reveals novel aspects of the Cyprus question as viewed by major public intellectuals, such as Theotokas and Seferis, who had a pivotal implication in political debates and had been highly influential on intellectual circles, as well as on political actors and the shaping of public opinion. In this respect, the book offers critical information that brings forth aspects of our literary history that remain unforeseen or require specialised studies with a strong historical and theoretical substrate. It ultimately allows a deeper understanding of the political developments in 20th century Greece and Cyprus.

As is the case with most of his work on important Greek litterateurs, Georgis adopts the lens of a historian and an experienced diplomat, moving beyond the recordings of literary history, thus embracing the larger field of the history of ideas. The author's strength lies precisely in his interdisciplinary perspective, that firmly interlocks histori-

¹ Giorgos Georgis, *Stratis Tsirkas-Giorgos Seferis: A Deliberate Friendship (Η Συνάντηση Στρατή Τσίρκα-Γιώργου Σεφέρη: Μια Φιλία που Βράδυνε)* (Athens: Kastaniotis, 2016) (in Greek); *Id., Seferis-Averof: The Rift (Σεφέρης-Αβέρωφ: Η Πήξη)* (Athens: Kastaniotis, 2018) (in Greek).

cal, political, and literary frameworks, and which makes his contribution an asset to the Greek intellectual history and the history of the Cyprus issue. In this regard, the book will be particularly useful for scholars, historians and Hellenists, as well as for diplomats and politicians. Georgis' writing style is transparent and engaging, which appeals to a wider audience with a particular interest in contemporary political history.

The book comprises 12 chapters that trace the reception of Theotokas in Cyprus in a chronological order, from his seminal essay *The Free Spirit* (1929), the very manifesto of his generation (Ch. 1), to press reports about his death (Ch. 12). Apart from scholarly and primary sources, Georgis indexes material from Cypriot literary magazines and newspapers, which had been dispersed and not easily accessible. The author rightly offers for this reason extensive quotations which are practically unknown to the reader of today. Also, Georgis is careful enough to provide annotation for critical assessments coming from across the political spectrum. Chapters 5 and 11 focus on Theotokas' welcoming as a playwright, while Chapter 2 offers a detailed documentation of his relationship with important Cypriots at the time, namely his good friend Dominique Laniti, a rare female example of the island's bourgeois intelligentsia; Evangelos Louizos, an aristocrat and *homme des lettres* from Famagusta, patron of poets such as Seferis and Elytis; politician Loukis Akritas, an MP of Nikolaos Plastiras' centrist party EPEK² in the 1950s, then George Papandreou's Centre Union³ in the 1960s; and Melis Nikolaidis, a Cypriot writer who lived in Athens, whose role as an intellectual close to Seferis, Elytis, Theotokas, Tsatsos, and others, accurately presented by Georgis, has been largely downplayed by Modern Greek literature historians. Theotokas' complex relationship with Cypriot director of the National Theatre and critic of national stature Emilios Hourmouzios is explored in a different chapter (Ch. 3).

Chapters 4 to 10 constitute the book's core contribution to major discussions that took place in Cyprus in the crucial years of the 1950s and the 1960s with regard to the island's national independence from Britain and the long-standing ideal of *Enosis* with mainland Greece. Indeed, as Georgis' analysis shows, Theotokas' controversial views about the Cypriot struggle against the British Empire engendered critical turmoil in Cyprus, amid unanimous nationalist sentiment at the time. As 'the most accomplished spiritual personality in the post-civil war state of the Right and the Centre'⁴ (72), Theotokas had a substantial impact on political circles and his views

² EPEK (Greek *Εθνική Προοδευτική Ένωση Κέντρου*; ΕΠΕΚ): National Progressive Centre Union.

³ Centre Union (Greek *Ένωσις Κέντρου*).

⁴ Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

mattered, both in Greece and Cyprus. A fervent Europeanist, a NATOist, and an essayist who envisioned the future of the Western civilisation in a socialist political union, Theotokas bluntly opposed the perspective of the Cypriot uprising in the 1950s and the Greek State's subsequent clash with Britain (Ch. 9). As Georgis (54) writes, Theotokas fully echoes with George Papandreou and Sophocles Venizelos' political line, in this regard. Due to Greece's full dependency on its Western allies, Theotokas deemed the vigorous agitation of the Cypriot issue to be 'inopportune' (86), before the necessity of 'national' survival —with respect to the sole survival of mainland Greece. He thus championed British proposals for a state of 'autonomy' for Cyprus, presented in formulas of self-government, under imperial domination (86-87).

In his *ex post facto* appreciation, Georgis expressly appears to adhere to Theotokas' views as 'wise' (85), 'sound' (86), 'moderate' (112), 'bold', 'distanced from sentimental enthusiasms' (88), and goes so far as to state that 'Theotokas was justified by the political developments' (64). Georgis is perhaps overly apologetic about Theotokas' 'heretic' (88) statements on the subject matter and the tone of the book testifies to an attempt at rehabilitation. However, Georgis is right to point out that Theotokas' work in Cyprus has been inevitably received through the lens of ideological bias (Ch. 5).

One of the most intriguing parts in Georgis' analysis is his comparison of Theotokas and Seferis with regard to their approach to the Cyprus issue, a political one and an empirical one, respectively (91-3). In fact, the two men, who were very good friends, had an interesting exchange on the subject of Cyprus, which Georgis masterfully illustrates. Unlike Theotokas, Seferis, who wrote some of his best poems for Cyprus, was a strong advocate of the Cypriots' right to self-definition and political union with Greece. Contrary to Theotokas' political realism, Seferis capitalised the island's Hellenic identity and Britain's raw imperialism. During the time of the Cypriot national liberation struggle (1955-59) —and not before 1961— Seferis cut off all contact with Theotokas and would only respond to him through his embittered poem 'The Demon of Fornication' ('Ο Δαίμων της Πορνείας') (105).

