

# My beloved enemy:

Muslim-Christian relations in Cyprus prior to conflict and division

Submitted by

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I certify that this thesis:

1. does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and
2. to the best of my knowledge and belief, does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

**Stephanie Elisabeth Jacobs**

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## Abstract

Cyprus is a divided island. Successively conquered throughout millenia, it became a Republic in 1960, but the journey to nationhood was not the people's own. Founded on division, the Republic was crafted by outsiders. The wars of the 1960s and 1974 and the intractability of the 'Cyprus problem', the major players and the major turning points, have been extensively examined, analysed and debated. The minor players – people of the labouring class, whose lives were subject to decisions of distant powers – are the focus of this thesis.

After the Ottomans took Cyprus in 1571, many 'Greeks' and 'Turks' lived side by side. There are currently two hegemonic nationalist narratives. One holds that the two groups always lived peacefully together, so the Turkish military offensive of 1974 was unjustified; the other that the two groups were never close, so the offensive was necessary. Those narratives are tested in this thesis, which explores the relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriot villagers prior to the rise of nationalism and conflict in the 1950s and 1960s. Extended, first-hand interviews of 72 Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus and Australia reveal the close bonds that existed between the two groups at both community and personal levels.

Examples of significant community-level relations abound, including people playing and working together, learning each other's languages, attending each other's schools, religious festivals, weddings and funerals. Religious syncretism and trans-cultural diffusion were clearly evident in village society. Personal-level relationships between the two groups included close friendships, the choice of koumbaroi (best man, matron of honour) from the 'other' group; intermarriages – more common than previously reported; and the practice of cross-religious milk kinship – examined for the first time in this thesis.

Friendships between the two groups extended to Australia; this thesis investigates the relations between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot diaspora in Australia. Friends had migrated together, or encouraged others to join them in Australia, and many had forged new friendships with the 'other'. Furthermore, many friendships survived political unrest and the intercommunal wars in Cyprus throughout the 1960s and in 1974, and the decades-long division of the island.

Interviewees' stories of rupture (displacement and loss) and repair (reconnection and hope) paint a picture of the entangled lives of many Cypriots. This thesis examines the loss and grief felt by those who were displaced during the wars of the 1960s and 1974, and by those who remained,

uncovering deep connections with the 'other' that persisted through decades of conflict, nationalism, propaganda and war.

By providing a nuanced understanding of the deep community- and personal-level relations that once existed between the two communities, this thesis addresses a gap in the broad colonial and post-colonial histories of Cyprus. It contends that, particularly in the former mixed villages, many genuine intercommunal friendships existed; and that, in many respects, the two groups lived as a single harmonious and integrated community. Furthermore, shadowed by the post-1974 hegemonic nationalist narratives, many stories had been untold. This study constitutes an opening of Cyprus' 'secret archive of inherited amnesia'.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A.R. Alev, 'Drifting in the Dead Zone in Cyprus: the mediation of memory through expanded life writing', PhD thesis, University of the Arts, London, 2013, 78.



## Preface

“This is how we used to live,” my *pappou* (grandfather) said to me, wiping tears from his eyes, “Greeks and Turks together.” We had just eaten some freshly made halloumi, standing outside *pappou*’s old house in Ayia Irini, Cyprus.<sup>2</sup>

*Pappou* (Costas Jacobs, formerly Constantinos Iakovou) migrated to Australia in 1947 as a 21-year old and had not visited his village in the north of Cyprus since 1972. His two brothers, who remained in Cyprus, both live in the south, and although checkpoints between the north and south were opened in 2003, neither had visited their village since the day they fled from the Turkish military in 1974.

It was very significant that Costas was in Cyprus in July 2013. It had been twenty years since he last visited and he had not expected that he would return to his homeland in his old age. At 87, Costas wanted to make the most of his visit. He was determined to make the journey to his old village and his younger brother Andreas decided to come, too. The youngest brother, Iordanis, was adamant that he would not travel north, but two of his children joined us. Costas made the trip accompanied by his two sons, three grandchildren, his brother, a nephew and niece, a daughter-in-law and a sister-in-law. We were a party of eleven (seven from Australia) sharing the two old men's journey back in time.

On Saturday 13 July 2013 we travelled from Polis Chrysochous, in the south of Cyprus, to Ayia Irini (Akdeniz), a village in the north. The village looked very old, worn, and underdeveloped. At first, Costas and Andreas were rediscovering their village like two excited little boys; they reminisced about their childhood and giggled with delight. Soon they decided to see the old church, where their own *pappou* had been the priest and to which they felt deeply connected.

They led us to the small church of Ayia Irini, at the edge of the village. As we entered the mood changed. We realised that the church had been ransacked decades earlier. All of the icons had been ripped from the walls; everything was gone except for the beautiful floor tiles, which were covered in a thick layer of dust. After a few minutes, Costas broke down sobbing. His brother Andreas was also devastated; however, he reacted positively, defiantly, saying, “I am going to restore this church!”

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<sup>2</sup> An account of this visit to Ayia Irini in 2013 first published in S. Jacobs, ‘A loving encounter in northern Cyprus’, *Neos Kosmos*, 14 November, 2015, 8-9.

We left the church in a sombre mood. We saw a car driving towards us in the distance and as it came closer we saw my mother, who had become separated from the rest of us shortly after we arrived in the village, sitting in the passenger seat. My mother got out of the car and announced, "I have found Mehmet!" The sombre mood was broken.

While we went to the church, my mother had walked towards the mosque, asked for help from some workmen she met, and been directed to, "Go to coffee shop. Good English!" She had been trying for a few days to contact Costas' oldest friend, Mehmet Emin. My family all knew that a reunion of the two men would be the fulfilment of a dream. The *kafenion* (café) owner, Erol, had responded to her query about an old man who used to live in the village, saying, "Mehmet is my wife's mother's brother!" He showered her with hospitality and then went to fetch Mehmet Emin. When my mother encountered difficulty in locating the rest of us, Erol drove her around the village searching for us. "I have found Mehmet!" Costas' expression shifted from pain and fatigue to happy excitement, and he started swiftly up the hill, eager to reunite with his childhood friend.

I grew up hearing stories of how Costas and Mehmet Emin were closer than brothers. My *pappou* would have tears in his eyes and say to me, "I would trust a Turkish Cypriot over a Greek Cypriot any day; they are the best friends you could ever have." He told me that he and his brothers would play with Turkish Cypriot children, that most of the villagers spoke both Greek and Turkish, and that they embraced each other's cultural and religious customs and events. At Easter, the Greek Cypriots would prepare *flaounes* (special pastries) and coloured eggs and would share these with their Greek and Turkish Cypriot neighbours. After *Ramazan*, *Eid* was a Turkish Cypriot feast shared with Greek Cypriot friends. They were invited to each other's weddings and other celebrations, and people were judged on their character rather than their ethnicity or religion. This was normal life in Ayia Irini, a once harmonious mixed village.

The love and friendship between Costas and Mehmet Emin lasted through decades and survived ethnic conflict and separation owing to Costas' emigration. It inspired this research, but I did not anticipate the trip to Ayia Irini taking place; witnessing the reunion (Figure P.1) in the *kafenion* was a deeply emotional and unexpected experience for all of us. We drank lots of water and coffee, discovered *mastica* ice-cream and rejoiced in watching the old friends sitting and talking together, reconnecting after all those years.



Figure P.1 Costas and Mehmet Emin: 13 July 2013

Amazingly, Erol, the owner of the *kafenion*, was the author of a book on the 2000-year history of the village; he sold quite a few copies that day.

We said goodbye to Mehmet Emin and walked back towards our cars. Suddenly an older lady called out to us – in Greek! Emina had recognised my uncle (my dad’s brother) from his visit to the village in 2011. She remembered Costas and Andreas from decades before and embraced them with much warmth. She called her sister Serpil, who joined the reunion and they told us many stories of the old days of the village, and of how my great-grandfather Iacomi, Costas and Andreas’ father, had died. They introduced us to their children and grandchildren, some of whom now live in the house that had once belonged to the brothers.

Costas reminisced: “That room is where we used to store the hay.” Serpil opened the room to show us its current use: they make cheese there. She cut up some freshly-made goat’s cheese and sprinkled it with locally collected sea salt; we all sampled it with relish. Then we had to try the haloumi ... and Serpil made up several parcels of cheese for us to take away with us.

Iordanis’ children grew up in the south of Cyprus, in Nicosia. Although they had crossed the Ledra Street checkpoint and eaten and shopped in the north, they had never engaged with a Turkish Cypriot before. My aunt, surprised, said to me, “They look like us, and they speak like us!” Her ‘knowledge’, learned from school and the media, that Turkish Cypriots were very different to the Greek Cypriots, was deeply challenged. I observed her responding to the hugs, kisses and smiles of

the Turkish Cypriots with warmth and affection. She told me that she was drawn to them and felt a natural connection to them.

So there we stood, outside the house in which Costas and his brothers grew up, listening to stories of when they were children and enjoying our time with the lovely Turkish Cypriots living in the house today. “This is how we used to live ...”

When we were saying our goodbyes, my mother kissed Emina and said, *‘efharisto poli’* (thank you very much) and she replied, *‘tipota’* (it’s nothing) and then *‘kopiaste’* (a Cypriot, rather than a Greek or Turkish word, relating to hospitality – come and share my food). We left Ayia Irini with Erol's book in one hand, a bag full of haloumi in the other, happiness in our hearts and a shared sense of amazement at the day we had experienced.

# Introduction

## Research questions and objectives

The aim of this dissertation is to explore oral history accounts of the relationships between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in several former mixed villages of Cyprus, before civil unrest and war broke out on the island from the mid-1950s. This thesis, however also captures oral history accounts of Cypriots who had close relations with neighbouring mixed or mono-communal 'other' villages. The majority of interviewees who remembered the pre-conflict era were elderly (51 to 91 years at the time of interview, with an average age of 74 years).

This dissertation encompasses interdisciplinary research, crossing between the scholarly fields of ethnography, anthropology, oral history, memory studies, identity studies, cultural and religious studies, migration and diaspora studies, demography, and imperial and colonial history.

Consequently, this study will be framed as historical ethnography. Michaela Fenske stated that historical ethnography, "can be seen in the context of the "new cultural history", a collective designation for various sub-disciplines, including historical anthropology and micro-history."<sup>1</sup>

This thesis focuses on the anthropology of experience. Paul Sant Cassia described this as:

the means by which direct personal experiences of the past and events are interpreted and offered as morally compelling and authentic narratives to either re-enforce or subvert official (ethnic) histories. The notion of 'experience' of events, of having witnessed (and hence participated in) them, is particularly significant because in evoking the past in a manner that authenticates the narrators' claims, individuals are trying to (re)interpret their own and others' actions, or contest statist histories.<sup>2</sup>

This study uses interviews of elderly Greek and Turkish Cypriots, conducted, in Cyprus and in Australia. The five central research objectives are:

1. To explore the childhood and early adulthood stories of intercommunality in Cyprus from the 1920s to the 1960s (and, where possible, up to 1974);

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1 M. Fenske, 'Micro, Macro, Agency: Historical Ethnography as Cultural Anthropology Practice', trans. J Bendix, *Journal of Folklore Research*, 44(1), 2007, 74-75.

2 P. Sant Cassia, 'Martyrdom and witnessing: Violence, terror and recollection in Cyprus', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 11(1), 1999, 22.

2. To explore deep personal-level relations between individuals belonging to the two different communities from the 1920s to the 1960s (and up to 1974);
3. To explore how religious, ethnic and national identities formed and evolved amongst Greek and Turkish Cypriots in both Cyprus and Australia.
4. To investigate the experiences of the Cypriot diaspora in Australia; why each group migrated, how they settled, and how they engaged with each other; and
5. To examine the memories of displacement and loss, and the experiences of reconnection and hope, of each community.

Whilst many multi-ethnic/multi-lingual/multi-religious societies have existed throughout history, there are very few cases like Cyprus, where two distinct ethno-religious groups coexisted for centuries alongside other minorities, and where two external 'motherlands' were identified. The focus of this project is the little-studied rural population; those from the peasantry, labouring and lower middle-class backgrounds.

This project will make a significant contribution to identity and cultural studies in former Ottoman lands, where there were significant mixtures of Christians and Muslims. Additionally, this project explores the Greek Cypriot hegemonic nationalist narrative of harmonious intercommunality, and discovers whether such an oral tradition exists amongst Turkish Cypriots; if there are any instances and examples of intercommunality common to the two groups (supporting evidence for lived experience, rather than mythology); and at what levels intercommunality was experienced across society. The broader questions of how one explains such harmonious relations historically, and the nature of such harmonious relations (bilingualism, school life, work life, as well as cross-religious encounters and celebrations) is examined.

Previous studies have noted close relationships between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in passing, but have not explored such relationships in detail, as their studies were focussed on other areas.<sup>3</sup> This dissertation delves into four types of personal-level relations between the two groups: friendships, *koumbaroi*, intermarriages, and milk-kinship.

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<sup>3</sup> R. Bryant, *The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the New Cyprus*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2010; R. Bryant, Report 2 – 'Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community', *Displacement in Cyprus: Consequences of Civil and Military Strife*, Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) Cyprus Centre, Oslo, 2012; and O. Demetriou, Report 1 – 'Life Stories: Greek Cypriot Community', *Displacement in Cyprus: Consequences of Civil and Military Strife*, Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) Cyprus Centre, Oslo, 2012.

This thesis examines the childhood identities of participants and investigates how the relations between the groups, as well as significant events, impacted the evolving identities of those originally from mixed villages.

Including interviewees who migrated to Australia adds another layer to this project, whereby themes of migration, settlement, hyphenated-identity, and diaspora arise. Life in the diaspora and the role of diaspora communities – whether Cypriots felt that they belonged to the larger ‘Greek’ and ‘Turkish’ communities – is investigated. Therefore, this dissertation makes a significant contribution to diaspora studies.

Much has been written on ‘the Cyprus problem’, and this study adds the voices of rural, peasant and working-class people. Stories of conflict, displacement and loss after the division of the island are told by internally displaced persons, and also by those who remained in the former mixed villages. In addition, this study explores the desire of refugees from both communities to return ‘home’, as well as stories of reunions with old friends and neighbours, and participants’ hopes for a united future.

As Cyprus was under British rule during the period under investigation, the project proves important for those interested in the imperial and colonial encounter. Imperial and colonial documents and literature are used to determine what the British in the metropolis (in London) and those on the periphery (in Cyprus) thought about Christian-Muslim / Greek-Turkish relations in Cyprus. This is especially important since the post-1955 period continues to shape memories and how they are framed and conveyed.

The broader contribution of this dissertation is achieved through exploration of stories of integration, respect and community. It reveals the ways in which ethnically and religiously different groups of people in mixed villages lived, in many respects, as a single community. Participants’ stories have the potential to give insights into the Cypriot community, and other communities within nations that have encountered conflict between different ethnic and/or religious groups.

This study’s significance lies in its interdisciplinarity. Not only does it have potential relevance to scholars working in various disciplines who are interested in a variety of approaches, themes and historiographies, including ethnographers, anthropologists and historians; but it also stands to make an important contribution to Cypriot historiography and therefore to Cypriots moving forward in attempting to reunify the island.

Whilst this research examines stories of intercommunality and friendship in a once tolerant and harmonious multi-ethno-religious society; it also aims to engage the youth of Cyprus with stories of their parents and grandparents, to understand the relationships between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in a time before war, consuming nationalism and division; to contribute to dialogue amongst the youth of Cyprus which could assist efforts towards reconciliation in the future.

I initially planned to focus on the period from the 1920s to the 1950s. As nationalism grew significantly throughout the 1950s and conflict became widespread throughout the 1960s, I assumed that relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots would have deteriorated so significantly that very few people would have maintained good relations with the 'other' throughout the 1960s. While conducting fieldwork, stories of friendship, cooperation, and even assistance during times of conflict emerged from the interviews. I therefore decided to extend the parameters of the dissertation to include recollections of intercommunal relations from the 1960s. Unexpectedly, stories of loss, displacement, cooperation and rescue during the 1974 war were also captured.

## Historiography

There is a vast historiography relevant to this dissertation. Whilst this section provides an overview of the historiography, the literature briefly discussed here is also extensively used throughout the relevant chapters.

Most obviously this project is significant from the point of view of Cypriot historiography, which has tended to focus on intercommunal division in Cyprus. Most anthropological, political and historical studies of Cyprus covering the period from the 1920s to 1960s (and indeed beyond), are centred on nationalism, conflict, and 'the Cyprus Problem', and on the subsequent issues which have arisen: displacement, missing persons, land rights and settlement, as well as the consequences of accession into the European Union for a divided country. The existing literature has usually focussed on one community or the other; rarely on both. Furthermore, previous research has not focused on my central question: the intercommunal and everyday ways in which the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities lived in the mixed villages of Cyprus during this period. This dissertation therefore aims to shift some of the focus onto the ordinary intercommunal harmony experienced before violence and division consumed the island. It thereby fills a gap in the current literature; for example through accounts of children becoming simultaneously or sequentially



bilingual, of soccer teams in which Greek and Turkish Cypriot villagers played together, and of villagers taking on each other's chores on sacred days.

More broadly, it offers a case study of a recent example of a time and place where there was religious harmony between Christians and Muslims, and ethnic harmony between 'Greeks' and 'Turks', in a mixed population. In this sense the project taps into the historiography surrounding Christian-Muslim relations and Greek and Turkish relations in the lower and middle classes of society.

## Christian-Muslim relations throughout the Ottoman Empire

The broader context of Muslim-Christian relations throughout the Ottoman Empire underpins this study. Nicholas Doumanis, investigating the coexistence of Christians and Muslims in Anatolia during the late-Ottoman period, stated, "Culture (including religion) has always been used to mobilize peoples against each other, but serious historians ... understand that culture itself does not generate conflict."<sup>4</sup> He showed that prior to 1912, much of the Ottoman Empire, "was flourishing and stable, particularly western Anatolia and the Levant."<sup>5</sup> Christians and Muslims accommodated each other in the Ottoman Empire, "out of habit, good will and practical necessity, which together constituted a 'generality' or 'structure' that characterized 'a way of being'."<sup>6</sup> He described Anatolia prior to 1922 as a place which saw intercommunality between Muslims and Christians:

Laws and conventions that were meant to differentiate confessional groups [Muslims, Christians and Jews] ... were flouted more commonly than they were observed, and in most guilds there was little evidence of segregation. In workplaces and in commercial ventures, Muslims and Christians frequently operated side by side. They participated to some degree in each other's religious festivals, and often formed lasting friendships.<sup>7</sup>

Although the focus of this dissertation is on the British rather than the Ottoman period, it adds to Doumanis' research as it investigates intercommunal relationships between Christian Greek Cypriots and Muslim Turkish Cypriots in the former mixed villages of Cyprus, in a formerly Ottoman space.

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4 N. Doumanis, *Before the Nation: Muslim-Christian Coexistence and its Destruction in Late Ottoman Anatolia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013, 10.

5 *ibid.*, 3.

6 *ibid.*, 3.

7 *ibid.*, 7.

## The British period in Cyprus

As the time period examined in this thesis is largely the British colonial period, Andrekos Varnava's extensive research on the British period in Cyprus provided valuable historical context for this study. He contended, "Cyprus was not always a valuable imperial asset"; rather it was an "inconsequential possession" up until 1915. He considered it, "extraordinary that it was never really a stronghold", despite Cyprus' strategic location in the eastern Mediterranean Sea, where Europe, Africa and Asia meet.<sup>8</sup> This dissertation explores the evolution of British imperialism in Cyprus and its impact on rural communities.

Varnava has given numerous examples of Greek and Turkish Cypriot integration and cooperation. He cited evidence during World War I of Greek and Turkish Cypriot men from the same village enlisting together in the Cypriot Mule Corps on the same day, in centres far from their villages, suggesting that they were friends who had travelled together, and that no conflict occurred between them.<sup>9</sup> In World War II, also, comradeship characterised relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots of the Cyprus Regiment. Jan Asmussen claimed, "There are no hints in the British public records of any ethnic conflicts within the Cyprus regiment. This is exactly in line with the combined memories of Turkish- and Greek Cypriot war veterans."<sup>10</sup> This dissertation seeks to add to the accounts of intercommunal relations within the Cyprus Regiment.

The education system was greatly expanded under British rule but Greek and Turkish schools, which had been separate during the Ottoman period, remained separate.<sup>11</sup> The research of Panayiotis Persianis and Antigone Heraclidou described the growing division that resulted from British education policies in Cyprus;<sup>12</sup> this dissertation seeks to further explore the impact of those education policies.

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8 A. Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915: The Inconsequential Possession*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2009, 9.

9 A. Varnava, *Serving the Empire in the Great War: the Cypriot mule corps, imperial loyalty and silenced memory*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2017, 85-87.

10 J. Asmussen, "'Dark-Skinned Cypriots will not be accepted!'" Cypriots in the British Army 1939 – 1945', in H. Faustmann & N. Peristianis (eds.), *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post – Colonialism 1878 – 2006*, Bibliopolis, Mannheim, Germany, 2006, 180.

11 H. Alptekin, 'Millet System is Alive: Path-dependency in Turkish and Cypriot minority incorporation patterns', paper presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington DC, 2-5 September, 2010, 7.

12 A. Heraclidou, 'Making a British Atmosphere in Cyprus, 1931–1939: a 'Coup D'etat' on Greek–Cypriot Elementary Education?', *The Cyprus Review*, 24(2), 2012, 70; and P. Persianis, 'The British Colonial Education 'Lending' Policy in Cyprus (1878-1960): An intriguing example of an elusive 'adapted education' policy', *Comparative Education*, 32(1), 1996, 62.

## Christian-Muslim Community-level Relations in Cyprus

While I maintain that this study will be the first to examine intercommunality in multiple former mixed villages of Cyprus using primarily oral sources, several others have investigated Christian-Muslim relations to situate accounts of friendship and collaboration in the wider political and/or historical context that they examined.

Costas P. Kyrris focussed on relations between Cypriot villages, but he used a completely different methodology and held a political agenda that drove his findings.<sup>13</sup> His research, published in 1977, conveyed the sense of division and loss generated by the 1974 war, which limited his capacity to give space to accounts of good relations. He provided insight into a particular moment in post-war Greek Cypriot nationhood, in the aftermath of war when people were confronted daily with grief, displacement, nationalism and propaganda. His argument rested on the enduring division and loss experienced by Greek Cypriots, which limited his capacity objectivity. Furthermore, his research can be criticised because of his views on Turkish Cypriots (i.e. that they are actually Greeks) and his agenda to discredit Turkish Cypriot efforts to show that Greeks and Turks could not live together in Cyprus.<sup>14</sup> Kyrris positioned his work within the context of Greek Cypriot-nationalist official narratives, claiming that,

It is remarkable that, for all the goodwill shown by the Greek side throughout the last twenty years [1950s-1970s] of strife, the Turks have persisted in open ill feeling and mistrust, misunderstanding, distortion and aggressiveness. The Greek Cypriots have become the victims of Turkish aggression...<sup>15</sup>

Kyrris did not acknowledge that Turkish Cypriots were the major victims of the 1960s wars on the island; this significantly differentiates his work from mine. I seek to give voice to both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and do not hold Kyrris' view that Turkish Cypriots were mostly crypto-Christians.<sup>16</sup>

Anthropologists approach and conduct their research from an ethnographic, rather than an historical methodology. Yiannis Papadakis has contributed significantly to the oral history and ethnographic literature on the past intercommunal relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.<sup>17</sup> His study included interview accounts from Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Lefkosia/Lefkoşa and in

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13 C.P. Kyrris, *Peaceful co-existence in Cyprus under British Rule (1878 – 1958) and after independence: An Outline*, Public Information Office, Nicosia, 1977, 5.

14 *ibid.*, 187.

15 *ibid.*, 187.

16 C.P. Kyrris, 'Symbiotic Elements in the History of the Two Communities of Cyprus', *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Political Geography*, Nicosia, 27–29 February, 1976, 265-266.

17 Y. Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide*, I.B. Tauris, London, 2005, 1.

Pyla between 1990 and 1995.<sup>18</sup> Papadakis' exploration of the memories of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots on either side of the buffer zone revealed heart-warming stories of peaceful intercommunality between the two communities during a similar period of investigation to that explored in this dissertation.<sup>19</sup>

The work of Papadakis is closely aligned to the theme of this dissertation. Much of his research has focused on learning about the stories of the past, including intercommunality between Greek and Turkish Cypriots prior to civil unrest and conflict erupting on the island. Major points of difference between his research and mine are my focus on three different former mixed villages; my introduction to the discourse of the Cypriot diaspora in Australia, many of whom left Cyprus before the periods of nationalism and conflict consumed the island; and that my research places evidence into the broader historical context to support my contentions. Whilst Papadakis' research provided some oral sources and experiences that will be useful to draw upon and use as a comparison, differences in research intent exist as his research was not methodologically designed to explore intercommunality; that theme emerged inadvertently.

When it came to the community-level relations that existed in Cyprus, Asmussen contended, "the most remarkable example of inter-communal relations in Cyprus is undoubtedly the existence of over 300 mixed villages on the island."<sup>20</sup> He found that Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived peacefully together and cooperated on multiple levels before the 1950s. However, he observed that Greek Cypriots were generally more positive when reflecting on the bicomunal past of the mixed villages of Cyprus; Turkish Cypriots tended to remember this time as less peaceful and cooperative. Asmussen suspected that this difference in memory may have related not to the reality of life within the mixed villages, but to peoples' experiences post-1974. Greek Cypriot negative sentiments were mainly connected to the 1974 war and directed at the Turkish Army rather than at Turkish Cypriots. There were, of course, exceptions, such as the Greek Cypriots who were expelled from Lefka in 1958. This dissertation examines Asmussen's claim, and compares the sentiments expressed by my participants with those expressed to Asmussen

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<sup>18</sup> Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone*, 1.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, 52-53.

<sup>20</sup> J. Asmussen, 'Life and Strife in Mixed Villages: Some Aspects of Inter-ethnic Relations in Cyprus under British Rule', *The Cyprus Review*, 8(1), 1996, 102.

A 2011 research project conducted in Cyprus by Lytras and Psaltis comprised a quantitative questionnaire survey of 1887 Greek and Turkish Cypriot inhabitants of 97 formerly mixed villages.<sup>21</sup> The report was the first to undertake extensive quantitative research on how people of the two communities remembered life in the former mixed villages, as most of the research that has been undertaken has been qualitative, and follows an ethnographic, anthropological methodology.<sup>22</sup> The results of their study emphasised vital differences in how members of the two communities remembered their lives together in the former mixed villages; how they presently view each other, trust each other or feel threatened by each other; and explored their willingness to live together again in the future. Like Asmussen, Lytras and Psaltis found that Greek Cypriots seemed to remember life with Turkish Cypriots as more positive, cooperative and pleasant, whereas Turkish Cypriots remembered life as more negative and less pleasant with less social contacts between the two communities.<sup>23</sup> This dissertation will also explore the memories of Greek and Turkish Cypriots regarding their lives together and their attitudes towards one another.

This research seeks to add to the current literature about community-level relations that once existed in Cyprus, exploring everyday experiences: peoples' school and work lives, the bilingualism of mixed villagers, as well as cross-religious encounters and celebrations.

### Christian-Muslim Personal-level Relations in Cyprus

Several studies have examined the personal-level relations that once existed in Cyprus. In *The Cyprus Oral History and Living Memory Project*, participants stated that it was common for friendships to exist between the two groups.<sup>24</sup> This dissertation seeks to explore the extent of such friendships, including *koumbaroi* (best man/maid of honour/marriage sponsor), and familial bonds, including intermarriage and milk-kinship.

Whilst little has been written about Greek and Turkish Cypriots being *koumbaroi* for one another, much more has been written about intermarriages. Based on his research with Turkish Cypriots, Charles Fraser Beckingham contended that intermarriages were once common in Cyprus.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, Sant Cassia's research found that in Cyprus during the Ottoman period, as in other

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21 E. Lytras & C. Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus: Representations of the Past, Present and Future*, Association for Historical Dialogue & Research, Nicosia, 2011, 9.

22 *ibid.*, 26.

23 *ibid.*, 9.

24 Frederic University 2011, *The Cyprus Oral History & Living Memory Project*, viewed 26 May 2014, <<http://www.frederick.ac.cy/research/oralhistory>>.

25 C.F. Beckingham, 'The Turks of Cyprus', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 87(2), 1957.

parts of South Eastern Europe, Greek women were permitted to marry Ottoman Turks, and both men and women were allowed to convert to Islam.<sup>26</sup> Asmussen explored the practice of intermarriage in Cyprus during the British period, claiming that, prior to 1960, intermarriages, although exceptional, occurred in the former mixed villages of Cyprus.<sup>27</sup> This dissertation seeks to explore how common such unions were during the British period in Cyprus. It also provides the first focused study of wet nursing and milk kinship in Cyprus. Whilst Papadakis<sup>28</sup> and Bryant<sup>29</sup> have both referred to milk mothers in their research on Cyprus, it was mentioned only in passing. This dissertation therefore expands the scholarship on the subject.

## Cypriots in Australia

This study investigates how Greek and Turkish Cypriot histories intertwined with those of other migrant groups within Australian society. Four studies of Cypriot migration to Australia are important sources for this dissertation.

Maria Shialis' oral history study explored the experiences of 30 Greek Cypriot refugees to South Australia, arriving in Australia in the period just before and just after the 1974 war.<sup>30</sup> Shialis focussed on issues of belonging through participants' building a new home, integration into Australian society, returning home, and identity.<sup>31</sup> As this research also looks at the migrant experience of Cypriots to Australia in the lead up to, and in the aftermath of, the 1974 war, Shialis' work will prove useful for further primary source data and analytical comparison.

Anne-Maree Dawson's ethnographic and historical study compared contemporary Greek Cypriot women living in both Australia and Cyprus, linked by a connection to the village of Deryneia.<sup>32</sup> Dawson provided interesting insights into the settlement of Greek Cypriot women in Australia, issues of assimilation and relations between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities in Australia. However, her study is narrow, focussed on women from one mono-communal Greek Cypriot village.<sup>33</sup> This dissertation provides a much broader understanding of the Cypriot diaspora

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26 P. Sant Cassia, 'Religion, politics and ethnicity in Cyprus during the Turkokratia (1571-1878)', *European Journal of Sociology*, 27(1), 1986, 4.

27 Asmussen, 'Life and Strife in Mixed Villages', 104.

28 Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone*, 50-51.

29 Bryant, Report 2 – 'Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community', 28.

30 M. Shialis, 'The Settlement of Greek-Cypriot Migrants and Refugees in South Australia: 1945-1980', PhD thesis, Flinders University, Adelaide, 2015.

31 M. Shialis, 'A Home Away from Home: The Greek-Cypriot Migrants/Refugees in South Australia', *Modern Greek Studies (Australia and New Zealand)*, Special Issue, 2013, 338.

32 A. Dawson, 'Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne: Ethnographic and Historical Perspectives on Social Change, Transnationalism and Women's Agency', PhD thesis, Flinders University, Adelaide, 2011.

33 *ibid.*, 128.

in Australia, as it includes Greek and Turkish Cypriots who reside across Australia, from a range of mixed and mono-communal Cypriot villages.

Fatma Yuksel Adal investigated the identities of fifteen Turkish Cypriot women in Australia and found that, for her participants, 'family' was the most critical factor in creating a sense of belonging in Australia.<sup>34</sup> She revealed that, "Although the child migrant women and Australian-born women all said they call Australia home, most described a strong emotional attachment to Cyprus ..."<sup>35</sup> My dissertation also seeks to understand Turkish Cypriot Australians' sense of belonging in Australia as well as their connection to their homeland.

Lütfiye Ali and Christopher C. Sonn examined the identities of ten Turkish Cypriots living in Australia, exploring how they constructed their multi-hyphenated identities and how that impacted their sense of belonging.<sup>36</sup> Ali and Sonn's study relates directly to this research, which also explores the issues of multi-faceted, multi-hyphenated identities amongst Greek and Turkish Cypriots living in Australia. Their accounts will be compared and contrasted with the accounts gathered in this research.

There is currently no substantive academic literature addressing the shared and connected experiences of Greek and Turkish Cypriot migrants to Australia, nor a comparative study of their experiences, or their relationships with one another in Australia. There is, however, a non-academic book by Constantinos Emmanuelle which published oral interviews and photographic records of 51 elderly Greek and Turkish Cypriots (born between 1920 and 1940; aged 80 to 95 when interviewed) in Australia, Britain and Cyprus.<sup>37</sup> Emmanuelle's book provides raw data with accounts that will be compared with those of my participants. This dissertation will make a significant contribution to the limited literature in this area.

## Rupture and Displacement

Several studies have looked at the impact of the eruption of tension and conflict in Cyprus during the 1960s wars, and the 1974 war, on the lives and memories of Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

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34 F.Y. Adal, 'Turkish Cypriot Women in Australia: Experiences of Migration and Belonging', Masters thesis, La Trobe University, Melbourne, 2013, 112.

35 *ibid.*, 60.

36 L. Ali & C.C. Sonn, 'Constructing Identity as a Second-Generation Cypriot Turkish in Australia: The Multi-Hyphenated Other', *Culture & Psychology*, 16(3), 2010, 416.

37 C. Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus: a tribute to a bygone era*, Self-published, Melbourne, 2018.

Peter Loizos conducted significant research on the refugee experience of Cypriots, publishing three books on the (previously) predominantly Greek-Cypriot village of Argaki. Loizos recorded the experiences of villagers in the lead up to, during, and after the 1974 war.<sup>38</sup> His work looked at the period before 1974 and provided an account of politics and political violence, as well as refugeedom. His was the first real ethnography of a Cypriot village, and paved the way for other ethnographical research in Cypriot villages over the following four decades.<sup>39</sup> Loizos informs this dissertation with respect to the theme of the impact of modern political ideologies on village life before and after the 1974 war. In his third book, Loizos revisited Argaki, and explored the impact of forced migration. While his work provided useful literature on the experience of war, displacement, grief and longing – topics which I explore – his focus on just one village did not paint a broad picture of pre-war Cypriot society.<sup>40</sup>

In another study of the refugee experience in Cyprus, Lisa Dikomitis explored the collective experiences and cultural memories of both Greek and Turkish Cypriot refugees from the village of Larnaka tis Lapithou.<sup>41</sup> Collective experience was particularly true of ‘place-making’, “of setting up new homes, social networks and communities, while at the same time maintaining a strong attachment to the homes, social networks and communities left behind.”<sup>42</sup> The primary contention of Dikomitis’ research was that the longing for the places left behind is both real and symbolic.<sup>43</sup> An attachment to the physical – the house, the village, and the landscape – was accompanied by a yearning for justice, “a recognition of the suffering that each side experienced.”<sup>44</sup> Dikomitis’ study made a significant contribution to the ethnographic literature of Turkish Cypriots – a group which has been understudied. Her fieldwork was undertaken over a six-year period encompassing the opening of the checkpoints in 2003 and the 2004 referendum on the United Nation’s ‘Annan Plan’.<sup>45</sup> Those events provided a, “unique glimpse into the lives and attitudes of Greek and Turkish Cypriot refugees.”<sup>46</sup> Dikomitis explored the critical issue of “the possibility of ‘return’.”<sup>47</sup> Her study will inform this dissertation on the sensitive themes of refugee desires and returning home.

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38 P. Loizos, *The Heart Grown Bitter: A Chronicle of Cypriot War Refugees*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981.

39 P. Loizos, *The Greek Gift: Politics in a Cypriot Village*, St Martin’s Press Inc., New York, 1975, 289.

40 P. Loizos, *Iron in the Soul: Displacement, Livelihood and Health in Cyprus*, Berghahn Books, New York, 2008.

41 L. Dikomitis, *Cyprus and its Places of Desire: Cultures of Displacement among Greek and Turkish Cypriot Refugees*, I.B. Tauris, London, 2012, 6.

42 *ibid.*, 6.

43 *ibid.*, 6.

44 *ibid.*, 6.

45 *ibid.*, 6.

46 *ibid.*, 7.

47 *ibid.*, 7.



The Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) project *Displacement in Cyprus: Consequences of Civil and Military Strife* yielded the life stories of both Greek (Report 1)<sup>48</sup> and Turkish Cypriots (Report 2)<sup>49</sup> who experienced displacement. The project provided data on and stories of displacement from both communities, from people who experienced displacement and resettlement firsthand. Furthermore, the project looked at the ways in which displaced persons of both communities envision the future. Whilst the participant pool was small (ten persons for each of the two reports), the Reports nonetheless provided useful insights into the experiences of displaced persons of both communities. This dissertation also seeks to understand the experiences of displaced Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and will draw from the Reports.

Other studies by Olga Demetriou<sup>50</sup>, Floya Anthias<sup>51</sup>, Pierre Oberling<sup>52</sup> and Roger Zetter<sup>53</sup>, focussed on the conditions that led to internal displacement and the experiences of refugees, will also inform this dissertation.

Whilst several studies have focused on the loss and grief experienced by refugees, little research has been conducted about the experiences of those who remained in their villages, but had to farewell their friends and neighbours of the 'other' group. This dissertation will therefore add to the existing literature of displacement in Cyprus for both such groups.

## Repair

Several extensive studies have been conducted on how the two communities viewed the times before conflict (1960s and 1974) and how those memories correlated with the ways in which they currently viewed each other, as well as their hopes for reunification. I explore the level of desire for reunification among Greek and Turkish Cypriot participants, and whether they think reunification is practicable.

Rebecca Bryant undertook an ethnographical study, in which interviews were conducted over a two-year period during which the checkpoints of the cease fire – the green line – were officially

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48 Demetriou, Report 1 – 'Life Stories: Greek Cypriot Community'.

49 Bryant, Report 2 – 'Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community'.

50 O. Demetriou, 'Situating Loss in the Greek-Turkish Encounter in Cyprus', in V. Lytra (ed.), *When Greeks and Turks meet: interdisciplinary perspectives on the relationship since 1923*, Routledge, Abingdon, UK, 2016.

51 F. Anthias, 'Researching Society and Culture in Cyprus: Displacements, Hybridities, and Dialogical Frameworks', in Y. Papadakis, N. Peristianis, & G. Welz (eds.), *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, USA, 2006, 177.

52 P. Oberling, *The Road to Bellapais: The Turkish Cypriot Exodus to Northern Cyprus*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1982.

53 R. Zetter, 'Reconceptualizing the Myth of Return: Continuity and Transition Amongst the Greek-Cypriot Refugees of 1974', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 12(1), 1999, 1–22.

opened.<sup>54</sup> Whilst Bryant had hoped that the momentous event and free movement between the north and south would lead to reconciliation, she was instead confronted with the reality that the island may not reunite. Her analysis of why reunification has not been brought closer provides an important context for this dissertation when considering current and future efforts to reunify the island. Bryant described the time she spent in Lapithos, a once Greek Cypriot majority mixed village in the northern Kyrenia district.<sup>55</sup> The oral history accounts which informed her study revealed the history of the village, as well as, “how persons with memories of life together and of specific places that they had lost began to rethink their own relationship to past and place in the present.”<sup>56</sup> The conclusions drawn by Bryant, as well as the oral history accounts themselves, will be instrumental in guiding the analysis of data collected during this dissertation.

This research intends to engage a younger generation of Cypriots through the stories of their parents and grandparents, to learn about the old days, to contribute to dialogue between young Cypriots, and contribute to reunification efforts.

## Theoretical Context

There are several significant theoretical underpinnings to this research. As the period under exploration is the British period, a focus will be placed on colonialism as well as the ideology of nationalism, which was developing on the island during this time, and the hegemonic nationalist narratives that developed as a result of conflict and nationalism. Furthermore, this thesis embraces subaltern studies, because of its focus on the lower and lower-middle classes.

### Colonialism

*Colonialism is a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another.*<sup>57</sup>

Whilst it is not a modern phenomenon, colonialism did drastically change in the sixteenth century due to, “technological developments in navigation that began to connect more remote parts of the world.”<sup>58</sup> Jürgen Osterhammel defines colonialism as:

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54 Bryant, *The Past in Pieces*, 1.

55 *ibid.*, 4.

56 *ibid.*, 4.

57 M. Kohn & K. Reddy 2017, ‘Colonialism’, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, viewed 31 July 2019, <<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/colonialism/>>.

58 *ibid.*

a relationship of domination between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonized people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonized population, the colonizers are convinced of their own superiority and of their ordained mandate to rule.<sup>59</sup>

In 1750, “Great Britain stood alongside Spain, Portugal, the Dutch Republic, and France, as just one of five major European colonial powers.”<sup>60</sup> By 1850, “the British Empire had expanded so significantly that it was almost unrivalled. At its height, the British Empire encompassed vast territories from Canada to South Africa, from India to Australia, the largest empire seen since the Roman Empire.”<sup>61</sup> This dissertation looks at Cypriot society during the British colonial period (1878-1960), a period of growing nationalism, intercommunal tension and conflict.

## Subaltern Studies

The term ‘subaltern’ was coined by Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Marxist and Communist who declared that the subaltern was the, “subjected underclass in a society on whom the dominant power exerts its hegemonic influence.”<sup>62</sup> Subaltern Studies emerged in the mid-1980s as a series of journal articles published by Oxford University Press in India.<sup>63</sup> A leading scholar of subaltern studies, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “was highly critical of current histories of India that were told from the vantage point of the colonizers and presented a story of the colony via the British administrators...” Her aim was, “to reclaim their history, to give voice to the subjected peoples.” She believed that, “Any other history merely reconstructs imperialist hegemony and does not give voice to the people – those who resisted, those who supported, those who experienced colonial incursion.” According to the Subaltern Studies group, this history is designed to be, “[a] contribution made by people on their own, that is, independently of the élite.”<sup>64</sup>

Several academics support subaltern studies; Doumanis argued that subaltern studies allows for the illumination of the histories of the world’s largest and greatest empires and most powerful political systems, “by [understanding] what happened at the ground level on a daily basis, and by the subjectivities of ordinary people.”<sup>65</sup> He emphasised the importance of understanding the,

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59 J. Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A theoretical overview*, trans. SL Frisch, Markus Wiener Publishers, Princeton, 1997, 16-17.

60 J.R. Ward, ‘The Industrial Revolution and British Imperialism, 1750-1850’, *The Economic History Review*, 47(1), 1994, 44.

61 *ibid.*, 44.

62 California State University Long Beach n.d., *Subaltern Studies*, viewed 26 May 2014, <<http://www.csulb.edu/~ssayeghc/theory/subalternstudies.htm>>.

63 *ibid.*

64 *ibid.*

65 Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, 7.

“horizontal relationships” which occurred, those, “that were not governed by laws or monitored by state mechanisms...” among the labouring and peasantry classes of society, rather than vertical relationships, those between the state and a certain community group.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, Briel highlighted the growing importance of subaltern studies in the context of Cyprus’ history, and how crucial it is to, “give a voice to marginalised groups, and to work through and, sometimes, against official, state-sponsored memories.”<sup>67</sup>

Besides the notions of a subaltern as a person dominated by a coloniser or a native elite, Spivak introduced the idea of another domination: that of gender. She queried whether outsiders could understand more than a few aspects of the subaltern’s experience, whether their engagement on their own terms limited their understanding. She seriously questioned whether women’s voices could be heard (or were overshadowed by men’s voices), or their meanings conveyed by the mostly male researchers of the time.<sup>68</sup>

This research project examines the history of Cyprus through a subaltern lens – from the perspective of rural and working-class people – to reveal previously buried histories and events, the untold stories of everyday people whose destinies were determined by the political elites, and whose stories were told from the point of view of those political elites. This project gives a voice to those whose voices have not been worthy of ‘big history’. My position as a woman and as an insider – through my Cypriot grandparents – gave me some advantages in drawing out those voices.

## Nationalism

The rise of nationalism, and nation-building efforts in Cyprus was and is complex. This dissertation investigates how such pursuits and concepts entered the psyche of ordinary Cypriots and became a reality of their lives, and seeks to uncover how Greek and Turkish Cypriot identities varied and changed throughout and after the colonial period. Doumanis claimed that, “during the first half of the twentieth century, in central and eastern Europe and in Anatolia, nation building tended to be an extremely violent process that killed millions and traumatized many more, and yet the nation usually managed to impose its moral authority.”<sup>69</sup>

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66 Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, 6.

67 H. Briel, ‘The Uses of Oral History in Cyprus: Ethics, Memory and Identity’, *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 13(1), 2013, 28.

68 Spivak, G. C. (1988), ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’ in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

69 Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, xv.

'Nationalism' is a modern term that acquired its current range of meanings during the twentieth century. From an anthropological point of view, Benedict Anderson defined the nation as, "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."<sup>70</sup> George Orwell described 'nationalism' as, "the habit of identifying oneself with a single nation or other unit, placing it beyond good and evil and recognising no other duty than that of advancing its interests,"<sup>71</sup> whilst Anthony D. Smith understood 'nationalism' to refer predominantly to a language and symbolism, a socio-political movement, and an ideology of the nation.<sup>72</sup>

Competing theories of nationalism include primordialism, perennialism, instrumentalism, ethno-symbolism, modernism and post-modernism. I position the work of this research within the theory of modernism, as I subscribe to the view that the concept of nationalism, the construction of the nation-state and the existence of national identities are all products of modernisation.<sup>73</sup>

## Migration and Diaspora

Migration theory concerns itself with the relationship between migration and social change.<sup>74</sup> What impact does one have on the other? What is the depth of the impact? The fundamental discrepancies within migration studies include:

the relations between internal and international movement; between the role of force and choice in migration; between the inception and perpetuation of migration; between societies and communities of origin and destination; between positive and negative effects of networks and social capital; and between transnationalism and integration.<sup>75</sup>

An additional layer to migration theory is that of 'diaspora'. Floya Anthias described why the term 'diaspora' has recently grown in importance: "Diaspora draws part of its impetus from the difficulties identified with existent ethnic and 'race' paradigms, particularly with regard to recognising highly differentiated transnational population movements and synthetic or 'hybrid' forms of identity."<sup>76</sup> Questions arise about the ways in which diaspora participate in global

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70 B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London, 1991, 6.

71 G. Orwell, 'Notes on Nationalism', *Polemic*, 1945, Paragraph 2.

72 A.D. Smith, *Nationalism*, 2nd edn, Policy Press, Cambridge, 2010, 5-6. Smith listed the most significant usages: 1. a process of formation, or growth, of nations; 2. a sentiment of consciousness of belonging to the nation; 3. a language and symbolism of the nation; 4. a social and political movement on behalf of the nations; 5. a doctrine and/or ideology of the nation, both general and particular.

73 D. Conversi, 'Mapping the field: theories of nationalism and the ethnosymbolic approach', in A.S. Leoussi & S. Grosby (eds.), *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2006, 18; and A.D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, Routledge, London, 1998, 3. Smith describes classical modernism as, "the conception that nations and nationalism are intrinsic to the nature of the modern world and to the revolution of modernity."

74 N. Van Hear, 'Theories of Migration and Social Change', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(10), 2010, 1531.

75 *ibid.*, 1532.

76 F. Anthias, 'Evaluating 'Diaspora': Beyond Ethnicity?', *Sociology*, 32(3), 1998, 576.

movements, sustain ties to their homeland, and, conversely, identify and belong to their host country.

The theories of migration and diaspora are particularly relevant to those participants of this study who migrated from Cyprus to Australia. As they came in different waves, they had different experiences in terms of their migration journeys, experiences of settlement, and interaction and identification with the Cypriot diaspora.

## Refugee Nostalgia

*Dance the ruined map*

*Ariadne*

*a red thread of a dream*

*a secret archive of inherited amnesia*<sup>77</sup>

Refugee nostalgia is a complex phenomenon, one which has seen a 'secret archive of inherited amnesia' plague contemporary Cypriot society. In an environment of protracted conflict, "troubling patterns dominate the way memory shapes the conflict and nourishes the status quo."<sup>78</sup> Long T. Bui claimed that, "refugee memory work never simply takes the form of nostalgia or denial of the past but a constant negotiation of history as interpreted through past wrongs or obligations."<sup>79</sup> He stated that refugee memory work, "raises epistemological and moral dilemmas related to refugee subject formation, characterized by more than the condition of exile from the homeland but the active processing of postwar economic bonds and demands."<sup>80</sup> This relates to refugee nostalgia of Cyprus and the correlating creation of post-war hegemonic nationalist narratives. Holger Briel claimed that, "In many ways, the traumatic experiences of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s have left deep traces in the local society or societies, depending on what kind of concept about the local one applies."<sup>81</sup>

The identities of people from each community continue to be shaped by memory.<sup>82</sup> Refugee nostalgia was therefore an important factor considered in the analysis and comparison of participant accounts. As many of the interviewees experienced displacement and the consequential

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77 Alev, 'Drifting in the Dead Zone in Cyprus', 78.

78 J. Bowman, 'Seeing What's Missing in Memories of Cyprus', *Peace Review*, 18(1), 2006, 119.

79 L.T. Bui, 'The Debts of Memory: Historical Amnesia and Refugee Knowledge in The Reeducation of Cherry Truong', *Journal of Asian American Studies*, 18(1), 2015, 73.

80 *ibid.*, 73.

81 Briel, 'The Uses of Oral History in Cyprus', 33.

82 Bowman, 'Seeing What's Missing in Memories of Cyprus', 119.

hardships of being a refugee or internally displaced person, I have factored in their experiences when examining refugee nostalgia among Cypriots.

## Hegemonic nationalist narratives

Refugee nostalgia has resulted in the formation of two distinct post-1974 hegemonic nationalist narratives commonly held and conveyed among Cypriots. According to Jim Bowman, “As people remember these extraordinary events, their memories have been rendered into narratives that give pulse and shape to the identities of those intimately involved in the conflict.”<sup>83</sup> The hegemonic nationalist narratives are well captured by Kizilyürek: the Greek Cypriot official narrative holds that the times before 1974 were peaceful and harmonious; nothing happened during the twenty previous years which could justify the ‘invasion’; while the Turkish Cypriot official narrative holds that the times before 1974 were tumultuous and volatile; relations were always difficult, so the 1974 ‘intervention’ was justified.<sup>84</sup>

We cannot move forward if we look back at the history of Cyprus with one eye closed. Therefore, both official narratives need to be deconstructed to allow for a comprehensive account of Cyprus’ recent history and to foster relations between the two groups.

Through interviews with elderly people from both communities with first-hand experience of mixed village life in Cyprus, this research attempts to deconstruct the two hegemonic nationalist narratives and to reshape remembrance in an effort to provide some balance to the partisan discourse of Cyprus’ violent past. Furthermore, analysis of any distinction discovered between the stories and the hegemonic nationalist narratives told by the more educated, and those told by the labouring classes in Cyprus, has been undertaken.

## Methodology

This dissertation is largely methodologically anthropological, focusing on oral sources as well as archival sources and census data from Cyprus’ colonial history. The analytical framework is situated within the disciplines of oral history and ethnography.

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<sup>83</sup> Bowman, ‘Seeing What’s Missing in Memories of Cyprus’, 119.

<sup>84</sup> N. Kizilyürek, ‘From Traditionalism to Nationalism and Beyond’, *The Cyprus Review*, 5(2), 1993, 58.

## Ethnography

Ethnography concentrates on the collection of oral history accounts, among other data sources, focussing on the analysis of evidence once it is collected. Ethnography, “poses its questions at the boundaries of civilizations, cultures, classes, races, and genders.”<sup>85</sup> Ethnographic practice combines first-hand empirical investigation with the theoretical and comparative interpretation of social organisation and culture.<sup>86</sup>

The data collection for this dissertation followed an ethnographic semi-structured model, whereby the interview did not follow a fixed research design defined from the outset.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, the categories used for interpreting what participants said were not incorporated into the data collection process.<sup>88</sup> Rather, they resulted from analysis of transcripts involving the, “interpretation of the meaning, functions, and consequences of human actions and institutional practices, and how these are implicated in local, and perhaps also wider, contexts.”<sup>89</sup> Whilst most ethnographic data produced and analysed is predominantly qualitative (verbal descriptions and explanations), the number of participants allowed for some quantitative analysis also.

As I was primarily focussed on participants’ memories of their everyday lives in the period from the 1920s to the 1960s, they were not studied in their everyday environments for an extended period of time. However, I revisited each of the three villages in which I conducted interviews five or more times, during my ten weeks of fieldwork in Cyprus.

Preconceived ideas pose a challenge for anyone undertaking anthropological work. Bronislaw Malinowski, regarded as the inventor of modern anthropological fieldwork, stated, “Preconceived ideas are pernicious in any scientific work, but foreshadowed problems are the main endowment of the scientific thinker.”<sup>90</sup> Whilst I acknowledge preconceived ideas of my own research, such as that Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived in relative harmony within Cyprus up until the 1960s, I was open to discovering contrary ‘truths’.

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85 J. Clifford, ‘Introduction: Partial Truths’, in J. Clifford & G. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1986, 3.

86 P. Atkinson & M. Hammersley, *Ethnography*, 3rd edn, Routledge, Oxford, 2007, 1.

87 *ibid.*, *Ethnography*, 2-3.

88 *ibid.*, 2-3.

89 *ibid.*, 2-3.

90 B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*, George Routledge & Sons Ltd, London, 1932, 9.



Ethnography and anthropology often involve a similar journey for the researcher. For anthropologist Ruth Behar, anthropology is about embarking on:

a voyage through a long tunnel [involving] ... loss. Mourning, the longing for memory, the desire to enter into the world around you and having no idea how to do it, the fear of observing too coldly or too distractedly or too raggedly, the rage of cowardice, the insight that is always arriving late, as defiant hindsight, a sense of the utter uselessness of writing anything and yet the burning desire to write something, are the stopping places along the way. At the end of the voyage, if you are lucky, you catch a glimpse of a lighthouse, and you are grateful. Life, after all, is bountiful.<sup>91</sup>

This dissertation takes on a reflective style, as encouraged by Ruth Behar.<sup>92</sup> I write in the first person throughout and provide insights into my own experiences of conducting this research.

## Oral History

*Oral History is the poetry of the everyday, the literature of the streets, the subjective experiences and personal perspectives of the extraordinary ordinary people – not a substitute but an essential piece of any accurate record of human events.*<sup>93</sup>

Whilst this dissertation is interdisciplinary, its basis is in the sub-discipline of oral history. According to Bill Ayers:

Oral historians do the work of historians – we search through the records for the facts – and we do the work of anthropologists – we search for the meanings that people attribute to events and experiences. We do both, and then some. We want both the factual and the meaningful, and the focus of our work is always that space between: between history and anthropology, between fact and meaning, between past and present, between remembering and forgetting, between interviewer and subject.<sup>94</sup>

Oral history reveals a wide range of meanings through memory, performance and the dynamics of dialogue, which cannot be gleaned from data. It is the process whereby an interviewer questions an interviewee, records the exchange and then transcribes or summarises the interview. It has memory at its core, which allows meaning to be derived, analysed and preserved.<sup>95</sup> This study records memories through oral history methods and accounts, which are then examined through an ethnographical lens where the object of culture and intercommunality is analysed and critiqued.

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91 R. Behar, *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology That Breaks Your Heart*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1996, 3.

92 *ibid.*, 3.

93 B. Ayers 2011, 'Bill Ayers on Oral History in Cyprus', *Critical Enquiry*, viewed 26 May 2014, <<http://critinq.wordpress.com/2011/10/14/bill-ayers-on-oral-history-in-cyprus/>>.

94 *ibid.*

95 D. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, 19.

The oral history component of this dissertation is both qualitative and quantitative, with interviews conducted in Cyprus and Australia. According to Donald A. Ritchie, “Oral history is as reliable or unreliable as other research sources. No single piece of data of any sort should be trusted completely, and all sources need to be tested against other evidence.”<sup>96</sup> To ensure an integral and comprehensive study, archival sources are used as primary sources, positioned alongside census data, memoirs, and the oral sources used for this dissertation.

Oral history has often been criticised as being too subjective, with the argument that ‘people’s history’ should be based on objective data such as statistical analysis.<sup>97</sup> Whilst subjectivity cannot be entirely removed from the interview process, nor objectivity achieved, if the researcher is well informed and open-minded, oral history accounts can be very informative, especially when giving a voice to the underprivileged and working classes in revealing the contested nature of the past.<sup>98</sup>

## Participants

The Cypriots interviewed were born between 1920 and 1959, with one born in 1964. Some – those who migrated from Cyprus as adults – were interviewed in Australia and the others were interviewed in Cyprus. Those interviewed in Cyprus were mostly from three formerly mixed villages, spanning the north and the south. One village (Ayia Irini in the Kyrenia District) had a Turkish Cypriot majority; another (Polis Chrysochous in the Paphos District) had a Greek Cypriot majority, and the third (Alaminos in the Larnaca District) had close to a 50/50 split throughout the period from the 1920s to the 1960s. Those interviewed in Australia were from a wider range of villages due to the availability of participants involved. The majority of the interviewees were from the labouring classes.

The information provided to participants before the interviews was provided in English, Greek and Turkish and comprised a letter of introduction from my University supervisor; an information sheet (including debriefing information); a consent form; and a photographic release form. All of those forms, and the Interview questions, are shown in Appendix 1.

The research involved face-to-face, audio-recorded interviews for no longer than two hours; most were of about one hour. Interviews were conducted at the homes of each participant, or another mutually agreed meeting place, to ensure that the participants were in a comfortable and familiar

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<sup>96</sup> Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, 26.

<sup>97</sup> *ibid.*, 26.

<sup>98</sup> *ibid.*, 26.

environment. For some interviews my father (fluent in Cypriot Greek) or my husband (fluent in Greek) or a community leader fluent in Cypriot Greek or Cypriot Turkish (along with English) was present to provide interpretation when needed.

Participants were asked a structured set of questions (in English, Greek or Turkish) pertaining to relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots living in mixed villages during the period from the 1920s to the 1960s. The participants were between 51 and 91 years of age, with an average age of 74 years. Donald Ritchie's suggestion to ask mixed questions was employed. The interview began with innocuous questions of age, place of birth, marital status, number of children, and then moved to open-ended questions, "to allow interviewees to volunteer their own accounts, to speculate on matters, and to have enough time to include all of the material they think relevant to the subject."<sup>99</sup> Once it was clear that the interviewee had finished answering the open-ended question, specific follow-up questions were asked, to, "elicit factual information, often in response to something the interviewee has mentioned while answering an open-ended question."<sup>100</sup>

While it was intended that the interviews would be conducted without any other persons present, unless requested by the participant, many interviews – particularly those in Cyprus – were conducted with a relative or friend or community leader present. For example, all but one interview in Alaminos were conducted in the Council Office, in the presence of the Mukhtar (mayor), who had recruited participants. Participation was confidential or anonymous if the participant wished; only two of 72 participants requested confidentiality and aliases have been used in reporting their data.

The planned participant numbers (see Table 0.1) comprised:

- 72 participants;
- Fifty per cent Greek Cypriots and fifty per cent Turkish Cypriot, to give equal representation to both community groups;
- Fifty per cent female and fifty per cent male subjects, to ensure that the experiences of each gender were legitimately investigated. For example, it was expected that men who worked in the fields with the other group may have had more contact with them than did their womenfolk;
- The three specific villages chosen were all mixed villages, one of which had a Greek Cypriot majority, one a Turkish Cypriot majority, and the other approximately a fifty/fifty split. This decision was made so the researcher could determine whether a difference in the

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<sup>99</sup> Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, 92.

<sup>100</sup> *ibid.*, 92.

demographics of each of the three villages, concerning who was the majority group, impacted the ways in which the mixed village functioned, and the ways in which the groups interacted; and

- The Greek and Turkish Cypriots who migrated to Australia before independence in 1960, between 1960 and 1974, and after the 1974 war would all be represented. It was anticipated that this would enable the researcher to deconstruct the experiences and attitudes of Cypriots over several decades, allowing for a comprehensive and rich study.

*Table 0.1 Number and type of interview participants*

Participant Type / Group	Planned number	Achieved number	Men	Women
Greek Cypriots living in Cyprus (from 3 specific mixed villages)	18	18	9	9
Turkish Cypriots living in Cyprus (from 3 specific mixed villages)	18	16	10	6
Turkish Cypriots living in Cyprus (from other mixed villages)	–	6	4	2
Greek Cypriots who migrated to Australia before 1960	6	9	12	9
Greek Cypriots who migrated to Australia between 1960-1973	6	2		
Greek Cypriots who migrated to Australia after 1974	6	10		
Turkish Cypriots who migrated to Australia before 1960	6	5	8	3
Turkish Cypriots who migrated to Australia between 1960-1973	6	4		
Turkish Cypriots who migrated to Australia after 1974	6	2		

The achieved participant numbers (see Table 0.1) comprised:

- 72 participants;
- 40 (56 percent) Greek Cypriots and 32 (44 percent) Turkish Cypriots;
- 43 (60 percent) men and 29 (40 percent) women;
- 34 (85 percent) of the 40 Cyprus interviewees from the three specific villages chosen;
- 32 participants in Australia, of whom 14 (44 percent) migrated before 1960, six (19 percent) migrated between 1960 and 1973, and 12 (37 percent) migrated after 1974.

It is worth further examining the recruitment of participants. While most were introduced through community leaders, some were introduced to me through family connections or chance encounters (Table 0.2). For example, a hotel manager in Polis Chrysochous introduced a former priest, and a former school principal. Both were interesting and impressive men. On a later visit, when I told him that I was having difficulty recruiting women, he asked if I would be interested in talking with his mother; he had migivings, as she was illiterate. She proved a fascinating subject. Also in Polis, a café owner who had seen me several times asked what I was doing and when I explained, and again bemoaned the lack of women recruited to my study, asked if I would like to talk with his mother. It later emerged that she was another participant's sister, and gave me different information to that offered by her brother.

*Table 0.2 Recruitment of interview participants*

Participants	Numbers recruited through:		
	Community leader	Family connection	Chance introduction
Greek Cypriots in Cyprus	11	4	3
Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus	18	1	3
Greek Cypriots in Australia	12	7	2
Turkish Cypriots in Australia	10	1	-
Total	51	13	8
Percentage	71	18	11

While community leaders presented people unknown to me, their very selection may have skewed the participant pool in terms of education, social standing and political views. As I built trust with each community leader and amongst their community, more diverse participants were presented, or heard of my project and offered themselves. While family connections presented people with ostensible links to me, they were in many instances the source of fascinating and varied stories. My participant pool has limitations, but I believe the following chapters will show those 72 people to be diverse, their collected data illuminating, and their stories to be richly deserving of this exploration.

## Selected formerly mixed villages

### *Ayia Irini (Kyrenia District)*

Ayia Irini, situated in the Kyrenia District, in the Turkish Cypriot administered area, was a Turkish Cypriot majority village from the 1920s to 1974<sup>101</sup> (see Table 0.3). The Greek Cypriots of Ayia Irini were displaced following the 1974 war.<sup>102</sup> Currently the village is principally inhabited by its original Turkish Cypriot villagers and their descendants.<sup>103</sup>

Ayia Irini has almost no Turkish settlers from mainland Turkey. This means that the community are less changed than many other northern villages post-1974, and many of the elderly still speak Cypriot Greek. Not surprisingly, my presence and purpose for interviews was more welcome in Ayia Irini than in those villages where Turkish settlement was prominent, particularly because many of the elderly villagers remembered my family who once lived amongst them.

### *Polis Chrysochous (Paphos District)*

Polis Chrysochous, situated in the Paphos District, in the Greek Cypriot administered area, was a Greek Cypriot majority village from 1891 to 1975<sup>104</sup> (see Table 0.3). The first displacement occurred during the wars of the 1960s, whereby Turkish Cypriots were enclaved up until 1975;<sup>105</sup> approximately 720 were displaced after the 1974 war. Currently, Polis Chrysochous is mostly inhabited by its original Greek Cypriot population and their descendants, as well as the families of some displaced Greek Cypriots from the northern part of the island.<sup>106</sup>

### *Alaminos (Larnaca District)*

Alaminos, situated in the Larnaca District, in the Greek Cypriot administered area, had close to a fifty-fifty population from 1891 to 1975.<sup>107</sup> Throughout most of its history, Alaminos was inhabited by both Greek and Turkish Cypriots<sup>108</sup> (see Table 0.3). A massacre in 1974 of fourteen Turkish Cypriots saw them buried in a mass grave. At the time, *The New York Times* reported that, “the

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101 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement: Ayia Eirini*, viewed 21 January 2019, <<http://www.prio-cyprus-displacement.net/default.asp?id=419>>.