In the post-independence period, Theotokas acquired wide recognition in Cyprus as a writer, while 'his political interventions on the Cyprus issue were received with prudence and a sense of understanding' (64-5). In Chapter 10, in particular, Georgis offers a detailed presentation of Theotokas' views on the Zurich Agreement on Cyprus. Despite widespread disappointment, in several statements Theotokas aspires to a cultural spring on the island. Indeed, Cyprus could become, in his view, 'the third most important cultural Hellenic centre, after Athens and Thessaloniki' (113-4). The

success of the Cypriot State was, in fact, for Theotokas, ‘a matter of national interest’ (79). What is more, in the early 1960s, Theotokas expressed the view that Cyprus could eventually become a prestigious link between the Greek Orthodox and the Muslim world (114). However, political developments on the island dispelled any optimism. As Georgis attests, Theotokas, like then Greek Prime Minister Papandreou, was fully supportive of Cypriot President Makarios and, in 1963, advocated the need for amendments to the Constitution, which proved to be dysfunctional, not viable, and, in Theotokas’ wording, ‘absurd’ (119). He actively fought for the rights of the Cypriot people until 1966, the very year of his death (121).

Georgis’ monograph is further enriched by a comprehensive timeline, building on Dimitris Tziovas’ own *George Theotokas 2005. 100 Years Since His Birth* (Athens: Ministry of Culture, 2005) (in Greek), recording important moments in Theotokas’ life and work. This timeline also comprises significant excerpts from Theotokas’ diaries. An index of names and terms would be extremely useful for scholars and readers in eventual reprints.

All in all, Georgis reveals to us a different Theotokas, a mature political thinker with daring realist views that were hard to fathom at the time. Georgis’ writing style, as most of his work attests, succeeds in humanizing history, allowing space to explore new aspects of important personalities that have shaped our past. It ultimately invites to appreciate them in all their charm, their intellect, their flaws, and complexity. Above all, *We Travel in Dangerous Seas* testifies to Theotokas’ striking awareness and relevance in current affairs, as the Eastern Mediterranean remains bound to power politics, tempestuous and turbulent for Greece, Cyprus, and Hellenism as a whole, as well as for the future of the Western civilisation and the very Europeanist ideal Theotokas always fought for. To put it in Theotokas’ own terms,⁵ dating back to 1965, which lent Georgis’ book its compelling title:

‘...with the instability that reigns around us in the Mediterranean, with the unquenchable fire of the Cypriot issue, with the possibility that the balance of power on which we now rely on might well one day be disturbed. We travel in dangerous seas, without any preparation for the great storms that might lie ahead, with captains and pilots who unfortunately inspire little confidence’. (120)

Demetra Demetriou

⁵ Giorgos Theotokas, *Contemplations and Positions: Political Texts* (Στοχασμοί και Θέσεις: Πολιτικά Κείμενα), Vol. 2 1950-1966 (Athens: Estia, 1996) 1207 (in Greek).

**200 Years since the 1821 Greek Revolution.
The Cost and the Contribution of Cyprus.
[200 Χρόνια από την Ελληνική Επανάσταση του 1821.
Το Τίμημα και η Συμβολή της Κύπρου]**

Petros Papapolyviou

Phileleftheros

Nicosia, 2021 [Vol. 1: pp. 79, Vol. 2: pp. 79]

With the completion of 200 years since the beginning of the Greek Revolution of 1821, Petros Papapolyviou, in two volumes, attempts to highlight the contribution and sacrifices of Cyprus to the Struggle, which, as the author emphasises, is the most important historical event in the history of modern Hellenism. Through individual and collective actions, struggles and sacrifices, the Greek Struggle led to the creation of the first independent Greek state.

The first volume briefly examines the pre-revolutionary period, the outbreak of the Revolution, as well as the events of 9 July 1821, and its painful consequences. In particular, the life and work of the Cypriot Ioannis Karatzas, comrade of Rigas Velestinlis, and his contribution to the preparation of the Struggle, are initially presented. After that, the author focuses on the intellectual development observed on the island during the period before the beginning of the Revolution, especially with the establishment and operation of Greek schools in Cyprus, such as the Greek School of Nicosia in 1812 and the Greek School of Limassol in 1819. At the same time, the increased interest of Cypriots in studying in important centers of Hellenism, such as Kydonia and Smyrna, is presented.

Subsequently, an attempt is made to highlight the relationship between the *Filiki Eteria* and Cyprus, through the activity of members of the *Filiki Eteria* on the island. In this context, the effort to initiate Greek Cypriots into it is presented, as well as the efforts made to for the island to contribute to the Greek Struggle, both by sending volunteers and by allocating money, material and munitions, since revolution in Cyprus was considered by some to be impossible based on the data of the time.

In addition, the events that preceded the massacres committed by the Turks on the island on 9 July 1821, are examined, including the descent of Konstantinos Kanaris to Lapithos and the coastal areas of the Famagusta district and the warm

welcome given to him by the Cypriots, as well as the material assistance they offered him for the Greek Struggle.

The author then records a brief assessment of the revolution attempted by Alexandros Ypsilantis in the Danubian Principalities. Despite the failure of Ypsilantis, his actions encouraged the Greek fighters, and the flame of the Revolution quickly spread to the Peloponnese, but also to the rest of the enslaved Greek regions.

The development of the Revolution infuriated the Ottomans, who were trying, in various ways, to suppress it. Among the victims was Cyprus, which paid a huge cost with the massacres that began on the island on 9 July 1821, and continued in the following days. Thus, the first volume describes the results of the massacres, with some being forced to convert to Islam and some fleeing with their families to Greek communities abroad, in order to avoid the horrible death that the Turks had in store for them.

The author recaps the first volume, trying to answer the question 'Why did the Cypriots not revolt in 1821?'. Rejecting the theories of the British, during the British rule on the island, about the 'non-Greekness of the Cypriots', he indicates that the only ones who did not doubt the Greekness of the Cypriots were the Ottomans, who sent 4,000 soldiers to the island and committed the horrific massacres of July 1821. The 'panhellenicity' of the Revolution of 1821 and the role of Greek regions, such as Cyprus, was reflected in the clearest way, according to the author, by Ioannis Philimon in his work *Δοκίμιον Ιστορικόν περί της Ελληνικής Επανάστασεως*.

In the second volume, Papapolyviou focuses on the Cypriots' contribution to the Revolution and the events after 1821. He highlights the fact that the participation of the Greeks of Cyprus in the revolution of 1821 is still one of the least known areas in modern Greek historiography. He considers that systematic research, which could identify, record and utilise a significant volume of archival sources, is lacking, so it is not possible to create a complete and reliable list of the Cypriot fighters of 1821.