102 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement: Ayia Eirini*.

103 *ibid.*

104 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement: Polis*, viewed 21 January 2019, <<http://www.prio-cyprus-displacement.net/default.asp?id=520>>.

105 *ibid.*

106 *ibid.*

107 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement: Alamina*, viewed 21 January 2019, <<http://www.prio-cyprus-displacement.net/default.asp?id=270>>.

108 *ibid.*

incident appears to have been part of one of the bloodiest communal battles of the Cypriot war.”<sup>109</sup> The first displacement occurred during the 1974 war, whereby the Turkish Cypriot inhabitants (approximately 280 people) were forced to flee north.<sup>110</sup> Currently the village is predominantly inhabited by its original Greek Cypriot villagers and their descendants.<sup>111</sup>

*Table 0.3 Population of selected villages during participants' childhoods*

Census year	Ayia Irini			Polis Chrysochous			Alaminos		
	Greek Cypriots	Turkish Cypriots	Total	Greek Cypriots	Turkish Cypriots	Total	Greek Cypriots	Turkish Cypriots	Total
1921 <sup>112</sup>	49.5%	50.5%	188	55.4%	44.6%	919	48.9%	51.1%	327
1931 <sup>113</sup>	46.8%	53.2%	284	59.2%	40.8%	990	58.2%	41.8%	340
1946 <sup>114</sup>	39.7%	60.3%	368	64.4%	35.6%	1198	60.3%	39.4%	574 <sup>115</sup>
1960 <sup>116</sup>	35.2%	64.8%	471	59.2%	40.8	1627	55.5%	44.5%	564

I visited each of those villages several times and interviewed people who lived there during the period from the 1920s to the 1960s. As only one community remains in each of these villages, I needed to find those of the ‘other’ group so I could interview them, too. Greek Cypriots from Ayia Irini are scattered across the south of Cyprus; most Turkish Cypriots from Alaminos settled in Kythrea (Değirmenlik), and most Turkish Cypriots from Polis Chrysochous settled in Morphou (Güzelyurt), Famagusta (Gazimağusa), Kyrenia (Girne) and Nicosia (Lefkoşa).<sup>117</sup>

## Advertisement/recruitment

In Australia, recruitment through established third-party contacts from Greek and Turkish Cypriot community groups was the main method used to source participants for the research. During a brief trip to Cyprus in 2014 I established contact people in each of the three villages, who agreed to recruit participants for me in 2015. One contact led to another; for instance, when I had won the

109 T. Smith 1974, ‘A Mass Killing in Cyprus: Two Versions of Its Cause’, *The New York Times*, viewed 1 October 2019, <<https://www.nytimes.com/1974/07/29/archives/a-mass-killing-in-cyprus-two-versions-of-its-cause-a-typical-battle.html>>.

110 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement: Alamina*.

111 *ibid*.

112 C.H. Hart-Davis, *Report and general abstracts of the census of 1921*, Waterlow and Sons, London, 1922, 38, 45 and 47.

113 C.H. Hart-Davis, *General Abstracts of the census of 1931*, Passingham, Nicosia, 1932, 33, 40 and 41.

114 D.A. Percival, *Census of population and agriculture, 1946: Report and Tables*, Crown Agents for the Colonies, London, 1946, Tables 8, 10 and 14.

115 Note that in this Census, Greek Orthodox and Moslem Turkish in Alaminos add up to 99.7%. Two people of ‘Other religions’ constituted the missing fraction.

116 Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture, 1960: Volume I, Population by Location, Race, and Sex*, Nicosia, 1961, Table X.

117 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Internal displacement in Cyprus*, viewed 19 December 2019, <<http://www.prio-cyprus-displacement.net/default.asp?id=24>>.

trust of my contact in Ayia Irini, he put me in touch with a person in Morphou, who recruited participants who were refugees from Polis Chrysochous.

A consent form was supplied to the leaders of community groups and contact persons in Cyprus, to consent to assist in the recruitment of/advertisement for research participants. Each third party contact person was given copies of the *Letter of Introduction and Information Sheet*, and asked to distribute those to members of their community who they believed may satisfy the criteria required. Each contact person was asked to exclude people who they suspected may have memory impairment or may be psychologically fragile. I did not know who was contacted. Third party contacts who approached potential participants on my behalf were asked to use the following form of words when introducing the project to potential participants: "There is a young woman from Flinders University, Australia, who is doing research on how the Cypriots lived together in mixed villages in the old days, before 1960. She hopes to find a few people in this village (or city, for those in Australia) who would be willing to talk with her. She would come to your house, or meet you somewhere else, at a time that suits you. The interview would probably take no longer than two hours. Would you be interested in talking with her?" It was made clear that no participant reimbursement would be offered.

Each participant was notified that they could stop or withdraw from the interview, and indeed the project, at any time if they were feeling uncomfortable or distressed. During the interviews, I asked if the participants were tiring. If they were, I asked if they would like to stop the interview or interrupt it, to conclude at another time that would suit them. I also ensured that each interviewee was provided with contact information for free counselling services, should they need such support after our interview. There was the obvious concern about bringing up traumas from the past; I therefore trod very carefully when asking questions regarding the conflict. Some participants gave short answers and it was clear that they did not want to speak about those times in great detail. When I sensed such tension, I moved on rather than probing any further. Other participants, however, would share their recollections of those times.

Interviews were conducted in participants' homes or another place of their choice – community centre or coffee shop – so that they were in a comfort zone. The place was theirs, rather than mine. I believe that this was very helpful as, once I had introduced myself, described my family connection to Cyprus and my *Pappou's* love for his friend Mehmet Emin, and my motivation for the study, most people warmed to me and were very forthcoming with their recollections.



I transcribed all of the interviews conducted in English; translators assisted in transcribing interviews conducted in Greek or Turkish. Each interpreter and translator signed a confidentiality agreement. Finally, I undertook Greek and Turkish language classes upon commencement of this research project for several reasons: to communicate with both Greek and Turkish Cypriots in their mother-tongue (although many speak English due to the colonial history of Cyprus), to read and comprehend relevant literature in Greek and Turkish, and to show respect for each participant by speaking their language to demonstrate my commitment to their stories.

## The 'insider'

As prescribed by ethnographic methodology,<sup>118</sup> I used first-hand collection of empirical data. I found that my status as an insider was useful in the interview process. As I have recently written:

Several colleagues had warned me that I would face suspicion and hostility in Turkish Cypriot villages; I encountered the opposite. My status as an insider resulted in access to many Greek and Turkish Cypriots from my grandfather's village. Many elderly people from both groups remembered my grandfather, his parents and brothers, and welcomed me into their homes as if I was family.<sup>119</sup>

While being an 'insider' was a great advantage to begin with, especially in Ayia Irini, it was the relationships that I built with people that led to other contacts and networks and enabled the breadth of this research.

## Outline of chapters

Chapter 1 *Historical Context* outlines a brief historical background of Cyprus, to allow for an understanding of the diversity of Cyprus, and the complex political period under British administration, and post-independence. Chapter 2 *Community-level relations: Everyday life* explores the childhood and early adulthood stories of intercommunality. Chapter 3 *Community-level relations: Cross-religious encounters* explores people's familiarity with the 'other' religion. Chapter 4 *Personal-level relations: Friendships* explores the deep personal-level relations that once existed between individuals of the two different communities. Chapter 5 *Personal-level relations: Familial bonds* explores intermarriages and milk kinship, both of which bound people together as family. Chapter 6 *Australian Cypriots* investigates the experiences of the Cypriot diaspora in Australia; why

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118 Atkinson & Hammersley, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*, 1.

119 S.E. Jacobs, 'Eventually all of the citrus trees died: Stories of love and loss from a village in Cyprus', in T.A. Hayes, T. Edlmann & L. Brown (eds.), *Storytelling: Global Reflections on Narrative*, Brill | Rodopi, Leiden, 2019, 203-204.

each group migrated, how they settled and with which communities they engaged. Chapter 7 *Rupture* examines the memories of rupture, displacement and loss of each community. Chapter 8 *Repair* examines the ways in which the past impacts on the present perception of the 'other, the desire to return home – or not – as well as experiences of reconnection and hope.

Note that throughout the thesis one chapter refers to 'Greek and Turkish Cypriots' and the next to 'Turkish and Greek Cypriots'. This acknowledges that the research represents individual accounts of almost equal numbers of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, whose accounts are equally valid.

Note also that whilst the conflict of 1974 is often referred to by Greek Cypriots as 'the invasion' and by Turkish Cypriots as 'the intervention', I call it 'the 1974 war'; and the conflicts of 1963-1964 and 1967 as 'the wars of the 1960s'. Spellings of villages have changed over the years; the spellings used here are those from the 1960 Census.<sup>120</sup>

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120 Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture*.

# Chapter 1 – Historical Context

Cyprus' strategic position in the eastern Mediterranean makes it a bridge between three continents – and so it has had a diverse population of inhabitants and rulers throughout history.

Whilst most of the literature on Cyprus over the past fifty years has been focussed on politics – Cyprus' accession into the European Union as a divided state, the rejected United Nations proposal to reunify the island (the 2004 Annan Plan), the 1974 war, Greek Cypriots' push for *enosis* (union) with Greece, the EOKA policy, and the British and Ottoman imperial histories of Cyprus – little literature has focussed on the pre-1974 lives of ordinary Turkish and Greek Cypriots, who lived together in the mixed villages of Cyprus.

This chapter aims to explore the history of diversity (ethnic, religious, linguistic, class, etc.) in Cyprus, with a focus on the gradual division of the island which saw the erosion of diverse, integrated communities that once enjoyed cooperation across religious and class divides. I will investigate diversity based on the settlement from neighbouring civilisations, regional powers, and communities; examine the diverse population of the island during key periods in history; and explore how Cypriot society was structured and ultimately divided.

## History of diversity in Cyprus

*He loves a country and he leaves.*

*[Is the impossible far off?]*

*He loves leaving to things unknown.*

*By traveling freely across cultures*

*those in search of the human essence*

*may find a space for all to sit...*

*Here a margin advances. Or a centre*

*retreats. Where East is not strictly east,*

*and West is not strictly west,*

*where identity is open onto plurality,*

*not a fort or a trench.<sup>1</sup>*

Cyprus has been greatly influenced over the years by regional powers, through the systematic movement of people, the establishment of political, legal and religious institutions, as well as the social organisation of its diverse population. Its location made it:

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<sup>1</sup> M. Darwish n.d., *In a Poem Published in Arabic Last Month, Mahmoud Darwish Bids Edward Said Farewell*, viewed 18 September 2017, <<http://www.mahmouddarwish.com/ui/english/ShowContent.aspx?ContentId=15>>

the watch-tower and the outwork of two continents. A race advancing on the East must start with Cyprus. Alexander, Augustus, Richard and St. Louis, took that line. A race advancing on the West must start with Cyprus. Sargon, Cyrus, Ptolemy, Haroun-al-Raschid took this line.<sup>2</sup>

Cyprus is a multicultural country, built on centuries of immigrant populations from all over the world. Its historical minorities – Maronites, Armenians and Latins – were recognised in the 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus. However, Cyprus' culturally diversity, "is not always acknowledged or respected, let alone accepted as important for the progress of this divided island."<sup>3</sup>

While Cyprus always had divisions across class and religion, it was not until well into British rule (1878 to 1960) that nationalism divided society along two distinct groups across all classes. Since independence in 1960, successive governments, "by focussing on the Cyprus Problem and the inter-communal problem between Turkish and Greek Cypriots, have practised assimilation into the majority of the minority."<sup>4</sup> Despite its rich and diverse history and population, Andrekos Varnava, Nicholas Coureas and Marina Elia stated:

[Cyprus] suffers from the concept of 'the internal-exclusion', that is there are simply 'Greeks' and 'Turks' in the island despite the historical presence of other communities. Research on Cyprus tends to focus on explaining the Cyprus Problem, which inevitably means a discussion of nationalism, namely Greek and Turkish nationalism.<sup>5</sup>

Part of the 'Cyprus Problem' may be that it is seen through a Western lens. Westerners – the people deeply engaged in efforts to resolve the 'Problem' – tend to see, "societal homogeneity as normative and the Babel-like conditions in the Near East as symptomatic of societal degeneration."<sup>6</sup> Cyprus was part of the Near East; its population had been Phoenician, Greek, Assyrian, Egyptian, Persian, Roman, Arab, Byzantine, French, Armenian, Syrian, Maronite, Jewish, Palestinian, Venetian and Ottoman. While this diversity was 'normal' for much of the Near East, it is peculiar to Westerners.

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2 W.H. Dixon, *British Cyprus*, Chapman and Hall, London, 1879, 9-10.

3 A. Varnava, N. Coureas & M. Elia, 'Preface', in A. Varnava, N. Coureas & M. Elia (eds.), *The Minorities of Cyprus: Development Patterns and the Identity of the Internal – Exclusion*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2009, x.

4 *ibid.*, ix.

5 *ibid.*, ix.

6 Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, 18.

## Cyprus prior to Ottoman rule

The ancient Cypriot period saw an incredibly diverse population on the island. Rebecca Turcovassili-Galanos described the first inhabitants of Cyprus, the ancient Cypriots, appearing in the sixth millennium BCE.<sup>7</sup> It is believed that they migrated from the East; their burial practices, including the unearthened cities of the dead, were identical to those of the Arians.<sup>8</sup> In 1400 BCE the first Mycenaean Greeks arrived in Cyprus; they Hellenised the native population and introduced their own language (primarily the Arcadian dialect) and the twelve gods of Olympus.<sup>9</sup> Greek colonisation continued in waves for three centuries.<sup>10</sup> By 1000 BCE city-states emerged, modelled on the Homeric kings – whereby all authority (religious, legislative and executive) was vested in the one ruler.<sup>11</sup>

From the 8<sup>th</sup> Century BCE to the 12<sup>th</sup> Century CE, Cyprus was conquered and ruled by the Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Romans, Arabs, as well as the Byzantine Empire. Following the division of the Roman Empire in 395, Cyprus became part of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>12</sup> In 649 CE, during the early Islamic period (622 to 750 CE), Arabs, under the leadership of Mua'wija, invaded Cyprus.<sup>13</sup> For three centuries Cyprus was ruled by Byzantines and Arabs jointly in a condominium.<sup>14</sup> Ryan J. Lynch stated, "Cyprus was a frontier territory unlike most – control, influence, and tax revenue over the island were shared mutually by both the Byzantine and Islamic states..."<sup>15</sup> In 965 CE Cyprus was restored to Byzantine rule by Nicepheros Phokas.<sup>16</sup> "At the time of the First Crusade [1095-1099 CE] Cyprus... [consisted of] an indigenous population that was predominantly Greek-speaking but retained traces of its earlier contacts with the Arab world."<sup>17</sup> Under Isaacius Angelus it briefly became an independent Empire in 1185 CE.<sup>18</sup>

In 1191, "having usurped authority from Byzantium", Isaac Comnenos declared himself emperor of Cyprus. In May 1192, King Richard I (the Lionheart) of England defeated Comnenos and captured

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7 R. Turcovassili-Galanos, *Cyprus: Last Hellenism*, Galaxy Press, Nicosia, 1978, 12.

8 *ibid.*, 12.

9 *ibid.*, 13.

10 *ibid.*, 14.

11 *ibid.*, 13.

12 F. Mirbagheri, *Historical Dictionary of Cyprus*, The Scarecrow Press, Lanham, USA, 2010, 85.

13 *ibid.*, xxiv.

14 P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991, 2.

15 R. Lynch, 'Cyprus and its legal and historiographical significance in early Islamic history', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 136(3), 2016, 535.

16 Mirbagheri, *Historical Dictionary of Cyprus*, xxiv.

17 Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades*, 2.

18 Mirbagheri, *Historical Dictionary of Cyprus*, xxv.

the island on his way to Syria during the Third Crusade<sup>19</sup>. He sold the island to the Templar Order, who in turn sold it to the French crusading family of Guy Lusignan, who had been the King of Jerusalem by marriage.<sup>20</sup> As an independent Lusignan kingdom until 1489, Cyprus, “played a focal role in the crusades; its strategic location and useful ports enabled crusaders to pass safely to the Holy Land and to concentrate military forces there before and after campaigns.”<sup>21</sup> The Lusignan kingdom owed its origins to the crusaders but, “far outlasted the crusading expeditions to the Holy Land.”<sup>22</sup> During this period, the Greek Cypriots, like the Greeks, called themselves *Ρωμαίοι* (Romi’oi), “on account of being, or having been prior to the conquests of Cyprus, Constantinople and much of Greece after the Fourth Crusade of 1204, subjects of the Eastern Roman Empire...”<sup>23</sup>

Lusignan rule saw a significant shift in the ethnic composition and population size of the island.<sup>24</sup> Settlers of Latin, Syrian, Maronite and Armenian origin<sup>25</sup>, as well as Orthodox, Nestorian and Jacobite Christians<sup>26</sup> arrived on the island. Muslims and a small Jewish population lived in Cyprus,<sup>27</sup> and slaves from Muslim and African nations, from the South Russia steppes, from the Black Sea area, and from present-day Greece, were brought to Cyprus.<sup>28</sup>

An influx of Christian refugees to Cyprus came throughout the second half of the thirteenth century, “following each loss of a Christian-held city in Syria and Palestine to the Muslims.”<sup>29</sup> However, “Despite these demographic changes, the [Cypriot] Greeks always remained by far the largest ethnic group [on the island].”<sup>30</sup> Whilst it is difficult to determine the Frankish population of Cyprus during this period, “it must never have surpassed one fourth of the total population.”<sup>31</sup>

Lusignan rule brought peace and prosperity to the island.<sup>32</sup> Christopher Schabel contended, “Under the French-speaking Lusignan dynasty, the Kingdom of Cyprus gradually evolved from a fragmented cluster of indigenous and alien linguistic and religious communities to a more unified yet still

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19 A. Nikolaou-Konnari & C.D. Schabel, ‘Introduction’, in A. Nicolaou-Konnari & C.D. Schabel (eds.), *Cyprus: society and culture 1191-1374*, Brill, Leiden, 2005, 1.

20 R. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571 – 1640*, New York University Press, New York, 1. 21 *ibid.*, 3.

22 Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades*, 1.

23 N. Coureas, ‘Religion and Ethnic Identity in Lusignan Cyprus: how the various groups saw themselves and were seen by others’, in T. Papacostas & G. Saint-Guillain (eds.), *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus*, The Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia, 2014, 14.

24 A. Nikolaou-Konnari, ‘Greeks’, in A. Nicolaou-Konnari & C.D. Schabel (eds.), *Cyprus: society and culture 1191-1374*, Brill, Leiden, 2005, 15. 25 *ibid.*, 15.

26 Coureas, ‘Religion and Ethnic Identity in Lusignan Cyprus’, 13.

27 Nikolaou-Konnari, ‘Greeks’, 15.

28 See Nikolaou-Konnari, ‘Greeks’, 15; and A. Dincer, ‘Enslaving Christians’: Greek slaves in late medieval Cyprus’, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 31(1), 2016, 1-19.

29 Nikolaou-Konnari, ‘Greeks’, 15.

30 *ibid.*, 15.

31 *ibid.*, 15.

32 Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades*, 1.

multicultural society of Cypriots by the end of the reign of King Hugh IV (1324–59)...”<sup>33</sup> Nicholas Coureas added that the Lusignan period was characterised by, “peaceful coexistence, considerable toleration, and a degree of autonomy for non-Latin Christians and non-Christians.”<sup>34</sup> Perhaps this is why during the almost 400 years of Lusignan or Venetian (Latin) rule in Cyprus, violent conflicts rarely occurred between the diverse groups.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, Coureas claimed, “this lack of violent conflict did not result in large scale fusion, with individuals crossing from one group to another being the exception rather than the rule.”<sup>36</sup>

The Orthodox Cypriots considered their Church to be distinct from the Roman Catholic Church<sup>37</sup> but, “For the papacy the Greek Church presented a jurisdictional obstacle, not a doctrinal one, in that its clergy refused to recognise papal primacy and the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church. This made them schismatics, not heretics...”<sup>38</sup> Tensions arose:

The fact that the Greeks were considered a part of the Roman Catholic Church also meant that besides jurisdictional submission, the Greek secular church had to have the same bishops as its Latin counterpart, for western canon law prohibited more than one bishop in each diocese. The implementation of this policy inevitably meant the abolition of the Greek dioceses superceded [sic] by Latin ones created after the Latin conquest of lands with Greek populations and the replacement of Greek by Latin bishops in those remaining.<sup>39</sup>

When the Franks arrived in 1192, there were fourteen Orthodox Christian dioceses; after the establishment of the Latin Church, according to the agreement of 1222, “only four Greek bishops will remain permanently in Cyprus and they will be obedient to the Roman Church and to us, the archbishop and our suffragans...”<sup>40</sup> This provision was subsequently enshrined in Pope Alexander IV’s Bulla Cypria, formally accepted in 1260 by the Archbishop Germanos of the Greek Church of Cyprus. Despite this, the Latins put Greek Cypriots under constant pressure to convert to Roman

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33 C.D. Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus*, Routledge, Abingdon, UK, vii-viii.

34 Nikolaou-Konnari & Schabel, ‘Introduction’, 9.

35 Coureas, ‘Religion and Ethnic Identity in Lusignan Cyprus’, 30.

36 *ibid.*, 30.

37 N. Coureas, ‘The Latin and Greek Churches in former Byzantine Lands under Latin Rule’, in N. Tsougarakis & P. Lock (eds.), *A Companion to Latin Greece*, Brill, Leiden, 2014, 145.

38 Coureas, ‘The Latin and Greek Churches in former Byzantine Lands under Latin Rule’, 145.

39 *ibid.*, 146.

40 E. Kaffa, *The Greek Church of Cyprus, the Morea and Constantinople during the Frankish Era (1196-1303)*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 41.

Catholicism.<sup>41</sup> Halil Ibrahim Salih argued, “The Latin Church’s aggressive campaign weakened the foundation of the Orthodox Church.”<sup>42</sup>

In 1489, Queen Caterina Cornaro, the last member of the Lusignan dynasty, was forced to sell Cyprus; it became an overseas colony of the Venetian Republic.<sup>43</sup> Under Venetian rule, “the dependant peasants, *villain* or *parici*, occupied the social space between the free peasants, *contadini* or *francomati*, and the slaves.”<sup>44</sup> However, Katerina V. Korrè stated, “It is documented that the exploitation they confronted practically transformed them into slaves...”<sup>45</sup> While slavery had been abolished from the 12<sup>th</sup> century in Venetian possessions on the Italian peninsula, four centuries later they continued the previous Frankish treatment of the *parici* in Cyprus, because it served to maintain the stability of the island’s agricultural production.<sup>46</sup> During Venetian rule, “the social category of the *parici* retained its main characteristic, which was the limited legal capacity, particularly restricted as far as the economic field was concerned.”<sup>47</sup> The economic restrictions and servile status of the *parici* inflamed resentment and rebellion amongst them prior to the Ottoman Empire’s attack on Cyprus.<sup>48</sup>

## Ottoman Rule 1571 to 1878

During the Frankish and Venetian periods, from 1192 until 1571, “Cyprus stood as a crossroads between East and West ... [until] it was finally reconquered by another native eastern empire, the Ottoman one.”<sup>49</sup> It was a relatively easy ‘victory’; according to John Hackett, having withstood centuries of oppression, some Greek Cypriots in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century wanted the Roman Church out of Cyprus. The Lusignans were gone but the Venetians were subject to Rome too, so:

the Orthodox were led to seek elsewhere that deliverance which they seem never to have quite despaired of eventually obtaining. Their eyes naturally turned for assistance to ... the Turkish Sultans ... The storm, which at length burst over the last fortress of Christianity in the Eastern Mediterranean, had been long foreseen. But when it came the ease with which it carried everything before it, was due not so much to the apathy and indifference of Venice, nor yet to the bravery of the Turkish soldiers and the skill of the Turkish leaders, as

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41 H. Salih, *Cyprus: An Analysis of Cypriot Political Discord: The making of a State*, Theo Gaus’ Sons Inc., New York, 1968, 8.

42 *ibid.*, 8.

43 L.P. Di Cesnola, *Cyprus: Its ancient cities, tombs and temples*, Harper and Bros, New York, 1878, 36-37.

44 K. Korrè, ‘Human Bondage. The ultimate changes in the social status of *parici* in Venetian Cyprus (1560-1571)’, in I. Hadjikyriako & T.M. Gaia (eds.), *Cypriot Cultural Details: Proceedings of the 10th Annual Meeting of Young Researchers in Cypriot Archaeology*, Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2015, 197.

45 Korrè, ‘Human Bondage. The ultimate changes in the social status of *parici* in Venetian Cyprus (1560-1571)’, 197-198.

46 *ibid.*, 197-198.

47 *ibid.*, 198.

48 *ibid.*, 198.

49 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World*, 2.



to the attitude of the native population. That thorough subjugation of the island, which centuries before it had taken the Latins years to effect, was now accomplished in the brief space of a few months. The Greek inhabitants everywhere readily welcomed the invading forces, once a prospect of getting rid of the detested Latins seemed really to have come at last.<sup>50</sup>

The contempt of the Latin rulers by the Orthodox Cypriots was also reported by Johann Strauß; he stated that, “Partly supported by the local Greek-Orthodox population, the Ottoman armies had few problems in taking possession of the whole of the island, with the exception of Famagusta.”<sup>51</sup> A more explicit account is given by Kyrris:

Their oppression was so heavy that in 1566 some paroikoi [non-proprietary holders of land] discussed with [Sultan] Selim II the possibility of the Ottomans conquering the island. In 1569 another paroikian delegation went to Constantinople for the same purpose. The peasants’ disillusionment when the Venetians broke their promise to free them from serfdom strengthened their determination to support the Ottomans against their masters.<sup>52</sup>

Cyprus had been underpopulated during the Venetian period. The oppression of Orthodox Christians and four natural disasters – two massive earthquakes, a locust plague, a flood – had seen many flee.<sup>53</sup> Many serfs had fled in 1566 and 1569 due to, “discontent with the Latin yoke.”<sup>54</sup> Latin emigration from Cyprus occurred in the late Venetian period but, “it reached its greatest intensity in the decade after the Ottoman conquest.”<sup>55</sup> Many Cypriot Orthodox Christians – intellectuals and others who had benefited under the Venetians – also emigrated to Venice after the Ottoman conquest.<sup>56</sup>

To repopulate, “fiefs were granted to soldiers who had distinguished themselves in the campaign, and other Turks were encouraged to settle in the new province.”<sup>57</sup> The Ottoman policy of compulsory population transfer saw hundreds of Muslim Turks come to Cyprus from the nearby Karaman province in Anatolia.<sup>58</sup>

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50 J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus: From the Coming of the Apostles Paul And Barnabas to the Commencement of the British Occupation (A.D. 45-A.D. 1878): Together With Some Account of the Latin And Other Churches Existing In the Island*, Methuen, London, 1901, 172-173.

51 J. Strauß, ‘How Cyprus came under Turkish rule: a conquest and the historians’, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 82, 1992, 325.

52 Kyrris, *Symbiotic Elements in the History of the Two Communities of Cyprus*, 248.

53 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World*, 213; and Di Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 37.

54 C.P. Kyrris, *History of Cyprus: with an introduction to the geography of Cyprus*, Nicocles, Nicosia, 1985, 251.

55 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World*, 214.

56 *ibid.*, 214.

57 C.F. Beckingham, ‘Islam in Cyprus’, *The Islamic Quarterly*, 2(2), 1955, 133.

58 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World*, 213.

In some parts of Anatolia, the authorities were even ordered to send one out of every ten families to Cyprus. It was hoped that poor peasants who could not make a living from their land at home would find satisfactory holdings, and that nuisances to the administration, such as the Yürüks, the Anatolian nomads, could be forced to become cultivators. A certain number of artisans were also sent, no doubt to ensure the viability of the new villages.<sup>59</sup>

The forced emigrants were intended to repopulate rather than to Islamicise Cyprus: “Unlike the Latins, Turks settled on the island to make it a vatan, homeland.”<sup>60</sup> The settlers included Christian undesirables – some convicted of not paying their tax allotment, of insulting Islam, or of presenting Muslims as guarantors without asking them – as well as some Jews.<sup>61</sup>

For Orthodox Christians, Islamic rule was often seen much more favourably than Roman Catholic rule:

Catholic armies had brought destruction to Balkan Christians in the crusades of 1204 and 1444; Venetian rule had been harsh and repressive in Crete and the Peloponnese. After the brief occupation of Chios by the Venetians in 1694, islanders said “they were better off under the Turks.” An Orthodox monk told a Catholic missionary in 1641, “I’d rather turn Turk than join you Latins who hate and persecute us.”<sup>62</sup>

In Cyprus, the Orthodox Church had remained weak until the Latin Church was dissolved at the hands of the Ottomans after their conquest of Cyprus in 1571.<sup>63</sup> Salih stated,

This [Ottoman rule of Cyprus] was the beginning of a new era for the Greek Orthodox Church. Some of the properties of the Latin Church were given to the Orthodox Church, and the Orthodox priests were free to preach their religion and administer the affairs of their communities. Thereafter, the Head of the Orthodox Church played an important role in the administrative and political affairs of Cyprus.<sup>64</sup>

The Ottomans’ promotion of the Orthodox at the expense of the Latin Church was aligned with their fear of a Christian (Venetian) counter-attack to try to reclaim Cyprus. In 1572, “an attack was expected any moment from the allied Christian fleet...”<sup>65</sup> With the majority Orthodox population benefiting and powerful Latins expelled, Cyprus became a safe Ottoman possession.<sup>66</sup>

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59 Beckingham, ‘Islam in Cyprus’, 133.

60 H. İnalçık, ‘A Note on the Population of Cyprus’, *Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs – Centre for Strategic Research*, Ankara, 1997, 3.

61 Kyrris, ‘Symbiotic Elements in the History of the Two Communities of Cyprus’, 243-282.

62 M. Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History*, Modern Library, New York, 2002, 48.

63 Salih, *Cyprus*, 8.

64 *ibid.*, 8.

65 İnalçık, ‘A Note on the Population of Cyprus’, 2.

66 *ibid.*, 3.

Judicial records from this period provide information regarding the religious, ethnic and linguistic populations of Cyprus.<sup>67</sup> Some records solely distinguish Muslims from non-Muslims; however, when looking at the records of non-Muslims, groups of people can be determined by their names, thereby distinguishing Greek, Jewish, Maronite and Armenian Cypriots. However, Maronite and Armenian Cypriots often took Greek personal names, “because they as small minorities have been culturally and linguistically assimilated into the majority.”<sup>68</sup> This was also a means of self-preservation after the Ottoman rulers suppressed the Catholic Church, and forced these Catholic minority groups to convert to Orthodox Christianity or to Islam, or leave Cyprus.<sup>69</sup> Halil İnalcık used Christian and Muslim sources to examine the population; under Ottoman rule Muslims were not less than 25 percent of the population, in 1777 they comprised 56 percent and in 1790, 75 percent, as, “emigrations resulted from various causes – famine, unemployment, heavy taxation, etc. – led to drastic fluctuations in the island’s population.”<sup>70</sup>

Ottoman rule saw the introduction of the millet system, a specifically Islamic legal framework originating in the Prophet Muhammad’s Medinan years (622-632), “when the Prophet and his followers had achieved majority power in one town at least of Arabia, and were therefore forced to consider the question of the Muslim community’s relationship to minorities, in the case of Medina specifically, a Jewish minority.”<sup>71</sup> In Cyprus, the millet system divided the island along religious, rather than ethno-linguistic, lines. The Orthodox Church governed the non-Muslim population, enhancing the power of the Church.<sup>72</sup> All non-Muslim subjects (*zimmi*s) were granted the freedom to worship and were entitled to the protection of life and property by the state, although constrained to pay a special head tax and not granted the full legal status afforded to Muslim subjects.<sup>73</sup>

According to the shari’a (Islamic) court records, the majority *zimmi*s in Cyprus appeared to thrive under Muslim rule; they formed an integral part of the society.<sup>74</sup> “They used to live in the same quarters as Muslims, even in adjacent houses.”<sup>75</sup> They often had several Muslim neighbours and were allowed to buy and sell houses, with relative ease, wherever they liked. (Under shari’a law,

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67 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World*, 8.

68 *ibid.*, 8.

69 Kyrris, ‘Symbiotic Elements in the History of the Two Communities of Cyprus’, 251.

70 İnalcık, ‘A Note on the Population of Cyprus’, 3.

71 C.E. Bosworth, ‘The Concept of Dhimma in Early Islam’, in B. Braude & B. Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, 1: The Central Lands, Holmes & Meier, New York, 1982, 37.

72 Kyrris, *History of Cyprus*, 263.

73 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World*, 389.

74 K. Çiçek, ‘Living together: Muslim-Christian relations in eighteenth-century Cyprus as reflected by the Shari’a court records’, *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 4(1), 1993, 36.

75 *ibid.*, 42.

Muslims could have applied to block many such sales.)<sup>76</sup> “They owned shops in various market areas and did business with their Turkish neighbours.”<sup>77</sup> Whilst both urban and rural occupations were available to the *zimmis*, they also often worked as the heads of their professions (as Guild leaders); this would not have occurred without the approval of their Muslim peers.<sup>78</sup> If they complied with the restrictions placed on them by shari’a law and conformed to their subordinate status, *zimmis* were able to flourish. Kemal Çiçek argued, “The rarity of cases of repression and violence confirms this.”<sup>79</sup>

Intercommunality between Christians and Muslims was evident during Ottoman rule. Ronald C. Jennings claimed that:

Close integration of Muslims and Christians in the social and economic order is evidenced by the fact that 56% of the [court] cases involving *zimmis* were intercommunal ... *Zimmis* made complaints at court against the abuses of Muslims in the same way that Muslims complained about the injustices done by *zimmis*. People of each religion sold land and even shops or houses to those of the other religion.<sup>80</sup>

Furthermore, Çiçek explained that throughout the eighteenth century, “there was a substantial degree of tranquility in inter-communal relations ... [z]immis were not more oppressed than Muslims. Nor is there evidence in the sicils that their position deteriorated culturally or economically during this period.”<sup>81</sup> This treatment of the Cypriots was in stark contrast to their oppression under Lusignan and Venetian rule.<sup>82</sup>

Minor ethnic divisions occurred during this period, with disturbances predominantly resulting from economic inequalities rather than ethnic or religious differences.<sup>83</sup> “During Ottoman rule Cypriot society had greater socio-economic and socio-political cleavages than religious or ethnic.”<sup>84</sup> Fostered and encouraged by the millet system, the collective identities of Cypriots were based upon religion rather than ethnicity.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, people’s socio-economic status and geography

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76 Çiçek, ‘Living together’, 43.

77 *ibid.*, 44.

78 *ibid.*, 44-46.

79 *ibid.*, 60.

80 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World*, 389.

81 Çiçek, ‘Living together’, 60.

82 Korrè, ‘Human Bondage. The ultimate changes in the social status of *parici* in Venetian Cyprus (1560-1571)’, 198.

83 Varnava, *Serving the empire in the Great War*, 32.

84 *ibid.*, 32.

85 *ibid.*, 32.

(whether they were rural or urban) significantly impacted identity formation.<sup>86</sup> According to Varnava:

the Eastern Orthodox Church elite were willingly co-opted into the ruling class and their power derived from the Ottoman imperial system. Within the context of this 'contract' they received power in exchange for guaranteeing the loyalty of their people, the lower-class Christians ... Christian and Muslim elites relied on each other for power and control over the Cypriot masses.<sup>87</sup>

Furthermore, the Christian and Muslim lower classes also depended on one another.<sup>88</sup> According to Varnava, "They shared economic and social hardships, brought on by droughts, bad harvests, locust plagues, and a lack of technological advancement and government and private investment in industries and infrastructure."<sup>89</sup>

## British Rule

### Cyprus as a pawn

The Anglo-Turkish Convention (the Cyprus Convention) of 4 June 1878 gave Great Britain the right to administer and occupy Cyprus, in exchange for their support of the Ottomans<sup>90</sup> in dealing with, "the growing unrest among the peoples in the Balkans and the global rivalry of Great Britain and Russia known as the Grand Game."<sup>91</sup>

During their time in Cyprus, the British made no attempt to move away from strategies dividing the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities; rather, they furthered the Ottoman-established practices and policies of communal segregation.<sup>92</sup> They established, "Village administrative councils [that] were segregated and handled community affairs separately, with specially formed Joint Councils for the adjudication of matters common to both groups."<sup>93</sup>

Whilst the division of the island based on religion continued, religious leaders were no longer the sole authorities. Bryant described the transition from rule by a paternal to a constitutional

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86 Varnava, *Serving the empire in the Great War*, 32.

87 *ibid.*, 32.

88 *ibid.*, 32.

89 *ibid.*, 32-33.

90 Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus*, 1.

91 H. Richter, 'The Grand Game, the Balkans, the Congress of Berlin and Cyprus', in H. Faustmann & N. Peristianis (eds.), *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post – Colonialism 1878 – 2006*, Bibliopolis, Mannheim, Germany, 2006, 11.

92 A. Varnava, 'Recruitment and Volunteerism for the Cypriot Mule Corps, 1916-1919. Pushed or Pulled?', *Itinerario*, 38(3), 2014, 79-101.

93 V. Calotychos, 'Interdisciplinary Perspectives: Difference at the Heart of the Cyprus Identity and Its Study', in V. Calotychos (ed.), *Cyprus and Its People: Nation, Identity, and Experience in Unimaginable Community 1955 – 1997*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1998, USA, 5-6.

government as difficult. Cypriots had been accustomed to their right to appeal to the Sultan himself for justice; now their direct entreaties to the British authorities were regarded as impertinent. While the Ottomans had discretion to ensure social justice, the British adhered to the letter of their (new to Cyprus) Laws. More significant than the perplexing attitude of Government were the changes to, “people’s relationship to the clergy and urban elites who had for so long acted as patrons and intercessors.”<sup>94</sup> Bryant explained that the social order of centuries was disrupted:

what was clear from the very beginning of British rule was that all Cypriots – regardless of background or rank – had become equal subjects of the new administration, so that not only the ordinary villager but also the villager’s priest, imam, teacher, or elder could be – and often was – charged with the same crime or kept waiting in the same queue as farmer or shepherd.<sup>95</sup>

Cyprus changed significantly during the early British occupancy. Varnava stated:

The nature of British colonial rule in Cyprus and the imperial status of the island as a backwater had two pivotal results: (1) the limited extension of political modernity, which allowed for the development of a new nationalised, specifically Hellenised (and later Turkish), Cypriot elite, which the British did not check because they considered Cyprus a backwater and the Christians as Greeks; (2) the British improvements in internal communications, public hygiene, and medical services and practices, resulted in a significant increase in the population [47% increase from 1881 to 1911] ... which meant change across Cypriot society especially in relation to living standards, occupations and the nature and character of the middle and lower classes.<sup>96</sup>

Britain’s attitude of equanimity changed with the First World War. Late in October 1914 the Ottoman government joined the Central Powers and, “On 5 November Whitehall [United Kingdom Government] reacted by annexing Cyprus.” This meant that the British Empire and Cyprus were at war with the Ottoman Empire.<sup>97</sup>

Earlier, in December 1912, senior members of the British Government, “told the Prime Minister of Greece ... that London wanted to cede Cyprus to Greece. Cyprus was of no value to the British except as a pawn. In [October] 1915, a formal offer was made to Greece’s government...”<sup>98</sup> That offer, made early in World War I, would, “(1) save Serbia; (2) satisfy the enosists; and (3) put an end

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94 R. Bryant, *Imagining the Modern: The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus*, I.B. Tauris, New York, 2004, 26.

95 *ibid.*, 27.

96 Varnava, *Serving the empire in the Great War*, 36.

97 *ibid.*, 42-43.

98 J.A. Mangan, ‘Introduction: Making Imperial Mentalities’, in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialism and British Imperialism*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1990, 3.

to the Cypriot tribute to Great Britain.”<sup>99</sup> The Greek government rejected the offer, “because its military advisers thought joining the allies would imperil Greece.”<sup>100</sup> Later, the British stance changed.

## The First World War

During the war, Cyprus became a source of man-power. The Cypriot Mule Corps, formed in July 1916, saw 12,288 Cypriot muleteers – approximately 25 percent of the male population aged 18 to 35 – enlisted for service in the British Army in Salonica.<sup>101</sup> The very high proportion of men serving, “arguably, places Cyprus at the top of the list of colonial societies to contribute.”<sup>102</sup>

Varnava argued that three strategies were instrumental in successful recruitment of Cypriot (Turkish, Greek, Maronite, Armenian, etc.) peasants and labourers as muleteers:

the prevention by law of the emigration of Cypriot males of military age; the appropriate use of communication methods to deliver the message to the peasant and labouring classes; and the various benefits, especially monetary, that were offered to recruits.<sup>103</sup>

The Corps mainly comprised peasants and labourers from rural areas, 90.4 percent Eastern Orthodox Christians (compared to their 78.2 percent proportion of the population in the 1911 Census), 8.4 percent Cypriot Muslims (compared to their 20.6 percent), and 1.2 percent minority groups (including Maronite and Armenian Cypriots). Varnava provided an explanation for the lower enlistment of Cypriot Muslims: “Cypriots, regardless of their religion, enlisted together. There are many examples on the Honour Role of Christians and Muslims from the same village enlisting on the same day. Given the distance from the villages to the recruiting centres, they probably travelled together.”<sup>104</sup> As enlistment to the Mule Corps was greater (almost 60 percent) in rural than in urban areas, and a lower proportion of Turkish than Greek Cypriots lived in rural areas, this helps to explain their lower enlistment.<sup>105</sup>

The local Cypriot elite overwhelmingly refrained from enlisting in the Cypriot Mule Corps, as most were against the war. Enlistment of the peasants and the working classes, in defiance of their

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99 Salih, *Cyprus*, 35-36.

100 *ibid.*, 263-265.

101 Varnava, *Serving the empire in the Great War*, 78.

102 *ibid.*, 227.

103 Varnava, ‘Recruitment and Volunteerism for the Cypriot Mule Corps’, 92.

104 Varnava, *Serving the empire in the Great War*, 85-87.

105 *ibid.*, 87-88.

community leaders<sup>106</sup>, clearly demonstrates the, “crisis of authority”<sup>107</sup> that characterised the early British period. Varnava makes an interesting point:

This was not merely a case of “money talking”, but also a clear indication that Cypriot society was divided more by class than by race, ethnicity, or even religion. This was confirmed by the multi-religious composition of the corps, drawn primarily from rural parts of the island.<sup>108</sup>

A few years after the end of the War, on March 10, 1925, Cyprus was proclaimed a British Crown Colony.<sup>109</sup> The British were here to stay.

## The interwar years

During the interwar years, most of Cyprus’ population was rural<sup>110</sup> and more than half of the working population were employed as agricultural workers or day labourers.<sup>111</sup> After world prices for agricultural products collapsed in the early 1930s, many people lost their lands to creditors and emerged as seasonal agricultural workers, or mine workers.<sup>112</sup> This shift in employment with the Great Depression resulted in several labour strikes conducted jointly by Turkish and Greek Cypriots.<sup>113</sup>

In October 1931, an island-wide mass popular protest took place due to, “a global backdrop of economic depression and a local background of mounting poverty...” and the demand from a small section of Greek Cypriot elites for *enosis*.<sup>114</sup> The protests were not pre-planned nor the product of conspiracy; they, “were carried out in a manifestly impulsive and haphazard manner...”<sup>115</sup> and culminated in the demonstrators setting fire to Government House.<sup>116</sup> Leventis claimed that such an act of defiance, “marked a turning point in the colonial history of Cyprus.”<sup>117</sup> According to Alexis Rappas, “Under Governor Sir Richmond Palmer, an era of authoritarian rule began.”<sup>118</sup> The Legislative Council was abolished and the Greek Cypriot community was obligated to pay for the

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106 Varnava, ‘Recruitment and Volunteerism for the Cypriot Mule Corps’, 97.

107 Bryant, *Imagining the Modern*, 22.

108 Varnava, ‘Recruitment and Volunteerism for the Cypriot Mule Corps’, 97.

109 C.F. Beckingham, ‘Islam and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus’, *Die Welt des Islams*, 5(1), 1957, 65.

110 B.J. Surridge, *A Survey of Rural Life in Cyprus*, Government Printing Office, Nicosia, 1930, 11.

111 Hart-Davis, *Report and general abstracts of the census of 1921*, 12; and Percival, *Census of population and agriculture*, 35.

112 A. Rappas, ‘The labor question in colonial Cyprus 1936–1941: Political stakes in a battle of denominations’, *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 76(1), 2009, 196.

113 P. Varnava, *The Common Labour Struggles of Greek and Turkish-Cypriots: events through history*, Pancyprian Federation of Labour, Nicosia, 1998, 197-199.

114 Y. Leventis, *Cyprus: The Struggle for Self-Determination in the 1940s*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt, 2002, 70-71.

115 *ibid.*, 70.

116 *ibid.*, 71.

117 *ibid.*, 70.

118 A. Rappas, ‘The Elusive Polity: Imagining and Contesting Colonial Authority in Cyprus during the 1930s’, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 26(2), 2008, 363.



damage caused to public property.<sup>119</sup> Law 54 of 1932 prohibited, “a meeting of five or more persons assembled for the purpose of hearing a speech or a discussion upon any topic of political interest...” without the prior written authorization of the Commissioner of the government District.<sup>120</sup> Cyprus was henceforth directly governed by Britain.<sup>121</sup>

In 1933 the Governor, Sir Reginald Edward Stubbs, searched for ‘suitable’ and ‘qualified’ men who could be of use in the formation of an appointed Advisory Council.<sup>122</sup> Stubbs proposed the council comprise members of the Executive Council (four British officials, one Greek Cypriot, and one Turkish Cypriot) as well as three more Greek Cypriots and one more Turkish Cypriot.<sup>123</sup> Leventis argued, “Playing the minority against the majority was the foundation of his notion of colonial policy.”<sup>124</sup> If there were to be proportional representation, four Greek Cypriots should have been appointed for each Turkish Cypriot. Stubbs acknowledged that:

There will be a howl from the Greeks because the Turks are over-represented, since they form only about 20 per cent of the population, but I do not see why we should not give greater prominence to the loyal section of the people that a merely arithmetical calculation would allow.<sup>125</sup>

“Besides”, Stubbs protested, “where am I to find eight honest Greeks?”<sup>126</sup> This contempt toward Greek Cypriots caused further ill-will and added to the growing challenges that the British faced in Cyprus. According to Rappas:

The broader aim of British rule in the 1930s was to reshape Cyprus as an ideal polity, whose inhabitants would thrive materially and civically; however, the two preconditions for the establishment of such a polity – the neutralization of local politics and the international isolation of the island – would be rendered unattainable...<sup>127</sup>

In 1939 Greek Cypriots asked for constitutional reform through a petition to the Colonial Office.<sup>128</sup> Salih stated, “The petition was signed by thousands of Greek Cypriots asking for representative

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119 Leventis, *Cyprus*, 72.

120 Cyprus Bar Association n.d., *Cyprus Law No. 54 of 1932. A law to regulate the holding of assemblies, meetings and processions*, viewed 11 March 2019, <[http://www.cylaw.org/nomoi/arith/1932\\_1\\_054.pdf](http://www.cylaw.org/nomoi/arith/1932_1_054.pdf)>.

121 Leventis, *Cyprus*, 72.

122 *ibid.*, 73.

123 *ibid.*, 73.

124 *ibid.*, 73.

125 *ibid.*, 73.

126 *ibid.*, 73.

127 Rappas, ‘The Elusive Polity’, 363.

128 Salih, *Cyprus*, 44.

government and expressing dissatisfaction with the Cyprus administration.”<sup>129</sup> As it was believed that many of the signatures were acquired by pressure from the Church’s leadership, “it received no recognition either in London or Cyprus.”<sup>130</sup> Britain ruled; discontent festered.

## The Second World War

When Britain declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939, Cyprus was automatically at war.<sup>131</sup>

Approximately 35,000 Turkish and Greek Cypriot volunteers served together in the Cyprus Regiment of the British Army during World War II.<sup>132</sup> Many Greek Cypriots enlisted for ideological reasons, aiming, “for *Enosis* as the reward for their engagement on the side of the Allied forces...” which motive was exploited by the British Government. Emmanuelle’s interviewee Chloe described her father enlisting in 1940: “His decision was prompted largely by a popular misconception circulating around the island at that time that if Cypriots joined the Volunteer Regiment and supported the Allied Forces in the Second World War then Britain would eventually cede Cyprus to Greece.”<sup>133</sup> Another interviewee, Costas, described his father Petros enlisting for economic reasons. Petros had a very successful metal-working business, with several employees and apprentices before the War, but widespread unemployment saw such a decline that Petros joined the Cyprus Volunteer Regiment, “mainly because the British Army paid the volunteers while their families received an additional half shilling.”<sup>134</sup> Turkish Cypriots joined predominantly for economic reasons.<sup>135</sup>

The British ensured that the individual units of the Cyprus Regiment comprised both Turkish and Greek Cypriots.<sup>136</sup> According to Loizos Demitriou, General Treasurer of the Cyprus Veterans Association, “No distinctions were made by the British between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots enrolled in the army. We now appreciate that this was a clever policy on the part of the British Authorities.”<sup>137</sup> Turkish and Greek Cypriot men who fought together felt a deep sense of comradeship. The period of World War II left a record of cooperation and friendship between

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129 Salih, *Cyprus*, 44.

130 *ibid.*, 44.

131 G. Kelling, *Countdown to Rebellion: British Policy in Cyprus 1939-1955*, Greenwood Press, Westport, 1990, 21.

132 Asmussen, ‘Dark-Skinned Cypriots will not be accepted!’, 167.

133 Chloe Gabriel, born 1932 in Anogyra, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 102.

134 Kostas Karatzas, born 1930 in Lapithos, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 234.

135 Asmussen, ‘Dark-Skinned Cypriots will not be accepted!’, 178-179.

136 *ibid.*, 180.

137 *ibid.*, 180.

Turkish and Greek Cypriots in the Cypriot Mule Corps – between members of the lower classes who had joined the Corps.<sup>138</sup>

By the time of Churchill's one-day wartime visit to Cyprus in January 1943, many Cypriots were serving in the Cyprus Regiment. Churchill was cautious in his speeches, however, according to Yiangou, his audience interpreted as they wanted to: for Greek Cypriots, it was clear that Churchill, and Britain, were grateful for Cyprus' contribution to the war effort and their reward at the war's end would be freedom from Britain and *enosis* with Greece.<sup>139</sup> This did not eventuate. The British Empire lost India, gave Palestine to the United Nations to deal with, faced anti-colonial strife in Malaya and Sudan, had to relinquish their base at the Suez Canal, but held Cyprus.

### Cypriot nationalism

*... nationalism can be regarded as a process in which actors debate what the problems are, how they arise, and who should receive blame for them – all accompanied by the implicit disclaimer: "It is not our fault."*<sup>140</sup>

The *millet system* influenced the formation of Mediterranean nationalism during the Ottoman period. Doumanis described his understanding of late nineteenth century nationalism throughout the Ottoman Empire as, "cultural homogeneity and exclusive citizenship [within] the intensely mixed cities and hinterlands of the Eastern Mediterranean..."<sup>141</sup> He argued, "the creation of pure cultural spaces could only be achieved through forced assimilation, ethnic cleansing, and mass killings."<sup>142</sup>

Such nationalism shifted the identities of Cypriots. Varnava discussed the significant growth in literature from Ottoman specialists and socio-cultural and socio-economic historians of Cyprus who claimed that the Ottoman Empire, including Cyprus, was in fact multicultural – contrary to the common approach taken by most historians when looking at the history of Cyprus, who claimed that it was Greek.<sup>143</sup> Varnava stated, "People of different cultures lived together peaceably and were integrated socially and culturally. This gave rise to 'multiple identities'; identities formed by socio-cultural integration between each 'mother-culture'."<sup>144</sup> However, the 'multiple identities'

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138 Asmussen, 'Dark-Skinned Cypriots will not be accepted!', 172 and 182.

139 A. Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II: Politics and Conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean*, I.B. Tauris, New York, 2012, 90-91.

140 Y. Papadakis, 'Greek Cypriot Narratives of History and Collective Identity: Nationalism as a Contested Process', *American Ethnologist*, 25(2), 1998, 163.

141 Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, 9.

142 *ibid.*, 9.

143 Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus*, 23.

144 *ibid.*, 23.

held by Cypriots were transformed into nationalist identities during Cyprus' period of 'political modernity', "rule by modern institutions of the state, bureaucracy, and capitalist enterprise." This saw, "a detrimental effect on the relations between the two main religious groups in the island..." Christians and Muslims.<sup>145</sup> Furthermore, Nicos Peristianis contended, "National consciousness in Cyprus first appeared in the last years of Ottoman rule (late nineteenth century), and the early stirrings of nationalism in the first decades of British colonialism, when industrialization was in its complete infancy."<sup>146</sup> The British encouraged and facilitated the, "importing of rival Greek and Turkish nationalisms into the island."<sup>147</sup> Varnava provided an example:

The Liberal government introduced a legislative council with a local majority and rejected the introduction of English-language instruction alongside the Greek and Turkish languages because they considered the Cypriots, at least the Orthodox Christians, as Europeans that belonged to the broader Greek family and enlightened enough to develop without English.<sup>148</sup>

This created an environment for nationalism to develop after 1910.<sup>149</sup> As the British failed to continue the Ottoman policy of co-opting local elites, a "political and social power vacuum" emerged, encompassing predominantly educated elites, who were joined by the rising middle class, who gradually embraced a nationalist ideology.<sup>150</sup> "This was not, however, a Cypriot nationalism, but an exclusive nationalism that identified Cypriot Orthodox Christians as Greeks and the 'motherland' as Greece, thus necessitating the creation of a selective and nationalised script of the Greek nation in Cyprus."<sup>151</sup>

Ultimately British modernisation led to the development of a pro-British group, mostly civil servants, and two nationalist groups, one closely tied to the Greek monarchy and the other to the liberal movement in Greece. The Muslim elite were also divided between those supporting the British, those who supported the British but also had ties with the old order

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145 Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus*, 23.

146 N. Peristianis, 'Between Nation and State: Nation, Nationalism, State, and National Identity in Cyprus', PhD thesis, Middlesex University, London, 2008, 22.

147 *ibid.*, 35.

148 Varnava, *Serving the empire in the Great War*, 35.

149 *ibid.*, 35-36.

150 *ibid.*, 51.

151 *ibid.*, 51.

in the Ottoman Empire, and those supporting the Young Turk Movement. This created an environment for nationalism to flourish from as early as 1910.<sup>152</sup>

Divided nationalism was a lesser threat to the British; Eleni Lytras and Charis Psaltis argued that competing 'Turks' and 'Greeks' would be less focussed on a Cyprus of 'Cypriots', who might unite and seek independent nationhood. Even during the 1930s, when the structure and delivery of education were contentious, records show that, "the British collaborated with Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot nationalists who were part of Colonial Administration. This tendency continued into the 1940s, and even in the 1950s when Greek nationalists took up arms."<sup>153</sup> The strategy of *Divide et Impera* (Divide and rule) or 'Blood never dries' was applied in Cyprus as in other British colonies.<sup>154</sup> However, Bryant provided a more complex perspective of the nationalisms that developed during the British period, arguing that, "British colonialism [was] not only a method of force, [but] more important, a complex of ideas in which Cypriots participated and which they negotiated with, rejected or adapted to."<sup>155</sup> Consequently, "these were narratives of the self that were adapted from the narratives of the "motherlands" and which became prevalent in the island through the rise of media and the spread of education."<sup>156</sup> These nationalisms bred two distinct 'imagined communities', whereby Greek Cypriots imagined themselves as a part of the Hellenic nation,<sup>157</sup> and Turkish Cypriots imagined themselves as part of a partitioned Cypriot state.<sup>158</sup> The two conflicting styles of nationalist imagination, in a climate of structural inequality, led to post-independence violence.<sup>159</sup>

### *Greek Cypriot Nationalism*

The first Cypriots to actively seek *enosis* were probably those who went to Greece during the War of Independence in the 1820s. Many were enticed back home with reduced taxes and other concessions.<sup>160</sup> The push for *enosis* persisted amongst a certain section of the educated elite who

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152 Varnava, *Serving the empire in the Great War*, 51-52.

153 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 39.

154 I. Xypolia, 'Divide et Impera: Vertical and Horizontal Dimensions of British Imperialism', *Critique*, 44(3), 2016, 221-231.

155 R. Bryant, 'On the condition of postcoloniality in Cyprus', in Y. Papadakis, N. Peristianis & G. Welz (eds.), *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, USA, 2006, 62.

156 *ibid.*, 62.

157 Peristianis, 'Between Nation and State', 25.

158 I. Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus: Exploring the Religion, Nature, and Culture of a Mediterranean Island*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2014, 145.

159 Bryant, *Imagining the Modern*, 2.

160 İnalçik, 'A Note on the Population of Cyprus', 2.

were discontent after World War II, when Britain held Cyprus rather than ceding it to Greece, but it expanded and became uncontrollable throughout the 1950s.<sup>161</sup>

In late 1949, AKEL (the Progressive Party of Working People – or the Communists) suggested to the Church that they should together take the 'Cyprus Problem' to the United Nations. Archbishop Makarios II rejected the proposal; in this early Cold War period, the Church did not want to be aligned with the communists. In November AKEL appealed alone to the United Nations, asking them to conduct a plebiscite in Cyprus. Within days, the Church announced that a meeting chaired by Makarios had, earlier than AKEL's approach to the United Nations, decided that they would themselves conduct a plebiscite six weeks hence. Had the Church feared losing authority if the initiative was AKEL's?<sup>162</sup> The plebiscite was held and more than 95 percent of respondents voted for *enosis* – union with Greece;<sup>163</sup> however, it was not conducted in a legitimate way, as it was an open ballot held within churches, and its results were not accepted by officials in London, Athens or at the United Nations in New York.<sup>164</sup> A few months later, the death of Archbishop Makarios II saw Makarios III (Michael Christodoulou Mouskos) elected to that supreme role. His ascension saw a step-change in the political climate. A charismatic leader, Makarios III was a crucial actor, drawing a frenetic following into the developing drama.<sup>165</sup>

The understanding of most Greek Cypriots of what they were fighting for is questionable. Author Lawrence Durrell's flippant diary entry in 1953 suggests that many had scant real understanding of Greece, the country which they wished to join:

I have one firm hold over my neighbours. I know more about Greece than they do. I am regarded with awe and respect because I have actually lived 'over there', among those paragons of democratic virtue. Their idea of Greece is of Paradise on earth – paradise without defect ... Now if I wish to bring pressure to bear upon my neighbour I simply say to him, 'My dear fellow, no Greek would do that, charge that, think that, etc. You astonish me.' And this phrase acts like a charm, for everyone is jealous of the good character of Greeks and tries to be as like them as possible ... when Pallis refused me water for my trees out of ill temper, I brought him to his knees by comparing the Greek sense of 'philoxenia' with the Cypriot. He melted like an ice.<sup>166</sup>

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161 A.R. Novo, 'On all fronts: EOKA and the Cyprus insurgency, 1955-1959', PhD thesis, University of Oxford, Oxford, 2010, 23-24.

162 Dixon, *British Cyprus*, 36.

163 C. Gates, 'The 'Turkish' minority in Cyprus: an artificial identity?', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 41(5), 2013, 870-886.

164 D. Michalopoulos, 1981-1982, 'The 1950 plebiscite in Cyprus', *Hellenic Review of International Relations*, 2(II), 1981-1982, 577-579.

165 S. Mayes, *Makarios: A Biography*, MacMillan, London, 1981, vii.

166 L. Durrell, *Bitter Lemons of Cyprus*, Faber and Faber, London, 1957, 114-115.

The Greek Cypriots' ardent wish to join Greece is unique in historic 'independence' fights. While educated city-dwellers may have had nuanced understandings of the issues, many Greek Cypriot villagers, ardent supporters of *enosis*, were perhaps fighting and dying for a utopian dream.

Greece was, of course, no bystander. Besides Makarios, the other giant figure in the *enosis* campaign was Colonel Georgios Grivas (also known as Digenis). Born in Cyprus in 1897, he joined the Greek Army in 1919, fighting in the Greco-Turkish War and World War II.<sup>167</sup> Retiring in 1946, he shifted his focus to ridding Cyprus of British rule and annexing it to Greece. Grivas returned to Cyprus from Greece in 1951 to prepare for a guerrilla war.<sup>168</sup> Alecou argued, "The Greek-Cypriot far right would have been essentially deprived of an ideological background without the use of the Greek past in the Cypriot present."<sup>169</sup> Grivas carried anticommunist ideology from Greece to his homeland, and unlike in Greece, "the movement enjoyed a privileged relationship with the Church of Cyprus and the window-dressing of Hellenism, which enabled Grivas to disguise his virulent anti-communist struggle with the mantle of the struggle of Cyprus against a common enemy, British colonialism."<sup>170</sup> Grivas stated that, in 1951, "the liberation movement passed from the sphere of abstract idealism into the field of action."<sup>171</sup>

On 7 March 1953, "Makarios adopted the recommendation submitted two years earlier by Grivas and his colleagues for undertaking an armed struggle against the British."<sup>172</sup> Grivas and Makarios collaborated in preparing the *enosis* struggle.<sup>173</sup> In June 1953, with permission from Makarios, Grivas began to ship<sup>174</sup> arms into Cyprus.<sup>175</sup> In 1954 Grivas began to mobilise his Greek Cypriot nationalist guerrilla organisation – *Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston* (EOKA).<sup>176</sup>

Having lost India in 1947, and Ceylon and Burma in 1948, Britain clung determinedly to its remaining colonies. However, "By the end of March 1955, there were hints that, despite official reticence, British thinking was slowly evolving towards a more relaxed position."<sup>177</sup> The US State

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167 G. Grivas, *The Memoirs of General Grivas*, Longmans, London, 1964, 2.

168 A. Alecou, *Communism and Nationalism in Postwar Cyprus, 1945-1955: Politics and Ideologies Under British Rule*, Springer International Publishing, Cham, Switzerland, 2016, 159.

169 *ibid.*, 89.

170 *ibid.*, 89.

171 Grivas, *The memoirs of General Grivas*, 13.

172 Alecou, *Communism and Nationalism in Postwar Cyprus*, 158.

173 I. Stefanidis, *Isle of Discord: Nationalism, Imperialism and the Making of the Cyprus Problem*, New York University Press, New York, 1999, 246.

174 The British managed to intercept the Greek boat, *Ayios Georghios* in 1955, that was carrying arms for EOKA.

175 P. Lim, *The Evolution of British Counter-Insurgency during the Cyprus Revolt, 1955-1959*, Springer International Publishing, Cham, Switzerland, 2018, 6.

176 Stefanidis, *Isle of Discord*, 246.

177 R. Heacock, 'The Language of Empire: British Discourse over Cyprus in the colonial era', paper presented at the PRIO Cyprus Centre annual conference on history, Nicosia, 28-29 November, 2008, 97.