Initially, he records the Cypriot fighters in the Revolution and then presents in detail a list of Cypriot fighters of 1821. He refers to the Cypriot fighters included in the *Archive of Rodion P. Georgiadis*. The list of Cypriot fighters of 1821, compiled and presented by Papapolyviou in the second volume, is perhaps the largest that has been made to date, without, as he emphasizes, it being the final. It does, though, provide a brief perspective of the important contribution that Cyprus had in the Struggle of 1821. In addition, the relationship of Nafplio with Cyprus during this period and the creation, as well as the action of the 'Cypriot community of Nafplio', are examined.

Papapolyviou then highlights the issue of the 'Cypriot loan', which caused rivalry and division in the leading group of Greek Cypriot fighters, that resulted in wider reactions in the rebellious areas in Greece. For the first time, the author also presents information about an event that took place in Cyprus and concerned the pirate landing of a large number of men of Mavrovouniotis and Krieziotis, in 1826 in Cyprus. The motives of these actions, as well as the objective of the landing, are presented as controversial.

Subsequently, the relationship of Ioannis Kapodistrias with Cyprus and the interest in the island shown by the Governor are examined. The expectations created in Cyprus by the memorandum prepared and submitted by the ecclesiastical and political leadership to Kapodistrias in 1828 are also highlighted.

What is also examined is the way in which the Struggle of 1821 was perceived, as well as the impact and symbolism of the Revolution in Cyprus in the long term. In this context, various issues are highlighted, such as the establishment of anniversary events for 9 July 1821, the construction of busts and the mausoleum in the courtyard of the church of Faneromeni in Nicosia, the 1921 celebrations for the centenary of the Revolution of 1821, as well as the celebrations for the 1931 *Oktovriana*. Finally, the reception of the Revolution of 1821 in the struggle of EOKA as the 'last Greek revolution' is presented.

The consequences of the massacres of 1821 in Cyprus were catastrophic and long-term. Hundreds of the island's inhabitants were killed or forced to emigrate, while those who remained took over all of the tax burdens. The population of the island decreased significantly, forcing the Sublime Porte to grant amnesty, worrying about the island's tax revenues. In Cyprus, there were uprisings or revolutions in 1833, such as those of Nikolaos Theseus in Larnaca, the monk Ioannikios in Karpasia and Gi-aour-Imamis in Paphos, which prove the turmoil that prevailed on the island. Beyond that, however, the author emphasises and highlights the participation of the Greeks of Cyprus in the Greek Struggle, a fact that confirms the desire of Cypriot Hellenism for freedom, but also the close ties with metropolitan Greece. The large number of Cypriot fighters of 1821 was an example that would be imitated by Cypriot volunteers in the subsequent wars that Greece participated in.

In conclusion, the two volumes deserve to be read, since in a concise but effective way they present an important aspect of the modern history of Cypriot Hellenism. By utilising primary sources, with documented positions, as well as through a multitude of photographs, images, documents and other relevant archival material that inter-

sperses the two volumes, the author graphically highlights the largely unknown great contribution of Cyprus in achieving the goals set by the Revolution of 1821, but also the high cost it was forced to pay.

Foivi Christodoulou

The National Movement of the Greek Cypriots During the Last Period of the British Occupation 1950-1960

[Το Εθνικό Κίνημα των Ελληνοκυπρίων κατά την Τελευταία Περίοδο της Αγγλοκρατίας 1950-1960]

Sophia Argyriou

Asine

Athens, 2017 [pp. 584]

ISBN: 978-618-82884-2-3

The national movement of the Greek Cypriots during the period of the British occupation has been in the epicentre of various research studies, constituting one of Cypriot historiography's most controversial fields due to its multilevel consequences. Dr Sophia Argyriou's book focuses on the development of the Greek Cypriot nationalism in its most crucial phase; the last decade of the British colonial period. As the author states at the very beginning of her book, the primary aim of the publication is to present the postwar Greek Cypriot national movement, taking account of all its dimensions, as a massive, anti-imperialist, national struggle. Furthermore, Argyriou clarifies that her effort is to display the imperial context (the political, social and ideological conditions) of the period, that led to the rise of the Greek Cypriot nationalism.

The book, which consists of four parts, begins with a theoretical approach vis-à-vis nationalism. By presenting various theories and approaches on the specific phenomenon (citing scholars such as Anthony Smith, Miroslav Hroch, Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm and Elie Kedourie), the author focuses on the case of Cyprus. The first part of the book also serves as an overview of the Greek Cypriots' national movement, as well as a synopsis of the British imperial rationale. Argyriou's approach is based on Miroslav Hroch's theories. Underlying the vital role of the Greek Cypriot education, the press and the Church, the author provides a brief, yet comprehensive context of nationalism during the British era. Additionally, as already stated, she focuses on imperialism as a social and political phenomenon, and on the post-imperial theories, suggesting that there is an essential affiliation between the nature of anti-colonial struggles and the colonial regime (its structure and institutions).

The second part of the book concentrates on examining the era between the end of the Second World War and 1950. Argyriou considers these years as a period of

intensification of the national movement in Cyprus due to the massive participation in political activities. This was, partly, a result of the disillusionment of the Greek Cypriots following the end of the War, which aggravated the local population's animosity towards the British Government. The various declarations of the Allies during the War had reinforced Cypriots' aspirations regarding the implementation of the right of self-determination. In addition, as a result of the War and the Greek-British alliance, the severe political restrictions (imposed by the Government of Cyprus in the aftermath of the 1931 riots [*Oktovriana*]) were abolished. Thus, a new social and political context was shaped and nationalism gained momentum. Another critical development of that time was the foundation of the Cypriot Left political party AKEL (Progressive Party of the Working People). In consequence, a fierce competition commenced between AKEL and the Cypriot Ethnarchy, both claiming the leading role of the national struggle in a period when Greece was ridden with a brutal civil war. This situation resulted in a tense political atmosphere, rendering the national problem (the question of *Enosis* [Union of Cyprus with Greece]) as the predominant issue of everyday life.

The national aspirations of the 1940s culminated in the 1950 plebiscite for *Enosis*. The event was a watershed in the history of the Greek Cypriot national movement, serving as an official statement of people's will and presented as the apex of the peaceful national campaign. With the plebiscite as starting point, the third part of the book deals with the large-scale national campaigns in Cyprus and abroad. Besides the plebiscite, another momentous development of the period was the election of Makarios III as the Archbishop of Cyprus, hence head of the Cypriot Ethnarchy (the political and religious leader of the Greek Cypriots). As Argyriou mentions, Makarios' election was crucial for the advancement of the national movement, as he introduced a modern communication policy. In the meantime, several measures adopted by the British authorities in order to suppress the national manifestations and to prevent the radicalisation of the national sentiment, irritated the Greek population and provoked harsh reaction.