Department, “envisaged a renewed constitutional offer and an indirect recognition of eventual self-determination for the Cypriots.”<sup>178</sup> As such, the US advised Greece not to incite spirits in Cyprus.<sup>179</sup>

Makarios met with Grivas on 11 January 1955, “and gave him the green light.”<sup>180</sup> Despite diplomatic efforts, on 1 April 1955 EOKA printed and distributed its declaration of anti-colonial sentiment with the ultimate goal of liberating Cyprus from British rule, and launched attacks on both civilian and military British targets.<sup>181</sup> The *enosis* struggle was unusual: “EOKA imitated other anti-colonial struggles, though it was unique in demanding not independence but the right to become part of another country.”<sup>182</sup>

In the months prior to the EOKA attacks, AKEL had opposed the use of force as they believed it threatened to undermine the intercommunal relations on the island.<sup>183</sup> On 13 January 1955, AKEL’s Central Committee, “denounced the allusions of the Athens radio broadcasts to violence and declared its commitment to a struggle by peaceful means.”<sup>184</sup>

From 1955 tensions escalated. Many EOKA fighters were jailed by the British and some were hanged; EOKA was effective at quickly turning their deceased comrades into martyrs.<sup>185</sup> Makarios was exiled to the Seychelles in March 1956<sup>186</sup>, but tensions and violence continued. Meanwhile, Britain was forging links with Turkey; thus the proposition of, “self-determination for the Cypriot majority was being driven beyond the realm of practical politics.”<sup>187</sup> The conflict ended in 1960 with the declaration of Cyprus’ independence.<sup>188</sup> *Enosis* was not achieved, and the “reluctant republic” was born.<sup>189</sup>

### *Turkish Cypriot Nationalism*

The nationalisation of Turkish Cypriots developed slowly.<sup>190</sup> The weakening of the *vakf* institutions, having begun during the Ottoman reform period, continued under British administration.<sup>191</sup>

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178 Heacock, ‘The Language of Empire’, 97.

179 *ibid.*, 97.

180 *ibid.*, 246.

181 *ibid.*, 246.

182 Bryant, *The Past in Pieces*, 7.

183 Stefanidis, *Isle of Discord*, 246.

184 *ibid.*, 246.

185 F. French, *Fighting EOKA: The British Counter – Insurgency Campaign on Cyprus, 1955-1959*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2015, 98.

186 J. Miller, *The United States and the making of modern Greece : history and power, 1950-1974*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, USA, 2009, 55.

187 Stefanidis, *Isle of Discord*, 97.

188 H. Faustmann, ‘Independence Postponed: Cyprus 1959 – 1960’, in H. Faustmann & N. Peristianis (eds.), *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post – Colonialism 1878 – 2006*, Bibliopolis, Mannheim, Germany, 2006, 413-419.

189 S. Xydis, *Cyprus: Reluctant Republic*, Moughton & Co, The Hague, 1973, x.

190 Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus*, 145.



According to Dietzel, “The evkaf became the central institution representing the Muslim-Turkish community, while its administration was put in the hands of a Turkish and British delegate.”<sup>192</sup>

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Turkish leadership in Cyprus supported the continuation of British rule in Cyprus as it was believed to offer, “the best protection against the threat of *enosis*.”<sup>193</sup> The fears of Turkish Cypriots were well founded during this time, as mass deportations of the Turkish-speaking population of Crete followed both the island’s unification with Greece in 1912, and then the Graeco-Turkish war of 1919-1922.<sup>194</sup> Dietzel described the atmosphere of anxiety among Turkish Cypriots during the 1930s:

Kemalism provided a modern ideology that emancipated Turkish Cypriots from colonial protection and helped redefine a Turkish identity with a renewed confidence. The growing influence of Kemalism ... offered a strong framework for the mobilization of a political counter-movement to *enosis*. In response to Greek unionist endeavours, the Turkish minority now agitated for *taksim* (partition). Despite the fact that future trouble loomed large, the British administration strengthened these separatist aspirations and tolerated the forming of a Turkish underground organization (TMT).<sup>195</sup>

*Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı* (TMT) was a Turkish Cypriot pro-taksim (partition) paramilitary organisation formed by Turkish Cypriot lawyer Rauf Denктаş and Turkish army officer Rıza Vuruşkan in 1958 as a response to the rise of EOKA. In accord with their well-established ‘divide and rule’ colonial strategy, the British recruited Turkish Cypriots as auxiliary police to fight EOKA insurrection. The Greek Cypriot violent push for *enosis* led to violence between EOKA and TMT, which resulted in broader interethnic confrontations.<sup>196</sup>

On 12 June, 1958, the infamous Geunyeli incident saw eight unarmed Greek Cypriots from the village of Kondemenos murdered by members of TMT near the Turkish-populated village of Geunyeli. This, “made it brutally clear that the Greek Cypriot fight for Independence against the

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191 Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus*, 145.

192 *ibid.*, 145.

193 *ibid.*, 145.

194 *ibid.*, 145.

195 *ibid.*, 145.

196 Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus*, 145; and Y. Papadakis, N. Peristianis & G. Welz, ‘Introduction’, in Y. Papadakis, N. Peristianis & G. Welz (eds.), *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, USA, 2006, 1-29.

British had turned to civil war between Greek and Turkish Cypriots as well.”<sup>197</sup> In an act of counter-nationalism, “Turkish Cypriots looked increasingly to Turkey as their ‘motherland’.”<sup>198</sup>

In July 1958, the Turkish-Cypriot leadership grew increasingly aggressive; they sought to, “‘purify’ and enlarge Muslim urban areas by intimidating Greeks into leaving.”<sup>199</sup> Consequently, “Greek diatribes against Government pusillanimity in the face of Turkish aggression multiplied.”<sup>200</sup> Intercommunal violence ensued.<sup>201</sup>

## Independence

The Republic of Cyprus was brokered by the Turkish and Greek governments, only informing the British government once agreement had been reached, since the British government had repeatedly stated that it was only interested in bases in Cyprus and was there to prevent ‘Turks’ and ‘Greeks’ from killing each other.<sup>202</sup>

The Turkish and Greek Foreign Ministers met in Paris on January 17, 1959, to discuss the Cypriots’ desire for independence; leading to a series of meetings between the Turkish and Greek Prime Ministers, Adnan Menderes and Konstantinos Karamanlis, in Zurich, Switzerland.<sup>203</sup> By their conclusion on February 11, an agreement for the establishment of an independent Cypriot Republic was signed.<sup>204</sup> Yakinthou claimed, “The 1960 Republic of Cyprus was the culmination of efforts by Greece, Turkey, Britain, and the two Cypriot groups, stretching back more than ten years, to broker a compromise regarding governmental institutions for Cyprus.”<sup>205</sup> Dietzel claimed that the Zurich-London-Agreements, “resulted in a compromise joint government that sought to accommodate the opposing interest of the two, now fervently antagonistic Greek and Turkish communities.”<sup>206</sup> The agreement also set out the basic constitutional provisions of the new republic.<sup>207</sup>

The negotiations caused tension between Makarios and Grivas. Salih stated:

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197 Asmussen, ‘Life and Strife in Mixed Villages’, 106.

198 N. Kizilyürek & S. Gautier-Kizilyürek, ‘The politics of identity in the Turkish Cypriot community and the language question’, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 28(3), 2004, 37.

199 R. Holland, *Britain and the revolt in Cyprus, 1954-1959*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998, 263.

200 *ibid.*, 263.

201 *ibid.*, 263-265.

202 A. Varnava, ‘Reinterpreting Macmillan’s Cyprus Policy, 1957-1960’, *The Cyprus Review*, 22(1), 2010, 79-106.

203 Salih, *Cyprus*, 74.

204 *ibid.*, 74.

205 C. Yakinthou, *Political Settlements in Divided Societies: Consociationism and Cyprus*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2009, 52.

206 Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus*, 145.

207 Salih, *Cyprus*, 74.

During the Cyprus negotiations in Zurich, Makarios [while in exile] was fully informed ... concerning the political progress, but Grivas was unaware and uninformed ... Grivas, in his memoirs, states that he was “shocked” and “surprised” about the whole Zurich conference. Furthermore, Grivas claims he had an agreement with Makarios never to depart from the *enosis* aim.<sup>208</sup>

It is possible that Makarios was pressured by Greece to accept the Zurich-London Agreement. In any case, the parties agreed in London that *enosis* and *taksim* would be excluded from consideration, and many staunch *enosis*ists felt betrayed.<sup>209</sup>

Makarios, in a letter, attempted to satisfy Grivas by stating that the Turkish Cypriots were promised nothing more than that their rights would be safeguarded. So long as the British had base rights and the stationing of Turkish troops was permitted on Cyprus, Grivas was not content with the Cyprus settlement.<sup>210</sup>

Within days of settlement of the Cyprus issue, the British Administration released 1000 Cypriots from detention camps and, under amnesties for EOKA and TMT, 293 prisoners were released, and 23 EOKA terrorists were released from prisons in Cyprus and London on condition that they go to Greece. PEKA, the political organisation of EOKA, demanded the return of Makarios who, after one year in Seychelles, had been freed and then lived in Athens, not permitted to live in Cyprus. He finally returned to Cyprus on March 1, 1959, to the delight of many Greek Cypriots.<sup>211</sup> In a speech to the Greek Cypriot crowd which welcomed him, Makarios stated:

Let us not forget that freedom is not just a privilege and a right, it is also a heavy responsibility and a supreme duty. Let us hold out the honest hand of friendship and co-operation to all. Especially let us co-operate, wholeheartedly and sincerely with our friends in the Turkish community.<sup>212</sup>

Grivas was deeply bitter. In his memoirs he wrote,

My conscience is at ease. I did my duty, as I saw it, to the end. But the Cypriot people, who fought so bravely and for so long, deserved a better fate than the shackles which were forged for them in Zurich; and those who bound the people's hands behind their backs in London carry the full responsibility for what they did.<sup>213</sup>

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208 Salih, *Cyprus*, 76.

209 *ibid.*, 76.

210 *ibid.*, 76-77.

211 *ibid.*, 77.

212 *ibid.*, 77.

213 Grivas, *The memoirs of General Grivas*, 203.

At midnight on August 16, 1960, the Republic of Cyprus was proclaimed. Cyprus was a sovereign Republic with a Presidential regime, and, “the structure of the Government was designed to safeguard the interests of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities.”<sup>214</sup> The President was to be a Greek Cypriot and the Vice-President a Turkish Cypriot, each elected by their respective communities for a five-year term.<sup>215</sup> Archbishop Makarios III was elected as President and Dr. Fazil Kuchuk as Vice-President.<sup>216</sup> The Council of Ministers, which comprised three Turkish Cypriots and seven Greek Cypriots, was appointed by, and responsible to, the President and Vice-President.<sup>217</sup>

## Growing division

With independence, Cyprus was ruled by a Greek speaker for the first time since 1192,<sup>218</sup> “and it might have been supposed that the final goal of a colorful and complicated evolutionary course had at last been attained, and, with it, peace.”<sup>219</sup> However, this was not the case. Starting in the 1950s and continuing throughout the post-colonial period in Cyprus, internal political conflicts occurred within both the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities.<sup>220</sup> Yiannis Papadakis, Nicos Peristianis and Gisela Emmi Welz explained:

This was a clash between the nationalist right, whose actions often promoted ethnic animosity and division, and the left, which for much of this tumultuous period, however hesitantly, still strove to create bridges and provide avenues for cooperation between the two ethnic groups, in the process coming under attack by its own right.<sup>221</sup>

Rather than the 1960 Constitution being framed on the principle of it belonging to all its citizens, it was instead framed as the joint property of its two communities (all non-Turkish Cypriot minorities were grouped as ‘Greek Cypriot’).<sup>222</sup> Furthermore, according to Constantinou:

The Republic of Cyprus ... was intended to function as a state of exception from its very inception; an exception to the principle of self-determination, an exception to the withdrawal of colonial armies, an exception to independence from the “mother lands” and an exception to the unfettered exercise of sovereignty.<sup>223</sup>

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214 Salih, *Cyprus*, 83.

215 *ibid.*, 83.

216 *ibid.*, 83.

217 *ibid.*, 84.

218 C. Hitchens, *Hostage to History: Cyprus from the Ottomans to Kissinger*, 3rd edn, Verso, London, 1999, 29.

219 V.D. Volkan, *Cyprus-War and Adaptation, A Psychoanalytic History of Two Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1979, xxiii.

220 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, ‘Introduction’, 3.

221 *ibid.*, 3.

222 Z. Stavrinides, *The Cyprus Conflict: National Identity and Statehood*, Stavrinides press, Nicosia, 1976, 7.

223 C.M. Constantinou, ‘On the Cypriot states of exception’, *International Political Sociology*, 2, 2008, 145.

Independence did not satisfy the aspirations of the political right of the Turkish or Greek Cypriots, as both communities continued to pursue their aims of *enosis* and *taksim*.<sup>224</sup> Stephen G. Xydis described Cyprus during this period as “the reluctant republic.”<sup>225</sup> Christalla Yakinthou argued, “the state could not be translated into a workable system of government and collapsed three years after its inception.”<sup>226</sup>

## The 1960s Civil Wars

Disagreements over constitutional amendments proposed by the Makarios government erupted in intercommunal violence on the night of 20–21 December 1963.<sup>227</sup> The ‘bloody Christmas’ resulted in the division of the capital, Nicosia, and relocation of a significant proportion of the Turkish Cypriot population into enclaves.<sup>228</sup> Eventually, in March 1964, the United Nations Security Council authorised the establishment of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP).<sup>229</sup> In 1963, those displaced, “were largely Turkish Cypriots (25,000 according to the United Nations) who abandoned their villages for the security of protected enclaves. Many of their homes were looted and destroyed.”<sup>230</sup> Some Greek Cypriots from predominantly mixed places were also displaced during the 1960s, as these became Turkish Cypriot enclaves.<sup>231</sup> Conflicts continued until 1967.<sup>232</sup> Armenian Cypriots also lost their homes and suffered great losses during this period.<sup>233</sup>

By 1967 the civil war subsided and the two communities entered into negotiations with emerging signs of political stability.<sup>234</sup> President Makarios distanced himself from the ideal of *enosis*<sup>235</sup> and moved towards the goal of rebuilding political stability while safeguarding Cyprus from the secessionist demands of Turkish Cypriots.<sup>236</sup> In November 1967, Makarios announced a new policy regarding the ‘Cyprus question’, that of, “what was ‘feasible’ (independence) rather than what was ‘desirable’ (enosis)...”<sup>237</sup>

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224 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, ‘Introduction’, 2.

225 Xydis, *Cyprus*, x.

226 Yakinthou, *Political Settlements in Divided Societies*, 52.

227 Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus*, 146.

228 Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone*, 82.

229 G. Ladini, ‘Peacebuilding, United Nations and Civil Society: The Case of Cyprus’, *The Cyprus Review*, 21(2), 2009, 48.

230 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement*, viewed 27 May 2014, <<http://www.prio-cyprus-displacement.net/default.asp?id=245>>.

231 Demetriou, Report 1 – ‘Life Stories: Greek Cypriot Community’, 5.

232 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, ‘Introduction’, 2.

233 S. Pattie, ‘New life in an Old Community: Armenians in 20th Century Cyprus’, in A. Varnava, N. Coureas & M. Elia (eds.), *The Minorities of Cyprus: Development Patterns and the Identity of the Internal – Exclusion*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2009, 169.

234 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, ‘Introduction’, 3; and Demetriou, Report 1 – ‘Life Stories: Greek Cypriot Community’, 3.

235 Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus*, 146.

236 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, ‘Introduction’, 3.

237 A. Varnava & M. Michael, ‘Archbishop Ethnarchs since 1767’, in A. Varnava & M. Michael (eds.), *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2013, 4.

Discontented radical Greek Cypriot pro-*enosis* factions, with the support of the Greek junta – who had come into power in Greece on 21 April 1967 – carried out acts of sabotage in the name of the union that they felt had been betrayed by their politicians.<sup>238</sup> On 15 November 1967, under the command of Grivas (who had returned to Cyprus from Greece in 1964 to head the Greek military contingent),<sup>239</sup> a Greek Cypriot patrol entered the Turkish Cypriot village Ayios Theodoros (Boğaziçi) under the pretext of carrying out a routine inspection.<sup>240</sup> Conflict ensued and by nightfall the village was occupied.<sup>241</sup> On the same day, Greek Cypriot forces attacked Turkish Cypriot positions in the village of Kophinou (Geçitkale), which left 28 Turkish Cypriots and two Greek Cypriots dead.<sup>242</sup>

The following day, “the [Turkish] National Assembly authorised the government to intervene in Cyprus if necessary by a vote of 432 to 1.”<sup>243</sup> The Turkish Prime Minister threatened aerial attacks if the Greek troops were not removed from the two villages. That ultimatum resulted in the Greek government recalling both the Greek Division and General Grivas back to Athens.<sup>244</sup>

Meanwhile, the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada undertook intense diplomatic efforts to prevent the breakout of war.<sup>245</sup> However, decisions made by both Turkey and Greece rapidly exacerbated internal conflicts within Cyprus, “repeatedly torpedoing diplomatic moves toward conciliation at the very moments when they offered hope of some success.”<sup>246</sup>

Grivas felt that Makarios had betrayed EOKA and their struggle for *enosis*. In September 1971 he escaped house arrest in Greece and entered Cyprus secretly to continue his fight for *enosis*.<sup>247</sup> He organised a new guerrilla force known as EOKA-B, which incorporated, “the most extremist junta elements in Cypriot political life.”<sup>248</sup> These included, “extreme nationalism, deep anti-communism and hatred for Makarios [who was by now viewed as a traitor by the nationalists in Cyprus and Greece].”<sup>249</sup> EOKA B blended politics with conspiratorial and terrorist methods,<sup>250</sup> and launched

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238 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, ‘Introduction’, 3.

239 S. Draenos, *Andreas Papandreou: The Making of a Greek Democrat and Political Maverick*, I.B. Tauris, New York, 2012, 88; and P. Hart, *Two NATO allies at the threshold of war: Cyprus, a firsthand account of crisis management, 1965-1968*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1990, 3.

240 N. Uslu, *The Cyprus question as an issue of Turkish foreign policy and Turkish-American relations, 1959-2003*, Nova Science Publishers, New York, 2003, 97.

241 Uslu, *The Cyprus question as an issue of Turkish foreign policy and Turkish-American relations*, 97.

242 *ibid.*, 97.

243 *ibid.*, 98.

244 *ibid.*, 102.

245 Hart, *Two NATO allies at the threshold of war*, 3.

246 *ibid.*, 3.

247 Uslu, *The Cyprus question as an issue of Turkish foreign policy and Turkish-American relations*, 108.

248 S. Anagnostopoulou, ‘Makarios III, 1950-1977: Creating the Ethnarchic State’, in A. Varnava & M. Michael (eds.), *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarch, their Identities and Politics*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2013, 279.

249 *ibid.*, 279.

several attacks on the Makarios Government (including attempted coups in February and July of 1972).<sup>251</sup> Grivas died in January 1974, after which EOKA-B came under the control of the Greek junta.<sup>252</sup>

## 1974 coup d'état and War

The intra-ethnic strife among Greek Cypriots culminated in the coup d'état of July 15, 1974, carried out by EOKA-B, with the support of the Greek forces in the island, under orders of the junta in Greece, which triggered the Turkish military offensive of 20 July 1974.<sup>253</sup> That action, “was necessary for the protection of the Turkish Cypriot community and [Turkey was] within her rights as guarantor power of the Republic of Cyprus’ integrity, a right granted to Turkey (along with Greece and Britain) by the constitution of Cyprus.”<sup>254</sup> Whilst Turkey did have the right, as a guarantor power, to exercise its military might in 1974 to protect Turkish Cypriots, the ongoing Turkish occupation of the north of Cyprus has no basis in international law.<sup>255</sup>

The Turkish offensive divided the island along the ‘Green Line’, with Turkish Cypriots moving north and Greek Cypriots moving south.<sup>256</sup> Papadakis, Peristianis and Welz argued that, contrasting with the wars of the 1960s, “Greek Cypriots bore the heavier human cost of these events in terms of people killed, missing, and displaced...”<sup>257</sup> Approximately 160,000 Greek Cypriots – comprising almost one third of their population at the time – were forced to move south and 45,000 Turkish Cypriots – comprising almost half of their population – were forced or volunteered to move north.<sup>258</sup> The “heavier human cost” is arguable: one third of the Greek Cypriot population was displaced; one half of the Turkish Cypriot population was displaced. It could be argued that, proportionately, Turkish Cypriots suffered the greatest cost, again.

According to Papadakis et al., the aftermath of the 1974 war saw that:

Greek Cypriots continued to lean towards Greece for political support, despite a strong sense of betrayal by Greece due to the disastrous actions of the Greek junta. Turkish

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250 Anagnostopoulou, ‘Makarios III’, 280.

251 Uslu, *The Cyprus question as an issue of Turkish foreign policy and Turkish-American relations*, 108.

252 *ibid.*, 108.

253 Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus*, 146.

254 Bryant & Papadakis, ‘Introduction’, 5.

255 United Nations Security Council Resolutions 2020, *Resolution 541*, viewed 27 February 2020, <<http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/541>>; and United Nations Security Council Resolutions 2020, *Resolution 367*, viewed 27 February 2020, <<http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/367>>.

256 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, ‘Introduction’, 3.

257 *ibid.*, 3.

258 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, <<http://www.prio-cyprus-displacement.net/default.asp?id=245>>.

Cypriots initially welcomed the arrival of the Turkish army but gradually began to feel uncomfortable with Turkey's military and political control of their side and the influx of Turkish settlers...<sup>259</sup>

The 'Green Line' still divides the island today, whereby the northern third of the island remains occupied.<sup>260</sup> Further investigation into the wars of the 1960s and 1974, and the displacement that ensued, is offered in Chapter 7.

## Hegemonic nationalist narratives

*The apparently private process of composing safe memories is in fact very public. Our memories are risky and painful if they do not fit the public myths, so we try to compose our memories to ensure that they will fit with what is publicly acceptable.*<sup>261</sup>

Nationalism in Cyprus over the past two centuries has been predominantly schismatic. Zenon Stavrinides argued, "the assertion of national consciousness and pride, in other words nationalism, has traditionally been either Greece-orientated or Turkey-orientated."<sup>262</sup> Consequently, there are two distinct post-1974 narratives commonly held and conveyed among Cypriots. According to Niyazi Kizilyürek, the Turkish Cypriot official narrative holds that the times before 1974 were tumultuous and volatile; relations were always difficult, so the 'intervention' was justified. The Greek Cypriot official narrative holds that the times before 1974 were peaceful and harmonious; nothing happened during the twenty previous years which could justify the 'invasion'.<sup>263</sup> In her memoir, Christofides gives compelling descriptions of the hegemonic nationalist narratives:

The dominant narrative on the Greek Cypriot side is that independence was imposed on us and therefore we were not morally bound to it; the 1960 constitution was unfair and biased in favour of the Turkish Cypriots and we were justified in trying to amend it; Turkey had a plan all along to partition the island; they encouraged the Turkish Cypriots to undermine the Cyprus government, mount a carefully planned rebellion, and withdraw into enclaves. The coup was staged by the CIA; we are victims of Turkey's expansionist and partitionist plans ... The Turkish Cypriot narrative holds that the Greek Cypriots never regarded us as equal partners in the new state of 1960; the Greek Cypriots provoked the conflict by first delaying implementing the constitution to which we were co-signatories and then attempting to scrap it; the Greek Cypriots all along planned to unite the island with Greece and

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259 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, 'Introduction', 3.

260 Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus*, 146.

261 A. Thomson, *Anzac memories: living with the legend*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1995, 11.

262 Z. Stavrinides, *The Cyprus Conflict: National Identity and Statehood*, Stavrinides press, Nicosia, 1976, 9.

263 Kizilyürek, 'From Traditionalism to Nationalism and Beyond', 58-67.



exterminate us; we are victims just reacting to the violence started by the Greek Cypriots. Turkey came to save us.<sup>264</sup>

Cyprus cannot move forward if its history is viewed with one eye closed. Therefore, both official narratives need to be deconstructed to allow for a comprehensive account of Cyprus' recent history and to foster relations between the two groups. This is significant, because, as Lytras and Psaltis explain, "official narratives play vital roles in shaping feelings of threat and anxiety as well as in determining Cypriots' willingness to live together with the members of the other community again in the future."<sup>265</sup>

The influence of the nationalist narratives on Cypriots' attitudes today emerged from Psaltis' large-scale questionnaire survey in Cyprus among Turkish Cypriots and Greek Turkish Cypriots. He found that the official narratives influence the media and the education system in Cyprus, "play[ing] a major role in leading sociogenetic change either towards trust or distrust as they strengthen or weaken legitimising myths that sustain inequalities ... or conflict."<sup>266</sup> The influence has been negative: "The attempt of the media and of education to promote only a monoperspectival official narrative has been a great obstacle to the efforts to create trust between the two communities."<sup>267</sup>

Maria Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis provided further insight into this situation:

Contact between individuals belonging to conflicting groups can alter these individuals' representations of the other provided that the representations of such instances of intergroup contact are defined as pleasant, co-operative and based on mutual respect. However, in the absence of a catalyst such as a public discourse about co-operation and contact, individuals are likely to avoid interaction with the other, or, if they do meet and interact with the members of the other community they are likely to be sceptical that the intergroup relations could change on a larger scale...<sup>268</sup>

Conflict can often arise between individual memories and official narratives. Paul Griffiths stated, "Divisive interpretations of memories have formed the nationalist narratives that remain influential in Cypriot communities."<sup>269</sup> Furthermore, he claimed:

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264 M. Christofides, *The Traitors Club: A memoir*, Self-published, Nicosia, 2016, 73-74.

265 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 9.

266 C. Psaltis, 'Intergroup trust and contact in transition: A social representations perspective on the Cyprus conflict', in I. Markova & A. Gillespie (eds.), *Trust and Conflict: Representations, Culture and Dialogue*, Routledge, East Sussex, 2012, 98.

267 *ibid.*, 99.

268 M. Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis, 'Unofficial Inter-communal Contacts and their Contribution to Peace Building in Conflict Societies: The Case of Cyprus', *The Cyprus Review*, 5(2), 1993, 68-87, cited in Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 23

269 P. Griffiths, 'Memories of violence in Cyprus: conflicting perspectives and dynamics of reconciliation', PhD thesis, University of Exeter, Exeter, 2011, 149.

When remembering violence in their collective past, Cypriot individual and collective perspectives are often based on a representation of violence. Popular thinking within communities and rhetoric of elites can intertwine and conflict. Individuals may in fact remember privately events that do not fit easily within the nationalist narratives forwarded by the community leaderships.<sup>270</sup>

It is important to note that there were both Turkish and Greek Cypriots who opposed their respective nationalist narratives and provided important contrasting voices.<sup>271</sup> While Turkish Cypriots viewed separation as a necessity, this view was perceived by Greek Cypriots as a secessionist policy.<sup>272</sup> Both Cypriot communities recognised the damage that the violence of 1963-64 and 1974 caused to relations between, and attitudes towards, the two communities. “But the national narratives reflect the underlying sense amongst Turkish Cypriots that they were victimised in 1963-4 and since 1974 while Greek Cypriots are reminded of 1974.”<sup>273</sup> Lytras and Psaltis contemplated how and why interviewees withhold memories that the official narratives incriminate or disqualify. For example:

there are reports of Greek Cypriot individuals who had tried to protect their Turkish Cypriot co-villagers that were reluctant to accept claims that Turkish Cypriots had been killed during the ethnic conflicts of 1974 and were silent about their actions in defence of Turkish Cypriots until asked to talk about the specific moment when they defended their Turkish Cypriot co-villagers ... The detail of their answers to such questions show that they kept silent intentionally and not because they did not have a memory of the event.<sup>274</sup>

The Greek Cypriot nationalist narrative ignores the atrocities of the 1960s and 1974. Loizos claimed that, “Perhaps the [imposed] silence which descended on Greek Cypriot-led massacres slowly came to influence [an individual’s] memory, to the point that [the individual] forgot [their] own good deed because the enormity of what had been proposed became ‘unthinkable’.”<sup>275</sup> Further, Lytras and Psaltis stated,

In these cases, the “subalterns” were conscious of the restrictions implied by the official narrative ... even though through their recollections they may have been in a position to challenge official narratives ... in the end, they may have decided not to disclose memories that could irrevocably upset the national history. After all the ideological and political

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270 Griffiths, ‘Memories of violence in Cyprus’, 2.

271 *ibid.*, 148.

272 *ibid.*, 148-149.

273 *ibid.*, 179.

274 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 41.

275 P. Loizos, *Iron in the Soul: Displacement, Livelihood and Health in Cyprus*, Berghahn Books, New York, 2008, 25.

hegemony of nationalism in both communities ... is still present and not sufficiently challenged even today.<sup>276</sup>

Whilst some scholars have argued that individual Turkish and Greek Cypriots' memories are in a dialogic relation with the official narratives of their communities, others have argued that official narratives are evolving, and that many Cypriots resist perpetuating the hegemony of their official narratives.<sup>277</sup> For example, Griffiths described how Cypriot nationalist narratives are able to change and reinterpret their past:

The Turkish Cypriot nationalist narrative no longer suggests 1974 was a 'peace-operation' but suggests that it was a necessary evil. Meanwhile the Greek Cypriot nationalist narrative no longer considers that the nationalist struggle was for enosis but for independence. These ever-changing nationalist narratives may be challenged by pro-solution Cypriots with a new set of memories and interpretations ... Communities may seek to smooth the edges of contrasting memories into a malleable mythological storyline of a linear conflict which included the interests and influences of exogenous actors.<sup>278</sup>

Anthropologists have understood the change in official narratives that arose after 1974 from both sides. Kyrris adhered to the narratives; however, Kizilyurek and Papadakis deconstructed them. Kizilyurek argued that neither narrative is correct; that both are exaggerations.<sup>279</sup> Furthermore, he stated that the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots are, "constantly inventing, reconstructing and using the past to gain ground in their current antagonism."<sup>280</sup> He described the current Turkish Cypriot point of view that, "there has never been a period of peaceful coexistence," differing from the Greek Cypriot stance that, "there have always been good relations between the two communities."<sup>281</sup> Kizilyurek believed that, "within this contradictory interpretation of the past, lies not only their current antagonism but also their antagonistic claims for the future."<sup>282</sup> This is the result of each community's obsession with their own, whereby, "the two communities in Cyprus reconstruct and use historical events to justify their present political positions and aims."<sup>283</sup> Papadakis elaborated on this argument by claiming:

One outcomes of constructing a state's past as a narrative of national struggle from the perspective of one ethnic group is that memories of pain at the hands of former oppressors are diachronically transferred to younger generations, even if they refer to events that took

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276 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 41.

277 *ibid.*, 41.

278 Griffiths, 'Memories of violence in Cyprus', 179.

279 Kizilyurek, 'From Traditionalism to Nationalism and Beyond', 59.

280 *ibid.*, 58.

281 *ibid.*, 58.

282 *ibid.*, 58.

283 *ibid.*, 58.

place hundreds of years ago. At the same time the sufferings or experiences of other ethnic groups are ignored. The subsequent impression is one of 'it is only we who suffered', which gives rise to notions of 'historic wrongs' and to latent feelings of revenge.<sup>284</sup>

The identities of people from each community continue to be shaped by memory.<sup>285</sup> Bowman explained, "As one might expect in a situation of prolonged conflict, troubling patterns dominate the way memory shapes the conflict and nourishes the status quo."<sup>286</sup>

## Post-Rupture: 1975 to today

*In the vast majority of formerly colonized countries, the nation-state now is not a given but a problem.*<sup>287</sup>

Cyprus is just one of many nations encountering difficulties with their post-colonial statehood.

According to Constantinou:

What passes off as Cypriot "normality" nowadays comprises a plurality of states of exception, a merging of diverse practices of sovereignty and modes of governance, which have come into existence and are being mobilized in order to deal with "the problem" the postcolonial Cypriot state was initially supposed to settle and instead exacerbated.<sup>288</sup>

Furthermore, as described by Yael Navaro-Yashin, "The border, demarcating a zone separate from the south, is probably the single most important mechanism and symbol of sovereignty in northern Cyprus."<sup>289</sup> *Taksim* (partition) had been a key goal for TMT.<sup>290</sup>

The border, guarded by the Turkish army since 1974 (as well as by Greek-Cypriot soldiers on the other side) would physically as well as symbolically mark the dividing line between the south of the island, assigned to Greek-Cypriots, and the north, where activities ensued for the further creation of a separate political reality under a new polity.<sup>291</sup>

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284 Y. Papadakis, 'Nationalist Imaginings of War in Cyprus', in R. Hindle & H. Watson (eds.), *War: A Cruel Necessity? The bases of Institutionalised Violence*, I.B. Tauris, London, 1995, 64.

285 Bowman, 'Seeing What's Missing in Memories of Cyprus', 119.

286 *ibid.*, 119.

287 Bryant, 'On the condition of postcoloniality in Cyprus', 47.

288 Constantinou, 'On the Cypriot states of exception', 145.

289 Navaro-Yashin, Y 2005, 'Confinement and the Imagination: Sovereignty and Subjectivity in a Quasi-State', in T Hansen & F Stepputat (eds.), *Sovereign Bodies: Citizens, Migrants, and States in the Postcolonial World*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2005, 108.

290 *Ibid*

291 *Ibid*, 109.

## United Nations involvement

*The focus has been on preventing war, not on promoting peace.*<sup>292</sup>

The specific 'Cyprus problem' has seen the United Nations stationed in Cyprus since 1964. Their mission of more than 50 years has maintained peace and stability, but has failed to forge a united Cyprus. Gianfabrizio Ladini argued, "UNFICYP's mission has been successful overall, in the sense that, without its presence, incidents would most likely have led to major confrontations that might have spiralled into credible threats of war."<sup>293</sup> However, the success of the UNFICYP may have hindered a resolution of the 'Cyprus problem'. Farid Mirbagheri argued that whilst, "the valuable work of UNFICYP cannot be overstated... some unintended consequences may have hampered the peacemaking function of the Organisation on the island..."<sup>294</sup> Consequently, "the Cyprus problem ceased to be a priority issue on the world's conflict agenda."<sup>295</sup>

Furthermore, stability in Cyprus, aided by the UNFICYP, has allowed local parties to be stubborn and complacent in their efforts to negotiate a settlement until a time when they could achieve their desired solution.<sup>296</sup> There is no urgency; local parties feel, "immune to the consequences of their own intransigence..."<sup>297</sup> Interestingly, Mirbagheri highlighted that this attitude was prevalent amongst Turkish Cypriots during the period of Denktaş' leadership (1983-2005), and amongst Greek Cypriots after the Republic's 2004 accession into the European Union.<sup>298</sup>

Cyprus remains divided, and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), proclaimed in 1983, continues to be economically and politically dependent on Turkey as it has not achieved international recognition.<sup>299</sup> Access to the 'other' side was prohibited until the checkpoints opened in April 2003.<sup>300</sup> The United Nations continues to guard the Green Line and political and bicomunal efforts to reunify the island continue.<sup>301</sup>

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292 O. Richmond, *Mediating in Cyprus: the Cypriot communities and the United Nations*, Frank Cass Publishers, London, 1998.

293 Ladini, 'Peacebuilding, United Nations and Civil Society', 48-49.

294 F. Mirbagheri, 'The United Nations and the Cyprus Problem', *The Cyprus Review*, 22(2), 2010, 152.

295 *ibid.*, 151.

296 *ibid.*, 152.

297 *ibid.*, 152.

298 *ibid.*, 152.

299 Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus*, 146.

300 C. Webster & J.T. Dallen, "Travelling to the 'Other Side': the Occupied Zone and Greek Cypriot Views of Crossing the Green Line", *Tourism Geographies*, 8(2), 2006, 163.

301 *ibid.*, 169.

## Bicommunal efforts for reunification

Significant bicommunal projects and talks have occurred since 1974. Political developments at national and international levels include the High Level Agreement of 1977, the Twelve Point Proposal of 1978; the High Level Agreement and Interim Agreement of 1979; the Five Point Proposals of 1984, the Draft Framework Agreement of 1986, the Set of Ideas of 1989, the Annan Plan of 2004,<sup>302</sup> and the Cyprus Peace Talks of Mont Pèlerin of 2015 to 2017.<sup>303</sup> Not waiting for their politicians, there have also been many projects developed at grass-roots levels, including those organised by the Home for Cooperation,<sup>304</sup> Cyprus Academic Dialogue,<sup>305</sup> the Committee on Missing Persons,<sup>306</sup> and small locally-based groups such as the current and former residents of Kontea.<sup>307</sup>

## Conclusion

Turkish and Greek Cypriots had lived together for several centuries in relative peace before the violence of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. The 'belle époque' of Cyprus ended in 1955, when Greek Cypriot violent nationalism first surfaced;<sup>308</sup> thereafter tensions between Greek Cypriots and the British escalated, ending in 1960 with the declaration of Cyprus' independence.<sup>309</sup>

From 1957 tensions between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities grew, reaching a crescendo in the intercommunal violence of the 'bloody Christmas', 20-21 December 1963.<sup>310</sup> From 1963 to 1964. and in 1967, Cyprus experienced civil war with many from both groups killed or displaced.<sup>311</sup> The United Nations established a peace-keeping mission (UNFICYP) in 1964 but increasing political and civil tensions meant that the peacekeeping force remained.<sup>312</sup> A Greek Junta-sponsored coup d'état, carried out by Greek Cypriot nationalists and Greek contingents in

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302 A. Sözen, 'The Cyprus Negotiations and the Basic Parameters: From the 1963 Inter-communal Negotiations to the Annan Plan', paper presented at 'The Cyprus Conflict: Looking Ahead' conference, Eastern Mediterranean University, Famagusta, 2007, 2-7.

303 H. Smith 2017, 'Cyprus reunification talks collapse amid angry scenes', *The Guardian*, viewed 5 January 2019, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/07/cyprus-reunification-talks-collapse-amid-angry-scenes>>.

304 Home for Cooperation, *About Us*, viewed 26 April 2018, <<http://www.home4cooperation.info/what-is-the-h4c>>.

305 Facebook 2019, *Cyprus Academic Dialogue*, viewed 26 April 2018, <[https://www.facebook.com/pg/CyprusAcademicDialogue/about/?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/pg/CyprusAcademicDialogue/about/?ref=page_internal)>.

306 Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus, *About the CMP*, viewed 24 January 2019, <<http://www.cmp-cyprus.org/content/about-cmp-0>>.

307 Jacobs, S 2015, 'A spectacular night in Kontea!', Stephanie Jacobs – Stories of friendship, viewed 20 February 2020, <<https://stephaniejacobs.com/2015/07/05/a-spectacular-night-in-kontea/>>.

308 M. Drousiotis, *The First Partition: Cyprus 1963 – 1964*, Alfadi Publications, Nicosia, 2008, 9.

309 Faustmann, 'Independence Postponed', 413-419.

310 Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone*, 82.

311 Bryant, *The Past in Pieces*, 10-13.

312 UN Missions 2019, *United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus*, viewed 15 March 2019, <<https://unficyp.unmissions.org/about>>.

Cyprus, triggered a Turkish military offensive five days later, after which the island was divided.<sup>313</sup> Forced migration saw Turkish Cypriots move to the Turkish-occupied north and Greek Cypriots to the south of the island.<sup>314</sup> Many from both groups were internally displaced persons divided by a United Nations buffer zone. Access to the 'other' side was prohibited until the checkpoints opened in April 2003.<sup>315</sup> The island remains divided and UNFICYP remains in Cyprus today.

Exploring the history of diversity in Cyprus reveals cooperation and integration once existing across religious and class divides. Although Cypriot society was fragmented to an extent, it was not until well into the period of British rule that we see how the rise of nationalism divided Cypriot society along two distinct nations, across all classes.

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313 Kelling, *Countdown to Rebellion*, 1.

314 Y. Papadakis, 'Pyla: A Mixed Borderline Village under UN supervision in Cyprus', *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, 4(3/4), 1997, 354.

315 Webster & Dallen, 'Travelling to the 'Other Side'', 162.

# Chapter 2 – Community-level Relations: Everyday life

This chapter and the next encapsulate the community-level relationships that once existed between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in the former mixed villages of Cyprus. In mixed villages, people could not help but encounter members of the ‘other’ group every day. Whilst some scholars,<sup>1</sup> commentators,<sup>2</sup> and the hegemonic Turkish Cypriot nationalist narrative<sup>3</sup>, claim that the two communities never really got along, I explore those relationships. My participants’ everyday interactions – their childhood play, the languages they spoke, their schooling, their work lives, and men’s involvement in Britain’s wars – are investigated in this chapter.

## Mixed and mono-communal places

Since my research was inspired by stories of the interactions between Christians and Muslims in former mixed villages, and I sought participants from mixed villages, it is important to examine what proportion of Cyprus’ population lived in Muslim, Christian and ‘mixed’ places. During my participants’ childhoods, from 1921 to 1960, the population of Cyprus increased from 311,000 to 548,000 but the Christian-Muslim split remained quite stable, as shown in Table 2.1. Not stable, however, was the character of Cyprus’ villages.

Table 2.1 Cyprus population 1891 to 1960, from censuses<sup>4</sup>

Census year	Cyprus population	Christians	Muslims	% Christians	% Muslims
1891	209286	161360	47926	77.1	22.9
1901	237022	185713	51309	78.4	21.6
1911	274108	217680	56428	79.4	20.6
1921	310715	249376	61339	80.3	19.7
1931	347969	283731	64238	81.5	18.5
1946	441747	361199	80548	81.8	18.2
1960	548476	444143	104333	81.0	19.0

1 Kyrris, *Peaceful co-existence in Cyprus under British Rule (1878 – 1958) and after independence: An Outline*, 187.

2 T. Aziz, *The Death of Friendship: A Cyprus Memoir*, Bravos, UK, 2000, 6.

3 Papadakis, ‘Greek Cypriot Narratives of History and Collective Identity’, 152.

4 This table and the following three Figures rely on analysis of data from censuses from 1891 to 1960: F.G. Glossop, *Report on the Census of Cyprus, Taken 6th April 1891*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1893; A.S. Mavrogordato, *Cyprus: Report and general abstracts of the census of 1901, Taken on the 1st April 1901*, Government Printing Office, Nicosia, 1901; .S. Mavrogordato, *Cyprus: Report and general abstracts of the census of 1911, Taken on the 2nd April 1911*, Waterlow and Sons, London, 1912; Hart-Davis, *Report and general abstracts of the census of 1921*; Hart-Davis, *General Abstracts of the census of 1931*; Percival, *Census of population and agriculture*; and Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture*.



All of the towns, villages, monasteries and *chiftliks* in Cyprus can be classified as ‘Christian’ or ‘Muslim’ or ‘mixed’, according to their populations. For example, in the Kyrenia District in the 1931 Census,<sup>5</sup> Agridhaki, with 239 Christians and zero Muslims, was a Christian village; Pileri, with 87 Muslims and zero Christians, was a Muslim village; Ayia Irini, with 133 Christians and 151 Muslims, was a mixed village; but what of Kambyli, with 159 Muslims and three Christians? Or Ayios Epiktitos, with 720 Christians and 57 Muslims? I have applied an arbitrary threshold: any place with 95 percent or more Christians was designated ‘Christian’; any with 95 percent or more Muslims was designated ‘Muslim’; and all others were designated as ‘mixed’. Under these criteria, Kambyli (98.1 percent Muslim) was designated ‘Muslim’ and Ayios Epiktitos (92.7 percent Christian) was designated ‘mixed’.

With these classifications applied, all of the places of Cyprus are represented in Figure 2.1. Until 1931 around 58 percent of places were Christian, 14 percent were Muslim and 29 percent were mixed. By 1946 (and, further, by 1960), place types had changed. The proportion of Christian places increased slightly, that of Muslim places increased markedly and that of mixed places declined significantly. This is shown again in Figure 2.2, where the ‘Christian’ and ‘Muslim’ places are combined as ‘Mono-communal’. The proportion of ‘Mixed’ places declined from 31 percent in 1891 to 19 percent in 1960. Cypriots were clearly being divided, concentrating more and more in mono-communal villages.

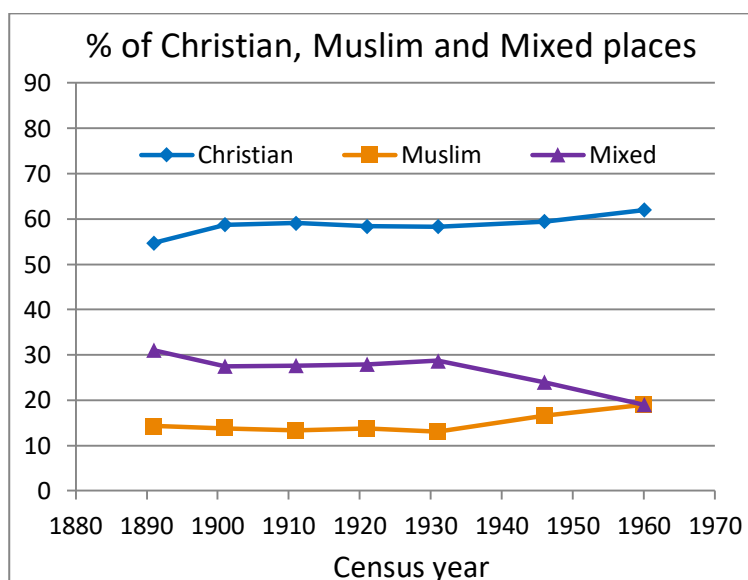


Figure 2.1 Places where Christians and Muslims lived, from the Cyprus censuses

<sup>5</sup> Hart-Davis, *General Abstracts of the census of 1931*, 41.

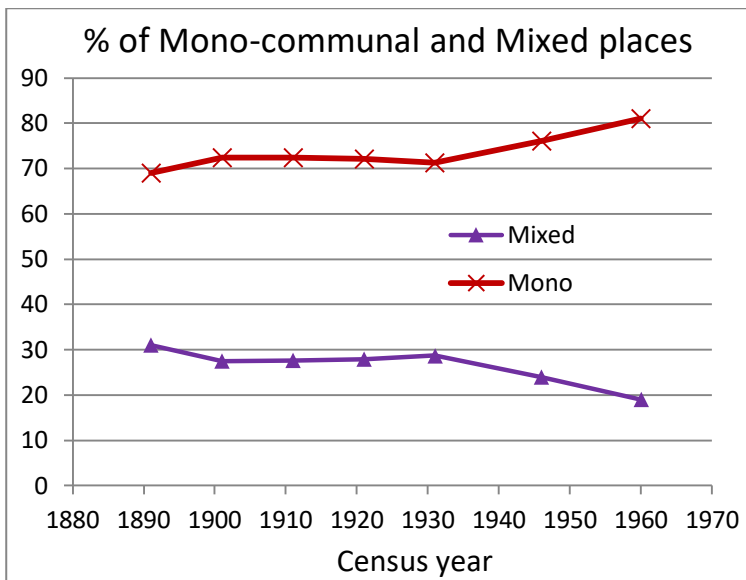


Figure 2.2 Place types in Cyprus, from the censuses

Some of those mixed places were, of course, urban. Estimations of the proportion of the population living in mixed rural villages are shown in Figure 2.3, where two different 'urban' thresholds (populations of 2000 or 5000) show the same decline. In 1890, around 30 percent of the population lived in mixed villages; in 1931 around 25 percent did so; and by 1960 that proportion had fallen to between 11 and 16 percent. The once-common experiences of my participants became gradually less typical of Cyprus as the British period continued.

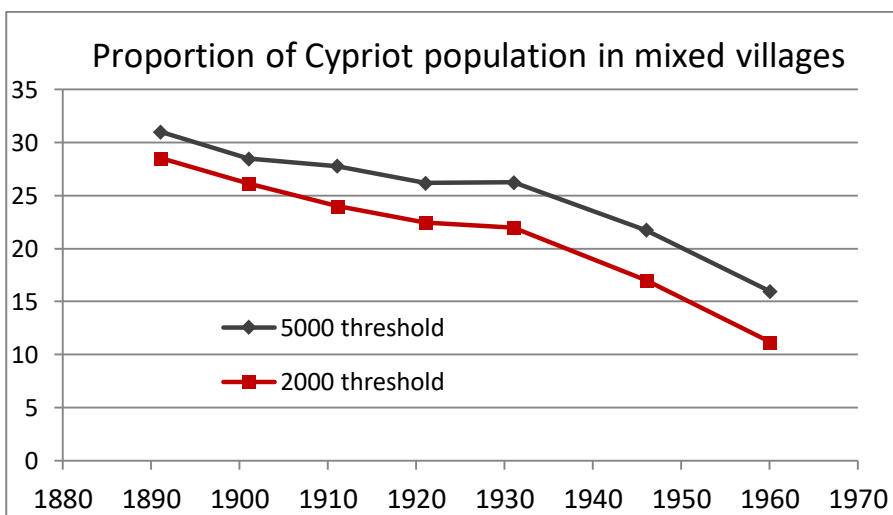


Figure 2.3 Cypriots living in mixed villages, from the censuses

## Demographic characteristics of study participants

The interviews conducted in Cyprus in 2015 captured the stories of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots – those who stayed and those who had to flee – from the same three formerly mixed villages: Ayia Irini (Kyrenia District), Polis Chrysochous (Paphos District), and Alaminos (Larnaca District) (Figure 2.4).

When interviewing Cypriots in Australia between November 2013 and December 2018 I could not be as selective in choosing the village origin; I was glad to interview whomever the contact person suggested. Figure 2.5 shows the original village location of all of the Australian participants. Just six came from the selected villages in Cyprus: one from Ayia Irini, two from Alaminos, and three from Polis Chrysochous.

Intercommunality in Cyprus is explored in depth in this chapter and the next. Doumanis described intercommunality as, “a mode of living designed to negate conflict or ‘events’. It refers to the accommodation of difference between cultural, ethnic, or religious communities that happened to occupy the same street, neighbourhood, village, or rural environ.”<sup>6</sup> My analysis of relations between mixed villagers will follow that description.

While periods of conflict in Cyprus have been extensively studied, the ‘everyday’, less often the focus of historians, warrants further investigation. Forty participants, whose characteristics are shown in Table 2.2, were interviewed in Cyprus between May and July 2015. Their ages when interviewed ranged from 51 to 88 years, with an average age of 72 years.

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<sup>6</sup> Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, 1.



Figure 2.4 Villages chosen to explore relationships in formerly mixed villages<sup>7</sup>



Figure 2.5 Home villages of Australian participants<sup>8</sup>

7 Based on UN map of Cyprus, <<https://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/english/htmain.htm>>.

8 Based on UN map of Cyprus. Details of all of the interviewees are shown in Appendix 2.

Table 2.2 Characteristics of the participants in Cyprus

Village	Gender	Greek Cypriot	Turkish Cypriot	Total	Decade of birth				
					1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s
Ayia Irini	Male	3*	5	8	1	7	4	3	0
	Female	3*	4	7					
	Total	6*	9	15					
Alaminos	Male	3	1*	4	0	1	7	0	0
	Female	3	1*	4					
	Total	6	2*	8					
Polis Chrysochous	Male	3	4 <sup>^*</sup>	7	3	2	5	1	0
	Female	3	1 <sup>^*</sup>	4					
	Total	6	5 <sup>^*</sup>	11					
Other	Male	0	4	4	0	2	2	1	1
	Female	0	2	2					
	Total	0	6	6					
All Cyprus	Male	9	14	23	4	12	18	5	1
	Female	9	8	17					
	Total	18	22	40					

<sup>^</sup> These groups were placed in an enclave in 1963/64, remaining there until 1974

\* These groups were refugees in 1974/75

Thirty-two participants, whose characteristics are shown in Table 2.3, were interviewed in Australia between November 2013 and December 2018. Their ages when interviewed ranged from 57 to 91 years, with an average age of 77 years.

While participants were asked if they came from a mixed or a mono-communal village, their responses did not always fit with my '95 percent threshold rule'.<sup>9</sup> Data from two Censuses were used to determine if each participant's village was mixed or mono-communal during their childhoods. In some cases, designating their village as 'Christian' or 'Muslim' or 'Mixed' required some judgment. For example, Ilkay and Ilmiye were both born in Lefke, in 1946 and 1955 respectively. The only two available censuses were those of 1946<sup>10</sup> ("Greeks" 26 percent, "Turks" 73

<sup>9</sup> Described earlier in this chapter; any place with less than 95 percent of either group has been designated as 'Mixed'.

<sup>10</sup> Percival, *Census of population and agriculture*, Tables, 7.

percent; a mixed village) and 1960<sup>11</sup> (“Greeks” 1 percent, “Turks” 99 percent; a Muslim village). Ilkay, born in 1946, enjoyed a few years in which almost 1000 Greeks were part of his village, and had memories of those years; he has been designated as coming from a mixed village. Ilmiye, born in 1955, was only five years old when the 1960 census was taken and only 34 Greeks remained amongst a population of 3619; she had few memories of earlier years and has been designated as coming from a Muslim village.

*Table 2.3 Characteristics of the participants in Australia*

		Greek Cypriot	Turkish Cypriot	Total	Decade of birth				
Gender	Male	12	8	20	1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s
	Female	9	3	12					
	Total	21	11	32					
Village type	Greek	10	0	11					
	Turkish	0	4	4					
	Mixed	11	7	18					
Left Cyprus for Australia	< 1960	9	5	14					
	1960 – 1973	3	4	7					
	≥ 1974	9	2	11					

Some of the data from Tables 2.2 and 2.3 above are represented in Figure 2.6. Clearly more Greek Cypriots were interviewed in Australia, slightly more Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus, and more men than women were interviewed in both countries. Overall, 54 percent of study participants were Greek Cypriot, and 46 percent were Turkish Cypriot. The gender split – 60 percent men and 40 percent women – transpired because the community leaders from both groups, who suggested interview subjects and made contact for me, presented more male interviewees. I did ask for more women to interview but my final cohort comprised just 37 percent women in Australia, and 43 percent

<sup>11</sup> Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture*, 11.

women in Cyprus. Given that all of my community leaders and contact persons were male, those proportions of women should not be disappointing.

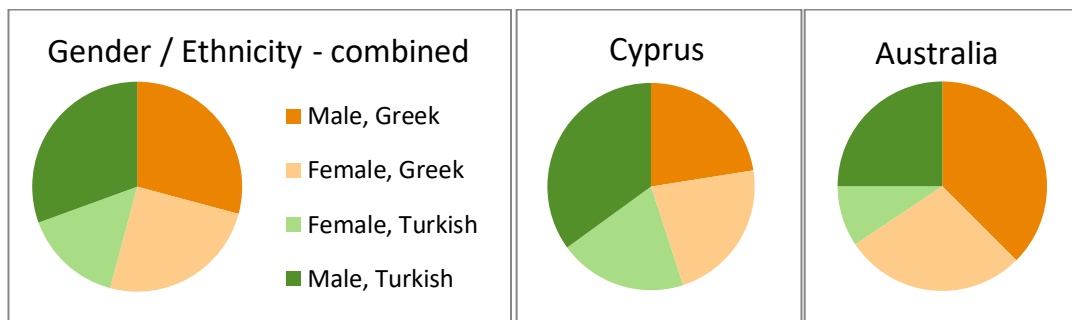


Figure 2.6 Gender and 'Ethnicity' of participants in Cyprus and in Australia

Figure 2.7 shows the decade of birth of participants in Australia and Cyprus. The Australian group was skewed towards older people; this different distribution was outside of my control. I asked community leaders to put me in touch with subjects born in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s but some were younger (even one born in 1964, whose stories, surprisingly, were relevant to my study).

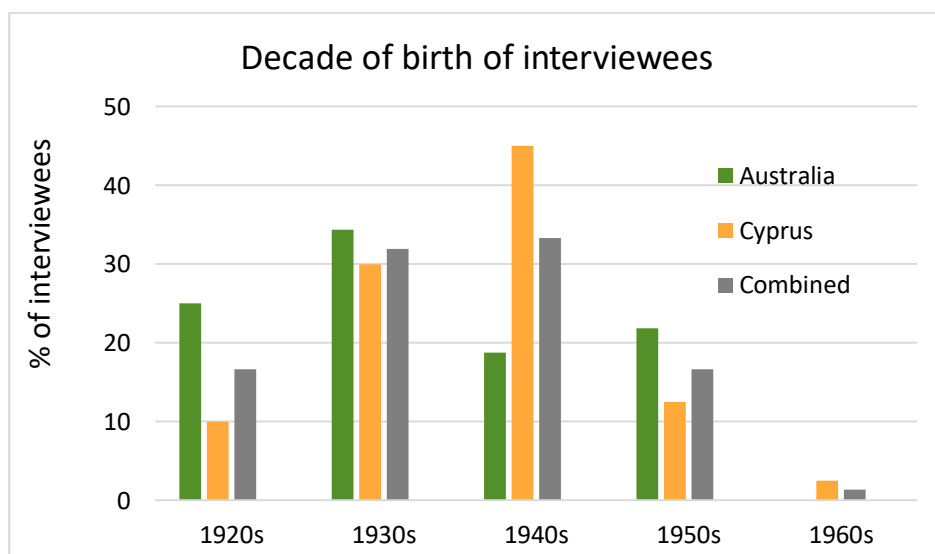


Figure 2.7 Decade of birth of participants in Cyprus and in Australia

Figure 2.8 shows the locations of the home villages of the participants. In Cyprus, more were born in the south than the north were interviewed, but that was not a flaw. I focussed on two villages (Alaminos and Polis Chrysochous) in the south and one (Ayia Irini) in the north of Cyprus, so planned that two-thirds (67 percent) of participants would be originally from the south. In the end, 63 percent of Cyprus participants, and 56 percent overall, were from the south.

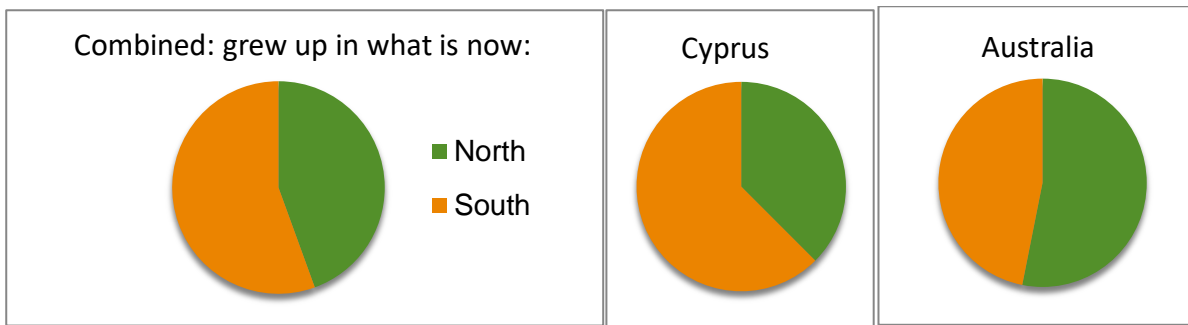


Figure 2.8 Current location of home villages of participants

Figure 2.9 shows the proportion of participants coming from formerly mixed villages. While all in Cyprus did, I could not be so restrictive in my selection criteria in Australia. If they had contact with the ‘other’ group in their daily lives, I accepted them as participants. Half of the Australian participants (22 percent of the overall data set) came from mono-communal villages.

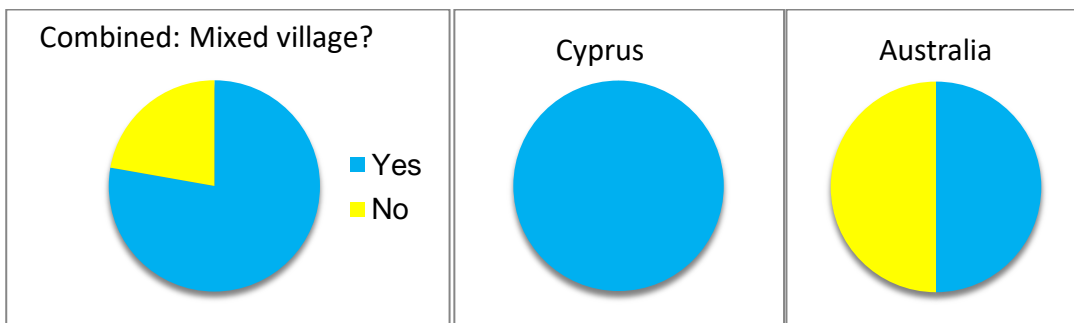


Figure 2.9 Characterisation of home villages of participants

Figure 2.10 shows the periods in which the Australian participants emigrated from Cyprus. The different patterns for the Greek and Turkish Cypriots are striking. While 43 percent of Greek and 45 percent of Turkish Cypriots left Cyprus prior to 1960, the periods thereafter show Turkish Cypriots leaving in disproportionate numbers in the pre-1974 period of great political turmoil, and more Greek Cypriots leaving after 1974.

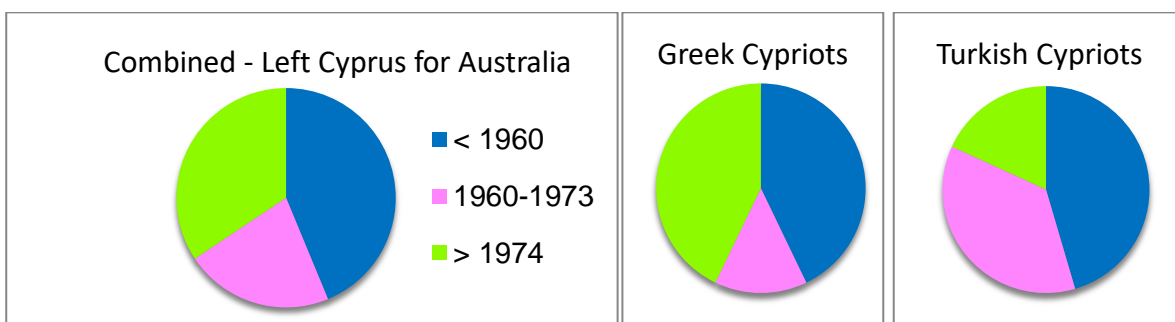


Figure 2.10 Period in which Australian participants left Cyprus



## Language and bilingualism

The two official languages of the Republic of Cyprus are Standard Greek and Standard Turkish, spoken in workplaces and educational institutions. Non-standardised Cypriot Greek (Κυπριακά) and Cypriot Turkish (kibris türkçesi) are spoken in familial and communal domains.<sup>12</sup> Other minority languages include Cypriot Maronite Arabic; Sanna (a hybrid of Aramaic, written in Latin script);<sup>13</sup> Armenian; English; and Kurbetcha/Gurbetcha, a variety of Romani, a gypsy language which is residually spoken by the 500 to 1000 remaining Roma or Kurbet of Cyprus.<sup>14</sup>

Besides their official and non-standard languages, many people also spoke the language of the 'other'. Some learned it for commercial or employment purposes; the lower classes learned from their neighbours and friends, their biligualism acquired either simultaneously from birth (0 to 3 years – simultaneous bilingualism) or after the learner had some proficiency in their first language (4 to 13 years – sequential bilingualism).<sup>15</sup> It could be argued that levels of bilingualism are linked to a society's intercommunality.

### Cypriot Greek

Cypriot Greek evolved throughout the medieval period into a distinctly Cypriot variety, predominantly due to the island's distance and isolation from present-day Greece.<sup>16</sup> Xenia Hadjioannou and Stavroula Tsiplakou claimed that:

the geopolitical and linguistic isolation of Cyprus from the Byzantine Empire and prolonged Frankish rule after the Fourth Crusade contributed significantly to the formation, by the fifteenth century, of a stable dialect system ... which has retained its particular phonological and morphosyntactic features to the present; indeed, Cypriot [Greek] is thought to be one of the most structurally 'conservative' of the Modern Greek dialects.<sup>17</sup>

When the Ottomans took control of Cyprus in 1571, the the majority of the population were Orthodox Christians who spoke Cypriot Greek.<sup>18</sup> Most of the Latins fled, or converted to Islam or

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12 A. Arvaniti, 'Linguistic practices in Cyprus and the emergence of Cypriot Standard Greek', *San Diego Linguistic Papers*, 2, 2006, 1-24.