The author states that, under these circumstances, a sense of cultural nationalism developed among the Greek Cypriots by means of defending their national identity and dismissing the British attempt to legitimize colonialism in terms of cultural mission. In this sense, Argyriou illustrates the way by which the elements of history, literature, language and folklore culture were used by intellectuals to enhance Greek national claims. Particular emphasis was given to Education as a vital factor for the

preservation of national consciousness. It's on this basis that the author interprets the zeal of the Greek population for the protection of Education's Greek character, against what was perceived as a British effort for dehellenisation.

In addition, Argyriou points to another factor of national agitation; Britain's fiscal policy. The heavy taxation (especially the 'Tribute'), the lack of agricultural infrastructure, the Government's negligence vis-à-vis relieving the rural population of usury and the absence of a welfare state, exacerbated hostility towards the regime.

An important characteristic of the book is that the author opted to concentrate her research, not only on the intra-Cypriot developments, but to also consider the international situation. This approach derives from her perception of the Cypriot problem and the strategic value of the island as directly interrelated with Cold War, the post-war decolonisation, the Greek civil war, the intense Middle East conflicts of the time and the rise of Turkey as a regional power. In this context, Argyriou examines the efforts of the Greek Cypriot and the Greek leadership to internationalize the *Enosis* question. The frustration of the island's Greek population, due to the British intransigence regarding their national demands (despite the declarations and the liberal manifestations of the previous years), resulted in considering the United Nations as the sole refuge for a fair solution. This was an important turning point, as Cypriots came to the realisation that they would eventually have to act on their own, pursuing the satisfaction of their pleas. But what turned out to be an unsuccessful UN appeal proved important for another reason; the political setback left no other option to the Greek nationalists but to radicalise their struggle.

The radical phase of the Greek Cypriot national movement, the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters' (EOKA) guerrilla warfare, and the British counterinsurgency campaign is the main field of analysis in the last part of the book. As Argyriou puts it (p. 316), 'when the "normal" procedures of negotiation and protests are eliminated, resistance and disobedience seem to be the only solution, and violence rises as a tactic of the conflict'. The author analyses the emergence of EOKA, its objectives, structure and operation. Through a thorough examination, Argyriou explains how the insurgency transformed into a massive national campaign, with the participation of guerrillas, civilians, students and clergy.

Additionally, more complicated issues are examined, as the author provides an analysis regarding the frictions between EOKA and AKEL, the controversy among the political and the military leader of the Cypriot struggle (Makarios and Georgios Grivas-Dhigenis) and the bicomunal conflict of the period (with reference to

the British role, instigating the discord). Furthermore, she investigates the gradual abandonment of *Enosis* as the main slogan of the national movement, explaining that this development resulted as a political manoeuvre in order for the Cyprus issue to be aligned with the decolonisation movement (and to not be considered an act of imperialism on behalf of Greece).

An additional important contribution of the book to Cypriot historiography is the presentation of the negotiation process and the plans for the solution of the Cyprus problem between 1955 and 1959. Moreover, Argyriou attempts to trace the roots of the territorial partition, an issue which still dominates the political life of the island.

The book concludes with the abandonment of *Enosis* as the aim of the Greek Cypriot national struggle and the reluctant acceptance of the foundation of an independent Cypriot state as the solution of the long-lasting crisis. The author, presenting the public discourse regarding the contingent Cypriot independence, depicts how the specific plan had been proposed since 1957 and how it gradually emerged as the sole feasible solution.

In order to enrich her work and underpin her argumentation, Argyriou makes use of a wide variety of sources. Besides the extensive usage of literature (Greek and English), she appears to have comprehensively researched the Greek and the Greek Cypriot press. Moreover, she turns to archival sources in order to shed light on several aspects of the research object and to disclose unknown material. Some of the archives Argyriou uses are: 1. The Secretariat Archives of the State Archives of Cyprus; 2. The Diplomatic and Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Greece; 3. The Contemporary Social History Archives (ASKI), Greece; 4. The National Archives, UK; and 5. The Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive (ELIA). The author has also managed to enhance her conclusions with information gleaned from interviews conducted with prominent figures of the Greek Cypriot national movement.

Utilising the aforementioned sources, Argyriou uses an interdisciplinary approach, combining historiography with theories from the area of political sciences and sociology. In this way, she consolidates her argumentation and offers a very good piece of research, useful in multiple scientific fields. Her work is insightful and essential in comprehending the nature and the evolution of the Cyprus problem in its complexity and its current *status quo*.

Michalis Stavri

The Gang

[Η Συμμορία]

Makarios Droussiotis
Alfadi Nicosia, 2020 (pp. 302)
ISBN: 9789963631131

'A President may not misuse the national government's legitimate powers by defining his own personal interest as synonymous with the national interest, or by inventing pretexts to mask the pursuit of personal interest under the guise of national interest'.⁶

An *Al-Jazeera* report on the Citizenship by Investment Program (CBI), published in October 2020, reveals that corruption in Cyprus extends to the highest political echelons. Two months later, Makarios Droussiotis' book *The Gang* is published, which confirms the dealings between the financial and the political establishment in Cyprus, in the wake of the 2013 financial crisis. *The Gang* is probably the most comprehensive journalistic investigation dealing extensively with the entanglement and financial interests between Cypriot power structures, whether institutionalised or not.

The book consists of three chapters. In the first chapter, the central figure is President Anastasiades, who is presented as an 'introducer'. On the one hand, as a lawyer-representing major economic interests, and, on the other hand, as the President of the Republic who has to make crucial choices in conflict with these interests, following the Eurogroup decisions. The second chapter analyses the backstage events that ensued after various interest groups attempted to impose themselves on the ruins of the Cypriot economy, while the third chapter describes the punishment (*nemesis*) and the consequences that the country has suffered from these actions. The author, drawing on material from his personal diary, the minutes of the meetings of the Cabinet, the Parliament sessions and the testimonial material of the Committee of Inquiry into the Economy, the local and international press, books published by key individuals during the period in question, presents evidence, which has not yet been officially challenged.

⁶ Bolton, J. R. (2020). *The Room Where It Happened: A White House Memoir*. Simon & Schuster. Kindle Edition, p.485

The aim of this paper is to take a critical approach to what is reported in the book *The Gang*. A book review is no substitute for the book itself, but it is useful for two main reasons: First, it is a secondary interpretation of what the author describes, and, second, it poses questions for further reflection by the reader. As Belsey notes:

‘The object of the critic, then, is to seek not the unity of the work, but the multiplicity and diversity of its possible meanings, its incompleteness, the omissions which it displays but cannot describe, and above all its contradictions. In its absences, and in the collisions between its divergent meanings, the text implicitly criticises its own ideology; it contains within itself the critique of its own values, in the sense that it is available for a new process of production of meaning by the reader, and in this process it can provide a real knowledge of the limits of ideological representation’.⁷

The Author’s ‘J’ accuse’ and his Personal Confession

The economy emerged as a major and distinct issue in the 2013 presidential elections. Negative fiscal indicators, private borrowing and the overexpansion of Cypriot banks called into question the economic viability of the state. As a result, the overall image of Cyprus abroad, became increasingly negative, replacing the thematic dynamics of the Cyprus issue with the problem of the economy. Internally, while in the previous elections the main pillars of discussion were the Cyprus Question and the issues of Domestic Governance, which included the Economy, suddenly the economic problem acquired its own topical thematic in the election campaign.

According to Droussiotis, his proximity with Nicos Anastasiades on the critical issues, led him to actively support Anastasiades in the 2013 presidential elections. On the one hand, the economic crisis and, on the other hand, the joint support of the ‘Yes’ to the Annan plan in 2004, led the journalist to believe in the motto of the Anastasiades’ staff that ‘the crisis needs a leader’. In fact, as he confesses, he believed their decade-long collaboration had evolved into a friendship, leading him to join the presidential team as a ‘soldier’,⁸ who would serve the good of the country. Soon, his hope turned to disappointment. He believes that he, too, was misled, concluding that ‘*this country holds no future for young people*’, as ‘*Cyprus is held hostage to the special circumstances of the national problem which has become a means of looting*

⁷ Belsey, C. (2003). *Critical practice*. Routledge, p. 89

⁸ Interview to George Pavlides, <https://youtu.be/CuCF3HpuQbU>

by the ruling powers’.⁹ Explaining his reasoning, he argues that the excessive powers acquired by the President of the Republic, due to the constitutional anomaly that has prevailed on the island since 1963, combined with the inability of the institutions to play a balancing role, have left the field open for a corrupt system of power to act like a gang. In other words, according to the author, the Cyprus problem is the productive cause of a distorted political system that is evolving into a corrupt structure.

After reading the book for the first time, three serious issues arise, concerning individuals, legal entities and institutional organisations: First, those accused have not brought legal action against the author in order to defend their personal honour and reputation. Secondly, the mainstream media have not invited the author to present his book to the public, playing a rather controversial role. Thirdly, the Cypriot judiciary has not called for an ex-officio investigation into the allegations made in the book, as it did in the case of the *Al-Jazeera* report.

‘The Corrupt System in Cyprus - The Haircut and the Corruption of Politicians and Lawyers’

Corruption and interlocking interests are not solely a local phenomenon. Similar phenomena occur even in allegedly advanced democracies, such as the United States, which assesses the level of corruption in the rest of the planet through annual reports. John Bolton, former US security adviser under the Trump Presidency, publishing his book *The Room Where It Happened*, directly accuses President Trump of corruption with the aim of his re-election:

‘Had the House not focused solely on the Ukraine aspects of Trump’s confusion of his personal interests (whether political or economic), but on the broader pattern of his behavior—including his pressure campaigns involving Halkbank, ZTE, and Huawei among others— there might have been a greater chance to persuade others that “high crimes and misdemeanors” had been perpetrated. In fact, I am hard-pressed to identify any significant Trump decision during my tenure that was not driven by re-election calculations’.¹⁰

Without this being an excuse for the Cypriot system of power—since it happens elsewhere, why not here as well?— Bolton’s book, as well as Droussiotis’, describe pandering to interests in order to ensure the political survival of those involved. In

⁹ *The Gang*, p. 301.

¹⁰ Bolton, p.485.

other words, former advisors accuse their superiors of doing anything, regardless of moral barriers and inhibitions, so they can be re-elected to office.

The fact that almost no Cypriot political parties mention *The Gang* in public discourse, leads the reader to multiple interpretations and questions: Do they want to hide it because they are themselves intertwined? Are the writings unsubstantiated and not worthy of any consideration? Is Droussiotis' body of writing such that it discourages the parties from using it as a source of information? The author offers his own interpretation of the attitude of party leaders during the crucial decisions of March 2013, and later, attributing different motives to each of them. Among these may be the reasons why the leading characters studiously avoid mentioning the book.

According to Droussiotis, President Anastasiades was at the heart of the lawyer-banker and auditor ring. He engineered the rejection of the first Eurogroup agreement by the Parliament, exploited the parties' populism, abused the patriotism of the Cypriots to pay the bill so that Russian depositors could be salvaged and abdicated his responsibility by blaming the Parliament's initial decision. The opposition AKEL, seeking vindication through the collapse of Anastasiades' policy, serving its ideological fixations that did not want the Troika in the country, seeking exit from the Eurozone and the non-disruption of Cypriot-Russian relations, paradoxically went along with Anastasiades' decisions.

The other parties, maintaining a pro-Russian stance, became accessories of Anastasiades' strategy, who cultivated the illusion of Russian assistance. The independent institutions were in a state of hypnosis while the media became appendages of the party logic, confirming the finding that, in the modern system of political communication, the predominance of 'party logic' over 'media logic' has created a relationship of interdependence between two basic pillars of modern democracy.¹¹

Second Reading: Rhetorical Ethos and Debating Binaries

Whenever the author is central to events, the interposition of his or her own biases is inevitable. Journalistic objectivity and detachment from the facts are concepts that are undermined when the author of a text takes a position aligned with the views of a group. Using Ethos, taken as a concept from the field of Rhetoric, with philosophical origins, and Identity taken from the field of Social Psychology, we attempt a different approach to the book beyond mere reading.