13 BBC Travel 2019, *Sanna: A language written for the first time*, viewed 17 February 2019,

<<http://www.bbc.com/travel/story/20190214-sanna-a-language-written-for-the-first-time>>. – refer to Minorities of Cyprus book

14 X. Hadjioannou & S. Tsiplakou with a contribution by M. Kappler, 'Language policy and language planning in Cyprus', *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 12(4), 2011, 508.

15 D. Klein, K. Mok, J.K. Chen & K.E. Watkins, 'Age of language learning shapes brain structure: A cortical thickness study of bilingual and monolingual individuals', *Brain and Language*, 131, 2014, 20.

16 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 34.

17 Hadjioannou & Tsiplakou, 'Language policy and language planning in Cyprus', 509.

18 E. Brambilla, 'Convivencia under Muslim rule: the Island of Cyprus after the Ottoman Conquest (1571-1640)', in E. Brambilla, S. Deschler-Erb, J.L. Lamboley, A. Klemeshov & G. Moretto (eds.), *Routines of existence: Time, life and afterlife in society and religion*, Edizioni PLUS, Pisa, 2009, 122.

Orthodoxy. As Muslims and Christians lived, worked and traded together, over several centuries many people became bilingual. According to Mark Mazower, “In Ottoman Europe ... [e]ven where Islam made inroads into the countryside, it rarely carried the Turkish language along with it...”<sup>19</sup>

Cypriot Greek has been influenced by a multitude of languages. Lytras and Psaltis contended, “In addition to its Greek base, the Cypriot dialect was inevitably influenced by the languages of the numerous people who had occupied and settled in the island over the centuries.”<sup>20</sup> Whilst French, English, Arabic and Italian roots can be found in the Cypriot Greek language, Turkish has been, “the most important non-Greek influence on the Greek Cypriot dialect...”<sup>21</sup> Unsurprisingly, by the nineteenth century, “the [Greek] language spoken in Cyprus bore little resemblance to the language spoken in Greece...”<sup>22</sup> Amalia Arvaniti argued that today, “Although Cypriot is considered a dialect of Greek, Standard Greek and Cypriot are too dissimilar to be mutually intelligible.”<sup>23</sup>

Christiana Themistocleous showed that Cypriot Greek and Standard Greek, “are used simultaneously by the same speakers, yet, they have different functions: [Cypriot Greek] is used in informal, oral communication whereas [Standard Greek] enjoys more prestige, serves formal functions and it is the medium of instruction in public primary and secondary education.”<sup>24</sup> In written form, Cypriot Greek does not have a standard official orthography; however, “writers tend to choose their own spelling conventions in their work, in an effort to represent regional linguistic features and sounds that do not exist in [Standard Greek].”<sup>25</sup> This is achieved with the creative use of Roman, rather than Greek characters;<sup>26</sup> a recent internet phenomenon amongst young Cypriots has seen, “the first time that [Cypriot Greek] is used for everyday written communication.”<sup>27</sup>

## Cypriot Turkish

Regarding the Cypriot Turkish language, Hadjioannou and Tsiplakou explained that, “The distinct (socio)linguistic status of [Cypriot Turkish] can be attributed to the fact that prior to 1974 the dialect had evolved in a context of relative geographical isolation from other varieties of Turkish and in ‘intensive interaction’ with [Cypriot Greek] and English.” Such interaction might explain

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19 Mazower, *The Balkans*, 47.

20 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 34.

21 *ibid.*, 34.

22 *ibid.*, 34.

23 Arvaniti, ‘Linguistic practices in Cyprus and the emergence of Cypriot Standard Greek’, 3.

24 C. Themistocleous, ‘Writing in a non-standard Greek variety: Romanized Cypriot Greek in online chat’, *Writing Systems Research*, 2(2), 2010, 158.

25 *ibid.*, 158.

26 *ibid.*, 158.

27 *ibid.*, 158.

differences between Cypriot Turkish and Standard Turkish, the most significant being that Cypriot Turkish is structured as a Subject-Verb-Object (VO) language – the same as Cypriot Greek – whereas standard Turkish is a Subject-Object-Verb (OV) language.<sup>28</sup>

Describing language as an important dimension of culture, Mustafa Gökçeoglu and Ahmet Pehlivan argued that, “as a result of the togetherness and cultural exchange in Cyprus, Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek had an influence upon one another.”<sup>29</sup> The exchange between the two languages was not just on a lexical level, but extended to bilingualism in regions such as Tillirya (Dillirga), Karpasia (Karpaz) and Paphos (Baf).<sup>30</sup>

In the mid-twentieth century, the fact that a substantial number of Turkish Cypriots spoke Cypriot Greek enraged Turkish Cypriot nationalists. In 1958, “they began the campaign ‘Civilians speak Turkish!’ (Vatandaş Türkçe konuş!), harassing and imposing fines on any Turkish Cypriots caught speaking Cypriot Greek.”<sup>31</sup> Simultaneously, Turkish language lessons were provided to members of the Turkish Cypriot community who could not speak or write Turkish.<sup>32</sup>

Despite Article 3 of the 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus recognising both Greek and Turkish as the official languages of Cyprus<sup>33</sup>, from 1964 the teaching of Greek to Turkish Cypriots or Turkish to Greek Cypriots was discouraged.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, education in Standard Greek and Standard Turkish saw, “the distinctiveness and richness of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot dialects [being] irrevocably affected.”<sup>35</sup> With decreasing bilingualism, intercommunality declined, too.

## Participant data on language

My official university paperwork for interviews was available in English, Greek and Turkish<sup>36</sup>, and I expected that many interviews would be in Greek or Turkish. Table 2.4 shows the languages in which they were conducted. In Australia, most interviews were conducted in English. In Cyprus,

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28 M. Gokceoglu & A. Pehlivan, ‘Greek in Turkish Cypriot Literature’, in M. Kappler (ed.), *Intercultural Aspects in and around Turkic Literatures*, Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden, Germany, 2006, 84.

29 *ibid.*, 84.

30 *ibid.*, 84.

31 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 34-35.

32 *ibid.*, 34-35.

33 Republic of Cyprus 2018, *Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus*, viewed 13 August 2018,

<[http://www.parliament.cy/easyconsole.cfm/page/download/filename/SYNTAGMA\\_EN.pdf/foldername/articleFile/mime/pdf/](http://www.parliament.cy/easyconsole.cfm/page/download/filename/SYNTAGMA_EN.pdf/foldername/articleFile/mime/pdf/)>.

34 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 34-35.

35 *ibid.*, 35.

36 See Appendix 1

interviews were conducted in English, or in Cypriot Greek (with my husband or my father acting as interpreter), or in Cypriot Turkish (with a contact person acting as interpreter).<sup>37</sup>

*Table 2.4 Languages in which interviews were conducted*

Location	Participant	Interview conducted in:				
		English	Greek	Turkish	English & Greek	Greek & Turkish
Cyprus	Greek Cypriot	1	17	0	0	0
	Turkish Cypriot	2	10	5	2	3
Australia	Greek Cypriot	11	10	0		
	Turkish Cypriot	7	0	4		

Surprisingly, many Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus were interviewed in Greek; 20 of the 22 Turkish Cypriots I interviewed could still speak Cypriot Greek, 41 years after the island became divided and they stopped using Greek in their daily lives. Some, like Feriha,<sup>38</sup> had never been to school so she learned Cypriot Greek from her childhood friends and neighbours. The fact that, more than forty years after the island was divided and she and others stopped using Cypriot Greek, these elderly participants were still bilingual, shows that it was a language of their early childhood.

All participants were asked which languages they spoke as children. Figure 2.11 shows that all of the Turkish Cypriots but only a minority of Greek Cypriot participants in Australia had been bilingual as children. Of those in Cyprus, seven of 18 Greek Cypriots and 20 of 22 Turkish Cypriots spoke both languages. These results are not surprising as Greek Cypriots were in the majority, less likely to need to learn the ‘other’ language.

An instance of sequential bilingualism is described in Bryant’s 2012 interview with Sami, a Turkish Cypriot dentist living in Morphou/Güzelyurt, who was originally from the mixed village of Flasou. Describing his youth, he said, “Mostly I played with Turkish Cypriot children. There was one Greek

<sup>37</sup> My father was well able to translate Cypriot Greek, so in the few instances when my husband, a Standard Greek speaker, had difficulty translating and transcribing, my father was able to provide an accurate translation from the audio recording of the interview.

<sup>38</sup> Feriha, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1934; interviewed 1 June 2015.

Cypriot boy my age named Lambros with whom I would play. It was when we were playing together that I learned to speak Greek.”<sup>39</sup>

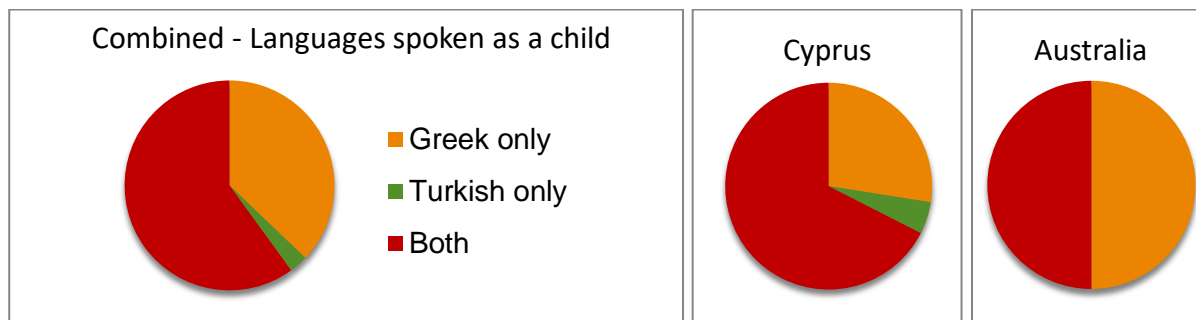


Figure 2.11 Languages spoken by participants when they were children

My Turkish Cypriot participants revealed to me the ways in which they became sequentially bilingual. Sermen lived in Government House (where his father worked), until he was 10 years old and like Sami, “We had Greek Cypriot neighbours. I learned Cypriot Greek from their children and spoke both Turkish and Greek.”<sup>40</sup> Ilkay, too, “learnt Greek from my neighbours, and my parents spoke Greek at home when they didn’t want us [kids] to understand, but we did!”<sup>41</sup>

Some participants’ parents were bilingual, and their children became simultaneously bilingual. Sadiye spoke both languages as a child and young adult.<sup>42</sup> Her father spoke Greek as fluently as he spoke Turkish. Sadiye recalled playing with friends in the lush fields of Alaminos, and learning the Greek alphabet. Her cousin Naile grew up speaking both languages; “My parents spoke Greek better than they spoke Turkish!” she exclaimed.<sup>43</sup> During her childhood, Turkish Cypriots predominantly used the Greek language.

Another example of simultaneous bilingualism was Ramadan.<sup>44</sup> When interviewed by Bryant, he described learning Turkish and Greek at the same time: “Definitely we didn’t speak Greek at home, but my friends were Greek, and sometimes when my mother had work she would leave me with a Greek Cypriot neighbor, and of course then we spoke Greek.”<sup>45</sup> When I interviewed Ramadan he disclosed that in his childhood village he also spoke *Tsingano*, the language of the local gypsies.<sup>46</sup>

39 Bryant, Report 2 – ‘Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community’, 35.

40 Sermen, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Nicosia in 1952, migrated to Australia in 1971; interviewed 4 October 2017.

41 Ilkay, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lefke in 1946, migrated to Australia in 1978; interviewed 3 August 2014.

42 Sadiye, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1949; interviewed 9 July 2015.

43 Naile, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1947, moved to Aglantzia in 1964; interviewed 9 July 2015.

44 Ramadan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Kato Polemidhia in 1964, spent much of his early childhood in Kilani; interviewed 13 July 2015.

45 Bryant, Report 2 – ‘Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community’, 28.

46 G. Husić, *Romani Language Dictionaries: (1755-2019): An Annotated Critical Bibliography*, University of Kansas Library, Lawrence, USA, 2019, 22.

Some of my participants became bilingual later in their childhoods. Whilst Nevsal spoke only Turkish as a young child, her relatives from the town of Kritou Terra spoke Greek well and taught it to her.<sup>47</sup>

I have heard stories of Cypriots who learnt English at school or in the workplace, but after retirement it was forgotten. Interestingly, my Turkish Cypriots interviewees retained their Cypriot Greek language, and many Greek Cypriots retained their Cypriot Turkish. Erol grew up bilingual. From 1974 to 2003 he did not speak Cypriot Greek but when the checkpoints opened, he crossed to the south and, “My Greek language came flooding back to me!”<sup>48</sup> This indicates simultaneous or sequential bilingualism – learning the ‘other’ language in childhood.<sup>49</sup>

In her memoir, Turkish Cypriot Chief Matron Turkan Aziz, MBE, stated:

I speak Greek, but Greeks didn’t speak Turkish ... and still don’t. They could pick up a few words, but very few Greeks made a point of studying our language and that was only when it was necessary for their job in government service in order to get promotion, or to get into a certain branch, or in business, when it was necessary to deal with non-Greek speaking Turkish customers.<sup>50</sup>

Countering her claims, 13 (33 percent) of my 39 Greek Cypriot participants spoke Cypriot Turkish. One was Kyriacou, who learnt Greek at home and in school, and Turkish from her friends. She communicated with her Turkish Cypriot friends in both languages.<sup>51</sup>

Nikos (Figure 2.12) had a long history of learning Turkish. His father’s best friend was a Turkish Cypriot man who worked with him in the Polis Chrysochous municipality office. Nikos’ father spoke fluent Turkish, and when Nikos wanted to learn, his father’s friend taught him in the municipality office – until an EOKA commander intervened one day to stop it. In 2005, as a 63-year-old, Nikos undertook free Turkish classes, and achieved his goal of speaking Turkish fluently.<sup>52</sup>

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47 Nevsal, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1927; interviewed 24 July 2015.

48 Erol, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Khoulou in 1951; interviewed 24 July 2015.

49 Klein, Mok, Chen & Watkins, 20.

50 Aziz, *The Death of Friendship*, 48-49.

51 Kyriacou, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Pyrga in 1944, moved to neighbouring Alaminos when she married at age 15; interviewed 2 June 2015.

52 Nikos, a Greek Cypriot born in Polis Chrysochous in 1942; interviewed 18 June 2015.



*Figure 2.12 Nikos of Polis Chrysochous*

Giorgios moved to Australia in 1974, just one month before the war began; his friends joked that he must have had inside knowledge about what was going to happen and that was why he left! Giorgios' father spoke and wrote Turkish very well. "I would have, too, if 1963 and 1974 did not happen."<sup>53</sup>

Some of my bilingual Turkish Cypriot participants recalled their bilingual Greek Cypriot friends. İbrahim C spoke Cypriot Turkish, Cypriot Greek and English. In London in 1971 he worked in a tailor's shop with people from all over the world – Indians, Pakistanis, Japanese, as well as Turkish and Greek Cypriots. He spoke English with everyone, but Turkish with the Turkish Cypriots and Greek with the Greek Cypriots. "Many of the Greek Cypriots also knew how to speak Turkish and would speak to me in Turkish rather than Greek." Surprisingly, İbrahim's proficiency in Greek improved during his seven years in London, as he spoke it so often with his Greek Cypriot friends and colleagues.<sup>54</sup> Another participant, Mustafa, did not speak Greek, but both his parents did. Mustafa recalled them telling him that before the 1974 war, many Greek Cypriots spoke Turkish very well.<sup>55</sup>

While it is evident that more Turkish Cypriots spoke Cypriot Greek than vice versa, many Greek Cypriots did in fact speak Cypriot Turkish. They often learnt the 'other' language through contact with friends in the 'other' group. In many cases, especially for Turkish Cypriots, they grew up simultaneously bilingual.

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<sup>53</sup> Giorgios, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1948, migrated to Australia in 1974, returning to Alaminos in his retirement; interviewed 9 June 2015.

<sup>54</sup> İbrahim C, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1948; interviewed 1 June 2015.

<sup>55</sup> Mustafa, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1948; interviewed 9 July 2015.

## Mother-tongue; Turkish Cypriots who only spoke Cypriot Greek

Throughout the nineteenth century the Cypriot Greek language was the most commonly used language of the Cypriot people.<sup>56</sup> Because the Greek Cypriots were the majority on the island, many Turkish Cypriots spoke (and still speak) Cypriot Greek in addition to Cypriot Turkish. The reverse was less common.<sup>57</sup> Travelling around Cyprus in 1877, Franz von Löher reported, “Modern Greek is spoken, even in most of the Turkish houses, and is understood in every part of the country.”<sup>58</sup>

Throughout the period of Ottoman rule in Cyprus, Turkish – the language of the Ottoman rulers on the island – was a higher status language than Cypriot Greek.<sup>59</sup> However, once the British administration commenced in 1878, English replaced Turkish as the language of higher status.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, as the economic power of the demographic majority grew, the Turkish language lost its status.<sup>61</sup> This also saw Turkish Cypriots learning Cypriot Greek in order to develop social and economic relations with the majority community.<sup>62</sup> Thus, Cypriot Greek became the dominant language, while English was mostly confined to the British administration and the elite.<sup>63</sup>

Although the main public language spoken (outside of the home) throughout the island was Cypriot Greek, in majority- or wholly-Turkish Cypriot villages, the main public language was Cypriot Turkish.<sup>64</sup> However, Cypriot Greek was the mother-tongue in several ‘Turkish’ villages, through to 1974. A possible explanation reaches back to when the Ottomans arrived in 1571. The men who would stay, take charge and implement Ottoman rule were encouraged to settle and take Cypriot (Christian) women as their wives<sup>65</sup>; this was legal under Islam. Children would be raised in the religion of their father. As their mothers spoke only Cypriot Greek, that was the children’s mother-tongue. It has been suggested that this 16<sup>th</sup> century history explains the persistence of Greek mother-tongue in several ‘Turkish’ villages. Beckingham reported,

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56 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 34.

57 *ibid.*, 34.

58 F. Von Löher, *Cyprus, Historical and Descriptive*, trans. AB Joyner, WH Allen & Co., London, 1878, 4.

59 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 34.

60 *ibid.*, 34.

61 *ibid.*, 34.

62 *ibid.*, 34.

63 *ibid.*, 34.

64 *ibid.*, 34.

65 R. Pococke, *A Description of the East and some other countries*, 2 part 1, W Bowyer, London, 1745, 233.



In Cyprus religious and linguistic divisions do not quite coincide. While many Turks habitually speak Turkish there are 'Turkish', that is, Muslim villages in which the normal language is Greek; among them are Lapithiou ... Platanisso ... Ayios Simeon ... and Galinoporni...<sup>66</sup>

Other such villages existed also. Lytras and Psaltis described some Turkish Cypriots in the Paphos area, in Louroudjina in the Nicosia District, in Galinoporni in the Karpas Peninsula, and in the Tylliria area of Paphos District, who spoke Cypriot Greek as their mother language.<sup>67</sup> This persisted during the British period; Emmanuelle's interviewee Sotiris asserted, "I'll tell you another thing you may not know. There were villages in Cyprus; Turkish villages, where all the inhabitants spoke only Greek. They didn't know any Turkish."<sup>68</sup>

Several of my Greek Cypriot participants were aware of such villages. Antonis spoke of the people in the nearby Turkish Cypriot village of Galinoporni. "Look: the Turkish – I tell you, they didn't talk Turkish ... but these man and womans [sic] they talk Greek! Even night time! In the house! You can't hear any Turkish."<sup>69</sup>

Communication amongst Greek and Turkish Cypriot friends was often almost exclusively conducted in Cypriot Greek. Themistoclis, a Greek Cypriot born in Kilanemos in 1926, and who spoke Greek and a little Turkish, said, "My Turkish Cypriots friends didn't speak Turkish – they spoke only Greek!"<sup>70</sup>

Often, bilingual Cypriots were asked to translate and even interview people for official purposes. Erol finished high school in 1969 and moved to Nicosia to train as a police officer. He remembered being called one day to interview a Turkish Cypriot man about a crime. "He did not speak a word of Turkish, not one, not even 'hello' or 'bread'!" Erol exclaimed. He explained that before the war it had been common for some Turkish Cypriots to speak only Cypriot Greek and that this was highly problematic after the 1974 war, when they had to move to the north of Cyprus. There the Turkish language dominated the social and political environment; the 'Turkish' Cypriots who spoke no Turkish were terribly disadvantaged.<sup>71</sup>

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66 Beckingham, 'The Turks of Cyprus', 170.

67 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 34.

68 Sotiris Charalambous, born 1933 in Agios Sergios, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 166.

69 Antonis, a Greek Cypriot born in Aglantzia in 1926, moved to Rizokarpasso at the age of ten and migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 1 May 2015.

70 Themistoclis, a Greek Cypriot born in Kilanemos in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1951; interviewed 1 December 2014.

71 Erol, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Khoulou in 1951; interviewed 24 July 2015.

## Education and the rise of nationalism

British rule saw for the first time the separation of church (or mosque) and state in Cyprus. While such transitions occurred throughout Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they were led from within and occurred gradually. Expansion of the west through colonisation saw secularisation not adopted, but imposed. “By instigating this crisis of modernity and identity in Cyprus, the British occupation helped create deeper divisions and educational segregation – not only within the Greek and Turkish-Cypriot ethnic groups but within factions of each community, too.”<sup>72</sup>

For the centuries under Ottoman rule, the education system in Cyprus encouraged nationalism among the two communities. The Ottomans were presented as the enemy of Hellenism, and vice versa.<sup>73</sup> While only a very small minority was educated, such teaching had been fairly innocuous. Once Britain promoted widespread education, however, “The once innocent social elements of religion and language suddenly in the early and especially mid 20th century obtained a political content and became intricately connected with the newly-born and diffused nationalist fantasies...”<sup>74</sup> As both Greek and Turkish nationalist ideals of ethnic purity, national superiority and exclusive ancestral rights to the land emerged and spread, animosity towards the ‘other’ community grew.<sup>75</sup> This was, of course, detrimental to intercommunal relations on the island. Simoni Photiou described cultural nationalism amongst Greek Cypriots:

The main determinant of the Greek Cypriot identity and of the collective self was the sense of belonging to the “family of the Greek nation.” So, “the authentic self” can only realize itself and become autonomous through union with Greece ... Greek Cypriots came to imagine their community as part of the territory of a larger nationalistic world, that is, Greece ... As a cultural nationalism, Greek Cypriot nationalism was founded on primordial elements, and its national consciousness developed independently of the state.<sup>76</sup>

Turkish Cypriot nationalism, on the other hand, is described by Photiou as having elements of political nationalism:

During the Ottoman rule, and even in the first four decades of British rule, the Turkish community was heavily religious. The first ethnic awakening of Moslems came in 1839 with the Tanzimat Edict, which gradually led to political and economic competition. The reforms

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72 I.O. Özmatyatli & A.E. Özkul, ‘20th century British colonialism in Cyprus through Education’, *Eurasian Journal of Educational Research*, 50, 2013, 1-20.

73 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 38.

74 *ibid.*, 38.

75 *ibid.*, 38.

76 S. Photiou, ‘Segregated education in Cyprus between 1920 and 1935’, PhD thesis, Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania, 2005, 281.

of 1839 and 1856 modernized the existing Millet system, and as a result national groups emerged.<sup>77</sup>

While for centuries Turkish education was religiously focussed, that changed with secular Kemalism in the 1920s.<sup>78</sup> During this period, the combination of urbanisation and modernisation in Cyprus stimulated nationalism among both communities. Furthermore, “British policy influenced the development of nationalism by modernizing Cyprus’ infrastructure, and by establishing a separated administrative and educational system.”<sup>79</sup>

Elsewhere in the Mediterranean during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries are other examples of the link between education and nationalism. When conducting interviews with 46 Greeks from the Dodecanese islands about their experiences under Italian rule from 1912 to 1947, Doumanis made an interesting discovery:

While Dodecanesian oral tradition provides a very different picture of the Italian Occupation from that given by Greek writers, the recollections of some interviewees did accord quite closely with the Greek historiography ... as I was primarily interested in the oral tradition, I consciously sought interviewees who were illiterate or semi-literate, and who were therefore less ‘nationalised’. Unlike educated interviewees, whose recollections of the period were refashioned by patriotic concerns like ‘Fascist’ oppression and patriotic resistance, and whose testimonies were full of nationalistic catchphrases and allusions, illiterate and semi-literate interviewees selected different themes and even ascribed to a different chronology.<sup>80</sup>

My research explores whether such differences – between the official narratives espoused by educated elites and the recollections of rural working-class peoples – can be found in Cyprus. Bryant provided analysis of the historical and anthropological link between nationalism and educational institutions in Cyprus. She stated:

In ... parts of the world where hierarchies have not been hidden, where education has been exclusive and valued as such, and where traditions have been embodied in persons, creating educated persons has always been an integral part of imagining the community and its continuity. In the prenationalist era in Cyprus, the aspirations of Muslim and Christian villagers – for a larger plot of land, a good crop, good marriages for one’s children – may have been shared. But aspirations to achieve the excellences of the citizen, the virtues of a fully realized Turk or Greek, implied becoming persons who fit into orders defined by

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77 Photiou, ‘Segregated education in Cyprus between 1920 and 1935’, 282.

78 *ibid.*, 282.

79 *ibid.*, 282.

80 N. Doumanis, *Myth and Memory in the Mediterranean: Remembering Fascism’s Empire*, Macmillan, New York, 1997, 8-9.

religion, political hierarchy, and long intellectual traditions. Hence, the advent of nationalisms and the divisiveness that they entailed did not represent a radical disjuncture but rather the elaboration of goods and goals that had historically defined the order of each community.<sup>81</sup>

In this context, Greek and Turkish Cypriots may have believed it possible, “to live in the present with persons while imagining a future that excludes those persons.”<sup>82</sup>

Many authors have linked rising education and literacy under the British to rising nationalism amongst Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Lytras and Psaltis described the education system under the British as responsible for creating the ‘Greek’ and ‘Turkish’ identities which led to the ultimate division of the island. When the British took control in 1878 there were 76 Christian and 64 Muslim elementary schools in Cyprus and less than 10 percent of the population was literate (see Figure 2.13 below). The Muslim schools had been funded centrally but the Christian schools were privately funded. The British saw that as inequitable, and gave state funding to all schools. The new administration appointed Village Committees, elected by villagers, to co-operate with the government in matters of education. In mixed villages, there were two Committees, which could appoint or dismiss teachers and determine their salary. Two separate central Boards of Education were formed, with religious leaders amongst their members. As there were no British models available for Greek or Turkish education, the curricula were mirrors of those in Greece and in Turkey. Schools were controlled by the Cypriot Orthodox Church which ceded control to the Greek Orthodox Church authorities in Athens; or by EVKAF which had very deep ties to Turkey. The text-books were from mainland Greece or Turkey. Cypriots who might want to write a local text-book would need its approval not by the Cypriot Board of Education, but by authorities in Greece or Turkey. Children were taught about Greece or about Turkey; not about Cyprus. They were taught to think of themselves as Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot; not as Cypriot.<sup>83</sup>

The British developed a, “misconception of the ethnic situation in Cyprus.”<sup>84</sup> Persianis claimed that:

The colonial government’s initial concept of the two communities was that of religious communities which, like the denominations in England in the Elementary Education Act of 1870 ... were entitled to the right of educational freedom. As a result, the Greek and Turkish schools were described as denominational schools (Christian and Moslem, respectively), while the English School, Nicosia, which was established in 1900, was described as

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81 R. Bryant, ‘An aesthetics of self: Moral remaking and Cypriot education’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 43(3), 2001, 606.

82 *ibid.*, 605.

83 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 36-37.

84 Persianis, ‘The British Colonial Education ‘Lending’ Policy in Cyprus’, 54.

‘undenominational’ ... This initial misconception was very convenient in the first stages because it saved the colonial government the problem of having to formulate an educational policy that could deal with different ethnic communities.<sup>85</sup>

That early convenience led to division in Cyprus. Within a few decades, education changed identities:

This system of education encouraged nationalism in the two communities as Turkey was presented as the enemy of Hellenism through the centuries and vice-versa ... the once innocent social elements of religion and language suddenly in the early and especially mid 20th century obtained a political content and became intricately connected with the newly-born and diffused nationalist fantasies such as ethnic purity, exclusive ancestral rights to the land, national superiority, eternal conflict and victorious destiny etc.<sup>86</sup>

A crucial element of the colonial government’s ‘adapted education’ policy was the preference for schools to be racially segregated – justified on the basis of ‘efficiency’.<sup>87</sup> Indeed, as “education in both communities was a sacred rather than a secular practice...”<sup>88</sup> this was what the religious leaders wanted. Furthermore, the colonial government could not afford the establishment of multiethnic government schools,<sup>89</sup> and the multilingual population of Cyprus would make it difficult to administer multiethnic schools in one dominant language.<sup>90</sup> Persianis stated,

The most important reason, however, was that this policy was politically expedient. Both communities had their own schools before the British rule, were culturally very proud and sensitive and would not agree to sending their children to multiracial schools, because they feared that this would be a threat to their national identity ... Consequently, this policy of political and economic expediency had the advantage of being presented as a liberal, laissez-faire policy and a response to popular demand.<sup>91</sup>

The contention that people would not send their children to multiracial schools is questionable. Figure 2.13 shows the steady increase in literacy rate under British rule. While data earlier than 1911 is not available, the pattern is so consistent from 1911 – 1946 (increases of around 10 percent of the total population each decade) that the dashed line indicates likely rates for 1901 and 1891. It is likely that less than 10 percent of the population was literate in 1891, and perhaps even less than 5 percent literate when the British took over the administration of Cyprus in 1878. While the

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85 Persianis, ‘The British Colonial Education ‘Lending’ Policy in Cyprus’, 54.

86 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 38.

87 Persianis, ‘The British Colonial Education ‘Lending’ Policy in Cyprus’, 54.

88 Bryant, *Imagining the Modern*, 124.

89 Persianis, ‘The British Colonial Education ‘Lending’ Policy in Cyprus’, 54.

90 *ibid.*, 54.

91 *ibid.*, 54.

Archbishop and the Mufti in Nicosia would have argued with the British about their plans to expand education, the primarily rural general population, far from the influence or oversight of Archbishop or Mufti, might well have accepted any model of free education that would assist their children to forge easier, better lives for themselves. An early plan to teach in both languages would likely have been acceptable, and forged a different path for Cyprus.

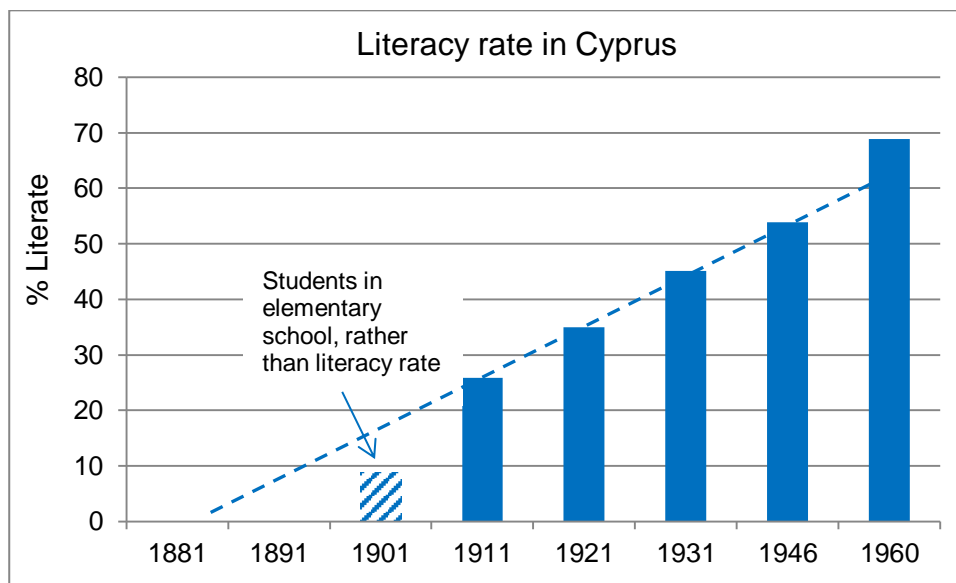


Figure 2.13 Literacy rate in Cyprus 1901-1960, from Census data<sup>92</sup>

The influence of the two ‘motherlands’ in the education of the island’s population was significant. Constantinou argued, “The establishment of two separate Boards of Education, created with the otherwise noble purpose of fighting illiteracy, imported teachers and books from the two ‘motherlands...’<sup>93</sup> As stated by Adamantia Pollis, the British, “instituted a policy which probably accounts more than any other single factor for the assimilation of notions of Greek versus Turkish nationality among the populace’...’<sup>94</sup>

After 1923 the British colonial government enforced centralisation of the education system as a means of addressing administrative inefficiencies and to try to diminish “Hellenic orientation” – the influence of Greek nationalists – in schools.<sup>95</sup> They prescribed the textbooks, appointed (instead of allowing election of) Village Committees and central Boards of Education – which became merely advisory – and controlled funding.

92 Literacy data from Percival, *Census of population and agriculture*, Statement 49; and Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture*, Table 1, 80. Population data from Mavrogordato, *Cyprus: Report and general abstracts of the census of 1901*; Mavrogordato, *Cyprus: Report and general abstracts of the census of 1911*; Hart-Davis, *Report and general abstracts of the census of 1921*; Hart-Davis, *General Abstracts of the census of 1931*; Percival, *Census of population and agriculture 1946*; and Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture*.

93 C.M. Constantinou, ‘Aporias of identity: Bicomunalism, Hybridity and the ‘Cyprus Problem’’, *Cooperation and Conflict*, 42(3), 2007, 259.

94 A. Pollis, ‘Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy: The Case of Cyprus’, *Comparative Politics*, 5(4), 1973, 589.

95 Heraclidou, ‘Making a British Atmosphere in Cyprus, 1931–1939’, 69.

At the beginning of the 1929 school year, 50 years since the beginning of British administration, around 45 percent of the population was literate (see Figure 2.13). Even amongst the 80 percent 'rural' population, it was estimated that 92 percent of boys and 55 percent of girls aged 5 to 12 attended Elementary School.<sup>96</sup>

Following the Greek Cypriot riots of 1931, the colonial government held concerns over the Greek Cypriots' political agitation, as well as, "feelings of hurt imperial prestige."<sup>97</sup> Consequently, the British began to use education, "as a means of cultural integration."<sup>98</sup> Persianis argued, "They wanted to persuade the Cypriots to abandon their political orientation towards Greece and Turkey, 'two foreign countries', and acquire 'a higher conception of their responsibilities as Cypriots and of the position of Cyprus as a part of the British Empire'."<sup>99</sup>

The decentralisation process – removing control of elementary schools from the communities, "culminated in 1933 with the introduction of a new law which gave the Government the power to choose both the curriculum and the school text books."<sup>100</sup> The new curriculum was implemented in 1935,<sup>101</sup> but the instruction of the Greek language and Greek Orthodoxy, and the Turkish language and Islam, continued. Persianis claimed that the British failed to develop a suitable education policy for multi-ethnic Cyprus, initially applying an 'adapted education' policy and fifty years later, in 1931, adopting a secular education policy.<sup>102</sup> In those 50 years, though, the island had been significantly divided.

To 'Cypriotise' the two communities, significant changes to primary education introduced in 1935 saw a new curriculum in all elementary schools. History and geography moved from the old Greek- and Turko-centric syllabi, local readers were provided, and students were taught the history of Cyprus, from textbooks written in Cyprus.<sup>103</sup>

The government introduced another innovation: secondary schools open to all ethnic communities. Over the next two decades several more multiracial schools were established, in which the medium of instruction was English.<sup>104</sup> As well, in the 1930s English was introduced in the large Greek and

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96 Surridge, *A survey of rural life in Cyprus*, 17-19.

97 Persianis, 'The British Colonial Education 'Lending' Policy in Cyprus', 55.

98 *ibid.*, 55.

99 *ibid.*, 55.

100 Heraclidou, 'Making a British Atmosphere in Cyprus, 1931-1939', 70.

101 Photiou, 'Segregated education in Cyprus between 1920 and 1935'.

102 Persianis, 'The British Colonial Education 'Lending' Policy in Cyprus', 55.

103 *ibid.*, 57.

104 *ibid.*, 58.

Turkish primary schools as a compulsory subject.<sup>105</sup> This required the appointment of approved English-speaking teachers to replace many others (often, in villages, the priest and the hoca). Furthermore, “The teaching of English was also greatly expanded in many communal Greek secondary schools after the government made it a condition for government grant-in-aid.”<sup>106</sup> Consequently, a significant distribution of English language and culture swept throughout the island.<sup>107</sup>

In 1935 the British were focussed on creating a “Cypriot identity” and an allegiance to Britain through their education policies. Persianis claimed:

Preparation for the future society demanded proper agricultural education and technical education. But these were very costly and politically unrewarding. The government preferred to spend the available money on multiracial academic secondary schools, which served the political expediency of cultivating the new Cypriot identity and encouraging allegiance to Britain and which, at the same time, were popular with the natives because they offered them economic and social advantage. Agricultural and technical education could wait.<sup>108</sup>

Figure 2.14 shows literacy data from 1946. Clearly young adults – those who would cause the most grief to the British over the next few years – were highly literate. They had, of course, been educated in the ‘Greek’ and ‘Turkish’ schools. It could be argued that the early British enthusiasm for education, while neglecting the development of a Cypriot education system, enabled, encouraged and nurtured ‘motherland’ nationalism.

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105 Persianis, ‘The British Colonial Education ‘Lending’ Policy in Cyprus’, 58.

106 *ibid.*, 58.

107 *ibid.*, 58.

108 *ibid.*, 60.



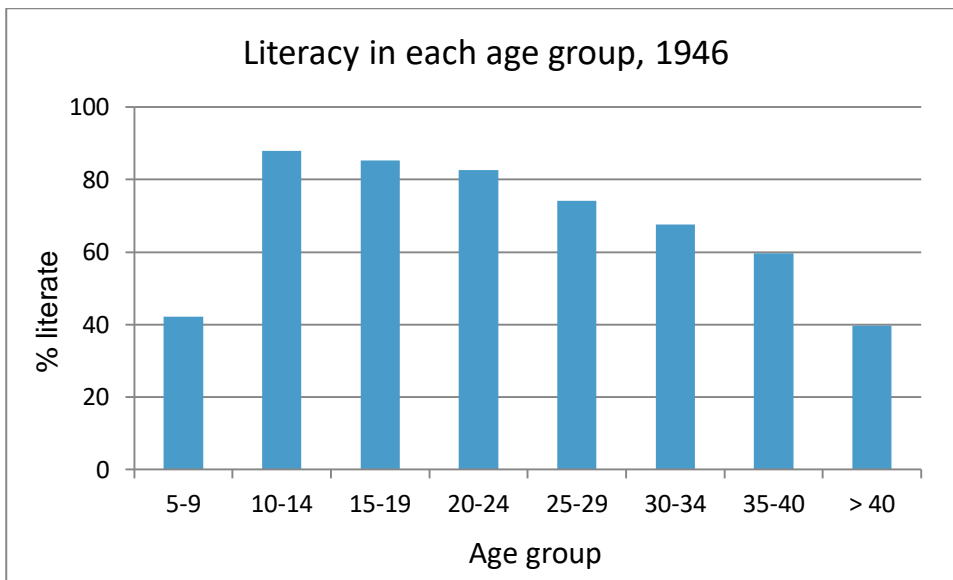


Figure 2.14 Literacy according to age, 1946<sup>109</sup>

The British never quite managed to control education; Özmatyatlı and Özkul argue that they, “could initially do very little in educational terms without consulting the archbishop and the mufti in charge of the priests and imams who were also teachers of Cypriot village schools, at least in the first few years...”<sup>110</sup> Educational policies changed many times under British administration but, given that in the early years Cyprus was a Protectorate, that it was annexed in 1914, offered to Greece in 1915, and that it became a Crown Colony only in 1925, the absence of long-term planning between 1878 and 1925, while deeply regrettable, is understandable.

It is evident that the education policies employed by the British during their administration of Cyprus eroded both the Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish languages, and developed and spread ‘Greek’ and ‘Turkish’ nationalism. To the British, internal conflict was preferable to a united people who might mount an anti-colonial movement. Eventually, Cyprus was lost as a colony, anyway – but it can be argued that it was not a ‘nation’. Christofides stated:

We remained conscious of our Greekness or Turkishness and our respective leaders never stopped reminding us that our first loyalties were to our own communities, our own groups. So the 1960 constitution brought into being a state but not a nation.<sup>111</sup>

The legacy of the British education policies in Cyprus can be seen in the divided identities of Cypriots and their conflicting notions of nationhood.

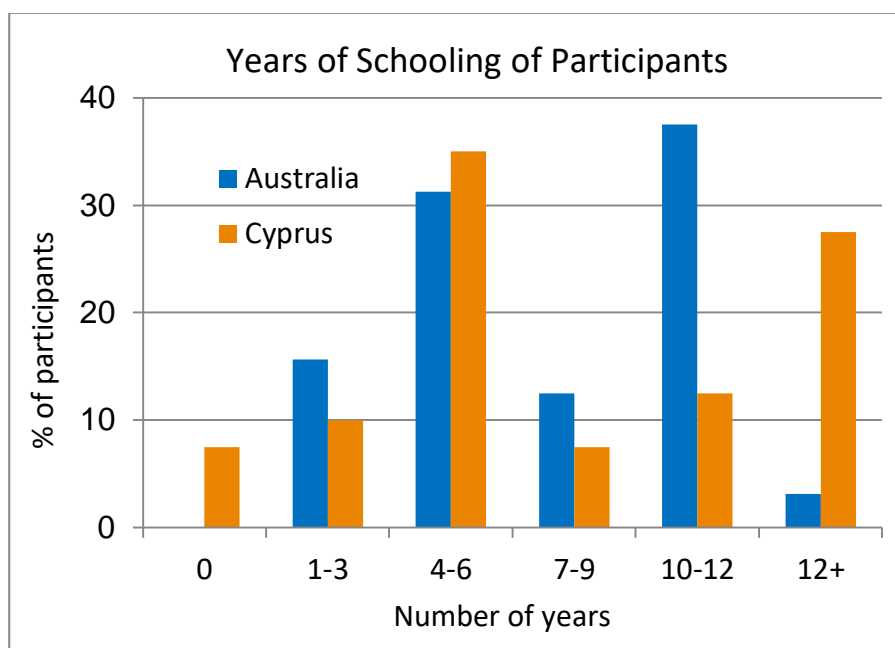
<sup>109</sup> Percival, *Census of population and agriculture*, Statement 51, 26.

<sup>110</sup> Özmatyatlı & Özkul, ‘20th century British colonialism in Cyprus through Education’, 1.

<sup>111</sup> Christofides, *The Traitors Club*, 74.

## Study participants' education

The distribution of levels of schooling of my interview participants are shown in Figure 2.15. All of the Australians had some schooling, many had 10 to 12 years of schooling and just one had post-secondary education. Cyprus participants included people who had had no schooling at all, and many with post-secondary education. These differences can be explained: the Australian participants were older than those in Cyprus (see Figure 2.7) so fewer may have had the opportunity of post-secondary education. Many had 10 to 12 years of schooling; such people were probably more confident of their abilities, bolder, more likely to emigrate. Of course, I interviewed only those people who my contacts presented to me, and some contacts in Cyprus seemed intent on giving me educated people; that might explain the large group of tertiary-educated people in Cyprus.



*Figure 2.15 Years of schooling of interviewees*

In one respect, the distributions are very similar: they are both bi-modal, having two maxima, one at 4 to 6 years of schooling, and another at 10 to 12 years (Australia) and 12+ years (Cyprus). Two factors explain these maxima: Firstly, many small villages had elementary schools but no high school nearby; children would have to travel to a larger town to attend high school. For many, education was truncated at Grade 6. Secondly, boys and girls were clearly treated differently with regard to their schooling. Figure 2.16 shows that 60 percent of men but just 34 percent of women attended high school. Men were also much more likely than women to have a tertiary education.

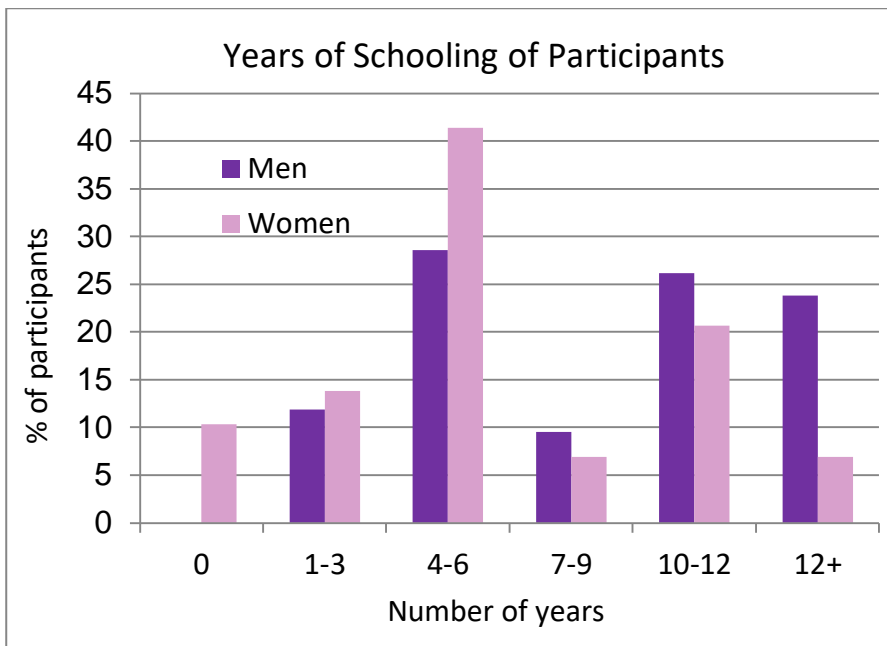


Figure 2.16 Years of schooling of men and women participants

### Attending each other's schools

In her memoir, Aziz stated:

The Turks went to Turkish schools and Greeks to Greek schools, so there was no reason to learn each other's language. Cyprus was British and the common language – and official one – was English. You couldn't get a job in government service without English and all promotional exams were in that language. English was necessary and as a result of Greeks and Turks not learning each other's language it was in English that they communicated with each other. And because English was the common language, neither side felt obliged to speak the other's tongue. It was a sort of vicious circle.<sup>112</sup>

While this may have been the case for those in big cities like Nicosia, where Aziz grew up and worked, it was not the case for small villages. Emmanuelle described the aftermath of an earthquake in 1937, which destroyed the Innia village school. Interviewee Themis was 10 years old at the time and, "His father sent him to study at a Turkish Cypriot school in the neighbouring village ... where he stayed for 9 months."<sup>113</sup>

While this was not common, eight of my participants recalled Turkish Cypriot children attending the Greek school, and five recalled Greek Cypriot children attending the Turkish school.

<sup>112</sup> Aziz, *The Death of Friendship*, 49.

<sup>113</sup> Themis Yianni, born 1927 in Innia, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 61.

My *pappou* Costas attended the Greek school in his village, but one day he had a discomfiting realisation. He talked with his parents about what he wanted to do; they made the necessary arrangements. “I went to a Turkish school for three months – I was embarrassed that my Turkish Cypriot friends could speak Greek but I couldn’t speak Turkish. I learnt enough Turkish for conversation. I just wanted to learn Turkish to speak with some friends.”<sup>114</sup>

Other Greek Cypriot participants recalled Turkish Cypriots attending their schools. Kaiti recalled Turkish Cypriots attending the Greek school in the village but no Greek Cypriots attending the Turkish school.<sup>115</sup> Andreas B recalled that, “Initially the few Turkish Cypriot families in the village would send their kids to the Greek School. There was no Turkish School. But, later on, the English government established a small Turkish school for the Turks.”<sup>116</sup>

My aunt Anastasia (Figure 2.17) had a career as a secondary school teacher, and was devastated when her Turkish Cypriot students left the village in 1974; however, she recalled that ten Turkish Cypriot families later moved back to Polis Chrysochous and she taught the children. The state school “accepted everyone.” Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot children attended, along with Syrians, Kurds, Afghans, Germans and Britons. She told me, with her hand on her heart, that she loved her Turkish Cypriot students as much as her Greek Cypriot students, and she didn’t recall the Turkish Cypriot children encountering any bullying or discrimination while they were at the school, post-war.<sup>117</sup>



*Figure 2.17 Anastasia of Polis Chrysochous (left with her husband Demetris (right), the author and her parents*

Many of my Turkish Cypriot participants told similar stories. Ali (Alex) described children swapping between the two village schools: “I did have a couple of friends who would go to both schools.

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114 Costas, a Greek Cypriot born in Ayia Irini in 1925, migrated to Australia in 1947; interviewed 30 November 2013.

115 Kaiti, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1950; interviewed 17 July 2015.

116 Andreas B, a Greek Cypriot man born in Pyroi in 1940, migrated to Australia in 1975; interviewed 1 May 2015.

117 Anastasia, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1949; interviewed 13 July 2015.

Some Turkish Cypriots also went to the Greek schools and some Greek Cypriots, including my friend Vasili, went to Turkish school. The teachers were welcoming and friendly. But most people learned both languages, even without going to school.”<sup>118</sup>

Often, the low numbers of Turkish Cypriot residents in mixed villages did not warrant a separate Turkish school being built; therefore, all of the children attended the village’s Greek school.

Ramadan spent his early childhood living in Kilani, where there were fewer than 80 Turkish Cypriot residents. Their children attended the village’s Greek school. Ramadan had four and a half years of schooling before the 1974 war and then his family moved to Morphou.<sup>119</sup> Naile went to Alaminos’ Turkish school for four years. “My parents did not let me finish. My brother said, ‘That’s enough, now you have to help me with the sheep.’ My parents were ignorant.” Before the Turkish school was built, though, the majority of Turkish Cypriots of Aglantzia, including Naile’s uncle, attended the Greek school.<sup>120</sup>

## School exchanges

School exchanges, excursions and regular after-school visits occurred between Greek and Turkish schools, particularly for the purpose of learning the ‘other’ language. Dimos related that, “We would have school excursions to their Turkish school [in Xerovounos, less than 3 kilometres away], and they would come to ours. We were very friendly amongst ourselves.”<sup>121</sup> Panayiota recalled, “Turkish Cypriots came to our school to learn Greek. When they finished Turkish school, they would come to our school. They were not from our village – they were from another village, Monarga, which is a very small village with nine or ten Turkish families.”<sup>122</sup>

Sometimes these exchanges were more formalised. Charalambos P had a teacher who made it compulsory for all of the Greek Cypriot students to attend the Turkish Cypriot school for some months, primarily for Turkish language classes. Some Turkish Cypriot children would also attend the Greek Cypriot school.<sup>123</sup> Father Charalambos S resisted mixing with the ‘other’: “Some Greek

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118 Ali (who later became Alexandros), a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lythrangomi in 1928, migrated to Australia in 1949; interviewed 3 June 2014.

119 Ramadan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Kato Polemidhia in 1964, spent much of his early childhood in Kilani; interviewed 13 July 2015.

120 Naile, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1947, moved to Aglantzia in 1964; interviewed 9 July 2015.

121 Dimos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Loutros in 1936, migrated to Australia in 1974; interviewed 1 December 2014.

122 Panayiota, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayios Elias in the Famagusta District in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 3 April 2014.

123 Charalambos P, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1934; interviewed 27 May 2015.

students at the village would go and ... learn Turkish at the Turkish schools. But not me. I was a bit of a wild dog.”<sup>124</sup>

Some participants had no formal exchanges but were curious to learn the ‘other’ language. My great-aunt Maria attended the Greek school in the village, and would often sit outside the Turkish school to listen to the Turkish classes.<sup>125</sup>

Interestingly, sometimes these exchanges included religious instruction. Ilkay said, “I went to the Greek School many times, and often there was a priest who would come [to give religious instruction] and I would sit and listen.”<sup>126</sup>

The experiences of Greek and Turkish Cypriots attending school exchanges, excursions, and after-school visits to learn the language of the ‘other’, demonstrates a level of acceptance and respect of each community towards the ‘other’. These were times when such exchanges were investments in the future; people did not expect the country to become divided.

While we were drinking *salepi* at his kitchen bench in Sydney, Ilkay described the shift he felt when the British refined their education policies, breeding nationalism and resulting in the formal education of Cypriots in modern Greek and modern Turkish: “We didn’t know anything about Turkey when I was a child.” But a gradual connection to the ‘Motherland’ grew through the increased screenings of Turkish films in cinemas, broadcasts of Turkish news on radio, and Turkish teachers coming to Cyprus to teach:

In primary school we had Cypriot teachers, not many from Turkey ... after the 1920s we had teachers coming from Turkey teaching [the children]. Then they [established] the Teachers’ College in Morphou for Greeks and Turks, so we started producing teachers ... in high schools we didn’t have any trained [Cypriot] teachers, they were from Turkey, that’s when we started associating with Turkey ... Books came from Turkey, they were printed in the formal language so we had to learn formal language in school. In the village you could speak any way you want, but I suppose the teachers were saying that ‘You are saying this wrong,’ so then our sentence structure had to change [from Subject-Verb-Object to Subject-Object-Verb].

As discussed earlier, the Teachers’ College in Morphou did indeed train Greek and Turkish Cypriots together – but they were to enter parallel education systems. Britain initially developed education

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124 Father Charalambos S, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1931, migrated to Australia in 1963; interviewed 2 May 2015.

125 Maria, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1929, moved to Polis Chrysochous in 1949 when she married; interviewed 7 June 2015.

126 Ilkay, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lefke in 1946, migrated to Australia in 1978; interviewed 3 August 2014.

policies overseen by mainland Greek and mainland Turkish educational authorities; not a combined system, nor even two systems overseen and controlled by Cypriot authorities. The rapid spread of education produced two separate educated communities, which was desired by the educated nationalist elites of both communities. British policies effectively contributed to dividing the minds and the allegiances of Cypriots.

## Work life

During my participants' childhoods, most of Cyprus' population was rural (see Chapter 2). More than half of the working population was employed as agricultural workers or day labourers, as shown in Table 2.5. After world prices for agricultural products collapsed in the early 1930s, many people lost their lands to creditors and emerged as seasonal agricultural workers, or mine workers.<sup>127</sup>

*Table 2.5 Agricultural workers and day labourers in Cyprus*

1921 <sup>128</sup>		1931 <sup>129</sup>		1946 <sup>130</sup>	
Number	% of all workers	Number	% of all workers	Number	% of all workers
60918	53.7	68961	51.4	78551	49.5

While in rural villages people were predominantly agricultural workers, there is scant evidence in the existing literature of Greek and Turkish Cypriots working together in their fields. The best evidence of Greek and Turkish Cypriots working together comes from records of labour strikes, starting with those at mine sites. However, as the workers in mining and manufacturing, which increased significantly during the 1930s, came from rural stock, their behaviours and relationships likely reflect their prior behaviours and relationships, in their home villages.

Table 2.6 shows details of early strikes of workers in industries where unions were not yet established, or where management would not employ union members. Importantly, the strike committees for each of those strikes show both Greek and Turkish Cypriots involved at the highest levels of negotiation and decision-making. Clearly the two communities worked together, and they fought together for better pay and conditions. Their representatives were arrested, tried and

<sup>127</sup> Rappas, 'The Elusive Polity', 196.

<sup>128</sup> Hart-Davis, *Report and general abstracts of the census of 1921*, 12.

<sup>129</sup> Percival, *Census of population and agriculture*, 35.

<sup>130</sup> *ibid.*, 35.

convicted together for violating Law 54 of 1932 – introduced after the protests of 1931 – which prohibited, “a meeting of five or more persons assembled for the purpose of hearing a speech or a discussion upon any topic of political interest...” without the prior written authorization of the Commissioner of the government District.<sup>131</sup>

*Table 2.6 Early labour strikes in Cyprus<sup>132</sup>*

Year	Workplace	Strikers	Duration	Strike Committee	Demands	Demands met?	Comments
1936	Skouriotissa copper mine	1000	< 2 days	4 GC; 2 TC	Regular pay, minimum wage, workers' compensation	Yes	
1936	Mavrovouni pyrite mine	2000	3 days	4 GC; 3 TC	Higher wage, reduced hours, sick pay, rent reduction	No	Police action; C'ttee members tried, convicted, jailed; many lost jobs and homes.
1938	Cotton factory, Famagusta	< 30 female spinners	Unknown	Unknown	Wage increase, 1 week's notice of dismissal, free medical care	No	Supported by local trade unions. 13 arrested, tried; 11 convicted (4 jailed), all sacked.
1941	Cyprus Railway	240	Unknown	5 GC; 3 TC	Wage increases	Yes	Government intervened, declared railways public utility. C'ttee members tried, convicted, jailed. Widespread protests after strike ended saw them all released.
1941	Limni pyrite mine	200	53 days	3 GC; 3 TC	8-hour day, increased wages, payment for lamps used underground	Yes	Government intervened.

<sup>131</sup> Cyprus Bar Association.

<sup>132</sup> Varnava, *The common labour struggles of Greek and Turkish-Cypriots, 197-199.*



While the earliest efforts to establish trade unions in Cyprus date from 1915<sup>133</sup>, Cypriots were only properly unionised when the Pancyprian Federation of Labour (Παγκύπρια Εργατική Ομοσπονδία, PEO) was established in 1941. Elected officials included Greek and Turkish Cypriots. From late 1944, however, the Greek Cypriots' push for *enosis* resulted in the establishment of many Turkish Cypriot unions, separate from what had been joint unions. Even so, many Turkish Cypriot workers maintained their membership of the joint unions for some time.<sup>134</sup> Sotos Ktoris highlighted, "the mass participation of Turkish Cypriots in the Left-wing trade unions of PSE [Παγκύπρια Συντονιστική Επιθεώρηση] and its successor PEO [Pagkypria Ergatiki Omospondia], especially during the 1940s."<sup>135</sup> Greek and Turkish Cypriots worked together and joined unions together. By 1950, though, appeals from the communist party AKEL, urging Turkish Cypriots to support efforts towards *enosis* were ineffective:

Contrary to the ideological and social divisions that cut across the Greek Cypriot community, the fear of *enosis* within the Turkish Cypriot community dominated political and ideological discussions. The political elite of the Turkish Cypriot community perceived AKEL not only as a 'national' threat but as an ideological menace as well.<sup>136</sup>

As EOKA became more prominent and TMT developed, it became more difficult for joint organisations to exist. At the highest levels, though, they tried to work for common goals. Figures 2.18 to 2.20 show strikers at the Mavrovouni mine in 1936, in Lefke in 1948, and in Paphos in the late 1950s, respectively. Placards in both languages show that workers went on strike together. In May 1960 four Labour Federations representing both Greek and Turkish Cypriots organised a joint 24-hour strike, not of factory or mine workers, but of 5000 government workers. Greek and Turkish Cypriot unions cooperated and undertook joint strikes until 1963.<sup>137</sup>

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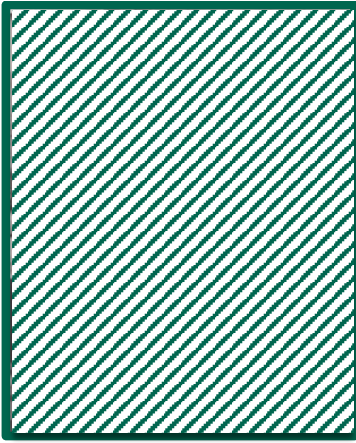
133 Pancyprian Federation of Labour 2007, *Historical Labour Museum, The pre trade union period*, viewed 11 March 2019, <<https://peoguide.peo.org.cy/stop1.html>>.

134 Varnava, *The common labour struggles of Greek and Turkish-Cypriots*.

135 S. Ktoris, 'AKEL and the Turkish Cypriots (1941–1955)', *The Cyprus Review*, 25(2), 2013, 15.

136 Ktoris, 'AKEL and the Turkish Cypriots (1941–1955)', 31.

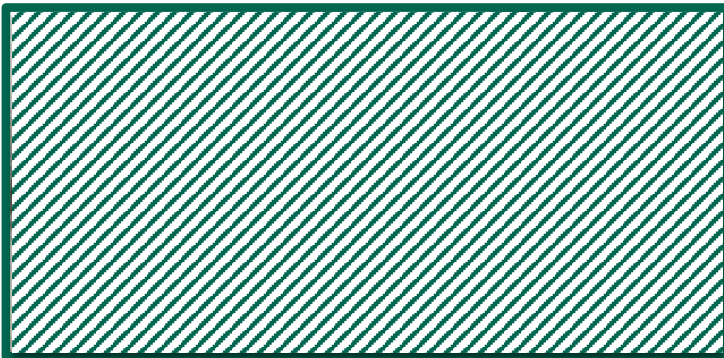
137 Varnava, *The common labour struggles of Greek and Turkish-Cypriots*.



*Figure 2.18 Striking workers at Mavrovouni mine, 1936<sup>138</sup>*



*Figure 2.19 Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot mine workers on strike in Lefke, 1948<sup>139</sup>*



*Figure 2.20 Paphian Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, workers at the Flour Factory, on strike, 1957-58<sup>140</sup>*

Recent evidence of cross-communal working relationships comes from Emmanuelle's extensive interview and photography project. Interviewee Achilleas described his carpenter and joiner father

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138 Image from Pancyprian Federation of Labour

139 Image from Facebook 2019, United Cypriots of Australia, viewed 1 November 2019, <<https://www.facebook.com/groups/599011236851892/?ref=share>>.

140 Image from Facebook 2019, Ufuk Tomson, viewed 10 October 2018, <<https://www.facebook.com/ufuk.tamsoncy.9>>.

employing two Turkish Cypriots, Mustafa and Devrish;<sup>141</sup> interviewee Taki, from Morphou, was apprenticed to a Turkish watchmaker in Nicosia;<sup>142</sup> interviewee Hakki, a barber from Nicosia, took on a Greek Cypriot apprentice, the son of one of his regular customers;<sup>143</sup> and his wife, Sevil, had learnt dressmaking with a local Greek Cypriot seamstress.<sup>144</sup> This study, with many stories (below) of Greek and Turkish Cypriots working together, expands the written record of such cooperation.

### Working lives of study participants

Many of my study participants were oblivious, in the 1950s and 1960s, to the political machinations occurring around them. Even after terrible strife in 1963, life for many returned to 'normal'. Seventy (97 percent) of 72 remembered Greek and Turkish Cypriots doing similar work, and working with the 'other' group.

Often Greek and Turkish Cypriots learnt their trade from a member of the 'other' group. Nevzat was apprenticed as a young man. "I learnt my hairdressing trade from a Greek Cypriot (Neophytos) and he also spoke Turkish. And we had Greek and Turkish customers."<sup>145</sup>

Neighbours of the 'other' group also helped one another find employment. Hüseyin G spoke very highly of my great-uncle Iordanis who had helped his son get a job within public administration in Nicosia; "It didn't matter whether you were Turkish Cypriot or Greek Cypriot; you looked after your neighbours."<sup>146</sup> This sentiment was echoed many times by participants; they had identified themselves by their village before their religion or 'Greek' or 'Turkish' designation.

Greek and Turkish Cypriots often undertook work together in the Limni Copper Mine in Paphos. Özcan (Figure 2.21) told of his parents working with Greek Cypriots at the mine, and his mother also working with Greek Cypriots picking oranges. "I was good friends with the children of the Greek Cypriots who worked with my mother ... we were very close with that family."<sup>147</sup>

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141 Achilleas Demetriou, born 1928 in Polis Chrysochous, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 64.

142 Taki Leptos, born 1929 in Morphou, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 201.

143 Hakki Abdurazak, born 1925 in Nicosia, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 208.

144 Sevil Abdurazak, born 1934 in Nicosia, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 208.

145 Nevzat, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lemba in 1927, migrated to Australia in 1954; interviewed 15 October 2014.