¹¹ The author reveals that he was ordered by President Anastasiades to contact a journalist, to publish information against the Governor of the Central Bank (*The Gang*, p. 171)

According to Aristotle, ethos is interwoven with the credibility of the orator. In the book under analysis, ethos is present and used as both a direct and indirect critique of the central figures. The personal attacks are a direct challenge to the ethos of an acting subject. The portrayal of a President addicted to alcohol, who *'already drunk and sleepy, lost his temper and started to yell'*, and who *'... begins drinking a few whiskies around 10am... by 12 the effect of the drink on his behaviour begins to show and at 2 he is drinking whisky as a refreshment before going to bed'* creates an appalling impression, damning the ethos of the institution with the ethos of the person serving it. On another occasion, the account of a well known lawyer who demanded that Anastasiades listen to him because he was a major contributor to his election campaign, with money from a Russian oligarch, suggests the existence of a faction. Anastasiades' association with networks indirectly subtracts from his morality by constructing the image of a dependent President who puts his personal interest above the common good. Moreover, the claim that *'Anastasiades refused to see reality, let alone manage it'*, coupled with *'he had a distorted view of the ELA (Emergency Liquidity Assistance)'* portray the President as having diminished cognitive and perceptual abilities, inferentially calling his decisions into question.

Drawing parallels and analogies is another deconstruction strategy the author employs. By equating President Anastasiades with political figures of diametrically opposed views, he creates doubt among the readers. He presents him as a politically split personality and asks *'So what had happened and Anastasiades... became Zacharias Koulias in a few hours?'*, associating Anastasiades with the current 'rejectionist' bloc in Parliament and, by extension, with 'rejectionism' on the Cyprus issue.

Moreover, by using the analogy that *'Anastasiades follows the practices of Christofias...'*, he is equating Anastasiades with a person whom he opposed, especially in his economic policy, yet replicating his methods. Therefore, the deconstruction of President Anastasiades, in political terms, is achieved by identifying him with persons and policies that he had rejected in the past and that he adopted at the time of the events.

Throughout the plot of the book, various dichotomies of identity and otherness confrontation arise. The author takes care to make the boundaries between 'we' and 'others' distinct by placing himself in the first group. Indicatively, the following are mentioned: 'Rationalists Vs Populists', 'Anti-Russians Vs Pro-Russians', 'Europeanists Vs Anti-Europeanists', 'Pro-MoU Vs Anti-MoU'. The two poles are not necessarily made up of two homogeneous groups, but are structured according to the perspective and interests of each group. The author, adhering to an anti-Russian stance, consid-

ers the memorandum with the Troika necessary through the European structures, rejecting populism and advocating the logic of a constructed 'rationalization', according to his own view. The MoU is presented as a cure, since '*...with quick and effective management, the situation was quickly normalised, the downward trend of the economy was reversed and growth returned again, but at a heavy price for those who paid the banks' bills, such as shareholders, securities holders and, above all, the haircut depositors*'. The MoU and the austerity measures that negatively affected both the economy and the breakdown of the social fabric are studiously avoided, focusing instead on the argument '*that the 2013 crisis was a great opportunity to cleanse and reconstruct institutions... [which] was lost because the "crisis leader", who was supposed to be leading modernisation, was at the core of the problem*'.

Through Droussiotis' narrative, the perspective of a school of thought is presented which believes that Cyprus was brought to the brink of bankruptcy due, exclusively, to internal factors. Mishandling, corruption and political games were the main reasons that led to the Eurogroup decisions. He aligns himself with certain associates of President Anastasiades who act as 'the voice of reason' amongst the frenzy and populism that prevailed during those days. By presenting the Parliament and the majority of MPs as incapable of understanding what was really happening, he creates the image of a broken State that exists by chance and circumstance. In contrast, in some cases he praises the Europeans for the latitude and tolerance they have shown, by adopting some of Anastasiades' proposals, such as the initial haircut rate, which was limited to single digits. In fact, he believes that it was Angela Merkel who saved the workers' social security funds, as the government was ready to give them up in order to save the banks. At this point, Droussiotis reproaches Anastasiades for trying to safeguard the interests of his law firm's clients at the expense of Cypriot citizens. In conclusion, Cyprus is presented as a decayed European State that is condemned solely by the actions of internal actors, while European institutions and external actors are exempt from criticism. The only country that comes into the author's crosshairs is Russia and President Putin, whom he considers equally corrupt.

General Assessment

The book *The Gang* may be of use to future generations and contribute to the transformation of a party system that is in a quagmire. The fact that it was not used as a source of arguments in the 2021 parliamentary elections does not mean that it cannot work in the same way in the 2023 presidential elections. After all, in the past, the revelations of *WikiLeaks* documents related to Cyprus have been a point of friction

between the electoral staffs of the presidential candidates. The reader-voter can use it as part of decoding moves executed on the political chessboard and to interpret events that have been in the news and determine, to this day, policies pursued in the economy.

The book is based on the dichotomy between identity and otherness, going beyond political correctness at some points, exuding empathy towards otherness. This can be seen in the author's statements, which are not limited to a simple statement of facts, but contain his personal position on the facts. An important concept which marks the author's attitude towards the protagonists of his work is the construction of their morality. Apart from the descriptive dimension of morality, references and arguments that are directed against the ethos of these persons in a caustic manner acquire special significance.

The fact that the author develops a relationship of cooperation-friendship with President Anastasiades, which in the following period turns into a relationship of anger and 'blame', cannot take away from the value of his testimony. On the contrary, he can be credited with courage and boldness for his venture to challenge the first citizen of the Republic and the party system by publishing a devastating book. The fact that he does not remain uninvolved in the unfolding of events leads to two additional conclusions: First, that the writing of the book works in the direction of transparency and, second, it is his *mea culpa* for the trust he has shown in the political system and Anastasiades, personally. In other words, the book works as a redemption for him and for the mistakes he has made along the way.

Kyriakos Kolovos

361st Infantry Battalion – A Chronicle of Defending the Betrayed Homeland

[361 Τάγμα Πεζικού – Χρονικό Προάσπισης Προδομένης Πατρίδας]

Dr Charalambos Alexandrou

Cyprus Institute for Scientific and Historical Research

Nicosia, 2nd Ed., 2020 (1st Ed, 2019) pp. 804

ISBN: 978-9925-7571-2-1

Dr Charalambos Alexandrou's monograph is one of the very few publications that chronicle the history, the action, and the experiences of a military unit; and in this case the 361st Infantry Battalion of the Cyprus National Guard. This book was more than necessary in order to shed light on this battalion, which suffered the most casualties during the 1974 Turkish invasion, with many of its soldiers dying or missing. It was very important to chronicle the battalion's story as well as its action during that tragic summer of 1974. The story of the battalion is chronicled over many the pages of this bulky book, which covers the period of summer 1974, yet offers more than a description of the events.