146 Hüseyin G, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1939; interviewed 25 May 2015.

147 Özcan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1955; interviewed 13 July 2015



*Figure 2.21 Özcan of Polis Chrysochous with the author*

It appears that many Greek and Turkish Cypriots undertook agricultural work together. Paraskivou had only attended school for one week when her mother fell ill. That was the extent of her education as she had to care for her younger siblings. Later, she worked in the fields where her Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot friends would sing and entertain each other. They had very close bonds.<sup>148</sup>

Mustafa (Figure 2.22) spoke of the working relationships between the two communities being so strong that an Agricultural Cooperative, in which the two groups worked together, was formed. They had such good relationships that they allowed each other to pick and eat their crops. “During the harvesting period, Greek and Turkish Cypriots would sleep in the fields and interacted a lot during this time.” Many Greek Cypriot families would invite Turkish Cypriot families to their houses for dinner. Asked if there were differences in the working lives of the two groups prior to 1974, Mustafa could only offer that the Greek Cypriots of the village didn’t work with sheep.<sup>149</sup>



*Figure 2.22 Mustafa of Alaminos (left) with his wife (right) and the author*

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148 Paraskivou, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prodromi, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1936; interviewed 14 July 2015.

149 Mustafa, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1948; interviewed 9 July 2015.

In places where Greek Cypriots owned agricultural land, Turkish Cypriots would work for them. Antonis recalled, “We would work together. The Turkish people were poor. They did not have any farms and they came to us to help us pick wheat and many different jobs, and the Greek people paid them.”<sup>150</sup> Anna (Figure 2.23) told of Turkish Cypriots who worked for her grandfather: “[He] would pay them to take care of our fields. They had a place to stay in or near our village while they were working in our fields.”<sup>151</sup>



*Figure 2.23 Anna of Kato Pyrgos with her husband*

The close bonds that were forged between co-workers often led to cultural and religious awareness of the ‘other’ community. Giorgios used to work on his father’s farm with Turkish Cypriots, one of whom was his good friend. One day his mother prepared *pilafi* and pork for him to take as his lunch, and packed another portion for his friend. Giorgios protested, “I can’t bring him pork!” – he knew that Muslims were not supposed to eat pork. “My father laughed and said, ‘Don’t worry – he will eat the whole lot!’ And he did!”<sup>152</sup>

In places where Turkish Cypriots owned agricultural fields, Greek Cypriots worked for them. After intercommunal conflicts in 1963, Naile and her family moved from Alaminos to Aglantzia. There she observed that the Turkish Cypriots were wealthier and, “The Greek Cypriots would work for the Turkish Cypriots by picking carob and olives.”<sup>153</sup> Ramadan said, “Before 1974 we had farms. They

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150 Antonis, a Greek Cypriot born in Aglantzia in 1926, moved to Rizokarpasso at the age of ten and migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 1 May 2015.

151 Anna, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Kato Pyrgos, Nicosia District, in 1931, migrated to Australia in 1978; interviewed 30 November 2014.

152 Giorgios, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1948, migrated to Australia in 1974, returning to Alaminos in his retirement; interviewed 9 June 2015.

153 Naile, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1947, moved to Aglantzia in 1964; interviewed 9 July 2015.

[Greek and Turkish Cypriots] worked together side by side.”<sup>154</sup> Dimos said, “We would go and pick fig trees from their [Turkish Cypriot] fields. Up to 1964 we never had any problem with them.”<sup>155</sup>

Participants also spoke of their involvement in the union alongside the ‘other’. Eleni N was for many years the local leader of the labourer’s union, fighting for wage rises and workers’ rights. She represented men and women, Greek and Turkish Cypriots.<sup>156</sup> Another participant, Andreas K (Figure 2.24) said, “My boss was a Turkish Cypriot. I became a member of the builders’ union and eventually joined the communist party. We would do similar jobs. There [were] not specific jobs we would do separately.”<sup>157</sup> Similarly, Andreas B described very close relations with his Turkish Cypriot workmates: “We worked together, and we even went on strike together! We were united.”<sup>158</sup>



*Figure 2.24 Andreas K of Kythrea with his wife and children*

Even up until 1974 Greek and Turkish Cypriots worked together. Georgia told me, “Next to mum’s house there were fields owned by a Turkish Cypriot. He planted watermelon ... My brother would go with this man and sell the watermelons up at Troodos. This was up to 1974, prior to the war.”<sup>159</sup> The reality of many Greek and Turkish Cypriots having worked side-by-side demonstrates that prior to the wars of the 1960s and of 1974; many of the villages of Cyprus functioned in a co-operative and supportive way.

Surprisingly, some working relationships between the two groups continued post-1974. Due to his work in the telecommunications industry (and co-operation necessary between the north and the south), Niyazi often crossed to the south in the years before the checkpoints opened in 2003. He spoke Greek and made many new Greek Cypriot friends.<sup>160</sup> This example, along with the others

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154 Ramadan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Kato Polemidhia in 1964, spent much of his early childhood in Kilani; interviewed 13 July 2015.

155 Dimos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Loutros in 1936, migrated to Australia in 1974; interviewed 1 December 2014.

156 Eleni N, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1945; interviewed 27 May 2015.

157 Andreas K, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kythrea in 1924, migrated to Australia in 1961; interviewed 3 January 2015.

158 Andreas B, a Greek Cypriot man born in Pyroi in 1940, migrated to Australia in 1975; interviewed 1 May 2015.

159 Georgia, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Petra in 1958, migrated to Australia in 1983; interviewed 3 January 2015.

160 Niyazi, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Varosha in 1949, moved to Polis Chrysochous at the age of seven; interviewed 13 June 2015.

above, demonstrates the close and resilient relationships that existed between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, forged through working together.

## Serving together in the World Wars

Further evidence of good relationships between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in the early twentieth century comes from their participation in Britain's wars. As discussed in Chapter 1, approximately 25 percent of the male population of Cyprus aged 18 to 35 served in the Cypriot Mule Corps during World War I<sup>161</sup>, and approximately 35,000 Greek and Turkish Cypriot volunteers served together in the Cyprus during World War II.<sup>162</sup>

Records suggest that Greek and Turkish Cypriots of the Cypriot Mule Corps got on well. Asmussen interviewed former soldiers and administrators of the Cyprus Regiment and argued, "There are no hints in the British public records of any ethnic conflicts within the Cyprus regiment. This is exactly in line with the combined memories of Turkish- and Greek Cypriot war veterans."<sup>163</sup> Relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots were commonly characterised by a spirit of 'comradeship'.<sup>164</sup> Asmussen claimed that serious differences between the two barely occurred, "underlined by the fact that many Turkish Cypriots joined their Greek comrades voluntarily as they went from North Africa to fight in Greece."<sup>165</sup> The only recorded differences were subjective testimonies provided by British drill sergeants.<sup>166</sup>

The official language of the Cyprus Regiment was English; however, Greek and Turkish were commonly used. Asmussen's interviewee, former soldier Loizos Demitriou said, "Communication between Greek and Turkish Cypriots during their army service was almost invariably carried out in Greek."<sup>167</sup> Another interviewee, Mehmet Ali Izmen, said, "We used our own language [Turkish], anyway. But we had British officers and all that. We could speak English as well, but the communication between us was either in Greek or Turkish. The Greeks also spoke Turkish in those days."<sup>168</sup>

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161 A. Varnava, 'The Impact of the Cypriot Contribution during the Great War on Colonial Society and Loyalties/disloyalties to the British Empire', *First World War Studies*, 8(1), 2017, 17.

162 Asmussen, 'Dark-Skinned Cypriots will not be accepted!', 167.

163 *ibid.*, 180.

164 *ibid.*, 181.

165 *ibid.*, 182.

166 *ibid.*, 183.

167 *ibid.*, 182.

168 *ibid.*, 182.

Greek and Turkish Cypriots in the Cyprus Regiment (comprising about 2 percent of the 1946 population) returned home after demobilisation in 1955 as ‘comrades’ who believed they had fought for a just cause.<sup>169</sup> According to Asmussen, “this cause was either the ‘fight against fascism’ or (for the Greek Cypriots) the struggle for the Greek motherland. The common enemies had been the Axis-powers and the common goal of defeating them had been accomplished.”<sup>170</sup> Whilst the war brought together Greek and Cypriot soldiers, this was clearly not enough to ease the growing ethnic tensions on the island.

### *We were like brothers*

One of Asmussen’s Turkish Cypriot interviewees, former Cyprus Regiment soldier Mehmet Ali Izmen, stated, “We were just like brothers! We didn’t have any differences at all. It was comradeship, true comradeship. There was no difference, because we spent all our time together.”<sup>171</sup>

My participants, too, recalled Greek and Turkish men serving in the Cyprus Regiment as ‘brothers’. Several, such as Nevzat (Figure 2.25), served themselves. He claimed, “Greeks and Turks were brothers.”<sup>172</sup> Other participants had family members who served. Niyazi had a grandfather in the British Army in World War I and an uncle who fought for the British in World War II. “They all fought alongside their Greek Cypriots brothers.”<sup>173</sup>



*Figure 2.25 Nevzat Katmi (circled) with his fellow Turkish and Greek Cypriot friends in the Cyprus Regiment*

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169 Asmussen, ‘Dark-Skinned Cypriots will not be accepted!’, 183.

170 *ibid.*, 183.

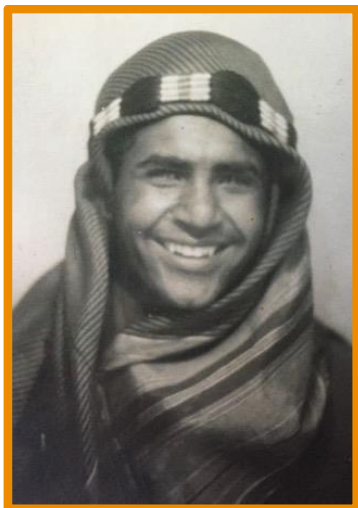
171 *ibid.*, 181.

172 Nevzat, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lemba in 1927, migrated to Australia in 1954; interviewed 15 October 2014.

173 Niyazi, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Varosha in 1949, moved to Polis Chrysochous at the age of seven; interviewed 13 June 2015.



Similarly, Paraskivou recalled her brother and brother-in-law both serving in the Cyprus Regiment during World War II. “They fought with the Turkish Cypriot friends.”<sup>174</sup> Nevsal’s husband (Figure 2.26), father-in-law and brother-in-law all fought in the Cyprus Regiment, and coincidentally met in Egypt towards the end of the war. They all returned home together, along with their Greek Cypriot ‘brothers’.<sup>175</sup>



*Figure 2.26 Nevsal’s husband*

As they had with the Cypriot Mule Corps in World War I,<sup>176</sup> Greek and Turkish Cypriots often enlisted in the Cyprus Regiment together.<sup>177</sup> My great-aunt Maria remembered both Greek and Turkish Cypriot men joining the Cyprus Regiment and fighting in World War II. Her husband was one of them, as well as her mother’s cousin, Petros.<sup>178</sup> Similarly, Erol recalled that his father, Ahmet Hüseyin, had joined the Cyprus Regiment and fought in Egypt during World War II. He enlisted alongside his Greek Cypriot friend, Constantis. “They were good friends. They went to war together, and came back together.”<sup>179</sup>

Similar to the literature of Varnava and Asmussen mentioned earlier, my interviewees recalled not only that Greek and Turkish Cypriots served together in World War II, but that many of them were friends from the same villages, who most likely signed up together. Their deep connections are evident in stories of these men being ‘like brothers’ during their time in the Cyprus Regiment.

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174 Paraskivou, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prodromi, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1936; interviewed 14 July 2015.

175 Nevsal, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1927; interviewed 24 July 2015.

176 Varnava, *Serving the empire in the Great War*, 85-87.

177 Asmussen, ‘Dark-Skinned Cypriots will not be accepted!’, 180.

178 Maria, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1929, moved to Polis Chrysochous in 1949 when she married; interviewed 7 June 2015.

179 Erol, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Khoulou in 1951; interviewed 24 July 2015.

## Participants' Identities

Asking someone about their identity is always difficult, as it is a very subjective and loaded question. For Cypriots, identities were complicated by the influence of Greek and Turkish nationalism in schools and through the media, and by religiosity. Huseyin Alptekin argued that Orthodox-Greek and Muslim-Turkish identities in Cyprus have:

... remained as the legal distinction between majorities and minorities up to day [sic]. However, the durability of the identities has not stuck to single, one-dimensional patterns. Until recent periods, religious roots of the identities were more significant than ethnic-linguistic roots. Yet, the picture has changed significantly in the recent history with increasing heterogeneity within the 'meta' communities of Muslims and non-Muslims.<sup>180</sup>

Presently, national identities appear to be more dominant than religious ones. Stavrínides, argues that, "the two main ethnic groups which are to be found in the island are thought of by their members as being not 'self-contained' Cyprus-based nations, but integral parts of larger nations."<sup>181</sup> Furthermore, up until the 1974 war, "Turkish Cypriot identity formation was based on identification with Turkey. However, after this date, a new process of differentiation began, in which both periods of identity formation — namely, identification and differentiation — were reflected in and by language."<sup>182</sup>

Participants were asked about their identity as children, and their identity at the time of the interview (2013 to 2018). It was an open-ended question, and participants chose their own words; hence the wide range of responses shown in Figure 2.27. Sometimes, if they did not understand the question, I would offer a broad range of examples. A strong Cypriot identity emerges, with 55 (76 percent) of 72 participants including 'Cypriot' in their descriptor. Furthermore, while many Greek Cypriots had a primary religious identity, or a hyphenated religious identity, only two Turkish Cypriots expressed a hyphenated religious identity. This is evidence of the low levels of religiosity of Turkish Cypriots, as described in Chapter 1.

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180 Alptekin, 'Millet System is Alive', 6.

181 Stavrínides, *The Cyprus Conflict*, 8.

182 Kizilyürek & Gautier-Kizilyürek, 'The politics of identity in the Turkish Cypriot community and the language question', 37.

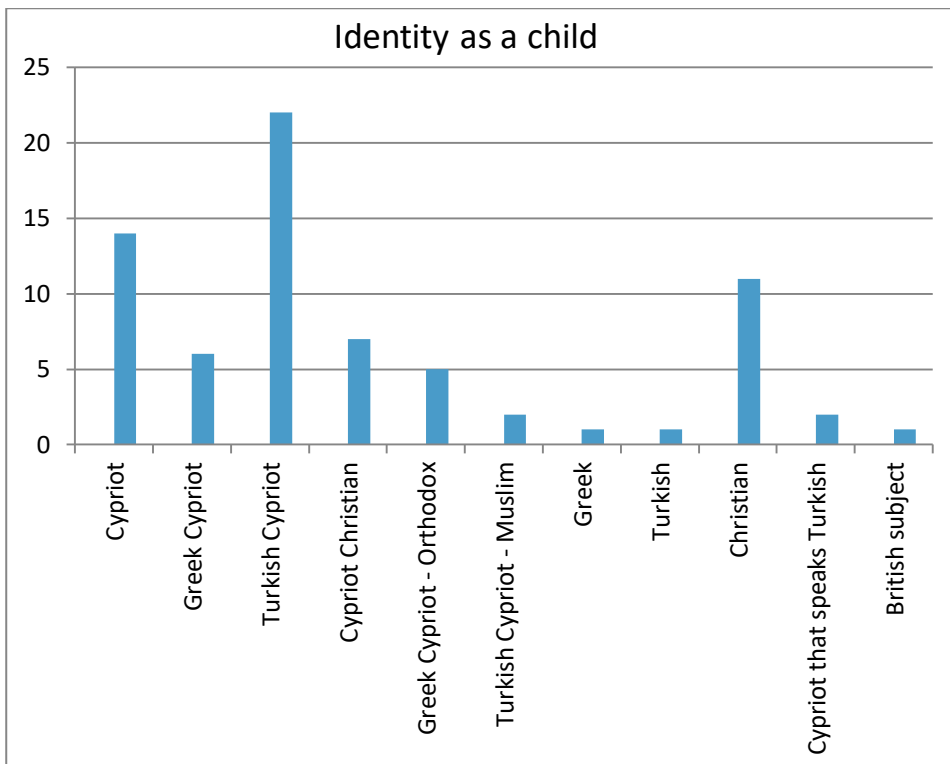


Figure 2.27 Identity as a child

## I am a Cypriot

Many participants identified solely as ‘Cypriot’. Antigone said that, “In the old days we would say we are all Cypriots. We were not called ‘Greek Cypriot’ or ‘Turkish Cypriot’. We were all Cypriots because we were all born in the same country.”<sup>183</sup> My great-aunt Galatia (Julie) also felt a Cypriot identity; “We would never say we were Turkish or Greek. We were Cypriot. But after the war it all changed.”<sup>184</sup> Similarly, Paraskivou embraced the same identity that she felt as a child – that of being a Cypriot. Paraskivou did not identify with mainland Greece, nor was she very religious, so she maintained a national rather than an ethnic or religious identity.<sup>185</sup>

Labels were commonly viewed as counter-productive. Themistoclis wanted to set the record straight:

We are a country that is recognised internationally as one country. Yet everywhere Cypriots go, they are labelled as Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot. Why? Here in Australia, we are Greeks, we are Italians, we are all different nations. They don’t call us Cypriot Australians or Greek Australians or Italian Australians. Why do they call us Greeks – we are not Greeks; we are Cypriots. Why do they call them Turkish? Why are they Turkish? They are not born in

<sup>183</sup> Antigone, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prastio in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1988; interviewed 25 April 2014.

<sup>184</sup> Galatia (Julie), a Greek Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1939, migrated to Australia in 1956; interviewed 3 May 2015.

<sup>185</sup> Paraskivou, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prodromi, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1936; interviewed 14 July 2015.

Turkey; they are born in Cyprus. We are not born in Greece. We were born in Cyprus. We are Cypriots. Because we speak Greek language we are Greeks? No. Because people here speak English they are English? No – they are Australian. Same for New Zealand and Canada. That’s where the politicians don’t get it. They divide countries into bits and pieces so they can control and govern them.<sup>186</sup>

My Turkish Cypriot participants also described their ‘Cypriot’ identity. İbrahim U (Figure 2.28) proudly showed his Republic of Cyprus identity card. My father and I pulled out ours, too! I wondered why a Turkish Cypriot who lived in the north had this card? “I am a Cypriot”, İbrahim stated firmly. Since the checkpoints opened in 2003, many people from the north have claimed citizenship of the Republic, which is their right. Many of their children and grandchildren have, too. There are tangible as well as idealistic advantages: for example, İbrahim’s grandson is a citizen of the Republic of Cyprus, a member of the European Union, and this gave him access to an affordable university education in France. İbrahim identified as a Cypriot who spoke Turkish, and as an atheist.<sup>187</sup>



*Figure 2.28 İbrahim U of Ayia Irini*

None of my Turkish Cypriot participants held a solely religious (Islamic) identity. As a young man, Emir (Figure 2.29) identified as a “Cypriot Turk”. However, when I asked him about his current identity, he replied “independent”, and we all laughed. He still considered himself as a Cypriot Turk but did not have a strong Muslim identity as he enjoyed drinking alcohol and eating pork.<sup>188</sup>

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186 Themistoclis, a Greek Cypriot born in Kilanemos in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1951; interviewed 1 December 2014.

187 İbrahim U, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1945; interviewed 13 June 2015.

188 Emir, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Souskiou in 1933; interviewed 2 July 2015.



*Figure 2.29 Emir of Souskiou with the author*

Many Turkish Cypriots today lack overt religiosity, due to a decline of Islamic practice which began in Cyprus in the mid-nineteenth century. Mete Hatay stated, “Ottoman reforms that attempted to root out the Sufi folk practices that were common in the island, particularly in rural areas ... created a fertile ground for the rise of secularist Kemalism in the 1920s and 1930s.”<sup>189</sup>

Furthermore, very few of my Turkish Cypriot participants held a solely ‘Turkish’ identity. Nafiya said, “We were Turkish Cypriots, but we did not identify with the people of mainland Turkey. Up until the end of British rule, we didn’t know anything about Turkey.”<sup>190</sup> Ali (Alex) concurred: “We didn’t know much about mainland Greece and Turkey back then.”<sup>191</sup>

### The changing of identities

Whilst the majority of my participants maintained their childhood identities throughout their lives, others saw their identities change over time. Sadiye felt while growing up that her identity when talking with fellow Cypriots was ‘Turkish’; however, when talking to foreigners she identified as ‘Cypriot’. In 2015, she considered herself to be a Turkish Cypriot, as she interacted with more and more people from outside of Cyprus.<sup>192</sup>

Migration and settlement in a new country often has a significant impact on one’s identity. Andreas K had a more religious than ethnic/national identity as a child. He said, “Back then I felt mostly Christian. They did not use the terms ‘Greek’ and ‘Turkish’ back then. Now I feel Australian.”<sup>193</sup>

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189 M. Hatay, ‘Reluctant’ Muslims? Turkish Cypriots, Islam, and Sufism’, *The Cyprus Review*, 27(2), 2015, 43.

190 Nafiya, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Lemba in 1929, migrated to Australia in 1952; interviewed 15 October 2014.

191 Ali (who later became Alexandros), a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lythrangomi in 1928, migrated to Australia in 1949; interviewed 3 June 2014.

192 Sadiye, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1949; interviewed 9 July 2015.

193 Andreas K, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kythrea in 1924, migrated to Australia in 1961; interviewed 3 January 2015.

Determining one's identity in Cyprus is not an easy task. For this reason, it is understandable that many Cypriots had maintained, or felt, a dual identity at some point throughout their lives. For many of those who migrated to Australia (explored in Chapter 6), their identity is even more complex.

## Conclusion

Counter to the views of many scholars, commentators, and the hegemonic Turkish Cypriot nationalist narrative that only civil and superficial relations existed between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, my research has shown that, prior to the tensions and violence of the 1960s, and the division of the island in 1974, many Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived happy and integrated lives in the former mixed villages of Cyprus.

This chapter has revealed evidence of the previously little-known community-level relationships that existed between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in the former mixed villages of Cyprus. Their everyday experiences included close school and work lives, and acquisition of the 'other' language. I suggest that their sense of intercommunality led to 76 percent of participants identifying, as children, as 'Cypriot'.

My participants lived side by side, their children played together, they worked together in the fields, they went to war together. The stories of their intertwined lives are natural manifestations of mixed village life.

## Chapter 3 – Community-level Relations: Cross-religious encounters

This chapter explores participants' religious tolerance and understanding and their recollections of cross-religious encounters and celebrations: their familiarity with and participation in each other's festivals, rites and celebrations. The richness of the data was unexpected and delightful.

A broad range of literature suggests that intense religious transculturation occurred throughout the Ottoman Empire, including in Cyprus. People attended weddings and funerals of the 'other' group and were very familiar with the rituals and beliefs of each other's religion. They understood that Judaism, Christianity and Islam were all Abrahamic religions; that they all prayed to the same God.

### Entering the religious house of the other

Throughout the Ottoman Empire, Muslims and Christians entered the religious house of the 'other'. When interviewed by Doumanis, Iordanes Mavromatis, a Greek man who had lived in Anatolia under Ottoman rule, stated, "we had "great loves" with the Turks... He conceded that the local Greeks sometimes attended mosque because it was a 'house of God', although it was essentially as a reciprocal gesture of respect, since the Muslims came on occasion to their church."<sup>1</sup> Mavromatis also stated, "We'd go to their mosque where we'd follow their prayers. What? Is not a mosque also a house of God? They [Turks] would also come to our churches."<sup>2</sup>

Further evidence of this 'reciprocal gesture' in the Ottoman Empire comes from Benjamin Barker's report of his extended tour of Thrace in April/May 1823, on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society.<sup>3</sup>

What greatly struck me was to see with what freedom the Christians and Jews enter the mosque of Adrianople without meeting the least opposition, so contrary to the Custom of the other Turkish places where if a Christian or Jew enters a mosque he must either become a Turk or lose his head. You are even allowed here to go up the minarets and what is still more extraordinary, the Greeks are permitted to pray in the beautiful mosque of Sultan Selim on the Ascension Day. Tradition says that where that mosque stands there was

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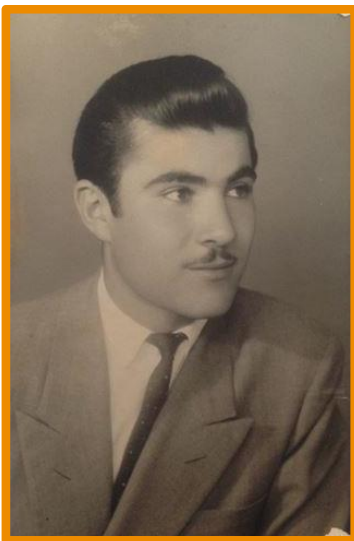
1 Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, 50.

2 *ibid.*, 89.

3 R. Clogg, 'Enlightening "A Poor, Oppressed, and Darkened Nation": Some Early Activities of the BFBS and the Levant', in S. Batalden, K. Cann & J. Dean (eds.), *Sowing the Word: The Cultural Impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1804-2004*, Sheffield Phoenix Press, Sheffield, UK, 2004, 239.

formerly a Greek church called the Ascension Church ... it is a curious sight to see the Greeks with their small lighted candles, praying and crossing themselves on the one side of the mosque and the Turks and their accustomed prostrations on the other. After finishing their devotions the Greeks fill small vials from a spring which is in the centre of the mosque, pretending that that water becomes Holy on the Ascension Day.<sup>4</sup>

The component of my interviews that most surprised my participants' children and grandchildren, who sometimes sat in on them, was that many had entered the church or mosque of the 'other' group. For example, when I interviewed my great-uncle Iordanis (Figure 3.1), he said that he had visited mosques. His children, aged in their late 30s and early 40s, were astonished.<sup>5</sup> The war of 1974 and the hegemonic nationalist narratives, both before and since, have not encouraged people to talk of the closeness between Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Such stories are rarely part of family narratives; not part of oral history that might be passed to future generations. During his children's formative years, Iordanis withheld details of his own life in the village; that long self-censorship enabled him, forty years after the war of 1974, to maintain his outrage.



*Figure 3.1 Iordanis of Ayia Irini*

Sixty-five participants were asked if they had ever entered the religious house (church or mosque) of the 'other' group; overall, 38 (58 percent) had done so (Figure 3.2). Most had visited to attend a wedding, funeral, baptism or religious holiday festival. Some had visited out of curiosity or playfulness. The most obvious differences are that men were much more likely than women, and Turkish Cypriots much more likely than Greek Cypriots, to have done so. Perhaps in a patriarchal society, boys were freer than girls during childhood. Perhaps, also, as Islam recognises Christians as

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4 R. Clogg, *Benjamin Barker's Journal of a tour in Thrace 1823*, University of Birmingham Historical Journal XII, Birmingham, 1970, 253-254.

5 Iordanis, a Greek Cypriot born in Ayia Irini in 1936; interviewed 19 June 2014.



‘people of the book’ – as it recognises the Torah, psalms and the Gospel as being revealed by God to the prophets Moses, David and Jesus respectively<sup>6</sup> – while Christianity does not reciprocate in recognising the later-established Islam, it was more acceptable for Muslims to enter the church than for Christians to enter the mosque.

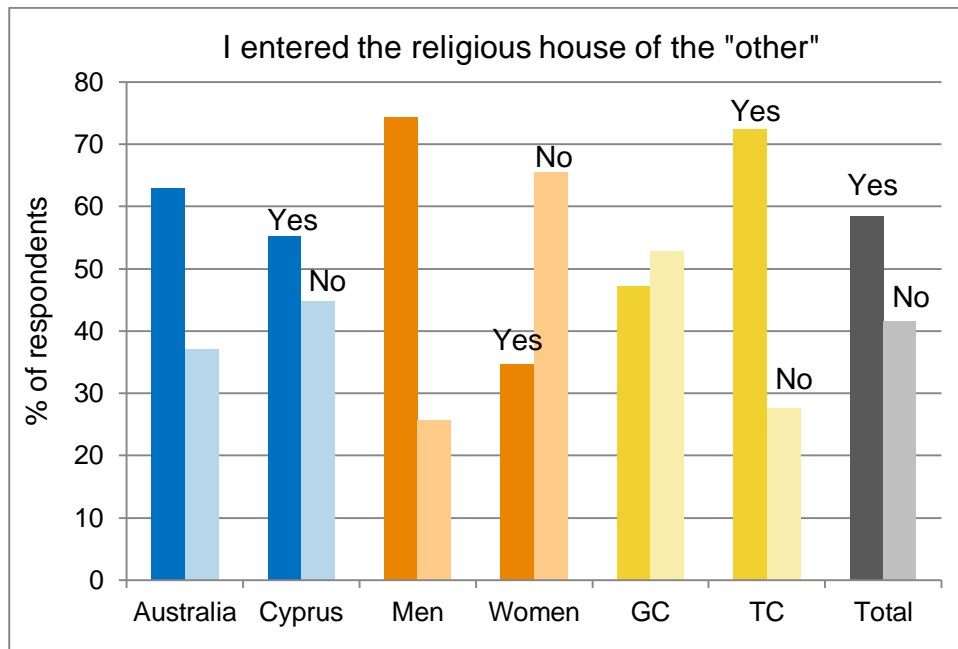


Figure 3.2 Participants who entered the religious house of the ‘other’ group

Some participants described the church as a house of God, accessible to all believers. Erol (Figure 3.3) explained that there was no problem going into the church, “because it is the same. The church and the mosque: it’s for God, for Allah. If you go there you pray – it’s the same ... For example, if there’s no mosque here [in this village], I can go to the church, pray to the God.”<sup>7</sup> Erol’s understanding, his assuredness of belonging, aligns with Emmanuelle’s interviewee Sotiris, speaking about Turkish Cypriots: “There was no difference and certainly no animosity between us. They could all speak Greek and some of them even came to our Church on Sundays. Our priest had no idea.”<sup>8</sup>

Figure 3.4 shows the age distribution of those who had entered the church or the mosque of the ‘other’ group. While around half of those born in the 1930s (11 out of 23) and 1940s (13 of 24) entered the religious house of the ‘other’ group, larger proportions of those born in the 1920s (8 of

6. A. Ahmari-Moghaddam, ‘Towards International Islamic Human Rights: A comparative study of Islamic Law, Shari’ah, with universal human rights as defined in the International Bill of Human Rights’, Masters Thesis, University of Toronto, Toronto, 2012, 26.

7 Erol, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Khoulou in 1951; interviewed 24 July 2015.

8 Sotiris Charalambous, born 1933 in Agios Sergios, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 166.

12) and 1950s (8 of 12) had done so. As the numbers are small no conclusion can be drawn, but it is interesting that people in the 1950s (and even the one participant born in 1964), well into the period of political turmoil, were still entering each other's religious houses. There is no indication of behaviour changing in the small mixed villages from which my participants were drawn.



Figure 3.3 Erol of Khoulou

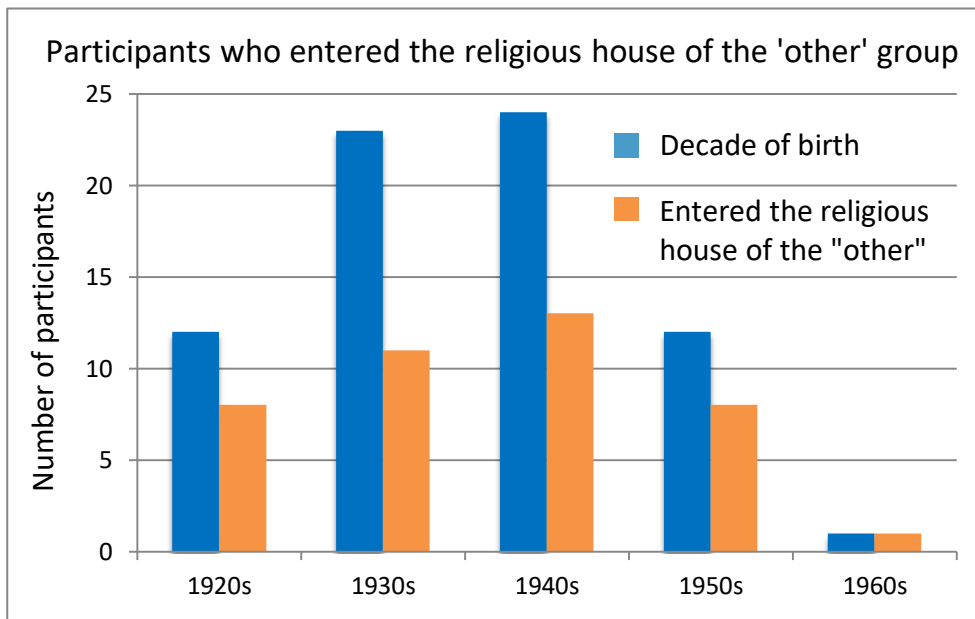


Figure 3.4 Age distribution of interviewees who entered the religious house of the 'other' group

Table 3.1 shows details of the Australian participants responses (half of whom were from mono-communal villages), when asked if they had entered the house of worship of the 'other' group. Those from mixed villages were more likely than those from mono-communal villages to have entered the religious house of the 'other' group; this is not surprising, as they were more likely to play with children of the 'other' group and to have access to a mosque and a church in their villages. The six participants from mono-communal villages who responded "Yes" came from villages described in Table 3.2, which includes Census data related to each participant's childhood. While their villages had very few (or no) people of the 'other' group, most of them were within a

few kilometres of a mixed or an ‘other’ village, and had opportunities to connect and form relations with people in that village.

*Table 3.1 Australian participants entering the ‘other’ house of worship*

Village type	Entered the religious house of the ‘other’ group	
	Yes	No
Mixed	11	7
Mono-communal	6	8

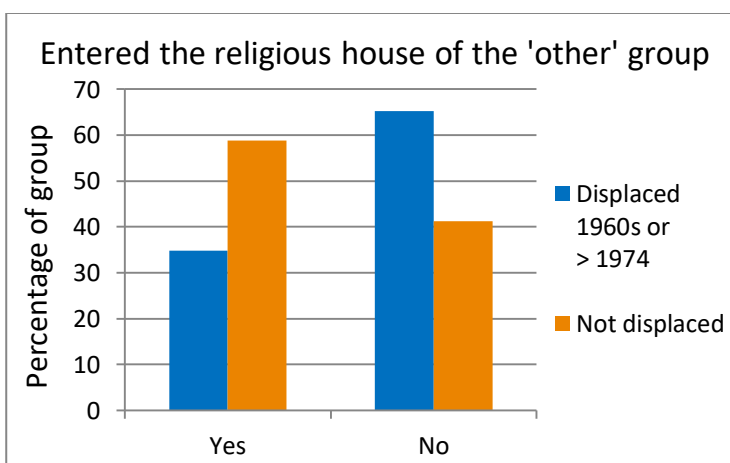
*Table 3.2 Mono-communal home villages of Australian participants who did enter the religious house of the ‘other’ group<sup>9</sup>*

Participant	Home village / town	Home district	Year of birth	Census year 1: Greeks / Turks	Census year 2: Greeks / Turks	Nearest ‘other’ or mixed village
Panayiota <sup>10</sup>	Ayios Elias	Famagusta	1926	1921: 660 / 0	1931: 638 / 0	Avgolidha, 3 km
Ioannis <sup>11</sup>	Kato Zodia	Nicosia	1959	1946: 1711 / 0	1960: 2278 / 0	Angolemi, 4 km
İbrahim A <sup>12</sup>	Kivisil	Larnaca	1935	1931: 0 / 121	1946: 0 / 205	Tersephanou, 2 km
Çetin <sup>13</sup>	Marona	Paphos	1949	1946: 14 / 98	1960: 3 / 105	Mamonia, 2 km
Münüfe <sup>14</sup>	Kaleburnu (Galinoporni)	Famagusta	1951	1946: 1/833	1960: 0 / 836	Ayia Trias, 8 km
Savvas (Sam) <sup>15</sup>	Peyia	Paphos	1939	1946: 1403 / 6	1960: 1401 / 0	Akoursos, 3 km

For some questions such as celebrating each other’s religious festivals, or whether their working life was similar, there was an overwhelmingly positive response. For the question, “Did you ever visit a

<sup>9</sup> Hart-Davis, *Report and general abstracts of the census of 1921*, 43; Hart-Davis, *General Abstracts of the census of 1931*, 33 and 38; Percival, *Census of population and agriculture*, 7, 9, 10, 13 and 14; and Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture*, Tables V, VII and X.  
<sup>10</sup> Panayiota, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayios Elias in the Famagusta District in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 3 April 2014.  
<sup>11</sup> Ioannis, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kato Zodia in 1959, migrated to Australia in 1976; interviewed 19 March 2017.  
<sup>12</sup> İbrahim A, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Kivisil in 1935, migrated to Australia in 1958; interviewed 4 October 2017.  
<sup>13</sup> Çetin, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Marona in 1949, migrated to Australia in 1971; interviewed 12 July 2017.  
<sup>14</sup> Münüfe, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Kaleburnu (Galinoporni) in 1951, migrated to Australia in 1971; interviewed 12 July 2017.  
<sup>15</sup> Savvas (Sam), a Greek Cypriot man born in Peyia in 1939, migrated to Australia in 1958; interviewed 6 May 2017.

church / mosque?” responses of participants in Cyprus were 58 percent “Yes” and 42 percent “No” – a clear split. This provided an opportunity to test whether people’s responses might have been coloured by their experiences of displacement. If everyone was truthful, it would be expected that there would be no difference in the proportion of people answering “Yes” and “No” between those who had been displaced, and those who had not. A difference is observed, however. Figure 3.5 shows percentages of each group answering “Yes” or “No”; people who had been displaced were less likely to admit to having entered the religious house of the ‘other’ group. It seems likely that respondents’ past experiences influenced whether they would divulge information. Perhaps if the question was posed later in the interview, when they were more at ease with me, there would have been a different outcome. The raw numbers (8 “Yes” and 15 “No” for those displaced; 10 “Yes” and 7 “No” for those not displaced) are too small for the outcome to be statistically significant but are an interesting indicator of a problem with questionnaire and interview research: respondents who have suffered (in Cyprus, those displaced) may construct and convey a more severe history than those who have suffered less (in Cyprus, those not displaced). Interviewee’s responses are, of course, honest or moulded or withheld. In this case, I suspect that some of those who had been displaced but denied entering the church or the mosque had indeed done so, but could or would not admit to it. The disparity shown in Figure 3.5 points to the inherent unreliability of responses to survey and interview questions. People have many reasons for answering with various levels of truth – related to their family, their experiences of trauma, their politics, their stage of life.



*Figure 3.5 Cyprus interviewees who entered the religious house of the ‘other’ group, grouped by those displaced or not displaced*

The most common reason that my participants gave for entering the religious house of the ‘other’ was for religious festivals and events. Hüseyin G told me that he visited the village church many times for Christian festivals, including Easter and the saint’s name days, as well as weddings,

baptisms and funerals. Many of his Greek Cypriot neighbours also attended the mosque for Muslim festivals.<sup>16</sup> It appears to have been common for friends of the 'other' group to attend each other's events. Ramadan spent his early childhood living in the Greek Cypriot-majority mixed village of Kilani, where his friends would often come to the mosque with him and, "I would go with other children on Sundays into the church. No-one remained outside and I went in also."<sup>17</sup>

My great-aunt Galatia (Julie) was matter-of-fact. "Yes, [I attended the mosque] for one of their events ... we were so close with the Turks, we were friends ... There was also a mosque in Larnaca [Hala Sultan Tekke] which I went to, but that was with my husband after I grew up."<sup>18</sup>

Often my participants described visiting the religious house of the 'other' out of curiosity. İbrahim U lived opposite the family of my *pappou* Costas. He remembered listening to my great-uncle İordanis as a schoolboy, playing his violin in the back yard, and my great-uncle Andreas S once painted a picture of him. As a child, İbrahim U entered the church out of curiosity, to see what was inside. Later, he attended for weddings, funerals and baptisms.<sup>19</sup> Niyazi, too, entered the church as a curious child; later, he attended weddings and funerals. When interviewed in 2015, he had recently attended a Maronite friend's wedding in Kormakitis.<sup>20</sup>

Some participants had a deep understanding of and respect for the religion of their friends. Turkish Cypriot couple Nevzat and Nafiya (Figure 3.6) entered the church to attend funerals of people who were close to their families. "But we would not go there to pray. But it is God's house and we have respect for it. We would go to light a candle as well. We don't recall Greek Cypriots visiting the mosque, though." Nevzat explained his attitude: "I know we are different religions. But in my opinion, first religion was the Jews; we all came from the Jews. We come from the same God. We eat the same food. He bring us into this world the same way. He looks after us and He will take us the same way."<sup>21</sup>

According to several of my Greek Cypriot participants, some Turkish Cypriots believed in Christianity. Giorgios (Figure 3.7) said of a Turkish Cypriot woman who lived opposite the church, "I think she was a believer." One night the woman came to the priest's house after midnight and

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16 Hüseyin G, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1939; interviewed 25 May 2015.

17 Ramadan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Kato Polemidhia in 1964, spent much of his early childhood in Kilani; interviewed 13 July 2015.

18 Galatia (Julie), a Greek Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1939, migrated to Australia in 1956; interviewed 3 May 2015.

19 İbrahim U, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1945; interviewed 13 June 2015.

20 Niyazi, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Varosha in 1949, moved to Polis Chrysochous at the age of seven; interviewed 13 June 2015.

21 Nafiya, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Lemba in 1929, migrated to Australia in 1952; and Nevzat, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lemba in 1927, migrated to Australia in 1954; both interviewed 15 October 2014.

woke him; she felt that something was wrong in the church. They went together to inspect the church and found that the flame of the oil lamp, that must never be extinguished, was out. Giorgios remembered that woman with awe, as godly, not as the 'other'.<sup>22</sup>



*Figure 3.6 Couple Nafiya (left) and Nevzat (right) of Lemba*



*Figure 3.7 Giorgios of Alaminos with his wife*

Andreas B said, "Sometimes the Turks would come to the church if they had problems."<sup>23</sup> Similarly, Eftihia remembered Turkish Cypriot women going into her church, lighting candles and putting oil in the *tama* to burn. "They would pray for healing and make offerings."<sup>24</sup>

These recollections demonstrate that many Turkish Cypriots felt comfortable going to Christian churches and some had an affinity with and believed in some aspects of Christianity, as they attended the church, lit candles, and sought assistance with their problems.

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22 Giorgios, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1948, migrated to Australia in 1974, returning to Alaminos in his retirement; interviewed 9 June 2015.

23 Andreas B, a Greek Cypriot man born in Pyroi in 1940, migrated to Australia in 1975; interviewed 1 May 2015.

24 Eftihia, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1936, migrated to Australia in 1977; interviewed 19 November 2015.

An account that I heard from several of my Greek Cypriot participants, and that I believe worth reporting, is of a common behaviour when Turkish Cypriots passed a church. They did not cross themselves, as a Christian would do, but stroked the wall with their hand, a gesture of respect as they passed a house of God.

## Religious festivals

Christians and Muslims accommodated each other in the Ottoman Empire, “out of habit, good will and practical necessity, which together constituted a ‘generality’ or ‘structure’ that characterized ‘a way of being’.”<sup>25</sup> Doumanis claimed that prior to 1912, much of the Ottoman Empire, “was flourishing and stable, particularly western Anatolia and the Levant.”<sup>26</sup> The intercommunal relationships which existed between Muslims and Christians saw each group participate in each other’s religious festivals and form lasting friendships.<sup>27</sup>

In reference to Harrison Dwight’s description of Turks, Bulgarians, Armenians and Albanians all participating in the Orthodox Easter traditions and customs of the Greeks of Istanbul<sup>28</sup>, Doumanis stated, “There is, of course, the mere question as to whether Turks and other non-Christians should be participating in Easter celebrations at all. The violation of religious boundaries was certainly the most baffling aspect of a social world in which faith was meant to be the fundamental source of identity.”<sup>29</sup>

Strong intercommunal relationships existed between many Turkish and Greek Cypriots in the former mixed villages of Cyprus, and often led to such ‘violation of religious boundaries’. People shared in each other’s cultural and religious traditions and practices. Turkish Cypriots enjoyed Easter and *panayiris* (festivals celebrating saint’s name days), and Greek Cypriots enjoyed *Bayram* (a Muslim holiday also known as *Eid al-Fitr*, marking the end of the *Ramazan*). Furthermore, Turkish and Greek Cypriots attended each other’s weddings and funerals, and Turkish Cypriots would often attend baptisms of Greek Cypriots.

Amongst my participants, I was surprised to find that 66 of 72 (92 percent) recalled people attending the religious events of the ‘other’ group. I was privy to some deeply personal stories of cross-religious encounters and celebrations.

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25 Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, 3.

26 *ibid.*, 3.

27 *ibid.*, 7.

28 H.G. Dwight, *Constantinople: Old and new*, Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1915, 332-334.

29 Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, 17.

## Sharing in each other's cultural and religious celebrations

Religious festivals, such as *panayiris*, *Bayram*, Easter and Christmas, were celebrated by both Turkish and Greek Cypriots in the former mixed villages of Cyprus. Religious and cultural celebrations such as weddings and baptisms were also enjoyed together, and funerals were often attended by friends of the 'other' group. For example, Artam told me of the period before 1963, when, "we all mixed." Cypriots – both Turkish and Greek – "would dance at each other's weddings ... and Turkish Cypriots would help make the food for Greek Cypriot baptisms." He attended the churches in the village on many occasions to attend weddings and *panayiris*. He also recalled Greek Cypriots from the village attending the mosque for their celebrations and religious events.<sup>30</sup>

The pleasure in celebrating each other's religious festivals together was strongly conveyed by many of my participants. Nafiya recalled, "We would all celebrate Christmas and Easter together, and they would celebrate our events like *Bayram*."<sup>31</sup> Cousins Ülgü and Serpil had entered the village church for Orthodox Christian events and welcomed their Greek Cypriot friends into the mosque for Muslim events.<sup>32</sup> Ülgü spoke of her childhood, when she and her Greek Cypriot neighbours would play together all day, and "We would break fast together, for both Easter and *Bayram*."<sup>33</sup>

A picture of joint celebrations was described with fondness by Ali (Alex) (Figure 3.8), who said, "When there was *Ramazan*, and then there was a party, we would have bands come to play music. The whole village would celebrate together; so nice. We'd kill animals and put them in the oven. Same story for Easter, as well as St George on 23<sup>rd</sup> April."<sup>34</sup> Similar accounts of Easter celebrations have been given by Doumanis.<sup>35</sup>

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30 Artam, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1944; interviewed 13 July 2015.

31 Nafiya, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Lemba in 1929, migrated to Australia in 1952; interviewed 15 October 2014.

32 Serpil, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1949; and Ülgü, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1948; both interviewed 24 July 2015.

33 Ülgü, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1948; interviewed 24 July 2015.

34 Ali (who later became Alexandros), a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lythrangomi in 1928, migrated to Australia in 1949; interviewed 3 June 2014.

35 Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, 76.





Figure 3.8 Ali (Alex) of Lythrangomi

My great-aunt Maria recalled that the whole village would dress up to celebrate the name day of Ayia Irini, and that many members of both groups would make the trip to Morphou, the largest nearby town, to attend the three-day *panayiri* to celebrate the name day of Ayios Mamas.<sup>36</sup>

There was often participation in each other's religious festivals. İbrahim C (Figure 3.9) remembered attending Greek weddings and funerals when he was growing up in Ayia Irini, but the only time he entered the church was when he attended a *panayiri* with his Greek Cypriot girlfriend. His parents were fine with him dating a Greek Cypriot girl; he indicated that it was common in those days. "I lined up with the Greek Cypriots to kiss the hand of the priest, and after kissing his hand I drew his hand to my forehead, as we do when we greet a hoca. The priest asked me if I was an Ottoman; I said yes; he understood and sent me on my way." İbrahim said that there were several other Turkish Cypriots who were also in attendance at the *panayiri*, and said, with a big smile across his face, "I will remember that story until the day I die."<sup>37</sup>

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36 Maria, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1929, moved to Polis Chrysochous in 1949 when she married; interviewed 7 June 2015.

37 İbrahim C, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1948; interviewed 1 June 2015.



Figure 3.9 Ibrahim C of Ayia Irini with the author

Surprisingly, two of my participants who were priests spoke of Turkish Cypriots attending church. Father Andreas spoke of the old days when Turks and Greeks were the best of friends, when, “Turks came to the church, especially at Easter and on some Sundays.” He also attended the mosque for funerals.<sup>38</sup>

Father Charalambos S described a very integrated community:

They [the Turkish Cypriots] would also attend our Easter celebrations. In fact they would actually go early to get a seat! The Turks would go in with faith and reverence. The Greeks never opposed it. We were all together and then the priest would do his ritual as per normal. They would not fast or have communion though.<sup>39</sup>

The accounts of the two priests amongst my participants show a striking acceptance of the ‘other’, of Muslim friends and neighbours. They were not only tolerated, but accepted and welcomed. While Muslim people’s neighbours and friends might welcome them in church, the tolerance of priests seems surprising. This is examined later, in the context of the origins, training and appointment of priests and hocas during the period of my participants’ childhoods.

Children, too, had familiarity with, and respect for, the religion of the ‘other’. Themistoclis described his childhood interactions sharing blessed bread with Turkish Cypriot children. “When I was in Grade 3 they closed our school because there were not enough kids, and we had to walk to the one in the next village. Every Friday (which is Sunday for Muslims), we would get some bread from our church, and we would give it to them, and the Turks would get Turkish Delight (*lokum* or *loukoumi*) and give it to us.”<sup>40</sup>

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38 Father Andreas, a Greek Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1927; interviewed 17 June 2015.

39 Father Charalambos S, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1931, migrated to Australia in 1963; interviewed 2 May 2015.

40 Themistoclis, a Greek Cypriot born in Kilanemos in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1951; interviewed 1 December 2014.

My *pappou* Costas spoke of respect: “There was no difference between Greeks or Turks. We would go to their weddings and to the mosque; they went to our weddings, christenings, even church all together. The Turks were very respectful of our religion as their religion is based on it.”<sup>41</sup>

Attending the religious festivals and celebrations of the ‘other’ community reveals strong intercommunalism at the village level in Cyprus. The religious practices and events of each group were not only tolerated, but understood and embraced.

## Flaounes/pilavuna

*Flaounes* or *pilavuna* is a Cypriot pastry filled with cheese, eggs, sultanas, mint and spices, made by Greek Cypriots for Easter celebrations and by Turkish Cypriots for *Bayram*. Sami, a Turkish Cypriot man from Flasou, interviewed by Bryant in 2012, said:

My father was always playing cards in the coffeeshop with Greek Cypriots, and I would join them. In other words, there wasn’t any ‘Greek-Turk’ difference between us, but on religious days and holidays, for instance at Easter they would make pilavuna and give it to us, and at other times we would make *çörek*<sup>42</sup> and give it to them.<sup>43</sup>

My great-uncle Iordanis remembered his Easter duties:

Every Easter we would make *flaounes*; the Turkish Cypriots didn’t make these. My mother, and all Greek Cypriots, gave these as presents to their Turkish Cypriot friends. So my mother would send me with *flaounes* to our Turkish Cypriot neighbours. One day I made thirteen such visits! This would happen at Easter and other times. When they had their *Ramazan*, they would send to us their special breads. This was like an exchange. We gave to them, and they gave to us.<sup>44</sup>

Andreas B also delivered Easter treats as a child. “When we had Easter, my mother would give me *flaounes* and red eggs and I took them to a few Turkish families close to us. One side of our yard was attached to a Turk’s home. We were so close, like a family. We respect their religion, they respect our religion.”<sup>45</sup> Whilst Andreas remembered delivering *flaounes* to Turkish Cypriot neighbours as a child, Sadiye remembered receiving them. She recalled celebrating *panayiris* in the

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41 Costas, a Greek Cypriot born in Ayia Irini in 1925, migrated to Australia in 1947; interviewed 30 November 2013.

42 A round loaf of bread

43 Bryant, Report 2 – ‘Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community’, 35.

44 Iordanis, a Greek Cypriot born in Ayia Irini in 1936; interviewed 19 June 2014.

45 Andreas B, a Greek Cypriot man born in Pyroi in 1940, migrated to Australia in 1975; interviewed 1 May 2015.

village with the Greek Cypriots, and that many Greek Cypriots brought her family *flaounes* for Easter.<sup>46</sup>

## Conversions

Two of my participants had direct contact with a convert. Nearchos (Figure 3.10) described the minority Turkish Cypriot population of his village as deeply integrated:

Turks would come to our celebrations, like weddings. Even some would come to church on Sundays. I think they were believers. Mostly women though; not many men. One Turkish man was even baptised Christian Orthodox. He was 45 or 50 years old and was baptised Andreas. He did not want to go with the Turks when the invasion happened. He had always mixed with Greeks ...<sup>47</sup>



Figure 3.10 Nearchos of Kritou Terra (left) with a relative

Antonis also spoke of a conversion: “I knew a Turkish boy who I used to work with, who wanted to become Orthodox and be baptised [by me as his godfather]. I was thinking this guy (he was in his mid-20s), was bigger and fatter than me (17 at the time) and how was I going to hold him in the water!”<sup>48</sup>

## Weddings

While religious ceremonies were distinct, the two main communities of Cyprus seem to have merged and adapted cultural ceremonial practices during the Ottoman period. While weddings in earlier centuries lasted for up to a week<sup>49</sup>, and up to five or six days in the 1930s in some areas of

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46 Sadiye, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1949; interviewed 9 July 2015.

47 Nearchos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kritou Terra in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 27 April 2015.

48 Antonis, a Greek Cypriot born in Aglantzia in 1926, moved to Rizokarpasso at the age of ten and migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 1 May 2015.

49 Ş. Öznur, ‘Geleneksel Türk ve Rum Düğünlerinden Bazı Kesitler’, *International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, 7(4), 2611-2626.

Cyprus<sup>50</sup>, in the mid twentieth century both Turkish and Greek Cypriot weddings were typically three-day affairs (Saturday through Monday). In Greece they were one-day affairs and in Turkey, three days (Tuesday to Thursday or Friday to Sunday).

The first day of a traditional Greek Cypriot wedding would often include the 'sewing of the bed', which mirrors the Turkish tradition in almost every detail.<sup>51</sup> An uneven number of married women would stuff the mattress casing with wool or cotton, sew it up and then stitch crosses of red ribbon (an adaptation to Christianity), at each corner.<sup>52</sup> The wedding party – *koumbaroi*, groomsmen, bridesmaids, relatives and friends – would come to throw money on the mattress, and then roll a young child around on it.<sup>53</sup> The symbolism in these rituals is obvious: calling for the blessing of God on the union, for wealth, for fertility.

The second day would often comprise customs associated with the rites of separation of the couple from their families, and were again almost identical for both Turkish and Greek Cypriots.<sup>54</sup> "These are: the shaving of the groom, the "dancing of the wedding clothes", the dressing of the bride and groom, the *zosimon* ritual (the tying and untying of a red kerchief around the waist of the bride and groom) and the *kapnisman* ritual (holy smoke) for the evil eye."<sup>55</sup> The formal, religious wedding ceremonies differed, of course, but the celebration that followed was very similar. The wedding party involved the guests bringing food and drinks; the whole village was often invited and helped to provide for the feast. Eventually musicians started to play and dancing began, during which, "money is usually pinned to the bride and groom's clothes, and they are showered with money to help them have a good start to their life together."<sup>56</sup>

For Greek Cypriots, the third day, the Monday, began with a ritual display of the bride's virginity.<sup>57</sup> Then, "During the course of the day, people visited the newlyweds' house and brought *kanishia*

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50 V. Argyrou, *Tradition and modernity in the Mediterranean: the wedding as symbolic struggle*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, 62.

51 E. Saracoglu n.d., 'Traditional Turkish Cypriot Weddings, An Old Fashioned Courtship', *Turcoman Int*, viewed 15 November 2019, <<https://turcoman.net/turk-world-articles/contents-1/traditional-turkish-cypriot-weddings/>>.

52 I. Ioannou, 'Traditional wedding customs in Cyprus', Bachelor thesis, Charles University, Prague, 2015, 9.

53 *ibid.*, 9.

54 UN Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organisation, *Cyprus Traditional Wedding Customs*, viewed 7 August 2019,

<[http://www.unesco.org.cy/Programmes-Cyprus\\_Traditional\\_Wedding\\_Customs,EN-PROGRAMMES-04-02-03-14,EN](http://www.unesco.org.cy/Programmes-Cyprus_Traditional_Wedding_Customs,EN-PROGRAMMES-04-02-03-14,EN)>.

55 *ibid.*

56 G.P. Monger, *Marriage Customs of the World: An Encyclopedia of Dating Customs and Wedding Traditions*, 'Expanded 2nd Edition, 1: A-H', ABC-CLIO, Oxford, 2013, 205.

57 Argyrou, *Tradition and modernity in the Mediterranean*, 68.

(gifts in kind), such as potatoes, pasta, chickens, olive oil, cheese, and wine...”<sup>58</sup> The Monday-evening feast, which was also a custom for Turkish Cypriots, involved music and dancing.<sup>59</sup>

Adaptations of Christian celebrations – to a three-day wedding, to the sewing of the bed with crosses on the corners, to the shaving of the Groom, to the *zosimon* ritual – show the influence of Arabic and Muslim traditions on the Christian community. As the Ottomans ruled Cyprus for more than three centuries, it is not at all surprising that traditions and practices were shared and adapted by Christians and Muslims. People were familiar with the traditions of the ‘other’, which were in many respects very like their own, or adopted from the other culture and made into their own.

Weddings were mentioned by Cypriots interviewed by Emmanuelle. Andreas said, “There was no difference between them and us. We were the same. In mixed communities, Christians and Muslims even attended each other’s weddings. I remember that we ate, drank and danced together all night.”<sup>60</sup> Philippos recalled his own wedding: “Some of the Turkish Cypriot guests from nearby Androlikou arrived with seven slaughtered lambs to be served at the feast.”<sup>61</sup> Hakki and Sevil married in 1950 and recalled, “Many family members and friends were invited, including many Greek and Armenian neighbours.”<sup>62</sup>

My participants, too, described weddings celebrated together, with very similar customs. Both Turkish and Greek Cypriot weddings would span three days, beginning on the Saturday. Whilst the religious components of the weddings were of course different, the celebratory music, food and dances were very similar, if not identical. Most of my participants spoke fondly of attending each other’s weddings, sometimes including the religious components, demonstrating deep trust and familiarity between the two groups: intercommunality.

For Hürsiye, attending the weddings of her Greek Cypriot friends was not just about the celebration; it was about respect. “For weddings we went to both [church and mosque]. We were all friends. We showed respect.” She said that it was normal for the whole village to be invited to the weddings of both Turkish and Greek Cypriots, which often went for three days.<sup>63</sup>

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58 Argyrou, *Tradition and modernity in the Mediterranean*, 68.

59 *ibid.*, 68.

60 Andreas Neophytou, born 1926 in Tsada, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 42.

61 Philippos Ioannou, born 1926 in Neo Chorio, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 57.

62 Hakki and Sevil Abdurazak, born 1925 and 1924 respectively, in Nicosia, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 209.

63 Hürsiye, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1936; interviewed 25 May 2015.

## Helping each other prepare for weddings

Many Turkish and Greek Cypriots helped each other prepare for weddings. Myrofora said, “I had a Turkish Cypriot neighbour – she was getting married, so she asked me to go and decorate the house. We got along with all our Turkish Cypriot neighbours.”<sup>64</sup> Mustafa remembered that the Greek Cypriot Mukhtar (mayor) of Alaminos was close with the Turkish Cypriots of the village and that he used to register Turkish Cypriot gifts for Greek Cypriot weddings.<sup>65</sup> Eleni G described her late husband’s deep involvement with both Turkish and Greek Cypriots of Polis Chrysochous. A barber by trade, Odysseas indulged his passion for photography by becoming the village photographer, photographing weddings and all sorts of other celebrations. He never charged money; he loved taking photos and giving them to his friends. “He loved everybody no matter who they were and threw many parties for his friends.”<sup>66</sup>

Some Turkish Cypriots would assist with Greek Cypriot weddings but would not enter the church during the religious ceremony. Kaiti said, “We hosted a Turkish Cypriot wedding at our coffee shop.” Kaiti also recalled that Turkish Cypriots would often bring candles and oil to the church, even though many would not enter.<sup>67</sup> Naile (Figure 3.11) recalled that Turkish and Greek Cypriot families who lived near each other would attend each other’s weddings. Naile and her parents assisted with Greek Cypriot weddings by giving olive oil. As a child, Naile did not enter a church but as her curiosity took hold, “I would look into the church through a small hole!”<sup>68</sup>



*Figure 3.11 Naile of Alamino and Aglantzia with her husband*

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64 Myrofora, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Komi Kebir in 1937, migrated to Australia in 1955; interviewed 9 August 2014.

65 Mustafa, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1948; interviewed 9 July 2015.

66 Eleni G, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Neakhorio, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1935; interviewed 9 June 2015.

67 Kaiti, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1950; interviewed 17 July 2015.

68 Naile, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1947, moved to Aglantzia in 1964; interviewed 9 July 2015.

## Playing, drinking, singing, dancing

Music and dancing were integral components of Cypriot weddings. Tayfun remembered attending Greek Cypriot weddings, which went for three days and had similar music to Turkish Cypriot weddings. He regularly visited the church to attend weddings.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, Eftihia attended two Turkish Cypriot weddings. “There was similar music and similar dances ... the weddings would happen for three days, but often they would go for up to a week, playing, drinking, singing, dancing!”<sup>70</sup>

Weddings were described as an integrated, inclusive affair. Feriha recalled that, “At the weddings we would make food together. People were singing and dancing and drinking alcohol together. We used to make *poksomathia* together, and *loukoumathes* and *melisha* and *haloumia* [delicacies for the wedding feast].”<sup>71</sup> Andreas B said, “When we had weddings, the whole village would get involved, both Greek and Turkish Cypriots. We danced the same dances.” Village life was integrated.<sup>72</sup>

Pinning money on the bride and groom is a central Cypriot wedding custom<sup>73</sup>. Hakki said, “A typical Cypriot wedding involves pinning money on the bride and groom. Both Greek and Turkish Cypriots would do this; it’s a Cypriot custom.”<sup>74</sup> Eftihia shared a familial connection with the custom: “For both Greek and Turkish weddings, the whole village [including the bride and groom] would walk around the village. My aunty used to collect the money from people and pin it on the bride and groom.”<sup>75</sup>

## Turkish Cypriot weddings

While many participants described Turkish and Greek weddings following similar customs, there were some differences. Nearchos offered his description:

The meals, it was the same, only the drums were different. And also, they speak Greek! And they sing in Greek, not Turkish! All the songs [for the wedding] were sung in Greek ... Their weddings were in a house, they don’t go to the *jamii* [mosque]. They have someone to read something that’s just pure words and that’s it. They put it together and they press it with

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69 Tayfun, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1959; interviewed 18 June 2015.

70 Eftihia, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1936, migrated to Australia in 1977; interviewed 19 November 2015.

71 Feriha, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1934; interviewed 1 June 2015.

72 Andreas B, a Greek Cypriot man born in Pyroi in 1940, migrated to Australia in 1975; interviewed 1 May 2015.

73 Argyrou, *Tradition and modernity in the Mediterranean*, 69.

74 Hakki, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Larnaca in 1951, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 6 May 2017.

75 Eftihia, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1936, migrated to Australia in 1977; interviewed 19 November 2015.



some sort of glue, they call it *shkonía* ... the man and wife touch together like this [hands slapping together] and after, you know, the people is gone, they are washed. That's what I remember.<sup>76</sup>

Kaiti recalled that for parts of the Turkish Cypriot wedding celebrations men and women were separated; a male musician would play music for the men and another, who was blind, would play music for the women.<sup>77</sup> Panayiota also attended a Turkish Cypriot wedding. She had a similar recollection:

The parents organised the wedding. It was the first time they would see each other. They would give presents of gold, bracelets and earrings. The Turks [from Avgolida, just three kilometres away] would invite the whole Greek village to a wedding by putting a big candle at the church. The night before, they would bring some music and it was all ladies (no men). But just one [blind] man with a violin to play. But no men, so they could not see the bride who was to get married the next day.<sup>78</sup>

Having a blind man to play the violin is a Turkish custom<sup>79</sup>, as men were not allowed to see the bride the night before her wedding, but it seems that some Greek Cypriots adopted that custom, too<sup>80</sup>. Ilkay told of a Greek Cypriot wedding that he attended, "There was a blind man who would go from village to village to play the violin for weddings."<sup>81</sup>

Several of my interviewees told me of a Turkish Cypriot wedding ritual, 'the bride's pillow'. In mixed villages, both Turkish and Greek Cypriot boys would participate. Panayiotis (Figure 3.12) was a competitor:

All of the young boys of the village, both Greek and Turkish Cypriot, would have a five kilometre race to the bride's house on the day of the wedding. Whoever won the race received a pillow from the bride with a one pound coin hidden inside! The only problem was that there was one boy who was a very fast runner, and he almost always won.<sup>82</sup>

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76 Nearchos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kritou Terra in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 27 April 2015.

77 Kaiti, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1950; interviewed 17 July 2015.

78 Panayiota, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayios Elias in the Famagusta District in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 3 April 2014.

79 Öznur, 'Geleneksel Türk ve Rum Düğünlerinden Bazı Kesitler', 2612.

80 Another traditional Turkish Cypriot wedding custom, described by several participants and similar to many Indian wedding traditions, is the practice of henna tattoos.

81 Ilkay, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lefke in 1946, migrated to Australia in 1978; interviewed 3 August 2014.

82 Panayiotis, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1944; interviewed 2 June 2015.



*Figure 3.12 Couple Panayiotis (left) and Despina (right) of Alaminos with the author*

Another interviewee, Ibrahim U gave me photographic evidence of his success (Figure 3.13).<sup>83</sup>



*Figure 3.13 Ibrahim U winning the bride's pillow race in Ayia Irini in the early 1960s*

## Doing each other's chores, including on sacred/important days

Cooperation between villagers, to enable religious observance, was once common in the formerly mixed villages of Cyprus. Charilaos, interviewed by Emmanuelle, recalled, "when it was Easter, our goat herders and shepherds would give their flocks to the Turks to look after and when it was their *Bayram*, they would give their flocks to us to look after. That was the way it was back then."<sup>84</sup> Mrs Eleni, interviewed for an oral history project, said, "when the Greek-Cypriots were celebrating Easter and respectively Turkish-Cypriots were celebrating Bairami, they were asking from each other to look after their flocks of sheep. In other words ... they were exchanging workmen and they were helping each other."<sup>85</sup>

From my participants, too, I heard several stories of Turkish and Greek Cypriots looking after each other's animals, fields and even children on sacred days. The Turkish Cypriots would look after the fields of their Greek Cypriot friends and neighbours on Sundays, and Greek Cypriots would look

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<sup>83</sup> Ibrahim U, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1945; interviewed 13 June 2015.

<sup>84</sup> Charilaos Ioannou, born 1931 in Polemi, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 69-70.

<sup>85</sup> Mediaprof n.d., *Mrs. Eleni's Story*, viewed 27 February 2020, <<http://www.mediaprof.org/cyvoices/antonia-andria-1.html>>.

after the fields of their Turkish Cypriot friends and neighbours on Fridays. Andreas B described such cooperation between men: “When they had *Bayram* or other celebrations, we would look after their animals in the fields. And they would do the same for us.”<sup>86</sup>

Ali (Alex) described a crisis where help was forthcoming:

My neighbour Sophia passed away. She had six children – but she didn’t like the seventh. She went to abort the child, but she died in the process. Her eldest son spoke to my father to ask me if I could look after some animals. In such times, everyone was helping the other.<sup>87</sup>

Women too, helped each other. Eleni G stated that the Turkish and Greek Cypriot women of Polis Chrysochous would look after each other’s children when there were events to attend. According to Eleni, they never worried about their children being abused in any way; they had complete trust in one another.<sup>88</sup> Similarly, Despina (Figure 3.12 above) divulged that a Turkish Cypriot friend of hers would look after her baby son when she worked in the fields. Her son Aristos, who was sitting with us, was very surprised. “Who, me?” he exclaimed. This was an example of a story untold, not part of the family oral history.<sup>89</sup>

Perhaps it was because of their deep familiarity with the other group’s religious and cultural customs and practices that people offered to look after each other’s fields, animals and children on sacred days. Perhaps it was also due to the close-knit, tolerant and trusting community in which they lived.

## The blurring of religious lines

*‘Syncretism’ is a contentious term, often taken to imply ‘inauthenticity’ or ‘contamination’, the infiltration of a supposedly ‘pure’ tradition by symbols and meanings seen as belonging to other, incompatible traditions.*<sup>90</sup>

For centuries, as different religious groups came into contact with one another, religious lines have been blurred. Whilst religious syncretism historically was treated with skepticism by anthropologists and historians alike, Rosalind Shaw and Charles Stewart contend that a more optimistic view

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86 Andreas B, a Greek Cypriot man born in Pyroi in 1940, migrated to Australia in 1975; interviewed 1 May 2015.

87 Ali (who later became Alexandros), a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lythrangomi in 1928, migrated to Australia in 1949; interviewed 3 June 2014.

88 Eleni G, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Neakhorio, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1935; interviewed 9 June 2015.

89 Despina, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1944; interviewed 2 June 2015.

90 R. Shaw & C. Stewart, ‘Introduction: Problematizing syncretism’, in R. Shaw & C. Stewart (eds.), *Syncretism/anti-syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*, Routledge, London; New York, 1994, p.1.

emerged in post-modern anthropology, “in which syncretic processes are considered basic not only to religion and ritual but to ‘the predicament of culture’ in general...”<sup>91</sup>

Islam and Christianity have been of particular historical focus in the context of religious syncretism by anthropologists, historians and theologians, throughout many parts of the world.<sup>92</sup> Cyprus was no exception, where the best-known example of the amalgamation of religions is the female fertility cult centred on Palaeopaphos, dating from around 3000 BCE, whose goddess figure adopted bird-faced (Syrian) characteristics around 1500 BCE, morphed into the Phoenician goddess Astarte of Paphos for whom a temple was built around 900 BCE, and became identified as the Greek goddess Aphrodite of Paphos by the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>93</sup> A church built on the site of Palaeopaphos in the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> Century was known, until the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, as *Panagia Aphroditissa* – so the ancient goddess of fertility morphed eventually into the Virgin Mary.<sup>94</sup>

Walking around Cyprus in 1972, Colin Thubron witnessed many instances of religious syncretism. In Kouklia he saw candles placed in a corner of the old temple of Aphrodite; the caretaker told him that, “the village women bring them as gifts, even the Moslems ... They call her the Panayia Galaktariotissa ... the Virgin who gives milk to mothers.”<sup>95</sup> In the church of Ayios Mamas in Morphou, hanging above the grave of the saint, he saw many ex-voto, “Tiny symbols ... mostly silver ears and hands left as offerings by people praying to be healed...”<sup>96</sup> He recognised them, as, “precisely such gifts have been excavated in Cypriot temples where they were left thousands of years ago – clay arms and legs dedicated in pagan ages to other gods.”<sup>97</sup> When he visited the Mosque of Umm Haram (Hala Sultan Tekke) near Larnaca, he encountered a busload of women who were visiting the shrine. He observed that, “the grave, covered by damasks, was piled with wax hands and legs and with the clothes of sick children left by the women.” Later, when the group of women settled in some shade and ate lunch, one of them boasted that, “she had made more than fifty pilgrimages, and some of them ... to Christian shrines, to Apostolos Andreas and the Virgin of Kykko. What did it matter, she said? They were all touched by God.”<sup>98</sup> At the monastery of

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91 Shaw & Stewart, ‘Introduction: Problematizing syncretism’, 1.

92 *ibid.*, 1.

93 J. Karageorghis 2015, ‘Aphrodite, Goddess of Cyprus’, *Kyprios Character*, viewed 7 August 2018, <[kyprioscharacter.eie.gr/en/t/AH](http://kyprioscharacter.eie.gr/en/t/AH)>.

94 Cyprus Tourism Organisation n.d., *Kouklia – Palepaphos*, viewed 10 September 2019, <[https://www.visitcyprus.com/files/audio\\_guides/written\\_form/Kouklia\\_Palepafos\\_afigisi\\_en.pdf](https://www.visitcyprus.com/files/audio_guides/written_form/Kouklia_Palepafos_afigisi_en.pdf)>; and von Löher, *Cyprus, historical and descriptive*, 105-106.

95 C. Thubron, *Journey into Cyprus*, Heinemann, London, 1975, 11.

96 *ibid.*, 80.

97 *ibid.*, 80.

98 *ibid.*, 193.

Apostolos Andreas, he saw, “suave businessmen, hoary peasants, sighing women, even a few Moslems – all kissed the icons or smeared their faces in lamp-oil for a blessing.”<sup>99</sup>

Although the majority of Ottoman subjects, “consciously belonged to distinct religious communities”, Doumanis argued that, prior to the Balkan Wars, hybrid communities existed. They included Crypto-Christians, Orthodox Greeks who camouflaged themselves for two centuries by appearing outwardly as Ottoman Muslims, whilst privately practicing their Christian faith.<sup>100</sup> He specifically highlighted the Pontus region, and Cyprus.<sup>101</sup> Richard M. Dawkins also described the Crypto-Christians of the Ottoman Empire, who risked death for being ‘renegades’ by deserting Islam.<sup>102</sup> Whilst citing examples from Pontus and Cyprus, he also discussed accounts of Crypto-Christians living in Smyrna (Izmir) (including “Greeks who turned Turk for worldly advantage”), Crete and Constantinople (Istanbul).<sup>103</sup> Doumanis questioned whether religious boundaries could be manipulated:

The closer one looked at the local religious practices, the more it seemed that ... one found a world governed by exemptions; where heterodoxies seemed to be orthodox, and where religious communities appeared to bend, flout, or ignore the firm doctrines of formal Islam, Christianity, and Judaism.<sup>104</sup>

An example of the secular cult ‘S. Arab, Larnaka’ was described by Frederick William Hasluck, an early twentieth-century British archaeologist and folklorist:

At the present day [1920s] this sanctuary is still frequented both by Turks and Greeks. By the former it is known as Turabi Tekke, by the latter as S. Therapon. Turabi is the name of a wandering dervish from Kastamuni in northern Anatolia, who lived in the reign of Mohammed II and was noted for his liberal views as to religions outside Islam. S. Therapon is a well-known saint and healer in Cyprus, where he has several churches; he is not, however, specially connected with Larnaka. As to the origins of a cult of this sort, it is impossible to be dogmatic. From the evidence we have it seems probable that it began as a secular cult of an ‘Arab’ *jinn*, later identified with Turabi (perhaps through the Greek του Αράπη ο τεκκές, η σπηλιά), from which it is an easy step to the Christian Therapon. If this theory is correct, we have here a cult now shared by both religions, whose origins are neither Christian nor Mohammedan, but secular.<sup>105</sup>

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99 Thubron, *Journey into Cyprus*, 248.

100 G. Andreadis 2010, ‘Crypto-Christians in Pontus (Part 1)’, *Orthodox Christianity*, viewed 20 December 2018, <<http://orthochristian.com/35641.html>>.

101 Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, 89.

102 R. Dawkins, ‘The Crypto-Christians of Turkey’, *Byzantion*, 8(1), 1933, 248.

103 Dawkins, ‘The Crypto-Christians of Turkey’, 248.

104 Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, 89.

105 F.W. Hasluck & M.M.H. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1929, 87-88.

The research of Hasluck shows that Ottoman Christians and Muslims appealed to the same saints for help and revered the same sacred shrines.<sup>106</sup> He described sixteen Christian sanctuaries frequented by Muslims (Appendix 3), fifteen Muslim sanctuaries frequented by Christians (Appendix 4),<sup>107</sup> and provided an example of Christians following Ottoman Turkish rituals:

Outside the humble turbe of the Imam Baghevi in the station suburb at Konia are two stones, popularly supposed to represent the horses of the imam turned into stone: the idea is easily explained by their rough resemblance to pack-saddles. Cures are worked in two ways. If the patient is a child who cannot walk or a woman who cannot conceive, he or she sits astride the stones as if they were a horse. Persons afflicted with pains in the belly prostrate themselves over the stones so as to touch them with the afflicted part. The cure is used by Christian and Turkish women indifferently.<sup>108</sup>

An example of Muslims revering a Christian church was described by Charles Boileau Elliott:

There is only one Christian ruin which can be recognized with any degree of certainty [in Alaşehir/Philadelphia]. It is called the Church of St. John. The Turk who showed us over it observed that it was as old as "Husrut Esau," or "The prophet Jesus:" ... The Turk gravely informed us, attesting the fact by his own experience, that every Saturday night the spirits of the martyrs who died for the sake of Jesus are seen going to and fro among the ruins; and sounds are heard as though they were reading! A superstitious opinion prevails among the Moslims that the sacred edifice possesses a charm for those afflicted with tooth-ache, and patients thus suffering, who affix lighted candles to the walls, derive immediate relief!<sup>109</sup>

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, whose husband was Britain's Ambassador to Constantinople, lived there from 1716 to 1718. In 1717, she wrote to the Abbé Conti,

of all the religions I have seen, the Arnaöut seems to me the most particular ... These people, living between Christians and Mahometans, and not being skilled in controversy, declare that they are utterly unable to judge which religion is best; but, to be certain of not entirely rejecting the truth, they very prudently follow both and go to the mosques on Fridays and the church on Sundays, saying for their excuse, that at the day of judgment they are sure of protection from the true prophet; but which that is, they are not able to determine in this world.<sup>110</sup>

In relation to the blurring of religious lines in Cyprus, von Löher described a structure which had been a Phoenician burial place near Larnaca, later consecrated to the Virgin Mary:

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106 Hasluck & Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 87-88.

107 *ibid.*, xi.

108 *ibid.*, 81-82.

109 C.B. Elliott, *Travels in the Three Great Empires of Austria, Russia and Turkey*, 2, Richard Bentley, London, 1838, 89-90.

110 M.W. Montagu, *Letters from the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu 1709 to 1762*, JM Dent & Co, London, 1906, 109.

This spot has a great attraction for the peasant women ... who believe that its sacred walls possess a peculiar virtue ... for childless women. [They] make pilgrimages thither, carrying a lamp concealed under their garments. At the entrance the lamp is kindled, and the suppliant steps barefooted into the third chamber, where she offers her prayers to Panagia, and leaves her lamp as a votive offering. Turkish women, I am informed, also practice this ceremony.<sup>111</sup>

Another example from Cyprus is the case of a Turkish man in the village of Galatia, blind for a year in both eyes when a Christian friend took him to the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas, 30 miles away. Holy waters which issued from the spot where Christ's apostle first set foot on Cyprus were well known to cure blindness. The old man washed his face with the water inside the chapel and, upon emerging into the sunlight, his sight was restored.<sup>112</sup>

Religious syncretism was evident throughout the Ottoman Empire. People would break the rules and allow beliefs or practices of an 'other' religion to influence their lives. Doumanis argued that the reason for religious syncretism was, "Because of the practical benefits of local or popular religion, Ottoman subjects were prepared to stray well beyond the boundaries allowed by high clerical authority in order to access the sacred powers of objects and sites venerated by other religious communities."<sup>113</sup> It can be argued that the wide-spread religious syncretism that existed throughout the Ottoman Empire continued well into the twentieth century, in Cyprus.

## Linobambakoi

Dating from early in the Ottoman period, the *linobambakoi* (literally 'linen-cottons'<sup>114</sup>) of Cyprus are a group who are both Christian and Muslim, like the Arnaöut described by Montagu in 1717. They have been regarded as Crypto-Christians or as frauds, but, "On the borderlands of religions there have been diverse compromises and make-shifts. This has been the case at various times and points on contact between the crescent and the Cross."<sup>115</sup> Groups of *linobambakoi* existed since the 1570s, and other Cypriots were familiar with them. For the next three centuries, 'Greek' and 'Turkish' Cypriots knew of them, mixed with them, probably married into the groups.<sup>116</sup>

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111 Von Löher, *Cyprus, historical and descriptive*, 7.

112 H.C. Lukach, *The city of dancing Dervishes and other sketches and studies from the near east*, MacMillan, London, 1914, 153-154.

113 Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, 90.

114 This was a derogative term, referencing the Biblical prohibition of wearing clothing made of mixed fibres, given in Deuteronomy 22:11 and Leviticus 19:19.

115 R.L.N. Michell, 1908, 'A Muslim-Christian Sect in Cyprus', *The Nineteenth Century Journal*, 63, 1908, 752.

116 *ibid.*, 757.

The *linobambakoi* had at least four sources; the first discussed here is Latin conversion. In the wake of the Ottoman conquest, a petition by a Famagusta citizens' delegation resulted in the October 1571 *firman*<sup>117</sup> stating that no Latin Christians could live on the island, or own churches, houses or estates.<sup>118</sup> Many members of the (Latin) ruling class – many of whose names are known and lives well documented – converted to Islam, both to save their properties and to position themselves as elites in the new regime.<sup>119</sup> Some of those men may have participated in what Sant Cassia described as 'restorative or compensatory' inter-faith marriage, in which a Christian man might convert to Islam and then, as is legal under shari'a law, marry a Christian woman from his own former community. He asserted that:

such interfaith marriages could be 'renewed' across generations, either by 'design' (a favoured *post hoc* explanation) or constraint (the limited range of available partners and exclusion by the dominant group). One effect was religious syncretism, often subsequently redefined as 'crypto-faiths'.<sup>120</sup>

Latin women, too, married Muslims. Costas P. Kyrris explained that, "a number of noble or bourgeois ladies with their children were taken prisoner and many of them married Turkish officers and became Moslem in order to save their lives and family property."<sup>121</sup> Although a Latin community was permitted to be re-established following the March 1573 Venetian-Ottoman peace treaty, such a community could not include the former Cypriot Latins<sup>122</sup>, so those Latins who had converted to Islam or Orthodoxy, and were strongly connected to each other, perhaps lived for many years (or even generations) in the hope of future liberation from the Turks.

The second source of the Cypriot *linobambakoi* were groups in the northern mountain areas, where Kyrris claimed that:

[most of] the remnants of the Armenian, Maronite and Albanian minorities of that area ... became Moslem and Crypto-Christian without for long breaking their links with the Christian population.<sup>123</sup>

The third source of *linobambakoi* were Orthodox Christians who converted to Islam. Evidence from the tabulation of the names of Muslims using the court system from 1593 to 1637 shows that there

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117 A decree by the Sultan

118 Kyrris, 'Symbiotic Elements in the History of the Two Communities of Cyprus', 251.

119 *ibid.*, 245-246.

120 P. Sant Cassia, 'Marriages at the margins: Interfaith marriages in the Mediterranean', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 27(2), 2018, 116.

121 Kyrris, 'Symbiotic Elements in the History of the Two Communities of Cyprus', 246.

122 *ibid.*, 252.

123 *ibid.*, 255.



were many conversions during this period.<sup>124</sup> Jennings suggested that the conversions were probably not sincerely felt by the majority of the converts and, given the opportunity, “they would gladly return to Christianity.”<sup>125</sup> He suggested the real motive: “Conversion had to be registered at the court to make it legitimate, and to change the tax status of the converts officially, who then had more legal rights and were exempt from the head tax.”<sup>126</sup> The number of Orthodox converts to Islam may have declined later, as by 1670 Noel Dominique Hurtrel wrote, “Very many of them, unable to bear any longer this cruel tyranny, wish to turn Turk; but many are rejected, because (say their lords) in receiving them into the Moslem faith their tribute would be so much diminished.”<sup>127</sup>

A fourth source of *linobambakoi* were children of mainland (Anatolian) Turks who had been forced in the 1570s to migrate to Cyprus, or Ottoman soldiers encouraged to settle in Cyprus, who took Cypriot (Christian) wives. The women may have kept their faith, and raised their children in the ways of Christians – Muslims officially (as their fathers were Muslim), but intimately familiar with Christianity.<sup>128</sup>

Officials living in Cyprus wrote of *linobambakoi*. Michell, the District Commissioner of Limassol, wrote in 1908 that, “The sect is found in all parts of the island.”<sup>129</sup> It seems likely that those communities of *linobambakoi* may have had their roots in Latin, Armenian, Maronite, Albanian, Turkish, and Orthodox communities. Louis Palma di Cesnola, the United States consul at Larnaca from 1865 to 1877, described the *linobambakoi* adopting names for their sons, “as are common to both Christians and Moslem, such as Ibrahim (Abraham), Moussa (Moses), Yusuf (Joseph), etc.”<sup>130</sup> He described the particular difficulty faced by young *linobambakoi* men when they reached the age at which they could be conscripted into the Sultan’s army. While Christians would be exempt from such service if their fathers had paid a tax since their birth, and many *linobambakoi* fathers paid this tax, too, their sons would often be conscripted and the fact and records of tax payments were disregarded. Sometimes, if a youth disappeared, his father would be imprisoned until the young man reappeared; or a brother would be conscripted in his place.<sup>131</sup>

A writer travelling in Cyprus just before the British era, in 1877, von Löher wrote:

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124 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World*, 389.

125 *ibid.*, 389.

126 *ibid.*, 389.

127 N.D. Hurtrel, ‘Du voyage de Jérusalem’, in CD Cobham, (ed.), *Excerpta Cypria*, Cambridge University Press, 1908, 233.

128 Michell, ‘A Muslim-Christian Sect in Cyprus’, 753-754; and Inalcık, ‘A Note on the Population of Cyprus’, 3.

129 *ibid.*, 754.

130 Di Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 185.

131 *ibid.*, 185-187.

Many of the professed Mussulmans are actually Christians, and have their children baptised in secret. Their forefathers were followers of the Prophet through fear and compulsion, and it would expose any one to much persecution and obloquy, who openly declared that he no longer belonged to that faith.<sup>132</sup>

To the different Western views of *linobambakoi* – as crypto-Christians or as tax-avoiding frauds – is added the category of Eastern curiosity. Beckingham contended that for many people of the eastern Mediterranean, where Christianity and Islam were practised simultaneously in mixed or neighbouring villages, “these religions did not present themselves as two mutually exclusive systems of belief, but rather as two ways of conciliating supernatural forces.”<sup>133</sup> Examples illustrated this argument:

The Orthodox Cypriot did not become a Muslim when he prayed at the shrine of the forty (Kirkklar, Ayii Saranda) at Tymbou ... nor did the Cypriot Muslim become a Christian when he sought the aid of the Holy Cross at Stravrovouni, or of St Andrew at his monastery on the extreme eastern promontory of the island. They were simply testing the efficacy of another means of getting a good harvest or curing an illness.<sup>134</sup>

This view linked the *linobambakoi* in Cyprus to incidents of religious syncretism throughout the Ottoman Empire, to a more basic response than just avoiding tax and conscription; to: “the fundamental religious beliefs of the peasantry, who share the theological hospitality of the ancient Greeks and Romans to the gods of other nations.”<sup>135</sup>

Fifty years later, Constantinou contended that *linobambakoi* were a people who participated in each other’s religious festivals and rituals, “without necessarily or consciously becoming ‘Muslims’ or ‘Christians’, or even *Linobambakoi*, which in any case was rarely a self-designation. Associating religion with exclusivist ethnic identity rendered strange such theological hospitality.”<sup>136</sup>

*Linobambakoi* arose during the rule of the Ottoman Empire in Cyprus, but Constantinou placed them alongside, “the Donmeh, the Bektashis, the Druze and the Yezidis during and after the Ottoman empire; or across the world, the Iberian Marranos, the Russian Molokans, the Dalit converts in India and the Caribbean followers of Santeria”<sup>137</sup> as just one of many examples of

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132 Von Löher, *Cyprus, historical and descriptive*, 25.

133 Beckingham, ‘The Turks of Cyprus’, 173.

134 *ibid.*, 173

135 *ibid.*, 173

136 Constantinou, ‘Aporias of identity’, 252.

137 *ibid.*, 252

religious syncretism, because, “subaltern identity tactics and syncretistic spiritualities are characteristic of different societies and epochs.”<sup>138</sup>

The understanding of *linobambakoi* practising spiritual fluidity was not held by all. Hackett described them as a “peculiar sect”<sup>139</sup> that began once the Ottomans ruled Cyprus:

Originally descended from Latin Christians, these people renounced their ancestral faith for Islam to escape Moselm persecution. Now through shame or fear they hesitate to revert to their old belief. Though they openly dress, are called and behave like Turks, secretly they are Christians, bear Christian names, observe the appointed fasts of the Orthodox Church, are baptised, receive the Sacrament, and are unacquainted with Turkish. Their women, too, do not dress like Turkish females.<sup>140</sup>

Strategic uses of religious identity explain, to Michell, the “chameleon-like sect”.<sup>141</sup> He claimed that they were, “regarded by Christian and Moslim alike as a religion of hypocrisy, with no little contempt and distrust...”<sup>142</sup> but he also maintained that they were sources of endless humorous anecdotes amongst Greek Cypriots.

The alternative name of the *linobambakoi* – ‘Apostolic’ – the name of a particular type of carob (or locust-bean) tree, whose pod has sometimes been suggested as the ‘locust’ eaten by St John the Baptist, was discussed by Michell. While most carob fruit comes from grafted trees, that from the wild trees being inedible, occasionally a wild tree gives edible fruit, and that is an ‘Apostolic’ tree – sent by God.<sup>143</sup> This is a generous and complex interpretation of the ‘Apostolic’ label; more likely, I suggest, is the explanation of Kyrris that ‘Apostolic’ referred to Latin Catholics, connected to the Apostle Petros, the founder of the Church of Rome. Kyrris contended that the nickname referred first to *linobambakoi* of Latin origin and was later extended to cover all *linobambakoi*.<sup>144</sup>

Constantinou, too, did not subscribe to the spiritual (‘Apostolic’) representations of the *linobambakoi*, as he believed these representations to be, “totally absent from local Cypriot historiography.”<sup>145</sup>

Even the notion that the Linobambakoi adopted their religious identity tactically to resist the burdens of imperial rule tends to be given an ethnonationalist spin; in other words, that

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138 Constantinou, ‘Aporias of identity’, 253.

139 Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus*, 535.

140 *ibid.*, 535.

141 Michell, ‘A Muslim–Christian Sect in Cyprus’, 758.

142 *ibid.*, 761.

143 *ibid.*, 761.

144 Kyrris, ‘Symbiotic Elements in the History of the Two Communities of Cyprus’, 246.

145 Constantinou, ‘Aporias of identity’, 252.

this tactic displays a weaker nature than that of their co-‘nationals’ who weathered the harsh political conditions yet retained their ‘true’ identity...<sup>146</sup> On the whole, they are presented as either crypto-Christians or crypto-Muslims (mostly the former) who have yielded to the pressures of Ottoman authority, or nominally converted to avoid criminal or political accusations, or paying tax or military conscription. The syncretistic dimension is therefore deliberately set aside.<sup>147</sup>

The identity of *linobambakoi* were, for Constantinou, far more complex than just a group of people who were viewed as ‘publicly Muslims but really Christians’ or ‘publicly Christians but really Muslims’.<sup>148</sup> He felt that the oversimplification of the group, “is typically the result of historiographies that are written on the basis of ethnic purity and perennial national identity.”<sup>149</sup> However, he argued,

it is not uncommon for such historiographies to have an implicit (and sometimes explicit) agenda that challenges the purity of the opposing ethnic group (such as the idea that Turkish Cypriots are really or mostly Islamicized Greeks) as a means of undermining the other group’s autonomy and collective rights.<sup>150</sup>

This was indeed the view of Kyrris who claimed that in 1925, when Cyprus became a Crown Colony, “Linobambakians ... were the vast majority of the “Moslem Turkish” community of Cyprus”<sup>151</sup> – thereby implying that sincere adherents of Islam were very few – that Cyprus was effectively mono-cultural.

Christians and Muslims lived alongside each other for hundreds of years in Cyprus, including in mixed towns and villages. Lytras and Psaltis found that:

Religious identities were relatively strong but also not entirely antagonistic and not even entirely bounded. In fact there was even an element of porousness characteristically demonstrated through the case of the Linopampakoi, a social group whose members adhered to both the Christian and the Muslim religions. Linopampakoi had two names, a Muslim and a Christian one, attended both the Church and the Mosque and were essentially members of both communities.<sup>152</sup>

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146 Constantinou, ‘Aporias of identity’, 252

147 *ibid.*, 252.

148 *ibid.*, 252.

149 *ibid.*, 252.

150 *ibid.*, 252.

151 Kyrris, ‘Symbiotic Elements in the History of the Two Communities of Cyprus’, 265.

152 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 9.

Throughout the British period, there appears to have been a strange nexus between the increasing rigidity of religious institutions in Cyprus, and their laxity in ensuring a convert's adherence to their new religion. Asmussen reported:

Loizos had once asked some priests whether one could be a Christian and a Muslim at the same time and received, of course, a negative answer.<sup>153</sup> However, he was told, "when a Muslim wishes to be baptised, not too many questions are asked, and there is no follow-up to make sure he isn't slipping into the mosque occasionally."<sup>154</sup>

During the British administration of the island, the colonial government maintained the distinct religious administration of the different religious groups, as established by the Ottoman Empire through the millet system.<sup>155</sup> The rise of nationalism under the British rule in Cyprus resulted in the rigid politicisation and nationalisation of, "the existing primarily religious communal identities and cemented them."<sup>156</sup> Since the British viewed religious groups as being mutually exclusive, the *linobambakoi* had to choose one religious category with which to identify.<sup>157</sup> According to Lytras and Psaltis, "eventually they were socially forced to enter the Muslim community."<sup>158</sup> However, a note written by the officer responsible for the 1881 Census, stated that the, "community of the 'Linobambaki' [sic] (who were formerly chiefly to be found in the villages of Athiaenou and Liopetri), returned themselves as members of the Orthodox Greek Church..."<sup>159</sup> Furthermore, Kyrris holds the view that once Cyprus became a Crown Colony, many *linobambakoi* no longer feared that they would once again be ruled by Muslim Turks, and returned to Christianity.<sup>160</sup>

The British colonial government's system of governance, "that assumed and enhanced the existence of separate homogeneous religious and increasingly ethnic communities with elected representatives"<sup>161</sup> has resulted in the demise of the *linobambakoi*.

## Recalling *linobambakoi*

Having read about *linobambakoi* prior to my interviews, I was interested to ask participants if they recalled *linobambakoi* in Cyprus. While the majority of the remaining *linobambakoi* are in Potamia, a few of my participants knew of *linobambakoi* in their own local areas. Ertherul recalled there

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153 Asmussen, 'Life and Strife in Mixed Villages', 103.

154 Asmussen, 'Dark-Skinned Cypriots will not be accepted!', 103.

155 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 9.

156 *ibid.*, 9.

157 Constantinou, 'Aporias of identity', 258.

158 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 9.

159 Constantinou, 'Aporias of identity', 258.

160 Kyrris, 'Symbiotic Elements in the History of the Two Communities of Cyprus', 265.

161 Constantinou, 'Aporias of identity', 259.

being *linobambakoi*, “Cypriots who followed both Christian and Muslim practices”, living in his village.<sup>162</sup> Similarly, Emir knew of some *linobambakoi* from the village of Peyia, just north of Kissonerga in the Paphos district.<sup>163</sup>

Other accounts were of contemporary *linobambaki*. Naile told of Turkish Cypriot women converting to Christianity to marry their Greek Cypriot boyfriend. “As a child I heard stories of unwed Turkish Cypriot women in the 1930s converting to Christianity to marry Greek Cypriot men. These women were *Linobambakoi*.”<sup>164</sup> In Naile’s account, the appellation *linobambakoi* was applied to people who converted to marry the ‘other’. I heard stories of Greek Cypriot women converting to marry Muslim men, and being forced to move to the north after 1974, obligated to accompany their husbands. These women still practised Christianity, and had Christian shrines in their bedroom (with icons and incense). Because in Islamic practice no man but a woman’s husband or son may enter her bedroom, she was able to keep this secret hidden. These people adopted their new religion, whilst also upholding the religion of their birth.

Antigone recounted her relatives’ visit after the checkpoints opened in 2003:

There was one family that had come from Turkey living in one of my aunt’s houses. And these relatives of ours, they went around to my aunt’s house to have a look and they were surprised because at the back of the house in a bedroom there was the *κωντήλι* (lamp) with the [icons of the] saints. I told my relatives: don’t forget that for Turks, men are not allowed to go into the women’s quarters [her bedroom] except for her husband ... So nobody knew she’s a Christian. They could not believe it.<sup>165</sup>

The fact that some of my participants remembered *linobambakoi* from their villages points to religious syncretism still occurring in Cyprus up until the mid-twentieth century.

### Case Study #1: Praying together for rain<sup>166</sup>

A contemporary example of religious syncretism in Cyprus was described by Antonis. His family had some land near the Turkish Cypriot village of Galinoporni (Kaleburnu), where all of the villagers spoke only Greek. Antonis explained that when the Turks came in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, some of the men took Cypriot girls as their wives, but the girls only spoke Greek, so their babies learned Greek.

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162 Ertherul, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1947; interviewed 13 July 2015.

163 Emir, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Souskiou in 1933; interviewed 2 July 2015.

164 Naile, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1947, moved to Aglantzia in 1964; interviewed 9 July 2015.

165 Antigone, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prastio in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1988; interviewed 25 April 2014.

166 An account of this interview first published in S. Jacobs, ‘The miracle of Galinoporni’, *Neos Kosmos*, 18 May, 2020, 12-13.

They were Muslims (following the religion of their fathers) but over many generations, they only spoke Greek.<sup>167</sup> The old village church of Ayia Anna (mother of the Virgin Mary) was built next to a natural spring, the blessed water of Ayia Anna. Over the centuries the church, on the outskirts<sup>168</sup> of what became a Muslim village, fell into disrepair. The region is shown in Figure 3.14 using one of Kitchener's old 1882 maps as the base, as it shows the site of the old church.

One day in 1947, during a drought, Antonis went with some others to check on their animals on land near Galinoporni. A group of villagers approached them. "When we meet them they say to us in Greek, 'Mother Mary and Apostolos Andreas – tell them here in Galinoporni ... we are drinking the water of Ayia Anna. We drink. We drink the water from ... the spring.'" They had prayed, they had drunk the blessed water of Ayia Anna, but it had been of no use; there had been no rain. They beseeched the Christians to pray to their saints on their behalf.



Figure 3.14 The journey from Rizokarpasso to Galinoporni, on the Karpas Peninsula<sup>169</sup>

The Christians, too, were feeling the effects of the drought. They, too, had prayed but it had been of no use. An idea grew. Antonis described the profound experience that followed:

We told our priest that the people from Galinoporni were crying and they wanted us to ask Mary and Apostolos Andreas to make it rain ... They need to go from our country, our village to their village. It took one day. They would bring the icons [of Mary and Apostolos Andreas], they would bring them down from the mountains, and they took them to Ayia Anna church. They would kneel down and pray and the priests would chant. They saw the hoca, the priest of the Turkish people ... He was kneeling down, the Turkish hoca, he was

167 Antonis, a Greek Cypriot born in Aglantzia in 1926, moved to Rizokarpasso at the age of ten and migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 1 May 2015.

168 D. Darke, *North Cyprus*, Bradt Travel Guides Ltd, Chesham, England, 2008, 137.

169 Map based on National Library of Scotland n.d., *Kitchener's Survey of Cyprus 1882*, viewed 23 April 2019, <<https://maps.nls.uk/view/103246322>>; reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

kneeling there and he was praying. He was praying with our priests ... The people from Galinoporni held bread. They held water. They held olives. They held cheese. And they would give these to us. Remember it took one day to go from our village to their village. Oh, Stephania, let me tell you, when they returned [the icons to Rizokarpasso] and left [again] for Galinoporni and half-way back, they could see the sky and it was raining! Lots of rain!<sup>170</sup>

Antonis migrated to Australia in 1948, as a 22-year old. He spoke good English but when telling this story he slipped into Cypriot Greek. It was too deep, too steeped in spiritual significance, to trust to English. It is a moving story of a miracle following prayer. It is a story of the priests and the hoca kneeling together, the Christians and the Muslims praying together, and their joint efforts seeing results that the Christians on their own, or the Muslims on their own, could not achieve. The epilogue – perhaps the most striking part of the story – is the awe with which Antonis regarded the Muslims of Galinoporni.

That's why I said the Turkish believe more than us. You wouldn't think so. Why didn't it rain when WE were praying for it? As soon as they went to get the icons, to take to Ayia Anna, and then when they got the icons to leave [to carry them in procession back to Rizokarpasso], you know – there was joy and thanksgiving from the Galinoporni people because they knew it was going to rain. Then it started raining, it rained all day and all night [laughing]. And the other day as well! That is why, I am telling you, they had more belief and faith than us. Why, when we prayed for rain, it didn't rain? Once the icons came down, we didn't lose one day of rain. It was real soaking rain, not drizzle. That's what I am saying: that these people believed more than us. Whenever they took the two icons to Galinoporni; when the priests did their prayers you could see the hoca kneeling down there – because the hoca, he believed because he said that when we prayed, there was no rain but when we brought the icons to Galinoporni, exactly at that time, it rained. But not just rain, but a downpour. The place was flooded with water.<sup>171</sup>

Antonis and his fellow villagers were parties to a profound religious experience. Afterwards, they made sense of the sudden breaking of the drought. They could have decided that their prayers in the ruined church of Ayia Anna were the crucial action; they could have taken credit for themselves. Instead, they felt that the devotion of the Muslims was felt by Mary and by Apostolos Andreas – that the Muslims' entreaties were heard while those of the Christians had not been. "That is why, I am telling you, they had more belief and faith than us."<sup>172</sup> Seventy years later,

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170 Antonis, a Greek Cypriot born in Aglantzia in 1926, moved to Rizokarpasso at the age of ten and migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 1 May 2015.

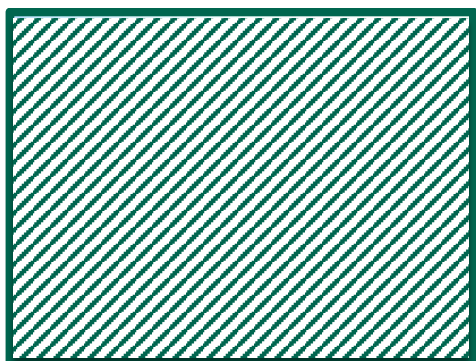
171 Antonis, a Greek Cypriot born in Aglantzia in 1926, moved to Rizokarpasso at the age of ten and migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 1 May 2015.

172 Antonis, a Greek Cypriot born in Aglantzia in 1926, moved to Rizokarpasso at the age of ten and migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 1 May 2015.



Antonis spoke of this episode with delight and with urgency, intent on conveying to me the deeper significance behind the breaking of the drought. It is a most generous and respectful interpretation.

It seems that following that wonderful breaking of the drought in 1947, the story spread and the church of Ayia Anna became renowned. Archaeologist Tuncer Bağışkan wrote of pilgrimages to Galinoporni in times of drought, from as far away as Paphos. “Several times, they say that the rain had started before the end of the prayer of rain, and that those who went there were getting wet.” Galinoporni (Kaleburnu) local İsmet Koldaş described to Bağışkan how his mother would always offer halloumi, bread, olives and water to Greek pilgrims<sup>173</sup> coming to pray at the church of Ayia Anna (Figure 3.15). Some of her fellow villagers disapproved and news of her actions reached politicians; when President Denктаş visited the village, he sought out the old woman and asked why she was giving food to Greeks. She responded, “Is not hospitality a tradition of the Turks?” The President conceded that she was right. Her son felt that the insults she suffered and the challenge by the President himself brought on her death shortly thereafter.<sup>174</sup>



*Figure 3.15 Ayia Anna in 2014; the structure was destroyed after conflicts in 1963<sup>175</sup>*

Pilgrimages in times of drought show that the experiences of Antonis, of the people who came from Rizokarpasso carrying icons and other accoutrements for the prayer service, and of the villagers of Galinoporni, were recognized as proof of the special powers vested in the little church. In subsequent droughts, people came from near and far, and the Muslims of Galinoporni offered traditional hospitality – contributing to the conditions necessary for prayers to be answered.

With respect to Antonis’ experience of the breaking of the drought, I wonder at the longer-term, official framing of the miracle. As the story spread in the late 1940s, how did the Bishops and the Archbishop, the hocas, imams and the Grand Mufti respond? Bağışkan’s story of the old woman in

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173 Perhaps those still living on the Karpas Peninsula, after 1974.

174 T. Bağışkan 2014, ‘Kaleburnu köyüne bir yolculuk’, *Yenidüzen*, viewed 5 March 2019, <<http://www.yeniduzen.com/kaleburnu-koyune-bir-yolculuk-2-81267h.htm>>.

175 Image from Bağışkan.

Galinoporni implies that, post-1974, when she was criticised for giving hospitality to the Greeks, Muslims were no longer partners in prayers for rain. For Antonis, who experienced the miracle first-hand and who left Cyprus the next year, the original meaning was intact, but I suspect that the original wondrous, generous interpretation of Antonis and his fellow villagers, including the two priests, did not survive translation to a city context and examination by and curatorship of the religious elites. Such familiarity with and acceptance of the religious rites of the 'other' amongst ordinary, lower class people and such tolerance of priests and hocas towards their flocks seem, today, unthinkable.

### The surprising tolerance of priests and hocas

The relative laxity of the priests and the imams and hocas enabled religious syncretism – the emergence of *linobambakoi*, the prayers and offerings at the house of the 'other', the joint prayers for rain – as well as adaption of religious traditions such as the wedding festivities and enjoyment and participation in the rituals and celebrations of the 'other'. It seems surprising, from a modern perspective, that priests, imams and hocas would be so flexible and tolerant.

There are hints in the scholarly literature that the priests of Cyprus were lax in their application of Church rules – such as an unpublished seminar paper presented by Loizos, in which he described being told, “when a Muslim wishes to be baptised, not too many questions are asked, and there is no follow-up to make sure he isn't slipping into the mosque occasionally”<sup>176</sup> – but no explanation of their laxity. An insight into the nature and authority of village religious leaders comes from a survey of rural life conducted in 1927 and 1928:

The influence of the priest is gradually lessening. He is usually a man with little schooling chosen for office by his fellow villagers and he carries on his ordinary work in addition to his priestly duties. Having a working knowledge of the church services, on Sundays and feast-days at baptisms, weddings and funerals he plays his part. He is treated with a certain amount of deference due to his office but such influence as he may have is reduced by the fact that he is born and brought up among his flock. He remains to-day the patcher-up of local quarrels and a general counsellor but his influence tends rather to diminish.

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176 Asmussen, 'Dark-Skinned Cypriots will not be accepted!', 103.

Similarly the Moslem “hoja” is no longer believed with the same unquestioning faith as before. Recent improvements in communications and a general increase in the reading of newspapers appear to have reduced the influence of both the priest and the “hoja”.<sup>177</sup>

Half a century earlier, di Cesnola had entertained the “notables of Dali” in his summer home; they were, “an old Cadi, three wealthy Turks of Potamia ... and an illiterate Greek priest.”<sup>178</sup> Just before the British era, von Löher, too, had commented on the poverty of priests of Cyprus:

Many of those in Nikosia can scarcely do more than read the services, and perform the various ceremonies with proper intelligence and decorum, whilst those in the village curés are so reduced that they must often resort to the mending of shoes, and tending of sheep and cattle, to earn a bare livelihood.<sup>179</sup> ... With the exception of its Bishops, Cyprus has no active and learned priesthood, and nothing can be simpler than the life and theology of its country curés. Books they have none, and for their livelihood have to depend upon the bounty of their flocks.<sup>180</sup> ... the parish priests ... are almost universally a base and degraded class, themselves extremely ignorant, and they keep the people in equal degradation and ignorance, partly because such is their own state, and partly that they may secure their own influence.<sup>181</sup>

The village priests and hocas of my participants’ childhoods would have been men of their flocks, with friends amongst the ‘other’ and family, social and economic ties – and obligations – to their fellow villagers. It is not surprising that some of these poorly educated, loosely controlled men compromised and bent the rules, making decisions that their city superiors would not have countenanced – but of which they were unlikely to ever hear.

## Conclusion

Participants’ examples of cross-religious encounters – entering the religious house of the ‘other’, attending each other’s weddings and funerals, celebrating each other’s religious festivals such as Easter, *Bayram* and *panayiri* – were so numerous that it is clear that such interactions were normal in the former mixed villages of Cyprus. The blurring of religious lines, ‘religious syncretism’, certainly occurred in Cyprus, best evidenced by the *linobambakoi* still encountered in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, and by the account of priests, a hoca, and their flocks, praying together for a miracle. Furthermore, common cultural traditions in the details of wedding preparations and celebrations demonstrate longstanding intercommunality.

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177 Surridge, *A survey of rural life in Cyprus*, 22.

178 Di Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 63.

179 Von Löher, *Cyprus, historical and descriptive*, 28.

180 *ibid.*, 89.

181 *ibid.*, 230.

# Chapter 4 – Personal-level Relations: Friendships

For as long as I can remember, I have heard stories from my *pappou* of intercommunal friendship during his early life in Cyprus in a mixed village. This chapter delves into the recollections of deep friendships between individuals of the two communities in Cyprus, making a significant contribution to the understanding of what life in the mixed villages of Cyprus was once like. It also reveals how such friendships often led to the choice of *koumbaroi* from the ‘other’ group.

This chapter not only explores the experiences of Cypriots from former mixed villages of Cyprus; but the experiences of those who lived in mono-communal villages that neighboured villages of the ‘other’. Because of their proximity – villages just two or three kilometres from one another – people from the two communities met regularly and formed friendships. It is unsurprising that they helped each other, were hospitable towards each other, and grew to know, like, and value each other. While it is easy to distrust someone from far away, people from communities which had lived so close for several centuries had frequent interactions and naturally became increasingly familiar with and friendly with each other.

Whilst some literature explores the former community-life of Cypriots, investigation into the personal-level relations of the two communities has been scant, until now.

## Friendships between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus

The strongest evidence of the intercommunal relations that once existed in Cyprus between Greek and Turkish Cypriots prior to the wars of the 1960s and 1974, was the existence of hundreds of mixed villages on the island.<sup>1</sup> There, friendships between Greek and Turkish Cypriots flourished. In fact, there is even a word for such friends: the Cypriot Turkish word ‘*Rumcu*’ which, “refers to Turkish Cypriots who mix with Greek Cypriots. This term may have both derogatory and positive meanings depending on one’s identification with Cypriot-ness.”<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, I am not aware of an equivalent Cypriot Greek word.

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1 Asmussen, ‘Life and Strife in Mixed Villages’, 102.

2 A. Göker, ‘Senses of Belonging and ‘Belongings’ and Making ‘Home’ Away from Home’, in R. Bryant & Y. Papadakis (eds.), *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*, I.B. Taurus, New York, 2012, 118.

## Surveys and structures of relationships

Several studies have examined the relationships between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, particularly those who lived in the former mixed villages of Cyprus. Lytras and Psaltis conducted a large questionnaire survey of 1887 Cypriot inhabitants of 97 formerly mixed villages.<sup>3</sup> The 2011 study undertook extensive quantitative research on how people remembered their former lives and found some vital differences: for example, in responses to the question *Who had greater economic power in the village?* most participants agreed that Greek Cypriots held economic power (Figure 4.1). Past (pre-1974) conditions, when there were many more Greek than Turkish Cypriot majority villages, suggest that they were indeed the more powerful group. The range of responses of the two groups of participants differed significantly; 72 percent of Greek Cypriots but only 59.6 percent of Turkish Cypriots responded that *somewhat* or *definitely* Greek Cypriots held more economic power; only 11.2 percent of Greek Cypriots but 20.3 percent of Turkish Cypriots responded that *somewhat* or *definitely* Turkish Cypriots held more economic power.

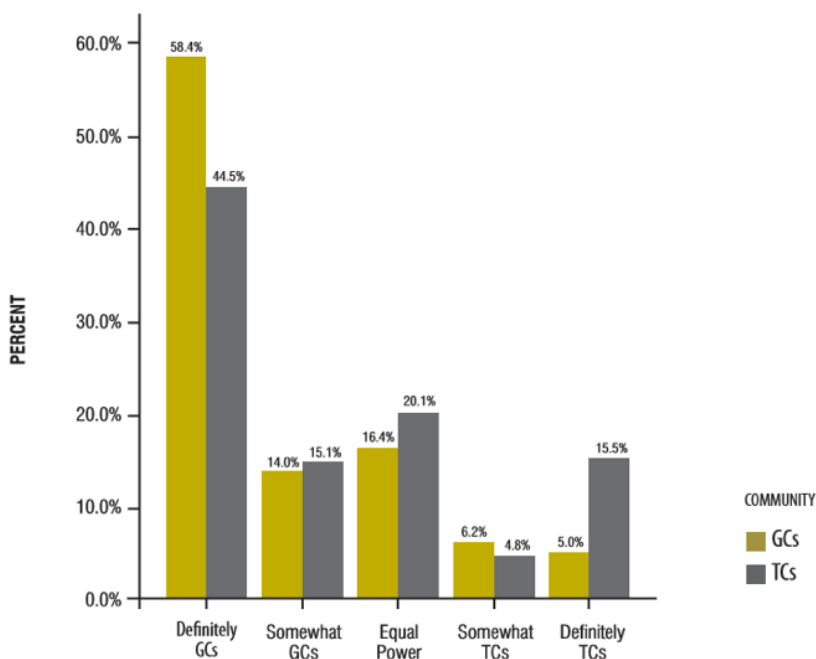


Figure 4.1 Greek and Turkish Cypriots' responses to the item "Who had greater economic power in the village?" From Lytras and Psaltis, 2011<sup>4</sup>

As participants were carefully selected to be representative of Cyprus' formerly mixed villages, this disparity points to different perspectives of the interviewees. Current conditions – Greek Cypriots living in the south, part of the European Union with all of the associated benefits and opportunities

<sup>3</sup> Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 9.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, 55.

of that membership; and Turkish Cypriots living in the north, in a republic recognised only by Turkey, with limited economic and other opportunities – are clearly different and might colour perceptions of the past. The past might seem slightly rosier for Turkish Cypriots from former mixed villages.

The survey also revealed many details of the normal lives and interactions of people in mixed villages before, during and after the political turmoil leading up to and following independence of Cyprus. Strong, statistically significant findings showed differences between the two communities; “Greek Cypriots seem to remember life with Turkish Cypriots as more positive, cooperative and pleasant, whereas Turkish Cypriots remember life as more negative and less pleasant with less social contacts between the two communities.”<sup>5</sup> In addition, the study found that, “Greek Cypriots reported greater levels of trust towards Turkish Cypriots and were found to hold more positive attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots than vice versa.”<sup>6</sup> However, the study did not utilise open-ended questions, which could add nuance or help to explain those differences.

Another study conducted in 2013 focussed on interviews with over forty Greek and some Turkish Cypriots from a diverse age range (from one born in the 1910s to two born in the 1990s) as well as backgrounds (refugees, non-refugees, etc.) about their experiences during the events of 1960 to 1974.<sup>7</sup> The researchers found one common memory was conveyed by both Greek and Turkish Cypriots:

Many individuals know of stories from older generations that depict peaceful co-existence and friendship between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots before the divide. For example, many interviewees maintained that prior to the conflict the communities took part in the others’ holidays and celebrations, and as neighbours they helped each other in many ways.<sup>8</sup>

Evidence of Turkish Cypriot leaders feeling threatened by the relationships between the two communities is reported in accounts from the 1960s. Lytras and Pslatis found that, for example:

Turkish Cypriot leaders in some villages forbade any friendly relations with the Greek Cypriots and any Turkish Cypriots, caught being friendly with Greek Cypriots or walking or

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5 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 9.

6 *ibid.*, 9.

7 Frederic University 2011, *The Cyprus Oral History & Living Memory Project*.

8 N. Christodoulou, ‘Living memory: Oral history in the Republic of Cyprus’, in H. Briel (ed.), *Challenging History: Oral History Work in Cyprus*, University of Nicosia Press, Nicosia, 2014, 141.

enjoying themselves in the Greek areas were penalised by heavy fines, imprisonment or even whipping.<sup>9</sup>

Most of Emmanuelle's interviewees described friendships with the 'other'. Froso said, "Would you believe that there were Turkish Cypriots in Archimandrita that were nicer to our family than some of our own relatives?"<sup>10</sup> Charilaos had many Muslim friends: "There was never a problem ... I tell you, we all got along like brothers."<sup>11</sup> Taki said, "I have fond memories of mixing openly and conversing freely with members of both communities. We didn't distinguish any difference between Greeks and Turks ... We were all Cypriot. We were all the same."<sup>12</sup> Hakki, a young apprentice barber in the 1930s, said, "No one would ask you if you were Greek or Turkish or anything like that. People were mixed. There was no trouble at all." On his day off, Hakki would play ball games in a local churchyard with Greek, Turkish and Armenian boys.<sup>13</sup> George and his best friend Kuzey "were inseparable", and learned to speak each other's language. George said, "I didn't think Kuzey was any different to me ... As far as I was concerned, he was Cypriot just like me." Within their village, their deep friendship was unexceptional.<sup>14</sup>

Hospitality is a theme running through Emmanuelle's interviews. Many Turkish Cypriots – mainly traders from nearby villages – would visit Froso's house and "My parents would always treat them with the same courtesy and respect as they would treat our own relatives."<sup>15</sup> Achilleas and his father Demetrios made furniture, wooden dowry chests and violins and travelled with their wares. "It was commonplace for a customer to provide their food and lodgings for the night. Greek or Turkish alike they were embraced all the same."<sup>16</sup> Agathi had a powerful memory:

It was a wet, stormy night, close to midnight when her father came across two cold and hungry Turkish Cypriot travellers huddled together in a dark corner near the village square. They had become stranded in the village because of the storm and did not have anywhere to stay. Without hesitation, Master Giorgios invited the two men back to his house and summoned Agathi and her mother out of their beds to cook the strangers a meal and to fetch them some dry clothes to wear. The men were fed pork sausages and some soup, which they ate with much gusto and appreciation. Afterwards, Agathi's mother realised that she had made an error feeding them pork, as they were Muslim. A few days later, the two

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9 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 15.

10 Froso Neofytou, born 1934 in Mousere, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 44.

11 Charilaos Ioannou, born 1931 in Polemi, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 69.

12 Taki Leptos, born 1929 in Morphou, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 200.

13 Hakki Abdurazak, born 1925 in Nicosia, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 207.

14 George Papouis, born 1928 in Nisou, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 212.

15 Froso Neofytou, born 1934 in Mousere, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 44.

16 Achilleas Demetriou, born 1928 in Polis Chrysochous, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 64-66.

men returned to Agathi's house with two large baskets full of oranges and mandarins as a gift to thank her father for his kindness.<sup>17</sup>

Emmanuelle's interviewee Hakki was twelve years old when he was diagnosed with tuberculosis and taken to hospital. His mother could not afford to pay beyond two weeks, but when she arrived to take him home, the treating doctor, a Greek Cypriot, insisted that he would himself pay for ongoing treatment. When Hakki was discharged after two months, Dr Coureas drove him home and gave him two shillings. "Take this money Hakki ... and please spend it only on food to fatten your bones."<sup>18</sup>

Social class factors, of course, play a role in the lived experiences and memories of Cypriots. In a memoir about the deterioration of relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, former Chief Matron Turkan Aziz of Nicosia General Hospital – the same hospital where Dr Coureas made a profound impression on young Hakki – stated:

When I was growing up, the two peoples got on reasonably well together. On the surface, at any rate. From my point of view, coming from a well to do and educated family, I got on quite well with Greeks of the same social level, although there was less intimacy in the mixed race villages ... The differences between religion and race were too great to allow what might be called social cohesion.<sup>19</sup>

While Aziz's memoir is valuable, she belonged, by her own account, to the upper class. Subaltern studies seek stories of the lower class, of people with limited capacity to write memoirs or contribute to traditional documents of history. Furthermore, she was not from a mixed village, and therefore was unaware of what life in the mixed villages of Cyprus was like. Her book also had an evident political agenda. The politicisation of memoirs – the fact that they are written for an audience – results in a different description of the past to those of people who tell their stories in an interview. An interviewee is a different audience: a present interlocutor rather than an absent audience. My participants describe a very different Cyprus to that of Aziz.

### Participant recollections of friendship

All of the interviewees – elderly Greek and Turkish Cypriots still living in Cyprus, and those who migrated to Australia – spoke of their friendships with the 'other' group. Details of all of the interviewees are shown in Appendix 2.

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17 Agathi Constantinou, born 1924 in Stroumbi, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 74.

18 Hakki Abdurazak, born 1925 in Nicosia, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 208.

19 Aziz, *The Death of Friendship*, 6.



### *We were like brothers*

Many participants spoke of bonds with members of the other community that were so close that they described a sibling-like relationship. My *pappou* Costas (Figure 4.2), said, “Next to me there was a Turkish family. They had a young boy like me. We used to live together and grew up together until I was 21 years old, when I left Cyprus. We went everywhere together. We were more than friends – we were brothers.”<sup>20</sup>



*Figure 4.2 Costas of Ayia Irini*

That young boy, Costas’ best friend, was Mehmet Emin. His widow Feriha spoke about the two men: “They loved each other so, so, so, so much!” She said that Mehmet Emin had his hair cut and wore a suit (Figure 4.3) on the day that Costas left for Australia, so that he would look his best for his closest friend. She also said that after Costas left Cyprus, Mehmet Emin, at that time not yet married, was very close to following his best friend to Australia. Although she never went to school, Feriha spoke Greek as a child, just as well as she did Turkish. Her friends were like sisters; “We used to go to the fields for work, Greek and Turkish girls. While we were working, we were singing Greek and Turkish songs all together. All together we were working and singing.”<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Costas, a Greek Cypriot born in Ayia Irini in 1925, migrated to Australia in 1947; interviewed 30 November 2013.

<sup>21</sup> Feriha, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1934; interviewed 1 June 2015.



*Figure 4.3 Mehmet Emin wearing his suit, with hair cut neatly, 1947*

Mehmet Emin's younger sister Hürsiye spoke of her neighbour (my *pappou*) Costas who left the village in 1947 to emigrate to Australia. When he visited in 1972 she greeted him but he was puzzled; he asked for her name as he did not recognise her. She had said, "How can you not recognise your sister?!"<sup>22</sup> As she was only 11 years old when he left, it was not surprising that he didn't recognise the 36-year old woman, but he had been her brother's best friend and her next-door neighbour, and they had been like siblings.

The descriptions of Greek and Turkish Cypriots being like siblings were not limited to those from Ayia Irini. My *yiayia* (grandmother) Olga, born in Polis Chrysochous in 1930, said, "In Cyprus we were like brothers and sisters. The Turks from Turkey is bad, you know, but not the Turkish Cypriots – we were brought up together, we were neighbours, we mixed up. As kids, we played in the street together, like brothers and sisters."<sup>23</sup>

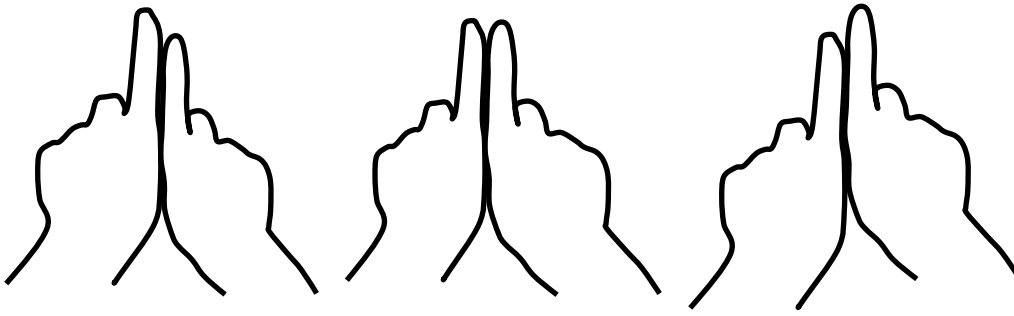
### *The gesture of concord*

Interviews were audio-recorded with participants' permission, but not video-recorded. One visual idiosyncrasy occurred so often that it merits comment: Many interviewees – men and women, Greek and Turkish Cypriots – used a gesture that I had not seen before: they held their index fingers together and rubbed them back and forth past each other as shown in Figure 4.4, as they said, "We were like brothers," or "We were like sisters." It is a deeply evocative gesture, signifying equality and intimacy.

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<sup>22</sup> Hürsiye, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1936; interviewed 25 May 2015.

<sup>23</sup> Olga, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1930, migrated to Australia in 1950; interviewed 30 November 2013.



*Figure 4.4 Hand gesture signifying “We were like brothers” or “We were like sisters”*

The gesture has been described by others. Thubron, encountering village hospitality everywhere he went in Cyprus in 1972, recounted conversations in Kouklia and in Nikitari where the same alignment of index fingers – “a gesture of concord” – was used when describing the former closeness of Greek and Turkish Cypriots.<sup>24</sup> Papadakis described the gesture in the notes embedded in his interview with Mrs Katinou: “Zehra, Mustafa’s wife [her neighbour], we were like this with her [she made a gesture with two fingers pressed together].”<sup>25</sup>

#### *We looked at each other the same*

For my first visit in 2013 to my *pappou’s* village of Ayia Irini, now in the north of Cyprus, my aunt, a woman in her thirties, born and living in Cyprus, was one of our family party of eleven. After a few hours speaking – in Cypriot Greek – with the Turkish Cypriots of the village, she turned to me and exclaimed, “They look like us! And they speak like us!” For her, born and educated in the south after 1974, this realisation was profound. The similarity between Greek and Turkish Cypriots was a common theme that emerged from the interviews. My aunt’s surprise arose from her life-long learning; she had internalised the hegemonic nationalist narrative of the south.

Erol recalled walking to school with both Greek and Turkish Cypriots. He spent a peaceful childhood playing with friends; he explained that before 1963 or 1964, he could not tell a Greek Cypriot from a Turkish Cypriot: “As children we looked at each other the same, as Cypriots.”<sup>26</sup> Myrofora said, “You couldn’t pick the Turkish Cypriots. They look and spoke like the Greek Cypriots.”<sup>27</sup> Hüseyin G spoke of his many Greek Cypriot friends, of the adventures they had and the love and respect they had for one another. He said that in the old days (1940s to 1950s) it was difficult to differentiate

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24 Thubron, *Journey into Cyprus*, 12 and 135.

25 Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone*, 51.

26 Erol, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Khoulou in 1951; interviewed 24 July 2015.

27 Myrofora, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Komi Kebir in 1937, migrated to Australia in 1955; interviewed 9 August 2014.

between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, as most looked the same and spoke both Cypriot Turkish and Cypriot Greek.<sup>28</sup> Andreas K also claimed that during his youth, “We were like the same.”<sup>29</sup>

The memoir of Harry Mavromatis records this sameness, too: “I only saw Mr. Effendis a few times, but recall that he looked like a typical Cypriot. In other words, I remember thinking that if I had not known he was a Turkish Cypriot as opposed to a Greek Cypriot, I would not have been able to tell this from his physical appearance.”<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps not being able to tell each other apart made for a peaceful and accepting village-life, as the characteristics of each group were so similar to the other, with only religion separating them.

### *Strong friendships*

Many strong friendships grew across the two communities. Themistoclis said, “My first girlfriend was Turkish Cypriot. My parents didn’t care. I had more Turkish Cypriot friends than Greek.”<sup>31</sup>

Panayiotis spoke of his friendship with Turkish Cypriots during his early childhood; they would play in the mosque regularly.<sup>32</sup> Eleni G shared a vivid memory of her childhood. As a small child she adored an older “very beautiful” Turkish Cypriot girl in the village, who would hold and hug her. Eleni would sing to her a song which included the lyrics, “You are sweet like sugar and honey.”<sup>33</sup>

Friendships between the two groups often manifested as loyalty. Antonis described relations between his Greek and Turkish Cypriot friends: “There were no troubles whilst I was living in Cyprus. If you have a Turkish Cypriot friend, you don’t let other Greek Cypriots make trouble with your friend. And [the] same from their side.”<sup>34</sup> My great-aunt Maria (Figure 4.5) benefited from the loyalty of her many Turkish Cypriot friends. During the school holidays they worked together as fruit pickers for a man in Morphou. There was a problem: Maria was the only Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot boss paid her half the wage of the other girls. Her Turkish Cypriot friends protested and threatened to quit unless he paid Maria the same wage; he bowed to their demands and Maria’s wage was doubled.<sup>35</sup>

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28 Hüseyin G, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1939; interviewed 25 May 2015.