The biggest part of the book offers a chronological account of that tragic summer's events. This is the best method that the author could have used, as he presents and analyses the events in a way that it is comprehensible both chronologically as well as in terms of substance. Alternatively, the author could have selected the thematic approach, but this would have taken away from the gradual progression of events, rendering the book much more incomprehensible for the reader.

Initially, and for the reader to comprehend the structure, the hierarchy, the geographical location, and the armament of the battalion, the author provides a detailed analysis and presentation of the above themes in the first chapter. The author's initial presentation contains many military terms, which could be difficult to understand for the wider public or readers that have never studied military history before, however it is deemed a necessary foundation for the development of the book. The same chapter provides a detailed account of the period leading up to the EOKA B' coup, under the directions of the Athens military junta and its local collaborators. Subsequently, in the third chapter, the author goes on to describe the action of the battalion in detail during the coup, when some of the units of the battalion had their baptism by fire,

in what is perhaps the most difficult period in the modern history of the Republic of Cyprus.

The fourth chapter details the action of the battalion during the first phase of the Turkish invasion, with testimonies of surviving soldiers offering a first-hand account of what took place. In order to help the reader understand each given location of the battalion, the author offers maps with the location of each unit. Without these maps, the geographic location of the units would be difficult or even impossible to understand for someone who has never visited and is not familiar with the area which fell under the battalion's responsibility.

The fifth chapter describes the retreat of the National Guard and the advance of the Turkish troops, while it emphasizes the deadly battle east of the village of Koutsoventis, where the troops of the battalion suffered huge losses. The next chapter (6) focuses on the reorganisation of the battalion near Kythrea, while the remaining troops received orders to reorganise near the village of Klepini. In this detailed description of the reorganisation in the seventh chapter of the monograph, it is shocking to think of the close proximity of the National Guard to the Turkish troops. The start of the second phase of the Turkish invasion, found the battalion ready for battle on the north side of the Pentadaktylos Mountain. At first, their battle stations seemed to be well-positioned. This, however, gave the soldiers a false sense of security. The superior capacity of the Turkish army proved decisive, since after a few hours of fighting and with the Cypriot soldiers having limited ammunition left, their retreat could not have been prevented. The retreat was unorganised, while some units were not informed and were left behind. The same chapter describes the actions of a section of the battalion south of Pentradaktylos, specifically in Mia Milia, in the district of Nicosia. The eighth chapter describes how the battalion fled from the action area, after the retreat to the Government-controlled areas.

The last chapter, which contains the testimonies of soldiers who were cut off during the retreat and stayed back wandering around, looking for an escape route towards the areas that were not controlled by the Turkish military, creates a feeling of suspense for the reader. The author manages to convey the feelings of the soldiers who managed to get away, while others were not so lucky and were captured. However, I believe that the same chapter can be rather confusing for the reader, since in order for them to catch up on the story of the units who got separated from the others and remained on the north side of the island, they need to go back and forth through the pages to find a point of reference. The author did try to address this problem by

referencing the numbers of the pages where the story continues. However, this method is still problematic for the reader.

An important element which adds to the credibility of everything told in the monograph is the combination of multiple sources, and the author's effort to cross-check and corroborate the information he provides. The 163 interviews of soldiers and officers of the battalion that were conducted for the purpose of this book, and the material drawn from the archives of the military, and especially the archive of the National Guard History Office, are a source of inspiration for further research, making Dr Alexandrou's research particularly praiseworthy.

One of the most emotionally intense moments for the survivors, was the fact that two of the four units on the frontlines of the Klepini battle had not been informed about the retreat. The testimonies of the surviving soldiers are so descriptive that no reader can remain unmoved, while many questions remain unanswered. Another element we need to point out as we conclude this review, is the title of the book. Even though the title is '*361st Infantry Battalion – A Chronicle of Defending the Betrayed Homeland*', the author does not provide any information that leads to the conclusion that the homeland was betrayed. However, someone would expect that the title would be reflected in the book's content. What can be deduced from the stories recounted in the book and the way they are written, is rather the high incompetence and the bad judgement calls of high-ranking officials than a betrayal. However, to the author's credit, the aim of the book is not to analyse the reasons that led to the coup and the Turkish invasion, but the action of the specific battalion. In order for the reader to come to the conclusion that the homeland was betrayed, they will need to read other books and analyses that are not limited to the actions of a specific regiment of the National Guard in 1974.

This detailed account of the events of 1974, through the experiences and actions of the 361st Infantry Battalion is a well-written monograph and is definitely an essential read for both historians studying the period of 1974 and members of the wider public interested in the history of Cyprus. Using the lens of military history, we can certainly argue that Dr Alexandrou's book constitutes an important addition to the bibliography of the history of Cyprus. In conclusion, it would be a welcome process if more units (divisions, battalions, and others), who were active in the summer of 1974 and were immediately implicated in the Turkish invasion, provided their own account of the events, based on the story of the 361st Infantry Battalion, as recorded in the monograph of Dr Alexandrou.

Marios Siammas

Latsia: The Story of a Colony that Became a Metropolis

[Λατσία: Η Ιστορία μιας Αποικίας που έγινε Μητρόπολη]

Andreas Christofi

Kostas Epiphaniou Publications

Nicosia, 2021 [pp. 255]

ISBN: 978-9963-604-71-5

In the course of just a few decades, Latsia, a village on the outskirts of Nicosia, became one of the city's largest suburbs. This book shows how this significant change came about. It tells a story of urbanisation in light of the rapid changes that led to the modernisation of the formerly largely agrarian Cypriot society. Unfortunately, it does so by using a somewhat dry and unengaging writing style, mostly limiting itself to a simple presentation of facts and figures and eschewing deeper analysis. Overall, the book would benefit from some deeper-level analysis and from a more sophisticated writing style.

Nevertheless, this is a noteworthy contribution to the fields of Cypriot studies and local history. The lack of secondary resources, which is noted in the introduction, is counterbalanced by the use of primary sources, mostly newspapers, as well as the inclusion of a wealth of photographic material. Oral interviews were also used: quotes are presented verbatim in the Cypriot dialect in order to preserve a sense of immediacy (in the end of the book there is a Greek-Cypriot glossary for readers who are not familiar with the Cypriot dialect).