29 Andreas K, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kythrea in 1924, migrated to Australia in 1961; interviewed 3 January 2015.

30 H. Mavromatis, *Lost Edens: A Cyprus Memoir*, Armida Publications, Nicosia, 2011, 27.

31 Themistoclis, a Greek Cypriot born in Kilanemos in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1951; interviewed 1 December 2014.

32 Panayiotis, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1944; interviewed 2 June 2015.

33 Eleni G, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Neakhorio, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1935; interviewed 9 June 2015.

34 Antonis, a Greek Cypriot born in Aglantzia in 1926, moved to Rizokarpasso at the age of ten and migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 1 May 2015.

35 Maria, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1929, moved to Polis Chrysochous in 1949 when she married; interviewed 7 June 2015.



Figure 4.5 Maria of Ayia Irini and Polis Chrysochous

Speaking each other's language, particularly Turkish Cypriots speaking Greek, was an important factor in the development of intercommunal friendships. Emir learnt Greek as a child in order to speak with his Greek Cypriot friends in the village. Many of his friends spoke a little Turkish, too. He used to go fishing with his Greek Cypriot friends when they were children; they also played marbles and a game called 'Linkri / Lingiri' – a traditional Cypriot street game played with wooden sticks.<sup>36</sup>

*Kafenions* (coffee houses) were a common place for friendships between the two groups to form and deepen. Father Andreas spoke of his close friendships with Turkish Cypriots from his village. They would all sit together in a *kafenion* and play backgammon or cards together. "The custom was that when a Turk came into a Greek café for the first time, we'd offer him coffee, and it's the same: if it was a Greek, the Turks would offer him coffee."<sup>37</sup> Andreas K had a similar experience: "In our house, there were Turkish Cypriot guests over all the time. We would meet in the kafenio, and we would become friends."<sup>38</sup> I heard similar accounts from many Greek and Turkish Cypriot participants.

Intercommunal friendships, like any friendships, often led to playful misbehaviour. Alkan (Figure 4.6) grew very animated when he spoke of the mischief that he and his Greek Cypriot friends got up to when they were children. He remembered riding his bike to a beach called 'Lady's Mile' with his Greek Cypriot friends, where they would steal people's potato chips! He also remembered a night when his Greek Cypriot friends from Polemidhia wanted to go to a bar in Lemesos. "They drank too

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36 Emir, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Souskiou in 1933; interviewed 2 July 2015.

37 Father Andreas, a Greek Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1927; interviewed 17 June 2015.

38 Andreas K, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kythrea in 1924, migrated to Australia in 1961; interviewed 3 January 2015.

much and then the police came, so they ran away and went to another bar; the police did not find them!" he laughed.<sup>39</sup>



*Figure 4.6 Alkan of Polis Chrysochous with the author*

### *Children's bed-sharing*

Many interviewees told of the affinity and affection they felt for members of the 'other' group, by describing children's bed-sharing practices. Savvas (Sam) lived and worked at the Ledra Palace Hotel in Nicosia when he was 15 years old. "I was a page boy. I shared my bed with a Turkish Cypriot boy, İbrahim. We were good friends; we shared just about everything and went everywhere together."<sup>40</sup>

Georgia also shared her bed as a child:

Next to mum's house there were fields owned by a Turkish Cypriot. He planted watermelon. He had two daughters and they used to sleep in the fields. My father became friends with the man and offered for his daughters to sleep at our house. For one year I shared my bed with one of his daughters; we were good friends.<sup>41</sup>

This practice highlights the deep friendships that once existed between the two groups, as these children's parents would not have permitted such arrangements if they did not trust the 'other'.

### *Mourning for the 'other'*

Many interviewees spoke of the mourning they experienced for friends of the 'other' group. Sadiye's husband was killed in the conflicts of 1974, and she specifically asked to be photographed for this project holding his portrait (Figure 4.7). Sadiye's recollections could have been coloured by

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39 Alkan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Silikou in 1948, moved to Kato Polemidhia when he married in 1973; interviewed 2 July 2015.

40 Savvas (Sam), a Greek Cypriot man born in Peyia in 1939, migrated to Australia in 1958; interviewed 6 May 2017.

41 Georgia, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Petra in 1958, migrated to Australia in 1983; interviewed 3 January 2015.

resentment and bitterness towards her former neighbours but such sentiments did not emerge during her interview. Instead, she told of her distress as a 15-year old in 1964 when, during the Turkish military air raids at Kokkina, several Greek Cypriots from Alaminos were killed. “I was crying and crying,” Sadiye said. She attended their funerals.<sup>42</sup>



*Figure 4.7 Sadiye of Alaminos holding a photograph of her husband, who died in 1974*

Christodoulos (Figure 4.8) also spoke of mourning. Christodoulos worked on his father’s farm during school holidays and travelled around selling produce to many Turkish Cypriots. “They would not let me go until they had fed me”, he said. They adored his father and would drive to his house, pick him up, take him to their parties and then drive him back home. Christodoulos recalled that when his father died, a large coach carrying five Turkish Cypriots families arrived, bringing with them several dishes to share at the communal meal after the funeral.<sup>43</sup>



*Figure 4.8 Christodoulos of Polis Chrusochous*

### *Soccer*

A recent interview project exploring experiences of the education systems under the British, involving interviews of 10 Greek Cypriot and 10 Turkish Cypriots aged between 64 and 93 years,

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<sup>42</sup> Sadiye, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1949; interviewed 9 July 2015.

<sup>43</sup> Christodoulos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Polis Chrusochous in 1929; interviewed 17 June 2015.

revealed other aspects of village life. One of the findings of İçim Özenli Özmatyatlı and Ali Efdal Özkul related to communal soccer playing: “male participants mentioned the football matches in the streets which both Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot children enjoyed ...”<sup>44</sup>

My participants reported such play, too. Children from both groups played soccer together informally, and formally, as they grew older. Mustafa played soccer with Greek Cypriots as a child, and recalled this as a very important form of interaction between the children.<sup>45</sup> Giorgios had very good friends amongst the Turkish Cypriots in the village and, as a 14-year old, played in the mixed village soccer team.<sup>46</sup> Andreas B described very close relations with his Turkish Cypriot friends, “We even had the same soccer team. We were playing Greeks and Turks together.”<sup>47</sup> İbrahim U also spoke of playing in the village’s soccer team as a teenager. It was a mixed team – of course. That was normal life.<sup>48</sup>

### *Neighbouring villages*

Many interviewees from mono-communal villages also had good relations with the ‘other’ group from nearby villages. Nafiya said, “We used to mix with the Greek family in the neighbouring village. They would always stop by our house to give us something from their garden. We used to mix. They were just like our family.”<sup>49</sup> Antigone recalled that the Turkish village Ghazivera was very close [about two kilometres away]. “The Turkish Cypriot women would come from one side and the Greek Cypriot from the other side, and meet near the swamps. They were the best of friends. They ate and worked together. The lady who helped my mother to give birth to me was Turkish.”<sup>50</sup>

Nevzat also spoke of his close relations with the Greek Cypriots from a neighbouring village. He was very proud of his family’s olive press (Figure 4.9), now held in the museum in Paphos. People from neighbouring villages would use it, as, “all were welcome, as the Greeks were like family.” This affinity and generosity extended beyond Cypriot Greeks: “Many mainland Greeks came to Cyprus after World War II due to the German devastation of Greece. We helped them a lot.”<sup>51</sup>

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44 Özmatyatlı & Özkul, ‘20th century British colonialism in Cyprus through Education’, 7.

45 Mustafa, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1948; interviewed 9 July 2015.

46 Giorgios, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1948, migrated to Australia in 1974, returning to Alaminos in his retirement; interviewed 9 June 2015.

47 Andreas B, a Greek Cypriot man born in Pyroi in 1940, migrated to Australia in 1975; interviewed 1 May 2015.

48 İbrahim U, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1945; interviewed 13 June 2015.

49 Nafiya, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Lemba in 1929, migrated to Australia in 1952; interviewed 15 October 2014.

50 Antigone, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prastio in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1988; interviewed 25 April 2014.

51 Nevzat, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lemba in 1927, migrated to Australia in 1954; interviewed 15 October 2014.





*Figure 4.9 Olive press*

Because of their proximity – villages usually just two or three kilometres apart – people from the two communities could not help but meet each other regularly. It is unsurprising that they helped each other, were hospitable towards each other, grew to know and like and value each other. While it is easy to distrust someone from far away, people from communities living so closely for several centuries had frequent interactions and naturally became increasingly familiar with and friendly with each other.

All of the participants of this study reported warm relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots prior to 1974. Their interviews were, of course, shaped by their own intentions. For example, Sadiye may well have told of going to the funerals of neighbours killed in an air raid to impress me with her recollections of close community relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Alaminos; it serves well to convey that message. Such recollections of the past, though, came from both Greek and Turkish Cypriots from all over Cyprus. Their many accounts are not the words of people who lived side by side and just tolerated each other. Antonis said, “We lived like brothers. It was the English and also EOKA B that stuffed up a lot of things.”<sup>52</sup> While Matron Aziz, who grew up in the upper class in Nicosia wrote, “We were Turks and they were Greeks and although we lived side by side, never did the twain really meet”<sup>53</sup>, it seems that the twain did meet, that they bonded, and that their lives were deeply entwined in many of the mixed villages of Cyprus, and between many neighbouring mono-communal villages, too.

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52 Antonis, a Greek Cypriot born in Aglantzia in 1926, moved to Rizokarpasso at the age of ten and migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 1 May 2015.

53 Aziz, *The Death of Friendship*, 6.

## Koumbaroi

I first heard of a Turkish Cypriot *koumbaroi* for a Greek Cypriot wedding from one of my early interviews. Myrofora (Figure 4.10) spoke of her arrival in Australia in 1955:

My brother migrated to Australia before me. He lived with a Turkish Cypriot friend from our village. They helped each other build a house. They were carpenters. When I came to Australia, I lived in the Turkish Cypriot house with my brother and sister[-in-law], until our house was finished.<sup>54</sup>



Figure 4.10 Myrofora of Komi Kebir, with her brother, his friend, and others<sup>55</sup>

Then, to emphasise the men's closeness, she added, "The Turkish Cypriot man was the *koumbaro* for my brother at his wedding." It seemed so exceptional that I did not think to ask others if they had ever heard of such a relationship. After 25 interviews, I realised that five participants had volunteered such anecdotes as evidence of the closeness of the two groups; I then decided to incorporate a question about *koumbaroi* in my interview protocol.

The *koumbaro* (male) or *koumbara* (female) is an important figure in the Greek Orthodox wedding. He or she is the sponsor of the wedding and holds the *stephana* (wedding crowns) over the couple's heads as they circle the altar table three times, performing the 'Dance of Isaiah'. It is a formal, lifelong relationship.

### Historical and religious context

The role of *koumbaroi* is significant, as the *koumbaro* and *koumbara* is the wedding sponsor with a formal role in the religious ceremony, and usually baptises the couple's first child.<sup>56</sup> The role is

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<sup>54</sup> Myrofora, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Komi Kebir in 1937, migrated to Australia in 1955; interviewed 9 August 2014.

<sup>55</sup> Myrofora is fourth from right; her brother and his wife are to her left; their Turkish Cypriot friend, his wife and child, are to her right.

restricted: if a person is the *koumbaroi* for a friend, that friend cannot perform the role of a *koumbaroi* in return.<sup>57</sup> Once the relationship has been established, the wedding sponsor and their husband or wife is called by the new couple 'Koumbaro' and 'Koumbara' ('Koumera' in Cypriot Greek) and "becomes a spiritual member of the family."<sup>58</sup> They reciprocate, calling the new couple 'Koumbaro' and 'Koumbara/Koumera'.

While there are no formal records of how Greek Cypriot wedding *koumbaroi* were selected historically, there are some sources giving information about the tradition in Greece. According to Aimee Placas:

Historically the patron-client relationship was established with an individual through a tie of spiritual kinship; the patron would baptize the child of the client and thus become the client's *koumbaros* (κουμπάροι), or marry the client and spouse in the Greek Orthodox ceremony and become the same ... there are ritualized economic obligations (providing the suit of clothes the baby wears after being baptized, naming the child, or paying church costs for the wedding) and less specific subsequent obligations in line with the moral obligations of kinship.<sup>59</sup>

In 1837, during his travels in Crete, Robert Pashley recorded that, "It was far from unusual, before the Greek revolution, for a Mohammedan to stand as godfather to the child of his Christian friend."<sup>60</sup> In Cyprus, there is also evidence that bridal couples have long chosen friends to act as *koumbaroi*. An anonymous chronicle written early in the nineteenth century by a disgruntled Christian monk stated:

Sometimes the Turks interfered in religious matters ... They interfered in the marriages and baptisms of Christians by being *koumbari* and taking their children for baptism. They got the priest to crown the [wedding] couple, and he would often do this illegally and without permission of either the higher clergy or of the parents.<sup>61</sup>

This two-centuries old account demonstrates the deep inter-connectedness of the two communities, and the Church's frustration and concern about those connections. Christians would not choose Muslims to be *koumbaroi* unless they were close friends, so close that they wanted to

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56 E. Sakellis 2018, 'Let's Talk - Greek Wedding Traditions', *Hellenic Genealogy Geek*, viewed 10 February 2019, <<http://hellenicgenealogygeek.blogspot.com/2018/06/lets-talk-greek-wedding-traditions.html>>.

57 T.B. Edwards, 'Greek Wedding Customs (part 2)', *Folk Life*, 42(1), 2003, 42.

58 A.J. Placas, 'The Emergence of Consumer Credit in Greece: An Ethnography of Indebtedness', PhD Thesis, Rice University, Houston, 15. 59 *ibid.*, 15-16.

60 R. Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, 1, Oxford University, London, 1837, 10.

61 M. Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2000, 105-106.

honour their friend and formalise the relationship. It seems likely that in Cyprus *koumbaroi* were often chosen by affection, and that sometimes they were ‘Turks’.

Other members of the wedding party – groomsmen and bridesmaids – would also be referred to as ‘*Koumbaro*’ and ‘*Koumbara*’, though they had no formal spiritual kinship relationship. To confuse matters more, “in Cyprus the term *koumbare* (vocative case) is used as a common address for any male friend [similar to ‘mate’].”<sup>62</sup>

The extensive questionnaire study of Lytras and Psaltis included a question about *koumbaroi*. The results (Figure 4.11) show that 39.7 percent of Greek Cypriots and 73.1 percent of Turkish Cypriots maintained that cross-religious *koumbaroi* relationships never occurred; that means that 60.3 percent of Greek Cypriots and 26.9 percent of Turkish Cypriots did recall such relationships. Those proportions are large enough to confirm that they did occur and were not exceptional. Many more Greek Cypriots remembered such relationships. Perhaps Turkish Cypriots, within whose culture the role did not exist, were less likely to have encountered such arrangements.

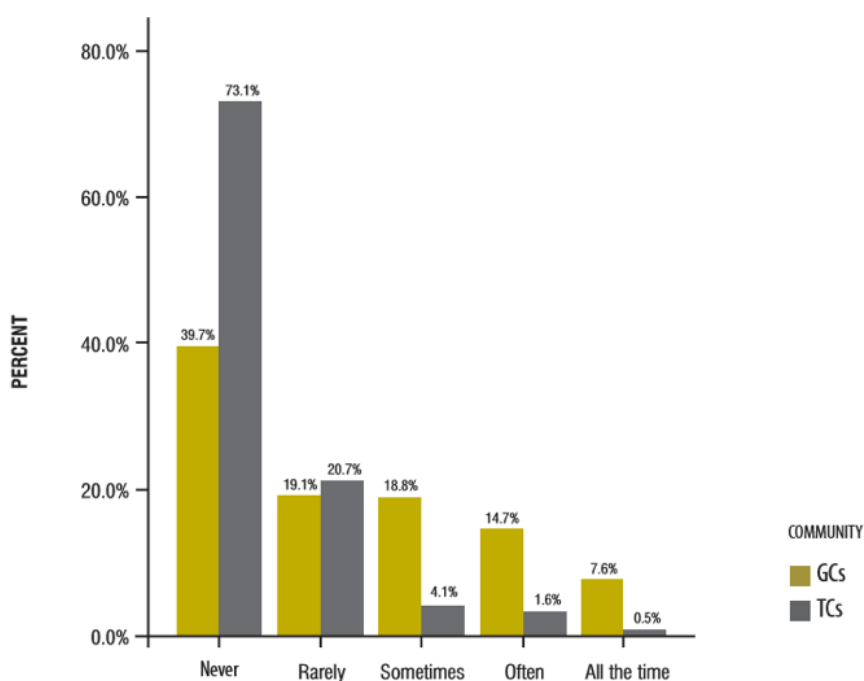


Figure 4.11 Were there Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots who were best-men-women in weddings of members of the other community? From Lytras and Psaltis, 2011<sup>63</sup>

62 Edwards, ‘Greek Wedding Customs (part 2)’, 50.

63 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 57.

## Participant recollections of *koumbaroi*

Fifteen people in Australia and 39 people in Cyprus either volunteered the information or were asked, *Were you aware of any times when there were koumbaroi from the 'other' group?* Their responses are shown in Table 4.1 and Figure 4.12, from which it is clear that a strong majority – 80 percent overall – remembered weddings where there was at least one *koumbaro* or *koumbara* from the 'other' group. A higher proportion of interviewees in Cyprus than in Australia recalled these relationships. Perhaps as the Australian interviewees had left Cyprus, they had fewer years in which to encounter such (uncommon) events. A higher proportion of women than men, and a higher proportion of Turkish than Greek Cypriots, recalled these relationships. Indeed, every Turkish Cypriot interviewed in Cyprus recalled *koumbaroi* from the 'other' group.

*Table 4.1 Interviewees' recollections of koumbaroi from the 'other' group*

	Yes	No
Australia interviewees	11	4
Cyprus interviewees	32	7
Men	25	8
Women	18	3
Greek Cypriot	19	8
Turkish Cypriot	24	3
Total	43	11

With respect to Greek Cypriots, these results are similar to those of Lytras and Psaltis; 70 percent of my interviewees and 60.3 percent of their questionnaire respondents recalled *koumbaroi* being from the 'other' group. With respect to Turkish Cypriots, the results of this study are very different to those of Lytras and Psaltis; 89 percent of my interviewees (100 percent of those in Cyprus) but just 26.9 percent of their questionnaire respondents recalled *koumbaroi* being from the 'other' group. I would suggest that many of Lytras and Psaltis' respondents likely withheld information; an open-ended interview with a skilled interviewer can yield quite different results. While my participants may have withheld information, too, the responses of my Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants to this question are much closer to each other than were those of Lytras and Psaltis's participants.

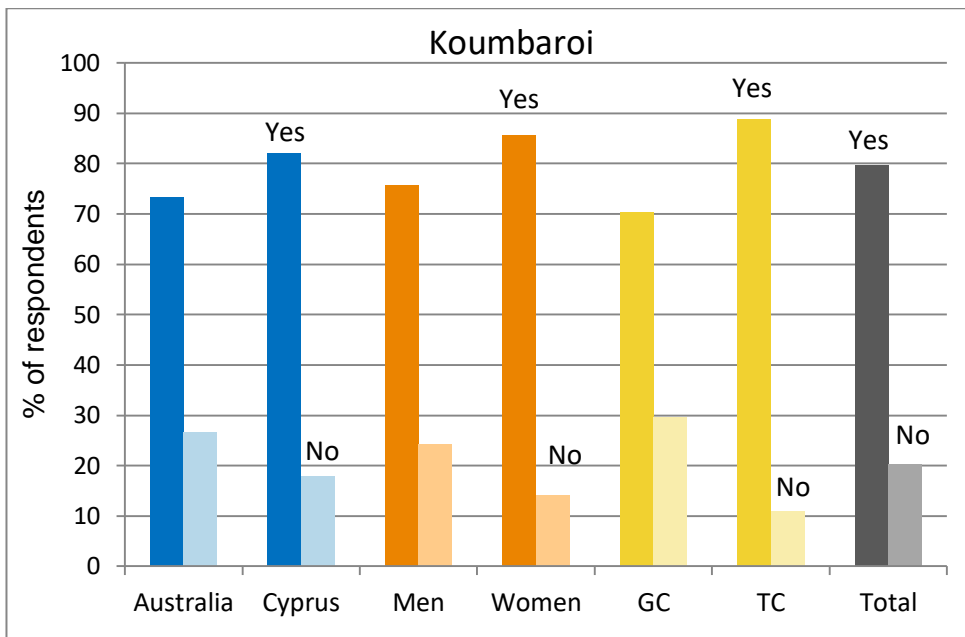


Figure 4.12 Interviewees' recollections of koumbaroi from the 'other' group

Figure 4.13 shows the decade of birth of all interviewees asked about *koumbaroi*, together with the decade of birth of each person recalling *koumbaroi* from the 'other' group. It is notable that people in the 1950s (and the one interviewee born in the 1960s) recalled the continuing forging of these relationships into this later period. It seems that, in many respects, life in the small villages continued as it had always done, despite political turmoil in the cities.

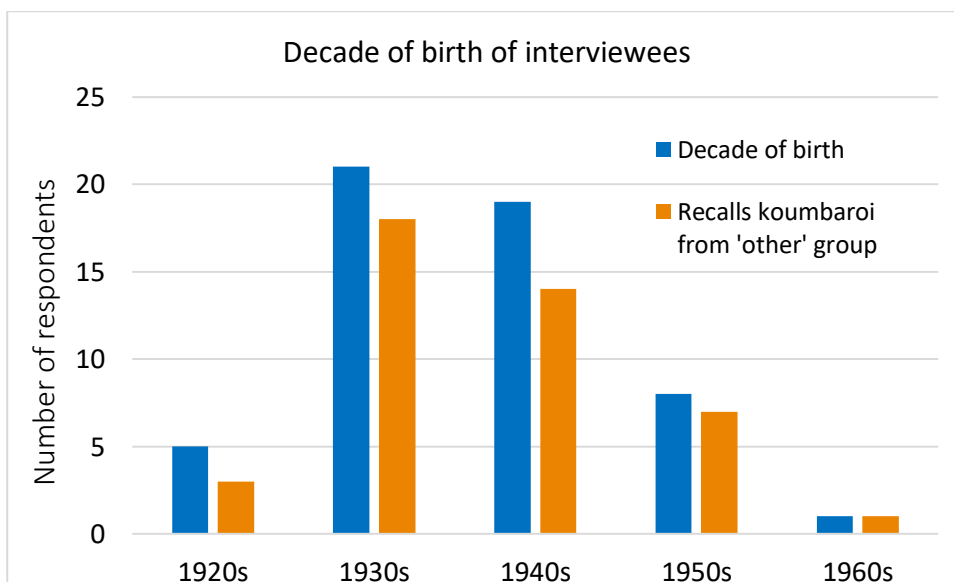


Figure 4.13 Age distribution of interviewees recalling koumbaroi from the 'other' group

The accounts of people from several mixed villages (78 percent of participants) are very different to those of people who lived in mono-communal villages (22 percent). When asked if they had ever known of a *koumbaro* from the 'other' group, some interviewees, mostly from mono-communal villages, assured me that that was not possible, and explained the religious requirements for the

role of *koumbaroi*. Varnavas recalled, “a Turkish Cypriot tried to be the *koumbaro* for a Greek Cypriot wedding but the priest kicked him out of the church, saying Turks weren’t allowed in the church.”<sup>64</sup>

The recollections of participants from mixed villages were very different. Father Charalambos S stated, “They [Turkish Cypriots] mixed in well with us. Even when there were weddings, the Turks would become groomsmen at weddings.”<sup>65</sup>

### *Providing food for the wedding*

The role of the *koumbaroi* to provide food for the wedding, particularly for the Monday (the third day) was a common theme discussed by many participants. Kaiti recalled that, “there were more Turkish Cypriot *koumbaroi* for Greek Cypriots than vice versa.” She recalled that a Greek Cypriot *koumbaro* would put henna on the Turkish Cypriot groom and that the *koumbaro* would pay for the Monday celebrations.<sup>66</sup> Feriha recalled Turkish *koumbaroi* for Greek weddings and Greek for the Turkish weddings. “At the weddings we would make food together. People were singing and dancing and drinking alcohol together. We used to make [foods] *poksomathia* together, and *loukoumathes* and *melisha* and *haloumia*.”<sup>67</sup> Alkan also shared his memories of Greek and Turkish Cypriots being *koumbaroi* for one another; “They would help pay for the wedding and gave sheep and potatoes.”<sup>68</sup>

### *Familial ties of participants*

Some participants recalled *koumbaroi* for the ‘other’ community occurring within their own families. Artam’s (Figure 4.14) face lit up when I asked him whether he knew of any Greek or Turkish Cypriots who were *koumbaroi* for each other. “Yes, I was one of three *koumbaroi* for a Greek Cypriot friend’s wedding ... I bought presents and food for the wedding!”<sup>69</sup>

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64 Varnavas, a Greek Cypriot man born in Phrenaros in 1931, migrated to Australia in 1952; interviewed 30 November 2014 and 15 December 2018.

65 Father Charalambos S, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1931, migrated to Australia in 1963; interviewed 2 May 2015.

66 Kaiti, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1950; interviewed 17 July 2015.

67 Feriha, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1934; interviewed 1 June 2015.

68 Alkan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Silikou in 1948, moved to Kato Polemidhia when he married in 1973; interviewed 2 July 2015.

69 Artam, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1944; interviewed 13 July 2015.



Figure 4.14 Artam of Polis Chrysochous with the author

Antigone said that there were several Turkish Cypriot *koumbaroi* at her parents' wedding.<sup>70</sup> Paraskivou recalled that her husband, Savva, had been the *koumbaro* for a Turkish Cypriot friend; "He paid for the party on the Monday."<sup>71</sup> My aunt Anastasia told me that when her parents married, there were many Turkish Cypriot *koumbaroi* at the wedding.<sup>72</sup>

These previously unheard accounts of cross-religious *koumbaroi* relations are not exclusive to Cyprus, as several participants recalled *koumbaroi* of the other group at weddings in Australia.

Ioannis recalled a Greek Cypriot *koumbaroi* for a Turkish Cypriot's wedding in Australia.<sup>73</sup>

Furthermore, cross-religious *koumbaroi* in Australia were not limited to Cypriots. Eser, a Turkish migrant (from Turkey) to Australia, said,

I made friends who protected me, like George, a Greek boy [from Greece], who was popular at school. It was very easy to relate to Greeks, then and now. The bogey of Turks and Greeks does not seem to exist here [in Australia]. My best friend, who was also my best man [*koumbaro*] at the wedding, is Greek. Our fathers get on like a house on fire. They play the same games and eat similar food.<sup>74</sup>

### *The Turkish Cypriot koumbaroi/sağdıç*

Turkish Cypriots also had *koumbaroi* (*sağdıç*) for their weddings; however, the role is not as formal, nor founded in religion, as it is for Greek Cypriots. Traditionally the *sağdıç* is more like a wedding sponsor, someone who legally witnesses the marriage, rather than a *koumbaro* who has a formal role within the wedding ceremony. However, it appears that Turkish Cypriots adopted a more significant role for the *sağdıç*, one that reflects the role of the Greek Cypriot *koumbaroi*. İbrahim C explained this to me:

70 Antigone, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prastio in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1988; interviewed 25 April 2014.

71 Paraskivou, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prodromi, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1936; interviewed 14 July 2015.

72 Anastasia, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1949; interviewed 13 July 2015.

73 Ioannis, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kato Zodia in 1959, migrated to Australia in 1976; interviewed 19 March 2017.

74 H.H. Başarın & V. Başarın, *The Turks in Australia: celebrating twenty-five years down under*, Turquoise Publications, Melbourne, 1993, 18.



You see, the Greek weddings – how I explain to you. The *koumbaro* – the Greek people, maybe they have ten people and the [main] *koumbaro*. The Turkish weddings they only [have] one *koumbaro* ... [it] doesn't make any difference Turkish or Greek. One *koumbaro* [*Sağdıç* in Turkish] ... But, believe me, the Turkish people, they don't use [the word] '*sağdıç*'; they use '*koumbaro*'.<sup>75</sup>

Hürsiye (Figure 4.15), who had lived next door to my *pappou*, had a surprising recollection. She said, "Your *pappou*'s father *Iacoumi* was *koumbaro* for my wedding!"<sup>76</sup>



Figure 4.15 Hürsiye of Ayia Irini, aged 14, with her fiancé

Although within Turkish culture the role of the *koumbaro* does not exist, Turkish Cypriots were familiar with the relationship and some (like Hürsiye) seem to have co-opted it. *Iacoumi*, who had known Hürsiye since she was born and was very close to her father, paid for the party on Monday, the third day of the wedding celebrations. He fulfilled all of the cultural and social obligations of a *koumbaro*. Then, when the musicians failed to appear, his youngest son *Iordanis*<sup>77</sup> picked up his violin, gathered a couple of friends and played music so all the guests could dance.

### Getting around church regulations

Whilst it is heartwarming that many Greek Cypriots chose Turkish Cypriots to be their *koumbaroi*, the Church usually only allowed this role to proceed to a certain extent. In the case of the *myroliki* –

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<sup>75</sup> İbrahim C, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1948; interviewed 1 June 2015.

<sup>76</sup> Hürsiye, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1936; interviewed 25 May 2015.

<sup>77</sup> Iordanis, a Greek Cypriot born in Ayia Irini in 1936; interviewed 19 June 2014.

first *koumbaroi* or best man – Turkish Cypriots struggled to get past the religious restrictions (and the priest). Dimos (Figure 4.16) explained how they navigated the system:

My sister had a Turkish Cypriot best man. The best man traditionally pays for the wedding. However, strictly speaking the church would not allow Muslim *koumbaroi*, so we had ways of getting around it!<sup>78</sup>



Figure 4.16 Dimos of Loutros with his wife and children

To break the rules, as Dimos explained, a Greek Cypriot man would perform the role as *koumbaroi*, holding the crowns above the couple and walking with them three times around the altar, but then sign the name of the Turkish Cypriot man in the official church register. Dimos' description suggested that this was a well-known tactic used by young men who wanted their best friend to be honoured as *koumbaro*, despite the Church's rules.

İbrahim U had a vivid memory of a wedding when he was ten years old. A Turkish Cypriot man was *koumbaro* for a Greek Cypriot named Andreas. Although the *koumbaro* did not enter the church during the ceremony and someone else performed the rituals inside, he shooed away cheeky children to ensure a solemn and respectful service was conducted. İbrahim recalled other weddings where a Greek Cypriot took that role for a Turkish Cypriot, too.<sup>79</sup>

Unsurprisingly, when intercommunal tensions arose, and conflict broke out between the two communities, the role of cross-religious *koumbaroi* waned. Niyazi remembered Greek and Turkish Cypriots taking the role of *koumbaro* for each other in the old days. He recalled that this became less frequent as tensions started to become apparent after 1955, and stopping after 1963.<sup>80</sup>

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78 Dimos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Loutros in 1936, migrated to Australia in 1974; interviewed 1 December 2014.

79 İbrahim U, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1945; interviewed 13 June 2015.

80 Niyazi, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Varosha in 1949, moved to Polis Chrysochous at the age of seven; interviewed 13 June 2015.

## Conclusion

Accounts of close friendships with the 'other' clearly demonstrate that the two groups were not 'other' to each other at all. My research counters many highly politicised narratives and propaganda that have claimed friendships between members of the two communities were a rarity, and reveals numerous previously buried accounts of deep and multifaceted personal-level relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Every single one of the participants of this study reported warm relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots prior to 1974. While educated people in cities wrote memoirs and histories, predominantly reflective of the hegemonic nationalist narratives of each side, subaltern studies like the present one can reveal different narratives. Perhaps the notion that the two groups could not relate and were never close served politicians both before and after 1974, and so has been promulgated widely and consistently. Perhaps it was true that there were cool relations in larger towns and cities, where Greek and Turkish Cypriots could live in separate suburbs. Furthermore, the ideologies of *enosis* and *taksim* certainly played a significant role in the division of the two communities, and the increased wariness towards the 'other' – but clearly such coolness and wariness was less felt in mixed rural villages, where greater proximity and exposure to the 'other' led naturally to understanding and friendships.

My interviewees have provided extensive evidence of very close *koumbaroi* relationships between Greek and Turkish Cypriots – a significant example of deep friendships across the religious divide. In the period 1920 to 1960, such relationships were probably only possible in small rural mixed villages where the population mixed, where the priest and the imam would have known each other well, and where the priest was unschooled and may have used his discretion, for the sake of his relationships with his neighbours, to sometimes bend the strict rules of the Church. For the Greek Cypriots, a Turkish Cypriot *koumbaro* or *koumbara* became a member of their extended family.

Many participants had suffered greatly, losing loved ones, homes and land to the conflicts between 1963 and 1974. Nevertheless, their memories were of wonderful, loving relationships with the 'other', and they divulged these memories, unguarded, untainted by bitterness.

# Chapter 5 – Personal-level Relations: Familial bonds

During my fieldwork many participants felt that they had to explain things to me of which I must be ignorant, as I was a young, third generation half-Cypriot female living in Australia. The history of the Ottoman Empire, the impact of British rule in Cyprus, and EOKA's history and actions were often patiently outlined. My perceived need for such basic knowledge led to some rich divulgements of participants' own understandings, not just of history, but of the deep personal-level relations that existed between Turkish and Greek Cypriots in Cyprus.

Whilst in my initial interview question sheet I included questions of friendships and intermarriages, when interview participants revealed two other significant personal-level relationships – cross-religious *koumbaroi* and cross-religious milk kinship – I amended the question sheet to include questions on those relationships too. I believe that my findings on familial relationships through intermarriages and milk-kinship are particularly significant, as they provide powerful accounts of deep, cross-religious personal-level relationships between the two groups and provide a measure, for the first time, of the prevalence of those relationships.

## Intermarriages

When embarking on this research journey I had heard whispers of intermarriages occurring in 'the old days', so I decided to include an interview question about intermarriages, as their occurrence during the period leading up to conflict and division would demonstrate more than just civil relations between Turkish and Greek Cypriots.

## Religious context

Intermarriages between Christians and Muslims (and Jews) have occurred for centuries, in many parts of the world. Under Ottoman rule in Cyprus there was no interference by the authorities into the family affairs of the different religious groups, and the British continued this policy.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, prior to 1960, marriages of Greek Orthodox or Maronite Christians in Cyprus were governed by the

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<sup>1</sup> Asmussen, 'Life and Strife in Mixed Villages', 103-104.

Canon law of their respective Churches, which required that both the bride and the groom be baptised; the Churches did not permit marriages between a Christian and a Muslim.<sup>2</sup>

The Bible states:

Do not be mismatched with unbelievers. For what partnership have righteousness and iniquity? Or what fellowship has light with darkness?<sup>3</sup>

You shall not make marriages with them, giving your daughters to their sons or taking their daughters for your sons. For they would turn away your sons away from following me, to serve other gods; then the anger of the LORD would be kindled against you, and he would destroy you quickly.<sup>4</sup>

... and when you take some of their daughters as brides for your sons, their daughters will prostitute themselves to their gods and cause your sons to do the same.<sup>5</sup>

Muslim marriages were similarly governed by shari'a law, which permitted the marriage of a Muslim man to a Christian or Jewish woman.<sup>6</sup> The Qur'an states:

Today all good things have been made lawful for you. The food of the People of the Book is lawful for you as your food is lawful for them. So are chaste, believing, women as well as chaste women of the people who were given the Scripture before you, as long as you have given them their bride-gifts and married them, not taking them as lovers or secret mistresses. The deeds of anyone who rejects faith will come to nothing, and in the Hereafter he will be one of the losses.<sup>7</sup>

In 1954, in *The Road to Mecca*, Muhammad Asad, a European convert from Judaism to Islam and former Pakistani diplomat, explained the rationale behind this condition:

We Muslims do not believe that Jesus ... was God's son, but we do consider him ... a true Prophet of God ... and so, if a Jewish or Christian girl marries a Muslim, she may rest assured that none of the persons who are holy to her will ever be spoken of irreverently among her new family; while, on the other hand, should a Muslim girl marry a non-Muslim, it is certain that he whom she regards as God's Messenger will be abused ... and perhaps even by her own children: for do not children usually follow their father's faith? Dost thou think it would be fair to expose her to such pain and humiliation?<sup>8</sup>

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2 Asmussen, 'Life and Strife in Mixed Villages', 103.

3 2 Corinthians 6:14, *The Holy Bible*, revised standard edition, Bible Society, New York, 1971.

4 Deuteronomy 7:3-4, *The Holy Bible*.

5 Exodus 34:16, *The Holy Bible*.

6 Asmussen, 'Life and Strife in Mixed Villages', 103.

7 *The Q'uran*, trans. M Haleem, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004, 68.

8 M. Asad, *The Road to Mecca*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1954, 186-187.

Further, it is commonly conveyed that, “Islam allows the marriage of a Muslim male with a Christian or a Jewish woman, because it ensures that the children resulting from the marriage will be educated in the Islamic faith.”<sup>9</sup> Therefore, as Sant Cassia claimed, “Islam was geared towards expansion through men’s marriages.”<sup>10</sup>

The possibilities of Muslim-Christian intermarriage, then, were a Muslim man marrying a Christian woman under shari’a law (for which neither needed to convert), a Muslim man or woman converting to Christianity to marry a Christian, or a Christian man converting to Islam to marry a Muslim woman.

## Historical context

Intermarriages have occurred in Cyprus through many centuries; sometimes for love, sometimes for convenience, sometimes for social advancement. Records exist back to the early Ottoman period and other evidence can be drawn from formal and informal sources.

### *Ottoman period*

The Ottomans landed in Nicosia on 3 July 1570 and by 15 September – less than 11 weeks later – they held all but the stronghold of Famagusta. By 1 August 1571, Famagusta fell and the whole of Cyprus was under Ottoman control.<sup>11</sup> The relative brevity of that campaign contrasted with that of the Cretan war (the Fifth Ottoman-Venetian War) which lasted from 1645 to 1669.<sup>12</sup> Molly Greene argued that in Crete, “the war itself, more than any other factor ... explains the attractiveness of conversion to Islam in Crete.”<sup>13</sup> The length of the war, “must have brought considerable social dislocation in its wake, including the weakening of religious institutions.”<sup>14</sup> The numbers converting in Cyprus, following a brief struggle, were much smaller than those in Crete; the link between extended social upheaval and conversion to Islam seems clear.<sup>15</sup>

A lot of useful literature described intermarriages in Crete, which as a large island, a proportion of whose population converted to Islam early in the Ottoman era, with many instances of blurring of religious lines and religious syncretism, is comparable to Cyprus. Greene argued, “conversion in

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9 J. Asmussen, ‘Intermarriages and interethnic love stories in Cyprus’, *Halkbili Sempozyumu*, 25, 2010, 81.

10 Sant Cassia, ‘Religion, politics and ethnicity in Cyprus during the Turkokratia’, 22.

11 M. Lubin, ‘Aftermath of War: Cypriot Christians and Mediterranean Geopolitics’, PhD Thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, USA, 2012.

12 Greene, *A Shared World*, 40.

13 *ibid.*, 40.

14 *ibid.*, 40.

15 *ibid.*, 40.

Crete did not automatically create a fierce and brutal divide between the two communities. A possible explanation for this may be a history of religious ambiguity that predated the Ottoman period.”<sup>16</sup> He contended that during the Ottoman Empire and prior to the Balkan wars, in the Cretan city of Candia, the Christian and Muslim communities were, “bound by numerous ties”, including marriage:

Both the court documents and travelers’ accounts show that mixed marriages were not uncommon ... the court records [show] that the Muslim courts had no objection to registering these marriages. Even on the Christian side there is evidence that the church – admittedly at the low level of the village priest – was willing to bless these marriages.<sup>17</sup>

In early nineteenth century Crete, Sieber described bonds across religious affiliation and an affinity amongst ‘Turks’ for Orthodox Christianity:

The custom of a young Turk to choose handsome Greek women, or to carry them off by force to make them their wives, is a principal cause that Christianity has found its way into many Turkish families, not only in Candia but in other parts ... The Turk who has thus become connected with the relatives of his wife, and in constant intercourse with them, governed by the beauty and talent of his wife, is often inspired by her warm attachment to her religion, with increasing indifference to his own. The children, more attached to the mother, are prepared for the part they will have to act as Turks, and Islamism is easily undermined in the heart of the child by turning it into ridicule. Thus a foundation is laid for an approximation to Christianity.<sup>18</sup>

In the case of Cyprus, after the Ottomans came in 1570, they offered *timars* – land grants – to their soldiers on condition that they and their families remain in Cyprus. Many soldiers took Cypriot (Christian) women as their wives, as was permitted under Islam. Although the marriages were not recorded centrally, and so do not appear in official archival documents, judicial registers from as early as 1581 record divorces of Christian women and Muslim men.<sup>19</sup> While the Cypriot *cadi* registers of 1596 show that, “very few of the local *Rum* population embraced Islam, Turks from Anatolia [forced settlers] married local women.”<sup>20</sup>

Though considered unusual today, intermarriages in Cyprus were not always an exception. Of Nicosia in 1877, von Löher wrote, “Of late years the Greek and Turkish inhabitants associate much more freely than formerly. Turkish servants are often met with in Greek houses, and intermarriages

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16 Greene, *A Shared World*, 107.

17 *ibid.*, 105.

18 F.W. Sieber, *Travels in the Island of Crete, in the year 1817*, Richard Phillips & Co., London, 1823, 107-108.

19 Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World*, 29.

20 İnalçik, ‘A Note on the Population of Cyprus’, 2-3.

are by no means uncommon.”<sup>21</sup> Beckingham contended, “In Cyprus intermarriage has now become rare but it has not always been so ... It is evident that even in religion the barrier between the two communities has not been rigid nor their antagonism complete.”<sup>22</sup>

The number of intermarriages in Cyprus is unknown, one reason being, “the reluctance, particularly on behalf of Greek Cypriots, to report this phenomenon.”<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, in Shari’a court records, “It is possible to find some mixed marriages in the court divorce records ... we can say that Muslims and Christians married each other, but we cannot determine from the *sicils* how widely this took place.”<sup>24</sup>

There is also linguistic evidence to suggest that intermarriages took place in Cyprus. Pollis claimed that, “... the prevalence among contemporary Greek Cypriots of names of Turkish derivation lends credence to the view that the Muslim and Orthodox communities were not the closed communities that they have subsequently become.”<sup>25</sup>

### *Travel memoirs and folk songs*

Several Western European travelers wrote about the prevalence of intermarriages in Cyprus. Pococke observed of Ottoman Cyprus in the eighteenth century, “the Mahometan men very often marry with the Christian women, and keep the fasts with their wives. Many of them are thought to be not averse to Christianity...”<sup>26</sup> Travelling in Cyprus in the early nineteenth century, William Tuner wrote of the Mahometans, “They frequently marry the Greek women of the island...”<sup>27</sup> These observations paint a picture of familiarity with the ‘other’ religion and with intermarriages, particularly between Muslim men and Christian women, being common in Cyprus throughout the Ottoman period.

Additionally, the cautionary references to intermarriages and love relationships between Turkish and Greek Cypriots in folk songs suggest that intermarriages occurred. According to Asmussen, the

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21 Von Löher, *Cyprus, historical and descriptive*, 24-25.

22 Beckingham 1957, ‘The Turks of Cyprus’, 173.

23 Asmussen, ‘Intermarriages and interethnic love stories in Cyprus’, 84.

24 Çiçek, ‘Living together’, 58.

25 Pollis, ‘Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy’, 583.

26 Pococke, *A Description of the East and some other countries*, 233.

27 Sant Cassia, ‘Religion, politics and ethnicity in Cyprus during the Turkocrazia’, 23.



portrayal of these relationships, “always had the intention to show that an intermarriage “must” lead (and always had led) to disaster.”<sup>28</sup> He claimed that:

There has been a certain amount of intermarriage in Cyprus, and it is more likely that many of those marriages occurred in mixed villages. We know about “love affairs” from old songs and poems [both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot] like *Tragoudin Moustapha tou Paphiou* (a song about Mustapha of Paphos, who fell in love with Helene) or *Asma Marikkous apo Eptakomi Karpasias* (a song about Marikkou of Heptakomi of Karpas, who fell in love with Ahmed Aga, son of Mullah, etc.)<sup>29</sup>

These memoirs and folk songs suggest that intermarriages in Cyprus were more than just ‘an exception’.

### *Economic imperative*

Beyond the religious frameworks applied to intermarriages during the Ottoman period, and the ‘love’ factor, were economic factors. Transmission of property influenced Christian-Muslim intermarriages in Cyprus.<sup>30</sup> Sant Cassia explained that, “In matrimonial matters, in contrast to Christianity which insisted on the Orthodoxy of both partners, Islam permitted Muslim men to take Christian wives, thus offering some degree of social mobility to subject individuals.”<sup>31</sup>

Amongst the poorer peoples of Cyprus, one of the primary structural reasons for intermarriages predominantly occurring between Turkish Cypriot men and Greek Cypriot women was the opposite directions in which the two religious communities disseminated dowries or bride-gifts. Christian women were expected to give their husbands a dowry which, “represented an advance payment of their inheritance and could be the subject of tough negotiations.”<sup>32</sup> Muslim men, on the other hand, were expected to give their brides a gift (*mahr*), “in recognition of exclusive sexual rights and to compensate for the burdens of the discharge of the children.”<sup>33</sup> The *mahr* could either be given in the form of money, or a house or two.<sup>34</sup> Loizos argued that the fundamental problem was obvious:

The Greek groom was expecting a plot of land and money from his bride. Should he marry a Muslim, they would expect the same from him. However for a Muslim groom the benefits of

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28 Asmussen, ‘Life and Strife in Mixed Villages’, 103.

29 *ibid.*, 103.

30 Sant Cassia, ‘Religion, politics and ethnicity in Cyprus during the Turkocratia’, 4.

31 *ibid.*, 4-5.

32 Asmussen, ‘Intermarriages and interethnic love stories in Cyprus’, 83-84.

33 *ibid.*, 83-84.

34 *ibid.*, 84.

a[n] intermarriage are obvious. Instead of paying a large sum of money he and his family paid nothing and received a house or property as well as the dowry. Nothing changed for [the] Greek bride since this form of payment corresponded to her tradition.<sup>35</sup>

In this situation the Christian groom, and his family, would therefore be financially better off if he married a Christian than if he married a Muslim woman. Conversely, should a Christian woman marry a Turkish Cypriot man, “intermarriage could free the Christians from the burden of the dowry when it was associated with a contractual concubineship, called *Kepia*.”<sup>36</sup> In such circumstances, the wife would convert to Islam. If a divorce was to occur, the woman could subsequently return to Christianity.<sup>37</sup>

In this situation the Christian bride, and her family, would be financially better off if she married a Muslim man than if she married a Christian man. As such, Sant Cassia contended, this economic imperative, “encouraged this one-way upward flow of Greek Orthodox women into the Islamic ruling group.”<sup>38</sup> The ‘flow’ was advantageous to a Christian woman (and her family) and uncomplicated because Islam, unlike Christianity, allowed the match.<sup>39</sup>

### *Intermarriages as ‘the exception’ under British rule?*

Relations, including intermarriages, between the two communities changed under British rule, as, “The Turks lost their ascribed legal superiority and became a political minority.”<sup>40</sup> Intermarriage, as well as apostasy, the two traditional pathways of social mobility for the Greek Cypriots, declined as the Greek Orthodox Church grew stronger and its religious boundaries became increasingly rigid. Sant Cassia explained that, “Cross-cutting ties were discouraged, the Church was able to patrol its borders more closely and both communities competed for the same state resources.”<sup>41</sup> Thus, intermarriages increasingly became exceptional during the British period. Asmussen argued that, “it is more likely that some time before the 1950s, intermarriage was not unusual in mixed villages even if it was the exception.”<sup>42</sup> Lytras and Pslatis normalised intermarriage: “One can assume that

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35 Asmussen, ‘Intermarriages and interethnic love stories in Cyprus’, 84.

36 *ibid.*, 84.

37 *ibid.*, 84.

38 Sant Cassia, ‘Religion, politics and ethnicity in Cyprus during the Turkocratia’, 5.

39 *ibid.*, 5.

40 *ibid.*, 5.

41 *ibid.*, 5.

42 Asmussen, ‘Life and Strife in Mixed Villages’, 104.

in villages where Christian and Muslim Cypriots “lived, worked, laughed and cried together”, young people must sometimes have fallen in love with one another.”<sup>43</sup>

Mrs Spyroula, interviewed in 2010 for an oral history project, spoke positively about intermarriage; “there were cases of mixed marriages between people of the two communities.” She remembered a case of a Greek Cypriot widow with a son, who remarried with a Turkish Cypriot man ... he was very good to his wife, he raised her son and her grandchildren and “had her like a queen” ...<sup>44</sup>

Intermarriages that occurred in rural mixed villages would still require social acceptance by both communities; if the couple were to live in the village, they needed to be accepted members of the village as a whole. Asmussen contended, “Until the 1970s marriages in Cyprus were almost exclusively arranged by the families and thus the outcome of negotiations.” As such, “[I]ove marriages were – especially in the countryside – the exception.”<sup>45</sup>

It appears that as civil conflict and political strife escalated in Cyprus in the twentieth century, the acceptance of intermarriage diminished. Intimidation-pamphlets authored and circulated in 1958 by the Turkish Resistance Organisation TMT against Muslim men who were married to Christian women provided, “a clue that there had been a tendency at least in radical circles of the community to dissolve such relations.”<sup>46</sup> Asmussen claimed that, “Therefore one can further conclude that the political strife, which separated the communities, also effected [sic] the common acceptance of intermarriage.”<sup>47</sup>

Intermarried couples still exist in Cyprus, and several intermarriages have occurred since the checkpoints opened in 2003, as the two communities were able to interact with one another.<sup>48</sup> However, according to Uludağ, the older intermarried couples are often hidden by their families, particularly their children, for fear of social stigma.<sup>49</sup> In order to be together, an intermarried couple had to change their religion and their names.<sup>50</sup> This is because, after the 1974 war, Turkish Cypriot women married to Greek Cypriot men were pressured to move to the south of Cyprus and

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43 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 31.

44 Mediaprof n.d., *Mrs Spyroula's Story*, viewed 27 February 2020, <<http://www.mediaprof.org/cyvoices/skevi-jennifer-maria-1.html>>.

45 Asmussen, ‘Intermarriages and interethnic love stories in Cyprus’, 81.

46 Asmussen, ‘Life and Strife in Mixed Villages’, 104.

47 *ibid.*, 104.

48 M. Kambas 2016, ‘Love chips away at barriers in ethnically split Cyprus’, *Reuters*, viewed 7 August 2018,

<<https://uk.reuters.com/article/us-europe-cyprus-couple/love-chips-away-at-barriers-in-ethnically-split-cyprus-idUKKCN0VCORY>>; and Associated Press, ‘Award for Greek, Turkish Cypriot couples shows Cyprus’ ethnic division no barrier to love’, *Fox News*, viewed 7 August 2019, <<https://www.foxnews.com/world/award-for-greek-turkish-cypriot-couples-shows-cyprus-ethnic-division-no-barrier-to-love>>.

49 S. Uludağ 2005, ‘Missing pieces of the mosaic: Mixed marriages... (\*)’, *Science & Technology Wing – University of Pennsylvania*, viewed 11 August 2018, <[https://www.stwing.upenn.edu/~durduran/hamambocu/authors/svg/svg9\\_7\\_2005.html](https://www.stwing.upenn.edu/~durduran/hamambocu/authors/svg/svg9_7_2005.html)>.

50 *ibid.*

(if they had not already done so) convert to Christianity. Likewise, Greek Cypriot women married to Turkish Cypriot men were pressured to move to the north of Cyprus with their husbands and to convert to Islam. Journalist Sevgül Uludağ claimed:

Being with the 'enemy' has always been a 'taboo' and people, once they got married with someone from 'the other community' would hide behind their name and start acting like one of their spouse's community. They would leave everything behind or at least seemingly do so... There would come a time when everyone in the family would prefer to 'forget' that they had someone – a grandmother, a grandfather, an aunt or an uncle – from the 'other community'... If this came up, they would react harshly... This would be a 'secret' to be hidden...<sup>51</sup>

One couple living in Limassol and interviewed by Uludağ said, "We've had enough ... enough of journalists, enough of people asking ... I try to think this is normal, I mean being married with a Greek Cypriot. We don't see each other as Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot..."<sup>52</sup>

The Archbishop and the Mufti, of course, had their power structures to consider. A marriage willingly conducted by a village priest or hoca who knew the couple and their families would meet disapprobation from on high, and it seems that intermarriages have been long been regarded as exceptional, aberrant, to be kept secret. Perhaps new generations of intermarried couples in Cyprus will break down the old stigma.

### *Legal context (post-independence)*

The Census of 1960, conducted a few months after Cyprus became a republic, shows that the population was 574,014, comprising 77 percent Greek, 18 percent Turk, 3 percent British, 0.6 percent Armenian, 0.5 percent Maronite, 0.1 percent Gypsies and 0.5 percent "Other"<sup>53</sup>. The Marriage Law of 1959, passed in anticipation of independence, allowed, for the first time, for civil marriages. Perversely, marriages between a Christian and a Muslim became more, instead of less, difficult.

While, "any accredited or recognized minister of any Christian or Jewish Church, denomination or body..."<sup>54</sup> was easily able to register as a Marriage Officer, no mention was made of the registration of officials of the Islamic community. It is curious that a "Jewish Church" was explicitly mentioned in

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51 Uludağ, 'Missing pieces of the mosaic'.

52 *ibid.*

53 Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture*.

54 UN Statistics Division 2011, *Marriage Law Cyprus*, viewed 7 August 2018, 3, <<http://unstats.un.org/unsd/vitalstatkb/Attachment429.aspx?AttachmentType=1>>.

the Marriage Law, as Jews were not counted in the 1960 Census; they were part of the 0.5 percent “Other” group. The tiny population of Jews were considered in the Marriage Law, but the 18 percent of the population who were Muslim were not.

Further, the last sections of the Marriage Law imposed crippling restrictions. Section 34 stated: “The provisions of this Law shall not apply to any marriage in which either of the parties is a Turk professing the Moslem faith.”<sup>55</sup> This had two effects: marriages between Muslims were not mentioned at all; and intermarriage between a Christian and a Muslim in a civil ceremony was expressly forbidden.

Section 36 stated: “the provisions of this Law shall not apply to any marriage the parties to which are both members of the Greek-Orthodox Church.”<sup>56</sup> This meant that if both parties had been baptised in the Greek Orthodox Church, they could not access civil marriage. Whether they remained believers or not, they had no option but to marry in the Church.

It is important to consider why these restrictions were inserted in the Marriage Law. The three parties with oversight and power to approve or veto sections of the new Constitution were the governments of Turkey, Greece, and the United Kingdom. Greece may have insisted on Section 36 which echoed its own law<sup>57</sup> and upheld the control of the Church over its flock. The United Kingdom insisted on Section 34, over-riding shari’a law which for almost four centuries in Cyprus had permitted a Muslim man to marry a Christian or a Jewish woman.

The 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus incorporated the Marriage Law, and its Article 2 stated, “a married woman shall belong to the Community to which her husband belongs”, thus dealing with the classification of intermarried couples at the time of Cyprus’s independence.<sup>58</sup>

## Participant recollections of intermarriage

All of the 40 interviewees in Cyprus and 32 participants in Australia were asked if they remembered intermarriages taking place between Turkish and Greek Cypriots. The results are shown in Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1. Contrary to Aziz, who stated, “When I was growing up, the two peoples got on

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55 UN Statistics Division 2011, 9.

56 *ibid.*, 10.

57 Greece made civil marriage legal only in 1983. See T. Papademetriou, ‘Marriage and marital property under the new Greek family law’, *International Journal of Legal Information*, 13(3-4), 1985, 1-40.

58 Republic of Cyprus 2018.

reasonably well together ... But there was no intermarriage..."<sup>59</sup>, the majority (65 percent) of my participants recalled intermarriages between Turkish and Greek Cypriots.

The data show that a higher proportion of interviewees in Cyprus than in Australia recalled these relationships. Just as for their recollections of *koumbaroi* for the 'other' group, perhaps the Australian participants, who left Cyprus in their young adulthood, had fewer years in which to encounter such uncommon events and gather such memories. A slightly higher proportion of women than men recalled these relationships, and a higher proportion of Turkish than Greek Cypriots recalled these relationships.

*Table 5.1 Interviewees' recollections of intermarriages*

	Yes	No
Australia interviewees	20	12
Cyprus interviewees	28	12
Men	28	15
Women	20	9
Greek Cypriot	23	16
Turkish Cypriot	25	8
Total	48	24

Whilst the majority of the interviewees did not specify the ethnic and gender composition of the intermarriages they recalled, the data presented in Table 5.2 reveals interesting findings. Of the 48 Turkish and Greek Cypriots who recalled intermarriages taking place between Muslims and Christians in Cyprus, five Turkish Cypriots recalled intermarriages between Turkish and Maronite Cypriots. Additionally, six participants recalled Turkish and Greek Cypriots 'living in sin' – those who were unwed. Table 5.2 also shows that intermarriages went both ways; ten Greek Cypriot women converted to Islam (or married under shari'a law), two Turkish Cypriot men converted to Christianity, and five Turkish Cypriot women converted to Christianity. Interestingly, of the 48 who recalled intermarriages (or couples living in sin), 39 (81 percent) were from mixed villages and nine (19 percent) were from mono-communal villages.

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<sup>59</sup> Aziz, *The Death of Friendship*, 6.

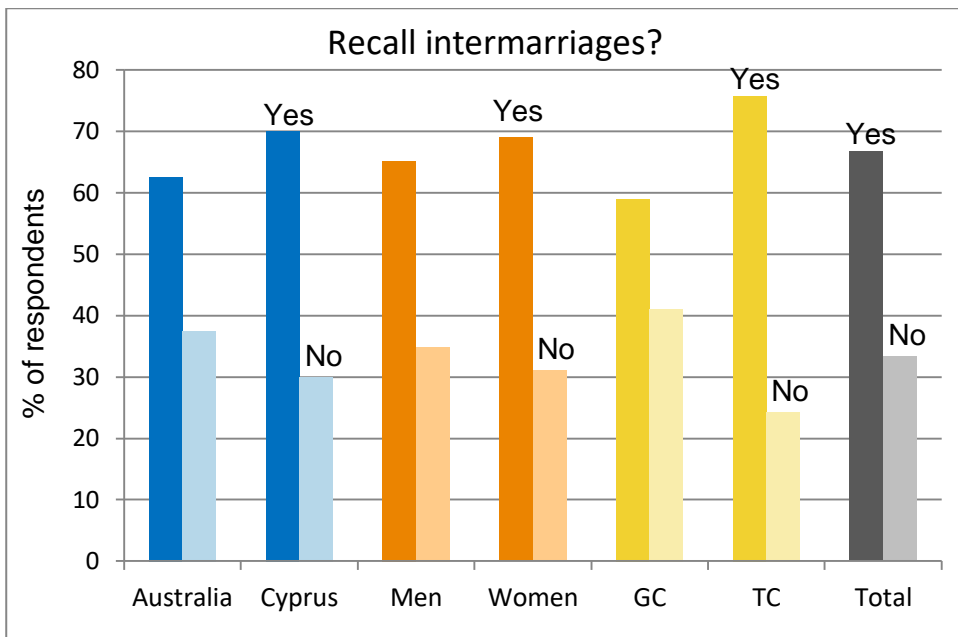


Figure 5.1 Interviewees' recollections of intermarriages

Table 5.2 Who married whom? (Including numbers of multiple intermarriages recalled by individual interviewees)

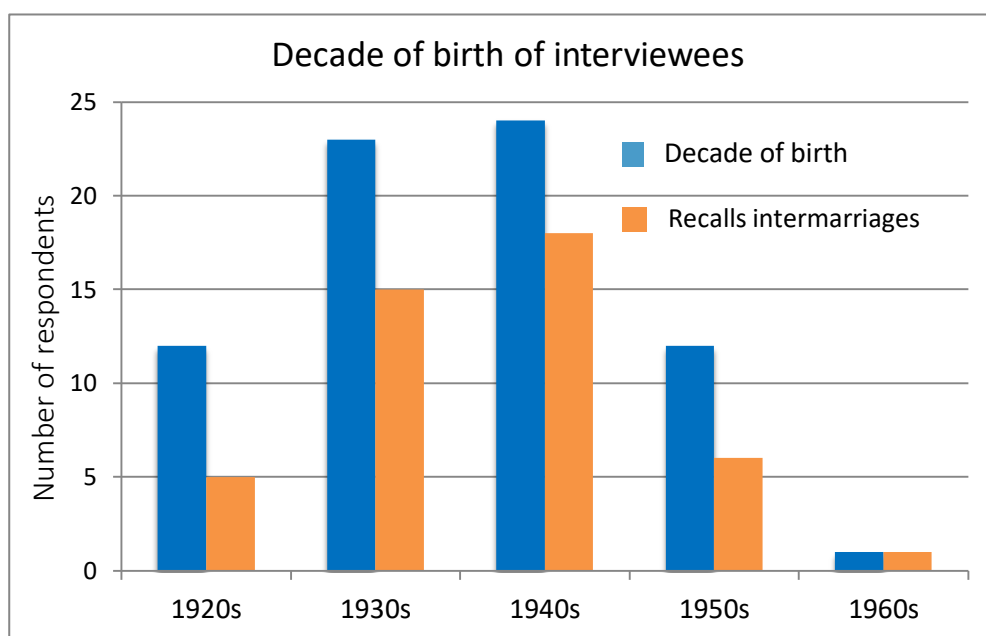
	Christian converted to Islam	Muslim converted to Christianity	Unmarried / de facto unions	Unsure of conversion	Total
Greek Cypriot woman and Turkish Cypriot man	10	2	1	4	17
Turkish Cypriot woman and Greek Cypriot man		5	3	4	12
Maronite Cypriot woman marrying Turkish Cypriot man			1		1
Turkish Cypriot woman marrying Maronite Cypriot man				1	1
Maronite Cypriot woman marrying Orthodox Christian man				1	1
	Married		Unmarried / de facto unions		
Unsure of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot composition and conversion	19		1		20
Unsure of Maronite Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot gender composition	3		0		3
Total					55

Ten of the 48 who recalled intermarriages remembered them going both ways – Turkish Cypriot women marrying Greek Cypriot men, and Turkish Cypriot men marrying Greek Cypriot women – and 29 of the 48 recalled multiple mixed marriages. Five of the 48 recalled intermarriages between Maronite Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots and seven, shown in Table 5.3, knew of intermarriages within their own families. Such evidence is compelling. While previous research has shown that intermarriages occurred, there has been no way to gauge their prevalence and they have been regarded as ‘exceptional’. With my sample of 72 interviewees, seven (10 percent) of whom described intermarriages within their own families, that ‘exceptionality’ is surely challenged.

*Table 5.3 Intermarriages (or couples living in sin) within interviewees’ own families*

	Greek Cypriots	Turkish Cypriots	Total
Recall intermarriages within their own family	2	5	7

Figure 5.2 shows the decade of birth of all interviewees, together with the decade of birth of each person recalling intermarriages. No age-related bias appears; similar proportions of people born in every decade from the 1920s to the 1960s recalled the practice.