The titular 'colony' of Latsia was established in the mid-19th century by citizens of Lythrodontas, a large village to the Southwest of Nicosia. Chapter 1 presents different theories on the origin of toponyms and discusses the area's landscape and geography. The area was chosen because it was rich in groundwater, which could be used for irrigation, and because of its proximity to Nicosia. Early inhabitants initially resided in the area periodically, so that they could be nearer to their fields for agricultural activities. In fact, according to census data and testimonies presented in Chapter 1, most permanent residents settled in the village much later, in the 1930s and 1940s. Other testimonies taken from memoirs and oral interviews with older members of the community describe the pre-industrial agricultural methods used in the early to

mid-20th century and the difficulties and hardships of life for farmers and agricultural labourers back then. The modernisation of agricultural processes after the end of World War II brought significant changes to economy and society. Chapter 4 addresses these changes and also other aspects of society and economy of Latsia, such as the origins and development of the cooperative movement.

Churchgoing is a central aspect of Cypriot social life. Therefore, the construction of new churches and the expansion or restoration of older church buildings were indicative of a community's development. The construction of schools was another indicator of urban development: Chapters 2 and 3 shows how population growth necessitated the foundation of new churches and new schools. Tables with the names of students and teachers record the development of school education in Cyprus during the 20th century, with the gradual increase of children enrolled at primary schools.

Chapter 5 is entitled '*Forms of Collective Action*', but, in essence, only focuses on the history of local sports associations. The prevalence of football clubs in the narrative is indicative of their social significance and their importance to local communities: football clubs provided an environment for socialisation and community organisation at a time when there was a lack of comparable alternatives.

The book includes a compelling narrative of the community's contribution to the Cypriot struggle for union with Greece, a movement which had massive support in Latsia. The narrative is spun through the use of firsthand testimonies, most notably from people who participated in the EOKA anti-colonialist armed struggle. Chapter 6 includes photographs of the ballots from the 1950 '*Enosis*' referendum, complete with all signatures, or, in some cases, simple crosses for people who were illiterate (who apparently accounted for 44.14% of the community).

The book also examines the political orientations of the citizens of Latsia. The results of all electoral contests are presented in Chapter 7. Differences such the reduction or increase in election results for different parties or candidates are, in most cases, noted or commented upon. However, no thorough interpretation of the results ensues, perhaps in an effort to steer clear of contemporary Cypriot politics.

Chapter 8 presents an account of the development of the community after the 1974 Turkish invasion. The arrival and settlement of hundreds of refugees in the area radically changed the human geography of Latsia. Before the initiation of a massive government housing project, refugees had to live under terrible conditions, often without access to basic services and amenities. Various concerns arose, relating to matters such as the lack of paved roads and sanitation in the refugee camps. The need

to respond to these challenges became the impetus for further development. In 1986, the village was large enough for it to be declared a municipality. The book ends with an account of the foundation of the Latsia Municipality, a reminder that this book reflects the interests and priorities of the Municipality, which supported the writer in his endeavour.

Overall, there is a lot of interesting information presented here, but it is rarely accompanied by deeper analysis. Brief accounts and simple presentation of historical data (e.g. lists of students, election results) are much more common throughout the book. It is worth noting however, that, in some cases, the style of presentation is effective (and affecting) in its simplicity. This is the case for example, in the presentation of the *'Enosis'* referendum lists or of the lists of schoolchildren and the testimonies from elderly women who were forced to leave school to help with agricultural operations and domestic work.

The book was likely conceived as an academic as well as a popular publication; it is most successful as the latter. This however, does not mean that it is not useful for historians and researchers interested in local history. Indeed, such studies are welcome contributions to an understudied field.

Eleni Leontidou



CALL FOR PAPERS
The Cyprus Review

The Cyprus Review invites submissions for a Special Section on

***Performing Arts in Cyprus:
Embodied Identities***

Cyprus has a thriving performing arts scene, especially in contemporary dance and performance art. Although it does not have a long history, the artistic development has been exciting and rife with socio political ideas that demand reflections on the trends, patterns, and ideologies thereof.

This special section of *The Cyprus Review* (CR) invites papers that seek to examine the identity (-ies) of Cypriot performing arts and what socio-political ideas they communicate through embodiment.

Following Jane Desmond's suggestion that the bodily 'texts' further the understanding of 'how social identities are signalled, formed, and negotiated through bodily movement', we invite papers that consider the role of the body and embodiment in live performing arts in Cyprus.

We invite scholars and artists to reflect on the role of the body as a material and physical act, as a lived body that Anna Pakes describes as a subjective locus of worldly experience rather than an objective fact, a complex of subjectively felt sensation or embodied thoughtfulness, not something separable from the consciousness.

In this special section, we hope to reflect on the trends in contemporary performing arts in Cyprus, with a particular focus on dance, theatre, and performance art, as a way to articulate and theorise political and historical trends in the arts, society, and community. Following Mark Franko's ideology that dance has been used and created in order to reflect political and cultural identities, as well as a vehicle of critical theory of society, we seek contributions that aim to analyse issues of representation, history, politics, and sociological concerns in and through embodiment in various performing arts in Cyprus.

We especially invite original proposals on the following subjects as they pertain to contemporary performing arts in Cyprus:

- Archives (or lack thereof) and knowledge circulation

- Memory as embodied process
- Representation of bodily difference
- Location and Temporality
- Post-colonialism
- Ethnicity
- Gender
- Feminism
- Queerness

This is not an exhaustive list of ideas and issues. Articles can present research that addresses and investigates various socio-political ideologies as they relate to performing arts in Cyprus.

We invite proposals for traditional academic papers, provocations, and artist reflections that respond to the theme of the Special Issue.

Submission Instructions

- Authors should consult the journal's guidelines for submission which can be found at: <http://cyprusreview.org/index.php/cr/about/submissions#authorGuidelines>
- For specific enquiries, please contact the CR via <cy_review@unic.ac.cy>.
- Submission should be sent to cy_review@unic.ac.cy or submitted through the CR's webpage, not later than **31st March 2023**. All email submissions should be identified in the subject line with the heading 'Performing Arts Special Section – Article Submission'.
- This section is **Guest-Edited** by **Dr Pascal Caron** and **Dr Dara Milovanović**.