*Figure 5.2 Age distribution of interviewees recalling intermarriages*

Several contemporary scholars have conducted studies relating to intermarriages in Cyprus. Papadakis and Loizos each discussed their experiences when talking with Greek Cypriots about



intermarriages. Both recalled interviewees saying that intermarriages “never happen” in Cyprus.<sup>60</sup>

Loizos explained:

Most of my informants when first asked said “It never happens” by which they clearly meant, it ought never to happen. After some more talk they had amended this to rarely happens. And after further investigation it turned out they knew someone who had done it personally, sometimes even a kinsman.<sup>61</sup>

It seems that the post-1974 Greek Cypriot hegemonic nationalist narrative of ‘we got along well with Turkish Cypriots before the 1974 war’ relates just to civil, superficial relations, rather than deep relations.

In their extensive questionnaire study, Lytras and Psaltis found that, “The majority of Greek Cypriots (83.4 percent) stated that mixed marriages never took place while 62.9 percent of Turkish Cypriots also stated that mixed marriages never took place.” However, the study also found that, “31.7 percent of Turkish Cypriots and 12.1 percent of Greek Cypriots stated that these mixed marriages did happen but rarely.”<sup>62</sup> Asmussen’s research also found that it was more likely for Turkish Cypriots than Greek Cypriots to recall intermarriages taking place.<sup>63</sup>

My research yielded some similar responses to the studies of Papadakis, Loizos, Lytras and Psaltis, and Asmussen; namely, that a higher proportion of Turkish Cypriots recalled intermarriages. However, I found that 71 percent of Turkish Cypriots and 54 percent of Greek Cypriots recalled intermarriages; much higher percentages than found in the aforementioned studies.

Both the study of Lytras and Psaltis and this research found that more Turkish than Greek Cypriots recalled intermarriages. This may be because intermarriage between a Muslim man and a Christian woman was legal and unexceptional in the Turkish Cypriot community. While all interviewees and questionnaire respondents may have been reluctant to divulge what they might decades later regard as shameful aspects of their former lives, there was no shame attached, for Turkish Cypriots, to the Muslim man-Christian woman marriage. Some differences in these studies may be objectively ‘true’ while others may reflect people’s differing willingness to divulge.

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60 Asmussen, ‘Life and Strife in Mixed Villages’, 104.

61 *ibid.*, 104.

62 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 57.

63 Asmussen, ‘Intermarriages and interethnic love stories in Cyprus’, 84.

## *Marriages both ways*

Interviewees recalled all combinations of marriages between Christians and Muslims. Nevsal had a clear recollection of intermarriages taking place about every five years, and of Turkish Cypriot men marrying Greek Cypriot women, and Turkish Cypriot women marrying Greek Cypriot men before the 1960s period of conflict. “My father was the *hoca* of Chrysochous and would attend all of the weddings from the area, including Turkish, Greek and inter-faith weddings.”<sup>64</sup>

Conversion for marriage appears to have been common. My *pappou* Costas said, “There were a couple of intermarriages. There was no bad reaction. One of them became a Turk, the other, the Turk became a Greek.”<sup>65</sup> “One of them became a Turk” suggests conversion to Islam, but it may also simply have been that a Christian woman married under shari’a law and lived with her husband’s community. “The Turk became a Greek” can only mean conversion to Christianity, as marriage would not otherwise have been possible. Similarly, Nearchos of Kritou Terra remembered intermarriages of both Turkish and Greek Cypriot men and women. He stated, “I attended some of their weddings. Most became Orthodox Christian.”<sup>66</sup> “Most became Orthodox Christian” also suggests that most Muslims converted to Christianity to marry. What is intriguing is that according to the 1960 Census, the village of Kritou Terra had a population of just over 500; 89 percent Greek and 11 percent Turkish. Just one kilometre away was Terra, a mono-communal village of 250 Turkish Cypriots and two kilometres away was Kholi, a mono-communal village of less than 100 Greek Cypriots.<sup>67</sup> Clearly the people of all of these villages had regular contact with the ‘other’ community. Anyone who converted and left their own village to live in one of the neighbouring villages would still have been very close to their own family; not banished but instead well able to maintain family and community links.

Intermarriages also occurred in mono-communal villages. When interviewing Varnavas,<sup>68</sup> his wife Eugenoula (who sat in on the interview with us), spoke of a marriage in her mono-communal Greek Cypriot village of Ayios Elias, Famagusta district. She attended the church for the wedding of a Greek Cypriot woman (from Ayios Elias) and a Cypriot man (from another village) born to an intermarried couple. The groom’s mother was Turkish Cypriot and his father was Greek Cypriot. He had been baptised and raised as a Christian. His father had passed away when he was young, so

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64 Nevsal, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1927; interviewed 24 July 2015.

65 Costas, a Greek Cypriot born in Ayia Irini in 1925, migrated to Australia in 1947; interviewed 30 November 2013.

66 Nearchos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kritou Terra in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 27 April 2015.

67 Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture*, 24-25.

68 Varnavas, a Greek Cypriot man born in Phrenaros in 1931, migrated to Australia in 1952; interviewed 30 November 2014 and 15 December 2018.

was not present at the wedding. His mother and her sister attended, but they were not allowed in the church, as they were Muslim and had to remain outside.

### *Living in sin*

Six interviewees recalled unions of Turkish and Greek Cypriots who were not married, but 'living in sin'. This was a way of getting around the religious barriers enforced on those who legally married under Canon or shari'a law. Feriha recalled that, "There were intermarriages in other villages but just one from this village [Ayia Irini] that I remember [in the 1960s], a Turkish Cypriot man lived together with a Greek Cypriot lady, but they weren't married."<sup>69</sup> (While they could have married before independence, the Marriage Act 1959 precluded intermarriages.) Similarly, my aunt Anastasia recalled that, "There was a young Greek Cypriot man who fell in love with a Turkish Cypriot woman and they had children together. They lived together outside of marriage."<sup>70</sup> Nikos recalled intermarriages taking place, and also several Turkish and Greek Cypriots living together although they were not married.<sup>71</sup>

Three of my participants spoke of scandals within their own families. Sermen (Figure 5.3) remembered one intermarriage in the village, as well as a scandal in his family:

My father's cousin [Turkish Cypriot woman] had a de-facto relationship with the [Greek Cypriot] Mukhtari [mayor] of Polis ... But they didn't get married as they had a de-facto relationship, which was very iffy in Cyprus at that time ... They had children, so I have Greek Cypriot cousins.<sup>72</sup>



*Figure 5.3 Sermen of Nicosia and Polis Chrysochous with the author*

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69 Feriha, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1934; interviewed 1 June 2015.

70 Anastasia, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1949; interviewed 13 July 2015.

71 Nikos, a Greek Cypriot born in Polis Chrysochous in 1942; interviewed 18 June 2015.

72 Sermen, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Nicosia in 1952, migrated to Australia in 1971; interviewed 4 October 2017.

Varnavas (Figure 5.4) also told of a scandal in his family. His uncle, a businessman, had a wife and family; however, he also had a Turkish Cypriot girlfriend in Larnaca who he would visit whenever business took him there. The man's wife knew of the other woman but was afraid to confront him about the situation. When the girlfriend became pregnant, the arrangement became more formalised; the uncle spent two days per week with his girlfriend and their daughter.<sup>73</sup>



*Figure 5.4 Varnavas of Phrenaros (front, centre) on the Corsica, en route to Australia*

Çetin (Figure 5.5) told of another scandal. His father joined the Cyprus Regiment and fought in Greece during World War II:

When Germany go for war, Greece lose, so they [my father and others in the Cyprus Regiment] took off their clothes [military uniforms] and they put normal clothes on ... otherwise they [the Germans] kill him! [The Turkish Cypriots] changed their names [Osman to Panayiotis], they changed everything ... They speak the Greek, too. They stay until they finish the war [pretending to be local Greeks]. My father married a Greek woman in Greece and had four children together. After four years, when they finished the war, they leave their wife, they leave their children ... when he returned to Cyprus, he married my mum.<sup>74</sup>

Çetin said that many years after the war, a woman in Greece wrote a letter addressed to 'Panayiotis' and sent it to his village; however, the Turkish Cypriots knew of no Panayiotis in their village. The Greek wife of Osman wrote to her husband, thinking his name was 'Panayiotis'. Many years later, one of Çetin's Greek half-brothers came to Cyprus and found the family.

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<sup>73</sup> Varnavas, a Greek Cypriot man born in Phrenaros in 1931, migrated to Australia in 1952; interviewed 30 November 2014 and 15 December 2018.

<sup>74</sup> Çetin, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Marona in 1949, migrated to Australia in 1971; interviewed 12 July 2017.



*Figure 5.5 Çetin (right) of Marona with his wife Münüfe (left) and the author*

Interestingly, my interviewees were quite forthcoming with their recollections of intermarriages and people living in sin, even within their own families. This is counter to the experiences of other researchers who found reluctance to admit that intermarriages occurred; for example, Uludağ who maintained, “everyone in the family would prefer to ‘forget’ that they had someone ... from the ‘other community’... This would be a ‘secret’ to be hidden...”<sup>75</sup>

#### *Intermarriages – leaving families behind after 1974*

When internal displacement occurred throughout the 1960s and 1970s, married women who may or may not have converted to the ‘other’ religion, had no choice but to leave with their husbands to the ‘other’ side. This was due to Article 2 of the 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus which stated, “a married woman shall belong to the Community to which her husband belongs.”<sup>76</sup> Eleni G knew of a marriage between a Turkish Cypriot woman and a Greek Cypriot man. After 1974, “they stayed together and hid in the mountains ... I don’t know what happened to them.”<sup>77</sup>

Three Turkish Cypriot men, living in Morphou, spoke of intermarried couples still living in the town. Alkan said that he knew of many intermarriages: “I know many people [Turkish Cypriots] in Morphou [in the north] who came from Paphos [after 1974], who have still got a brother there [in Paphos].”<sup>78</sup> Özcan distinctly remembered, “a Turkish Cypriot man who married a Greek Cypriot woman; the woman converted to Islam and they still live in Morphou.”<sup>79</sup> Emir knew one such couple in Morphou, too, saying, “I knew of an intermarriage between a Turkish Cypriot man and a Greek Cypriot woman; they still live in Morphou!”<sup>80</sup>

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75 Uludağ, ‘Missing pieces of the mosaic’.

76 Republic of Cyprus 2018.

77 Eleni G, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Neakhorio, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1935; interviewed 9 June 2015.

78 Alkan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Silikou in 1948, moved to Kato Polemidhia when he married in 1973; interviewed 2 July 2015.

79 Özcan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1955; interviewed 13 July 2015

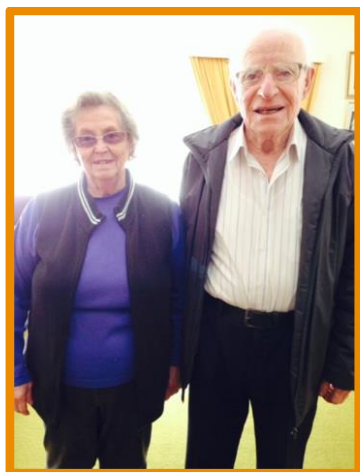
80 Emir, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Souskiou in 1933; interviewed 2 July 2015.

## *Intermarriages in Australia*

Three interviewees knew of intermarriages in Australia. Hakki said, “I have seen intermarriages in Australia; most of the time they are very successful.”<sup>81</sup> Hakki’s close friend Savvas (Sam) knew of intermarriages in Australia also: “I’ve seen a family friend of mine [Greek Cypriot man] marry a Turkish Cypriot girl; he goes to the mosque, she goes to the church.”<sup>82</sup>

Ali (Alex) (Figure 5.6) gave an account of his own intermarriage:

When I came here [Adelaide, Australia] I used to go to Mildura. I used to work for a man from Ikaria. He loved me like a son. He told me: You speak good Greek, so he would get me a girl ... from Greece. It was very hard for Turkish people to come to Australia because of the war [Turkish migration to Australia was prohibited after World War I – until 1968]. So I could not find any to marry ... Here is a photo of the Greek girl I married. How could I say no! This is the reason why I changed my religion. I was baptised. And I am not sorry – I am happy. My family knew all about it. There was no problem, no hard feelings. Two generations before me was my great-grandmother [who was Greek Cypriot]. So it had been done before. My father and my mother loved my bride – because she loved me. I was married in 1955, and baptised Alexandros as I promised my darling that I would marry her and become Christian. I was called Ali Mehmet, and I was baptised Alexandros Mihail.<sup>83</sup>



*Figure 5.6 Ali / Alexandros of Lythrangomi and his wife, Efrosini*

Christianity was not foreign to Ali (Alex) as he grew up ringing the bells in the village church and attending Christian events with his Greek Cypriot friends.

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81 Hakki, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Larnaca in 1951, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 6 May 2017.

82 Savvas (Sam), a Greek Cypriot man born in Peyia in 1939, migrated to Australia in 1958; interviewed 6 May 2017.

83 Ali (who later became Alexandros), a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lythrangomi in 1928, migrated to Australia in 1949; interviewed 3 June 2014.

## *Intermarriages in the United Kingdom*

Some interviewees recalled intermarriages in Australia, and in the United Kingdom also. Antigone said that intermarriages took place much more readily in London than in Cyprus:

In the years of EOKA, it was a crime for a Greek Cypriot to fall in love with an English or Turkish person. Someone has to convert between Turkish or Greek. In those days, if a Turkish person converted to Christianity, it was OK. But if Greek person converted to Muslim, that was a crime. It was a stigma for both sides. In London, there were many mixed marriages between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. But many people were registry [civil] marriages.<sup>84</sup>

After independence, with Cyprus' new Marriage Act, intermarriage could only happen outside Cyprus.

## *Maronites intermarrying*

Five Turkish Cypriots (but no Greek Cypriots) from the village of Ayia Irini recalled intermarriages occurring between Turkish Cypriots of their village and Maronite Christians of nearby Maronite villages.

Ülgü was descended from an intermarriage: "My great-grandmother was a Maronite Cypriot from the nearby Maronite village of Kormakitis; however, she did not convert to Islam when she married."<sup>85</sup> Erol said, "I knew of five intermarriages of Turkish Cypriots from Ayia Irini with Maronite Cypriots from Kormakitis."<sup>86</sup> Father Charalambos S also spoke of intermarriages between the Christian communities, saying "The Maronites were good people and they loved us Greeks. Many Maronite women married Greek Cypriot men."<sup>87</sup> Serpil claimed, "Intermarriages were very common before the intercommunal violence of the 1960s and the war of 1974, between not only Turkish and Greek Cypriots, but Maronite Cypriots also. In fact, intermarriages still take place today!"<sup>88</sup>

Other scholars have not indicated that, "Intermarriages were very common". However, given that 67 percent of my interviewees asked about intermarriages recalled them, and that seven of 72 (10

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84 Antigone, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prastio in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1988; interviewed 25 April 2014.

85 Ülgü, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1948; interviewed 24 July 2015.

86 Erol, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Khoulou in 1951; interviewed 24 July 2015.

87 Father Charalambos S, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1931, migrated to Australia in 1963; interviewed 2 May 2015.

88 Serpil, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1949; interviewed 24 July 2015.

percent) described intermarriages within their own family, perhaps Serpil was giving a truer (if exaggerated) assessment than has been previously revealed.

### *Turkish Cypriots marrying Arabs and Africans*

Although the British treated all Muslims in Cyprus as one group, there were several different groups and sects. Ilkay explained that Turkish Cypriots married with other Muslim minority groups,

For the Turkish [Cypriot] people, I don't think there was much resistance [to intermarriages] because many were with Arabs [Palestinians] or Africans [perhaps descendants of slaves<sup>89</sup>], so because they were Muslim, they were accepted. So two of my brothers-in-law, they are Africans but they were born in Cyprus, so of course their parents, their ancestors, came from Africa. We suspect they came from Sudan and Egypt. I met some Palestinians recently, they asked where I was from, I said I was a Cypriot Turk, they said that their grandfather was from Cyprus also!<sup>90</sup>

It was common throughout the British period in Cyprus, particularly from the 1920s to 1940s, for young Turkish Cypriot women to be 'sold' to Arab men, mostly from Palestine. In her book *Araplara Satılan Kızlarımız* (Our Daughters Who Were Sold to Arabs), Neriman Cahit revealed that from the 1920s until the 1940s, when both Cyprus and Palestine were British Colonies, passage between the two countries was very easy for Arab merchants, and thus the practice of buying "European-looking, blonde, blue eyed" Muslim brides was commonplace. According to Cahit, 4,000 Cypriot-Turkish girls were 'sold' to Arabs. The dowry for a Cypriot bride was reportedly much lower than for Palestinian brides.<sup>91</sup>

### *Remembering the same story: Maria (Ayshe) of Alaminos*

The conversion and marriage of Maria (Ayshe) was remembered by several of my Alaminos interviewees: Despina, Panayiotis,<sup>92</sup> Sadiye<sup>93</sup> and Eleni N.<sup>94</sup> Despina initially said that she'd never heard of an intermarriage in Alaminos:

No, never ... Oh, but didn't Maria marry a Turkish man? ... There was a story that someone here married Mimos. If you ask me if I know, no Christians intermarried and nor have I

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89 R. Jennings, 'Black Slaves and Free Blacks in Ottoman Cyprus, 1590-1640', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 30(3), 1987, 286-288.

90 Ilkay, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lefke in 1946, migrated to Australia in 1978; interviewed 3 August 2014.

91 P. Mentesh 2018, *Forgotten Brides*, viewed 11 March 2019, <<https://forgottenbrides.wordpress.com/>>; and H. Ergen & A. Calvert 2018, "Sold' to a stranger at 14: Finding Cyprus' forgotten brides', *SBS*, viewed 11 March 2019, <<https://www.sbs.com.au/yourlanguage/turkish/en/article/2018/03/27/missing-fetina>>.

92 Panayiotis, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1944; interviewed 2 June 2015.

93 Sadiye, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1949; interviewed 9 July 2015.

94 Eleni N, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1945; interviewed 27 May 2015.



heard of any that intermarried, and such a thing would not happen. But Maria changed her name to Ayshe so she could marry the Turkish man ... He was much older than Maria and it happened a long time ago ... She left the village; they left and went to Skala.<sup>95</sup>

Presumably the pairing was rare and shocking enough in Alaminos, a village where the two communities were perhaps less blended than those in Ayia Irini or Polis Chrysochous (discussed later), to be notorious.

### *Recollections of family members' intermarriages*

The most profound recollections were those of interviewees who knew of their own family members marrying a member of the 'other' group. Ramadan said, "Yes, I knew of a few intermarriages ... My [Turkish Cypriot] grandfather married a Greek Cypriot and they had twelve children ... My *yiayia* is Greek Cypriot ... There were no problems [with either family]." Later, as the political climate changed, "In 1958, the Turkish Cypriots left Kato Polemidhia because of EOKA ... My Greek Cypriot family stayed ... [After the check-points opened in 2003] we went [to Kato Polemidhia] many times; we saw my friends and relatives."<sup>96</sup> Artam also had a family member intermarry. He said, "In 1955 my nephew married a Greek Cypriot woman and they had children together. My family were fine with it; there was no problem at all during that time."<sup>97</sup> Eleni N spoke of intermarriage, "There was a Greek teacher next to the school, close to [another] Eleni's house, whose sister took a Turk – Louca's mother's sister. And my *pappou* Stavros took a Turkish wife."<sup>98</sup> Interestingly, Eleni talked of the Greek teacher first, and then mentioned her own grandfather as an afterthought – as if within her own family it was accepted but, outside her family, intermarriage was aberrant.

### *Memories withheld*

Father Andreas (Figure 5.7) became a priest, then completed high school and further studies and spent most of his working life in Athens. He had prepared for my interview and had extensive notes and a list of topics to discuss. When asked if he recalled intermarriages, he replied, "Intermarriage? Not in this village, no."<sup>99</sup>

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95 Despina, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1944; interviewed 2 June 2015.

96 Ramadan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Kato Polemidhia in 1964, spent much of his early childhood in Kilani; interviewed 13 July 2015.

97 Artam, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1944; interviewed 13 July 2015.

98 Eleni N, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1945; interviewed 27 May 2015.

99 Father Andreas, a Greek Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1927; interviewed 17 June 2015.



*Figure 5.7 Father Andreas of Polis Chrysochous (artist unknown)*

Paraskivou had just one week of schooling and lived her whole life in the village in which she was born. When asked if she recalled intermarriages, she had a different response:

My aunt married a Muslim; she became Muslim but three of the children were baptised Orthodox Christian and the other three stayed Muslim. When the Turkish Cypriots left the village it was very hard; I lost all of my neighbours and friends. It was like my family was split. [Since the checkpoints opened in 2003] they come to visit and they light a candle in the church each time they visit.<sup>100</sup>

While travelling through Cyprus war zones in early 1964, Packard learned that, “Where intermarriage did occur it was normal for a son to take the religion of his father and a daughter to take that of her mother, and then to refer to themselves as Greek or Turkish according to the religion they had adopted.”<sup>101</sup> I have found no reference to this religious split within a family anywhere else, but Paraskivou’s account of her aunt and her first cousins are in accord with the tradition explained to Packard.

I was surprised when I realised that Father Andreas and Paraskivou were brother and sister, but he had not told me of the intermarriage in his own family. I believe that this was an instance where the value of subaltern studies – history of the lower classes, those who are uneducated, even illiterate – was made starkly clear. Educated and worldly people often have an agenda, prepare for the interview, tell the researcher what they want them to hear and how they should interpret it – as did Father Andreas. The lower classes tend to be less sophisticated and to give different accounts, sometimes opening hidden aspects of history – as did his sister Paraskivou.

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<sup>100</sup> Paraskivou, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prodromi, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1936; interviewed 14 July 2015.

<sup>101</sup> M. Packard, *Getting it wrong: Fragments from a Cyprus diary 1964*, Authorhouse, Bloomington, USA, 2008, 139.

## Discussion – Intermarriage

Previous work on intermarriages in Cyprus, as well as census and shari'a court records, reveals that during the Ottoman period, intermarriages were not exceptional. However, more recent studies of intermarriages during British rule in Cyprus cite rules and reasons why such unions were not possible, or very difficult. This may indeed be the case in cities and towns, where there is greater distance between people and communities. However, my findings suggest that in the small mixed villages of Cyprus, where children played together, went with their friends to the church and to the mosque out of curiosity, learned about and respected each other's religion, went to each other's weddings and funerals and shared each other's feast days, where the young Muslim boy Ali<sup>102</sup> could regularly ring the church bell on Sunday, the divide between Christianity and Islam was not at all insurmountable. There were role models – a grandmother, a father's cousin, an aunt, a neighbour – so that young people in love could see a way to their heart's desire.

## Cross-religious Milk Kinship

While in Cyprus in 2015, I picked up Yiannis Papadakis' book *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide*. In it was a conversation with a Greek Cypriot woman who described how when she was ill and couldn't feed her baby, her dear friend, a Turkish Cypriot woman, offered to feed the child; she became his 'milk mother'<sup>103</sup>. I found this account fascinating but struggled to find further Cypriot-related literature on the subject.

Out of curiosity, I decided to include an interview question on milk mothers. Thirty-six of the 40 participants in Cyprus and nine of 32 in Australia were asked if they recalled milk mothers feeding babies from the 'other' group. It was very entertaining watching my father (who interpreted many interviews in Cyprus) asking about this practice, whilst motioning to his bosom. When the first participant that we asked about milk mothers told us of her recollections, I thought it was probably a one-off; I could not have been more wrong.

## Historical context

Wet nursing, where a nursing mother feeds another woman's child, is a practice used since ancient times. If an infant's birth mother was unable to breastfeed her child, having died in childbirth or

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<sup>102</sup> Ali (who later became Alexandros), a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lythrangomi in 1928, migrated to Australia in 1949.

<sup>103</sup> Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone*, 51.

through illness, or if she was unwilling to breastfeed, most often because of her social status, then a wet nurse would be sought. It was also used to forge alliances between families. It continues to be practiced today in many cultures of the world.

References to wet-nursing appear in ancient texts: the *Code of Hammurabi*, the Babylonian law of Mesopotamia;<sup>104</sup> the Bible;<sup>105</sup> Homer's *The Iliad*;<sup>106</sup> and many others. Cross-religious wet-nursing has probably occurred for thousands of years. For example, in Jewish society non-Jewish wet-nurses held essential roles.<sup>107</sup>

On the Sabbath, when Jews should not work, a woman could feed her own baby but not the baby of another woman. Therefore, if a woman died or had no milk, a wet-nurse from another religion was employed. There are records from 1267 of the Catholic Church in Poland barring Christians from acting as servants to Jews, culminating in the sixteenth century in both parliamentary legislation and royal edict making such employment illegal, as anti-Semitism rose.<sup>108</sup>

The conditions and motivations for wet nursing are evident in many cultures. For example, wet-nursing a baby whose mother had died or had too little milk was an act of compassion, whereas in cases where a woman chose not to feed her child, strategic considerations commonly influenced the choice of the milk mother. In upper-class Muslim families, a wet nurse for a female child might be chosen from amongst the slave women of the household. Then later, when the girl was required to wear a veil before any man who was not kin, she could live comfortably in her own home, alongside the sons of the slave.<sup>109</sup> Of course, the girl was barred from later marrying her milk-brothers, but she was in any case destined for a much better match. Indeed, in many cultures, wealthy families chose lower-class wet nurses so that suitable later matches would not be jeopardised<sup>110</sup>.

In some societies, such as Morocco, milk-kinship was a positive political strategy. It could bind important families together or connect the high-born with those of a lower-class for whom they would have not just obligations as powerful land-owners, but real affection. Remco Ensel stated, "Colactation links two families of unequal status and creates a durable and intimate bond. It

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104 L.W King 2008, trans., 'The Code of Hammurabi' verse 194, *Yale Law School – The Avalon Project*, viewed 2 April 2018, <<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/ancient/hamframe.asp>>.

105 Exodus 2:7; and Numbers 11:12, *The Holy Bible*.

106 Homer 1950, *The Iliad*, trans. E.V. Rieu, Penguin, Harmondsworth, England, 127.

107 G. Yee, "'Take this Child and Suckle it for Me": Wet Nurses and Resistance in Ancient Israel', *Biblical Theology Bulletin*, 39(4), 2009, 180-189.

108 J. Kalik 2010, 'Servants', *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, viewed 1 April 2018, <<http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Servants>>.

109 S. Altorki, 'Milk Kinship in Arab Society: An Unexplored Problem in the Ethnography of Marriage', *Ethnology*, 19(2), 1980, 240.

110 *ibid.*, 240.

removes from 'clients' their outsider status but excludes them as marriage partners."<sup>111</sup> Ensel went on to argue that, "We should avoid a singular, functionalist explanation for the practice of colactation and milk kinship ... the meaning of milk kinship bonds can vary ..." For example, "In southern Morocco it brings about a social relationship that is an alternative to kinship bonds based on blood, involving regular exchanges and balancing between rapprochement and dissociation, inclusion and exclusion."<sup>112</sup>

Through milk kinship arrangements, strategic relationships between people of various religions and ethnicities are able to be formed.<sup>113</sup> Milk kinship could even end a feud; a baby abducted and fed by a woman of the enemy tribe would bind the warring parties together and force an end to hostilities.<sup>114</sup>

It is important to note that other conditions also exist for wet nursing to occur.<sup>115</sup> If sexual relations with a lactating woman were not permitted, a man might contract a wet nurse so that he could resume relations with his wife. Lactation delays the resumption of ovulation and increases the gap between pregnancies so, if multitudes of children as signs of wealth and status were desired, a wet nurse might be sought so that the mother could bear children more frequently. A man might seek a wet nurse if he divorced his wife and wanted to be rid of her, or a divorced woman might plead for the appointment of a wet nurse so that she could cease lactating and become marriageable to another man.<sup>116</sup> In some cultures it was desirable for children to spend their early years in healthy country environs, away from their city parents; indeed, the most famous milk mother of the Prophet Mohammad, Halima bint Abi Dhuayb, was from a Bedouin tribe whose women were regularly contracted to feed babies of wealthier city people who wanted their babies to be in a healthier environment.<sup>117</sup>

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111 R. Ensel, 'Colactation and fictive kinship as rites of incorporation and reversal in Morocco', *Journal of North African Studies*, 7(4), 2002, 93.

112 *ibid.*, 93.

113 PediaView, *Milk Kinship*, viewed 29 April 2017, <[https://pediaview.com/openpedia/Milk\\_kinship](https://pediaview.com/openpedia/Milk_kinship)>.

114 P. Parkes, 'Milk Kinship in Southeast Europe. Alternative social structures and foster relations in the Caucasus and the Balkans', *Social Anthropology*, 12(3), 2004, 345.

115 A. Giladi, *Infants, parents and wet nurses: Medieval Islamic views of breastfeeding and their social implications*, Brill, Leiden, 1999, 3.

116 *ibid.*, 17.

117 M. Zanjani, 'A Glimpse of the Character Traits of the Prophet Muhammad, Part I', *Message of Thaqaalayn*, 11 (4), 2011, 110-111.

### *Cypriot context of milk kinship*

There has been no study of wet nursing in Cyprus to date. Whilst Papadakis<sup>118</sup> and Bryant<sup>119</sup> have both referred to milk mothers, they mentioned them only in passing. This research significantly extends their encounters with the subject of milk kinship in Cyprus.

Interestingly, the Turkish Cypriots have a term, *süt anne*, literally meaning ‘milk mother’ for the role; Greek Cypriots do not.

### *Umm Haram*

It is commonly believed that the Prophet Mohammad had several milk mothers, the most famous of whom is Halima bint Abi Dhuayb<sup>120</sup>. Another was his maternal aunt Umm Haram who travelled with her husband, Ubada bin al-Samit when he, “led two disastrous raids against Cyprus in 649 and 650 AD.”<sup>121</sup> Shortly after her arrival in Cyprus, Umm Haram died as a result of an accident while riding a donkey.<sup>122</sup>

Acknowledging her important role as the Prophet Mohammad’s milk mother, more than one millennium later, in 1787, the Sunni mosque of Hala Sultan Tekke (Mosque of Umm Haram), located on the salt lake of Larnaca, was built over her tomb.<sup>123</sup>

An article published in *Arab News* in 2011 stated, “People of Cyprus used to refer to it as ‘the grave of the goodly woman’. Even non-Muslims used to visit her grave and pray for rain near it, knowing that she was a most devout woman.”<sup>124</sup> Hala Sultan Tekke continues to be, “the main Muslim pilgrimage site of Cyprus and among the most important holy places of Islam.”<sup>125</sup> Both Muslim and Christian Cypriots were familiar with the mosque as a sacred site, and understood the reverential status of Umm Haram as the *süt anne* (milk mother) of the Prophet Mohammed.

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118 Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone*, 50-51.

119 Bryant, Report 2 – ‘Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community’, 28.

120 Bryant, *The Past in Pieces*, 7.

121 Republic of Cyprus – Department of Antiquities 2017, *Hala Sultan Tekke*, viewed 28 April 2017, <<http://www.mcw.gov.cy/mcw/da/da.nsf/All/18513FF955C9F917C225719900332619?OpenDocument>>.

122 Arab News 2011, *Women companions of Prophet Umm Haram: Traveling by sea for Jihad*, viewed 1 Nov 2019, <<http://www.arabnews.com/node/379440>>.

123 Republic of Cyprus – Department of Antiquities.

124 Arab News 2011.

125 Republic of Cyprus – Department of Antiquities.

## Religious context

The Qur'an provides particular guidance on breastfeeding and wet nursing. It prescribes two years as the desirable suckling time before a child is weaned, and outlines the fair treatment of a wet nurse:

If, by mutual consent and consultation, the couple wish to wean [the child], they will not be blamed, nor will there be any blame if you wish to engage a wet nurse, provided you pay as agreed in a fair manner. Be mindful of God, knowing that He sees everything you do.<sup>126</sup>

The belief that milk kinship relationships result from wet nursing practices is strongly founded in shari'a law, which defines three forms of kinship, "relationship by blood (*nasab*), affinity (*musahara*), and milk (*rida'a*) ... The special term *rida'a* denotes the relationship between a child and a woman, not its own mother, who nursed it."<sup>127</sup> There are a range of interpretations of the number of suckling events which confer that kinship status:

Although the first nursing of a child older than 24 to 30 months is generally not considered to create a milk relationship, the learned estimates of the amount of milk required to establish *rida'a* range from one, three, five or ten feedings to a few drops on separate occasions.<sup>128</sup>

The Qur'an explains that a woman becomes a milk mother of the child that she has nursed, and that the child becomes a sibling to her biological children; a kinship that prohibits their future marriage.<sup>129</sup>

You are forbidden to take as wives your mothers, daughters, sisters, paternal and maternal aunts, the daughters of brothers and daughters of sisters, your milk-mothers and milk-sisters, your wives' mothers, the stepdaughters in your care – those born of women with whom you have consummated marriage...<sup>130</sup>

Marrying one's milk-brother or milk-sister is considered to be as much of a marriage taboo as marrying one's biological brother or sister. It is understood that, "What is forbidden by blood kinship is equally forbidden by milk kinship."<sup>131</sup> Soraya Altorki explained this further:

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126 *The Qur'an*, 27.

127 Altorki, 'Milk Kinship in Arab Society', 233.

128 *ibid.*, 238.

129 *The Qur'an*, 52.

130 *ibid.*, 52-53.

131 G. Avner, 'Breast-feeding in Medieval Islamic thought. A preliminary study of legal and medical writings', *Journal of Family History*, 23(2), 1998, 107-123.

The rules defining the relatives of a person whom he/she may not marry are straightforward for consanguineal [kinship by blood] and affinal [kinship by marriage] relatives. They are complicated for a person's relatives by rida'a [kinship by milk]. The complication derives from the doctrine that the "fluids" of both the lactating woman and her husband generate the milk (which we can regard as an apt metaphorical description of the hormonal effect of pregnancy).<sup>132</sup>

### *Religious parallel*

Interestingly, scholars commonly contend that the practice of milk kinship is paralleled with that of Christian godparent-hood or spiritual kinship.<sup>133</sup> Merry Wiesner-Hanks argued:

In canon law, relatives by blood or marriage are prohibited from marrying; by the fifteenth century, this prohibition had been extended to seven degrees of kinship, which meant that individuals who shared a great-grandparent were officially prohibited from marrying one another. This prohibition extended to spiritual kin as well, so that marriage between godparent and godchild was forbidden, as was that between a godparent and a natural parent, and even between two unrelated godparents of the same child.<sup>134</sup>

Furthermore, Peter Parkes stated that milk-kinship was, "further endorsed as a canonical impediment to marriage by several eastern Christian churches..." indicating that the attitude was common, "among numerous religious communities, not just Islamic communities, in the early modern Mediterranean."<sup>135</sup>

### *Participant recollections of milk mothers*

Not all participants were asked about milk mothers; it arose from my reading Papadakis' book<sup>136</sup> and was then incorporated into the interview protocol. Nine of 32 participants in Australia and 36 of 40 participants in Cyprus – a total of 45 people – were asked whether they recalled women feeding babies from the 'other' group.

Results are shown in Table 5.4 and Figure 5.8. Of the nine Australian participants, six were from mono-communal villages. All of the 36 participants in Cyprus were from mixed villages. While 26 of 36 (72 percent) of those in Cyprus remembered women feeding babies of the 'other' group, only three of nine (33 percent) of the Australians recalled that practice. Because their profile was so

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132 Altorki, 'Milk Kinship in Arab Society', 233.

133 P. Parkes, 'Milk Kinship in Islam: Substance, Structure, History', *Social Anthropology*, 13(3), 2005, 307-329.

134 M. Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe, 1450-1789*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006, 74.

135 *ibid.*, 74.

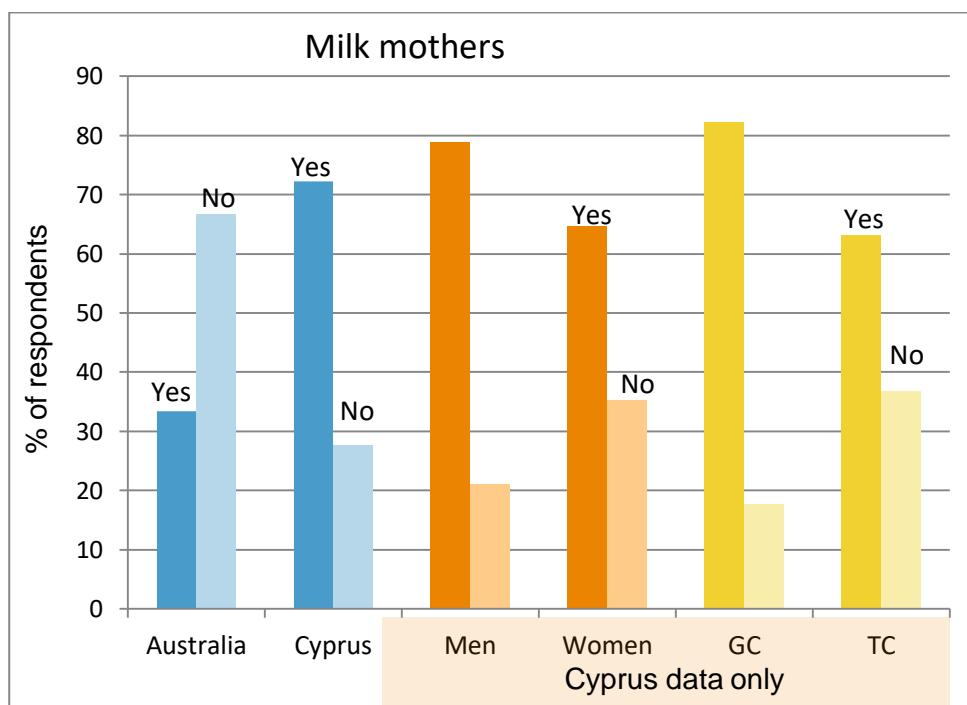
136 Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone*, 51.



different (only one-third of them from mixed villages), their data has not been combined with the Cyprus participants' data in further analysis.

*Table 5.4 Interviewees' recollections of cross-religious milk kinship*

		Yes	No
Australia interviewees		3	6
Cyprus interviewees	Total	26	10
	Men	15	4
	Women	11	6
	Greek Cypriot	14	3
	Turkish Cypriot	12	7



*Figure 5.8 Interviewees' recollections of cross-religious milk kinship*

From Figure 5.8 it is clear that a majority – 72 percent – of the Cyprus participants remembered milk mothers feeding babies of the 'other' group. A higher proportion of men than women, and a higher proportion of Greek than Turkish Cypriots, recalled these relationships.

Figure 5.9 shows the decade of birth of all the Cyprus interviewees who were asked about milk kinship, together with the decade of birth of each person recalling cross-religious milk kinship relationships. Even people born in the 1950s and 1960s (when intercommunal conflict and political divisions increased markedly) recalled the practice. More born in the 1920s, 1950 and 1960s recall those relationships, but the numbers of participants in those groups are too small for those results to be statistically reliable.

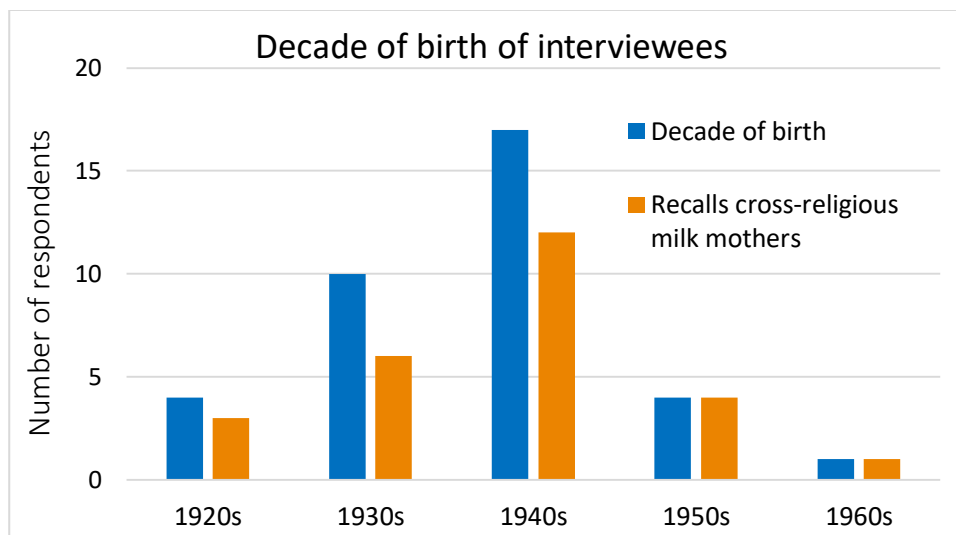


Figure 5.9 Age distribution of Cyprus interviewees recalling cross-religious milk kinship

The overall results of the 36 participants in Cyprus who were asked about milk mothers from the ‘other’ group are shown in Table 5.5. Perhaps the most interesting result is the differing proportion of people from Ayia Irini, Alaminos and Polis Chrysochous who recalled the practice.

Those data are placed in the context of the villages’ populations, in Table 5.6. Census data clearly show that each of the three villages which were foci for this study had more evenly balanced populations in 1921, and one group or the other increased thereafter. (The earliest year of birth of a Cyprus participant was 1927; the latest was 1964. Clearly the Census data from the 1921, 1931, 1946 and 1960 Censuses described Cyprus as well as possible during the participants’ childhoods; no further census was administered until after the division of the island).

Table 5.5 Responses of Cyprus participants to the question “Do you remember women acting as milk mothers for the ‘other’ group?”

		Yes	No	Total	% Yes	% No	
Characteristic	All responses	26	10	36	72	28	
	‘Ethnicity’	Greek Cypriot	14	3	17	82	18
		Turkish Cypriot	12	7	19	63	37
	Gender	Female	11	6	17	65	35
		Male	15	4	19	79	21
	Home village	Ayia Irini	11	2	13	85	15
		Alaminos	5	3	8	63	37
		Polis Chrysochous	7	2	9	78	22
		<i>Others</i>	3	3	6	50	50
	Decade of birth	1920s	3	1	4	75	25
		1930s	6	4	10	60	40
		1940s	12	5	17	71	29
		1950s	4	0	4	100	0
		1960s	1	0	1	100	0

Of those from Ayia Irini, which from 1931 had a Turkish Cypriot majority, 85 percent recalled women breastfeeding children of the ‘other’ group. Of those from Alaminos and Polis Chrysochous, both of which had small Greek Cypriot majorities from 1931 to 1960, 63 percent and 78 percent respectively recalled the practice.

Alaminos was the only village with a clear geographic divide – a river – between the two communities. From the interviews, it seemed that Alaminos had been the least tightknit of the three villages in terms of Turkish and Greek Cypriot relations, with Alaminos having fewer bilingual inhabitants (see Table 5.7), which is a measure of intercommunality. The lower percentage of people in Alaminos remembering cross-religious milk kinship practices suggests that the practice was less common but even there, a majority of respondents (five of eight interviewees) recalled women breastfeeding babies from the ‘other’ group.

Table 5.6 Greek / Turkish Cypriot proportions in home villages of interviewees, and their responses to the question “Do you remember women acting as milk mothers for the ‘other’ group?”

		Home village			
		Ayia Irini	Alaminos	Polis Chrysochous	
Village populations	1921 <sup>137</sup>	Total	188	327	920
		% ‘Non-Mahometan’	50.5	48.9	55.4
		% ‘Mahometan’	49.5	51.1	44.6
	1931 <sup>138</sup>	Total	284	340	990
		% ‘Christian’	46.8	58.2	59.2
		% ‘Moslem’	53.2	41.8	40.8
	1946 <sup>139</sup>	Total	368	574	1198
		% ‘Greek Orthodox’	39.7	60.3 <sup>140</sup>	64.4
		% ‘Moslem Turkish’	60.3	39.4	35.6
	1960 <sup>141</sup>	Total	471	564	1627
		% ‘Greeks’	35.2	58.9	59.2
		% ‘Turks’	64.8	41.1	40.8
Milk kinship recollections	% Yes	85	63	78	
	% No	15	37	22	

It could be suggested that in a larger population (such as Polis Chrysochous) with more nursing mothers of the baby’s own ‘group’ available to act as milk mother, cross-religious milk kinship would be less common. However, while Polis Chrysochous had, throughout the childhood periods of my interviewees, around three times the populations of Alaminos and Ayia Irini, seven out of nine interviewees from the village recalled the practice. It seems that, rather than choosing their own ‘group’ members to suckle their babies, many women chose (or had offers from) their friends or near neighbours.

137 Hart-Davis, *Report and general abstracts of the census of 1921*, 38, 45 and 47.

138 Hart-Davis, *General Abstracts of the census of 1931*, 33, 40 and 41.

139 Percival, *Census of population and agriculture*, 8, 10 and 14.

140 Note that in this Census, Greek Orthodox and Moslem Turkish in Alaminos add up to 99.7%. Two people of ‘Other religions’ constituted the missing fraction.

141 Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture*, 14, 18 and 25.

*Table 5.7 Interviewees asked about milk mothers, who spoke both Greek and Turkish, from each village*

Home village	Interviewees' 'group'					Languages spoken			% bilingual
	Greek Cypriot	Turkish Cypriot	Total	%GC	%TC	Greek only	Turkish only	Both	
Ayia Irini	5	8	13	38	62	2	0	11	85
Alaminos	6	2	8	75	25	4	1	3	37
Polis Chrysochous	6	3	9	67	33	5	0	4	46

Taking on such an intimate relationship with another woman's child indicates deep friendship and understanding between the two women – and between the two 'groups'. Such a practice gave women a level of agency and power, although it is unlikely that in Cyprus' patriarchal society, cross-religious milk kinship relationships would have occurred without the agreement or acceptance of the women's husbands; regular feeding of each other's babies when women went to work in the fields, or taking a neighbour's child when she had no milk, were not matters that could remain secret.

#### *Milk kinship within participants' own families*

Twenty-eight percent of the participants who were asked about milk mothers – ten of 36 people – told of their own experiences, as shown in Table 5.8. Participants related memories of milk mothers which ranged from casual to profound.

These first-hand (I had a milk mother / My baby had a milk mother) and second-hand (My mother fed / My grandmother fed / My neighbour fed) accounts of women from the 'other' group acting as milk mothers significantly extend understanding of a practice that other researchers have written about as singular experiences.<sup>142</sup> It is extraordinary that more than one quarter of participants had experience within their own family; this points to cross-religious milk kinship being very widespread within the former mixed villages of Cyprus, and quantifies this practice, for the first time.

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<sup>142</sup> Bryant, Report 2 – 'Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community', 28; and Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone*, 50-51.

Table 5.8 First- or second-hand knowledge in response to the question “Do you remember women acting as milk mothers for the ‘other’ group?”

	Greek Cypriot	Turkish Cypriot	Female	Male	Total
I had a milk mother from the ‘other’ group	Father Andreas <sup>143</sup>			Father Andreas	1
My sibling had a milk mother from the ‘other’ group	Maria <sup>144</sup>	Ramadan <sup>145</sup>	Maria	Ramadan	1
My baby had a milk mother from the ‘other’ group	Eleni G <sup>146</sup>		Eleni G		2
I fed a baby from the ‘other’ group	Paraskivou <sup>147</sup>		Paraskivou		1
My mother fed a baby from the ‘other’ group	Kaiti <sup>148</sup> Paraskivou	Feriha <sup>149</sup> Ramadan	Feriha Kaiti Paraskivou	Ramadan	4
My grandmother fed a baby from the ‘other’ group		Hüseyin <i>hoca</i> <sup>150</sup>		Hüseyin <i>hoca</i>	1
My neighbour fed a baby from the ‘other’ group	Despina <sup>151</sup>	İbrahim C <sup>152</sup>	Despina	İbrahim C	1
Total individual respondents	6	4	6	4	

### *A link between milk kinship and child-minding*

Women in villages needed to go to work in the fields. Cooperative child-minding relationships naturally developed. İbrahim C lived next door to a Greek Cypriot family. “When a Turkish mum go away to the garden or somewhere else, she gives the baby to the Greek mum and she feed him. Or the Greek woman goes out; the baby [feeds] from Turkish lady.”<sup>153</sup> Ramadan, too, described to Bryant a cooperative form of child-minding, “because there were no nurseries like there are now –

143 Father Andreas, a Greek Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1927; interviewed 17 June 2015.

144 Maria, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1929, moved to Polis Chrysochous in 1949 when she married; interviewed 7 June 2015.

145 Ramadan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Kato Polemidhia in 1964, spent much of his early childhood in Kilani; interviewed 13 July 2015.

146 Eleni G, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Neakhorio, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1935; interviewed 9 June 2015.

147 Paraskivou, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prodromi, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1936; interviewed 14 July 2015.

148 Kaiti, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1950; interviewed 17 July 2015.

149 Feriha, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1934; interviewed 1 June 2015.

150 Hüseyin *hoca*, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1956; interviewed 18 June 2015.

151 Despina, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1944; interviewed 2 June 2015.

152 İbrahim C, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1948; interviewed 1 June 2015.

153 *ibid.*

for instance, my mother breast-fed two or three Greek Cypriot children, meaning I have ‘milk-siblings’ (*süt kardeşleri*) who are Greek Cypriot.”<sup>154</sup> Father Andreas shared a similar story:

I have a story to tell you. My mother and Greek mothers and the Turkish mothers – they would work together. Sometimes they would leave their children to the Turks, and the Turks sometimes would leave their children with us. I will give you an example: My mother sent me, when my mother went to work – I was a baby, about six or nine months old – she left me with a Turk, her name was Ayshe, to breast-feed me. She was a very good neighbour. I have two mothers.<sup>155</sup>

Aristos, sitting in on the interviews of his parents, was shocked to hear that his mother had sometimes left him with their Turkish Cypriot neighbour, who had fed him. “Who, me?” he exclaimed. He had few memories of life before the division of the island in 1974 and had never before heard that he had a milk mother from the ‘other’ group.

Cross-religious milk kinship arising from childcare while mothers worked in the fields seemed almost a casual decision; for it to be commonly accepted, it was most probably an age-old arrangement, familiar and unexceptional.

### *Illness and necessity*

The most emotionally charged memories of milk kinship were those where a milk mother was a necessity, a matter of life or death. Kaiti (Figure 5.10) delighted in telling me of her milk brother:

Ah! Let me tell you! My mother: she had a Turkish friend who ... was pregnant at the same time [as my mother]. [She] was so ill she couldn’t make milk [and] they brought the sick child to my mother and she breast-fed the baby and up until now that child would call my mother ‘Mother’ – because the Turkish people place great importance on breastfeeding and we are like brothers. They used to come and say that the child was my brother. The child saw my mother as his mother also ... He thinks that he is our brother. They consider it more important than us. My mother did it so the baby wouldn’t die. If she didn’t feed it, it would die. The Turks consider it more sacred.<sup>156</sup>

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154 Bryant, Report 2 – ‘Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community’, 28.

155 Father Andreas, a Greek Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1927; interviewed 17 June 2015.

156 Kaiti, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1950; interviewed 17 July 2015.



*Figure 5.10 Kaiti of Ayia Irini (centre) with the author and her great-uncle Jordanis*

A similar story was told by Mrs Katinou to Papadakis:

Sometimes a woman who gave birth didn't have enough milk so another woman who had also just given birth would breastfeed her child. The two children who had drunk milk from the same mother became something like brothers, and the woman became like a mother to the child who drank from her breast, a milk-mother. The Turks, our Turks, did exactly the same ... So, they had the same custom like us, I tell you ... Look, you see my son eating inside. Well, when I gave birth to him I was ill afterwards and couldn't feed him, so you know what happened one day? Zehra, Mustafa's wife [her neighbour], we were like this with her [she made a gesture with two fingers pressed together]. She comes, I did not ask her anything, she sits down, just like you are sitting now there and tells me: 'Be kkomshu [komşu],' it means neighbour, 'you not enough milk, me a lot. I give Savvakis.' So I said, 'Yes, may Allah guard you, Zehra.' She was glad. 'And God, bless you too,' she said to me.<sup>157</sup>

The understanding of the importance of milk-kinship grew from the deeply intertwined lives of Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Mrs Katinou described Turkish Cypriots as having, "the same custom like us..." apparently unaware that the relationship of milk kinship is described in the Qur'an and was co-opted by Cypriot Christians.

### *Manipulating the marriage bar*

The milk-sibling marriage bar has sometimes been exploited. Altorki's research into milk-kinship in Arab societies showed that, "Parents resorted to strategic nursing with a strategic purpose in mind, namely, when they wished to prevent potential marriages of their children to the children of a relative."<sup>158</sup>

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157 Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone*, 50-51.

158 Altorki, 'Milk Kinship in Arab Society', 243.



Interviewee Eleni G (Figure 5.11) described such a strategy. She recalled that the Turkish Cypriots could marry their first cousins,<sup>159</sup> though many disapproved of such marriages; therefore, Turkish Cypriot women had ways of manipulating the marriage bar:

I knew a Turkish woman ... and her sister gave birth and she gave birth as well. Her husband wanted the two babies to get married. The Turkish woman – because she didn't want them to get married – got the other baby and breast-fed it. He got very angry. That's why she fed the baby so the husband could not get his way to marry them ... so they can't marry into the family.<sup>160</sup>



*Figure 5.11 Eleni G of Polis Chrysochous, in a photograph hand-coloured by her husband*

### *Crossing the checkpoints after 2003*

After the checkpoints were opened in 2003, 32 of the 40 Cyprus participants (80 percent) crossed to the 'other' side to visit family, old friends and/or their old homes. All of them – even those who had not themselves crossed – had received visits from old friends from the 'other' group.

Pilgrimages back to their old homes and villages are understandable, but my interviewees spoke not only of their reactions at seeing their old homes, but of their great joy at finding old friends, and their milk relations. Their tales of crossing to the 'other' side show the deep and abiding ties that milk kinship had forged.

Hüseyin *hoca* (Figure 5.12) knew that his grandmother had fed a Greek baby. A few months before our interview, an old man had come to the village looking for Hüseyin's family. "He said that his wife and my mother are sisters! My mother and that man's wife are sisters, and the other children

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159 In the British era, under British law; Greek Orthodox people were not permitted to marry first cousins.

160 Eleni G, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Neakhorio, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1935; interviewed 9 June 2015.

could not marry because they became brothers and sisters; they were the same. It's in the Qur'an."<sup>161</sup>



*Figure 5.12 Hüseyin hoca of Ayia Irini*

Paraskivou (Figure 5.13) had a Turkish Cypriot milk-sister: "They come and visit us every year. [She] lives in England now and every time she comes down she is welcome to stay here."<sup>162</sup>



*Figure 5.13 Paraskivou of Prodromi and Polis Chrysochous, with her husband Andreas*

### *Visitors to the Hala Sultan Tekke Mosque*

Although it was not a scripted question, several of my Greek Cypriot interviewees mentioned that they had visited the mosque, built over the tomb of the milk mother of the Prophet Mohammad, for a school 'cultural' excursion. Several others mentioned that they visited out of their own curiosity, as they had grown up hearing about the mosque and of its importance as a place of pilgrimage. Perhaps the experiences and learnings that the Greek Cypriots encountered on their

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161 Hüseyin hoca, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1956; interviewed 18 June 2015.

162 Paraskivou, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prodromi, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1936; interviewed 14 July 2015.

visits to the mosque raised their awareness of the importance of the relationship between wet-nurse and child, amongst their Muslim friends and neighbours, and reinforced the cultural significance that they understood related to milk kinship.

## Discussion – milk kinship

The interview subjects for this research were from small mixed villages. Memories of cross-religious milk kinship were common. What motivations lay at the bases of such relationships?

If a Muslim child was suckled by a milk mother, that child could not later marry one of their milk-siblings. In many cultures the wet nurse would be selected from a lower class so as not to limit the child's future prospects, but in small villages people were predominantly from the laboring class, so this was not an option. For Muslims, the only choice they could make that would not jeopardise their child's future marriage prospects in a small village would be a Christian woman; intermarriages were uncommon and unplanned so the pool of future marriage partners for the baby would not be diminished. It could be argued that this may have been a factor in Muslim babies being fed by Christian women, but why would the Christian women take on the role?

Similarly, a Muslim woman could suckle a baby of a Christian family and not reduce her own children's future marriage prospects, but why would a Christian woman ask her, above one of her own 'group', to take on the role? And why would the Muslim woman take on the role? There was no financial advantage as they were all poor.

I suggest that the most plausible reason that many women fed babies of the 'other' group would be compassion for the baby and trust and friendship between the mothers. Incidental feeding of neighbours' babies during child-minding, such as described by İbrahim C<sup>163</sup>, Father Andreas<sup>164</sup> and Despina<sup>165</sup>, suggests easy and trusting relations between the two 'groups' and a casual acceptance of the practice. Cross-religious milk-kinship may have been 'normal' for centuries, for it to be treated so casually. Such co-operation is analogous to the work-related stories (Chapter 2) told by several interviewees: On Sundays, when the Christians should worship and have a day of rest, their Muslim friends would feed their animals and water their crops. On Fridays, when the Muslims should worship and have a day of rest, their Christian friends reciprocated.

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163 İbrahim C, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1948; interviewed 1 June 2015.

164 Father Andreas, a Greek Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1927; interviewed 17 June 2015.

165 Despina, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1944; interviewed 2 June 2015.

While some Eastern Mediterranean churches may have adopted milk kinship laws at some stage in history, my interviewees, from the former mixed villages of Cyprus, made no mention of that. Many of my Greek Cypriot interviewees proudly and carefully explained milk-kinship. Several Greek-Cypriots described it as something the 'Turkish Cypriots' believed more strongly than them; however, they still adopted the understanding that they should not marry milk relations (including two Greek Cypriots who were breastfed by the same woman). Others did not seem to understand that milk kinship practices originated (from Islam) amongst the Turkish Cypriots; instead they spoke of the practice as 'Cypriot' in nature.

Turkish and Greek Cypriot interviewees alike loved and honoured their milk mothers and rejoiced to meet with their milk siblings. Their relationships with their milk families were the same. This speaks to love and trust and friendship, and to real intercommunality within the former mixed villages of Cyprus. The reliability of such accounts depend not just on the interviewees' memories of breastfeeding long ago, but also on their accounts of the 'other' family visiting after the checkpoints opened in 2003, searching for the child who was a milk-sibling, or for the old woman who was the beloved second mother.

## Conclusion

This chapter reveals the most significant and powerful accounts of the previously little-known personal-level relationships that existed between Turkish and Greek Cypriots in the former mixed villages of Cyprus: the familial bonds of intermarriages and cross-religious milk kinship.

Despite historical records stating that they were rare, the majority (67 percent) of interviewees recalled intermarriages (or de facto relationships) between Muslims and Christians. Whilst some told me that intermarriages, "never happened", others opened up in a lot of detail about intermarriages that they had heard of or had encountered or even experienced firsthand within their own families. Astonishingly, 10 percent of participants reported an intermarriage within their own family – the first time that intermarriage in Cyprus has been quantified in any way. This differs from previous work which described intermarriages as 'exceptional' and provides the first tentative quantification of historic intermarriages in Cyprus. Furthermore, although all the historical, anthropological, religious and legal evidence suggests that the most common intermarriages were between a Turkish Cypriot (Muslim) man and a Greek Cypriot (Christian) woman, my research shows that intermarriages went both ways.

The most striking example, described by twenty-six interviewees, of familial, personal-level relationships that existed in Cyprus throughout the century leading up to the 1974 war, is the practice of cross-religious milk kinship. The joining together of two families of different religions through the practice of wet nursing demonstrates a level of real intimacy between Turkish and Greek Cypriots. It appears that the religious meaning understood by Turkish Cypriots grew into a shared cultural practice adopted by Greek Cypriots – as a form of trans-cultural diffusion. Although the numbers in this study are small, they point to a widespread cross-religious practice. With one-quarter of interviewees citing examples from within their own families, this study has for the first time quantified an under-researched practice in the former mixed villages of Cyprus.

## Chapter 6 – Cypriots in Australia

Sitting at the kitchen bench, on a stool still covered in plastic, in my grandparents' house in 1992, slurping up my *avgolemoni* soup, my *yiayia* Olga<sup>1</sup> (Figure 6.1) handed me a gift from her recent trip to Cyprus: a jewellery box. It was black and shiny, and had a ballerina inside. As expected, when I opened it music played and the ballerina spun gracefully. On the outside of the box was a map of Cyprus. This was one of the first times in my life that I started to think about Cyprus: Where was it? How big was it? As I grew older I began to ask my grandparents about their lives in Cyprus, and I began to think about my grandparents as migrants.



Figure 6.1 Olga of Polis Chrysochous

As the years went on my *pappou* Costas would tell me the love story: how he met my *yiayia* Olga in Cyprus, and left Cyprus in 1947 to establish himself in Australia and prove to her parents that he could look after her – so that they would allow her to migrate to Australia to join him. He would tell me how he was a successful businessman in Katoomba until the credit squeeze of 1961, among other factors, left him bankrupt, and how he worked three jobs, seven days a week for several decades to support his family, and to discharge his bankruptcy. He came to Australia to succeed, and that he did.<sup>2</sup>

My *pappou* loves Australia. Even recently, when I asked if he would ever want to move back to Cyprus, he said, “Why would I want to move back to that little country? They are 50 years behind us here! Australia is a modern country; I have everything I need here.” My *yiayia*, on the other hand,

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1 Olga, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1930, migrated to Australia in 1950; interviewed 30 November 2013.

2 Costas, a Greek Cypriot born in Ayia Irini in 1925, migrated to Australia in 1947; interviewed 30 November 2013.

continues to complain about Australia; she always said, “I miss my little Cyprus, why did your *pappou* bring me here?” She complains about Australian people and, although her relationships with many of her relatives in Cyprus are fraught, she looks back at her life in Cyprus with rose-coloured glasses. The differences – his sense of belonging in Australia, her longing to return – triggered my interest in the migration and settlement stories of other Australian Cypriots.

This chapter begins by investigating the history of Cypriot migration to Australia. It explores how Cyprus’ status as a protectorate, as a Crown Colony, as a Republic, and as a divided island affected migration patterns. It analyses how the changing political climate in Cyprus affected those patterns, and how Australian and Commonwealth immigration policies impacted Greek and Turkish Cypriots seeking settlement in Australia. It examines the barriers faced by prospective Cypriot migrants to Australia, and how these were overcome. The changing demographic make-up of Cypriot migrants to Australia in different periods, as well as their settlement experiences, are also explored.

There is very little literature on the interactions between, and simultaneous migration experiences of, Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Australia. This chapter examines the experiences of the Cypriot diaspora in Australia. It explores how Greek and Turkish Cypriots interacted with each other upon their migration to Australia; whether Greek Cypriots assimilated with Greek, and Turkish Cypriots with Turkish migrant populations; whether each group maintained a strong ‘Cypriot’ identity; and how relations between the two groups can be characterised today.

Themes of migration, integration, belonging and identity, as well as life in the diaspora and the influence of diaspora communities, arise from participant stories. The important roles played by known individuals and community groups in welcoming and assisting new waves of Cypriot migrants to Australia are intertwined with stories of friendships between the two groups.

## Cypriot emigration

People have always left Cyprus. Their net migration from 1921 to 1960 – the period of my interview participants’ childhoods – is shown in Table 6.1. Cypriots carried British passports and could easily enter many Commonwealth countries. Clearly emigration accelerated after World War II, and escalated again during the turmoil of the late 1950s.

Today, the United Kingdom is home to the largest, and Australia home to the second-largest Cypriot community outside Cyprus.<sup>3</sup>

*Table 6.1 Net migration for Cyprus for intercensal periods, 1921-1960<sup>4</sup>*

Period	1921 – 1930	1931 – 1945	1946 – 1954	1955 – 1960
Net migration (Arrivals – Departures)	– 6917	– 4752	– 17639	– 17215
Average per year	– 692	– 317	– 1960	– 2870

## The impact of Australian immigration policies and trends on Cypriot migration to Australia

The importance of migration to Australian society has been described by Eric Richards, a leading scholar of Australian migration history:

Immigration has been the great conductor of change, tension and growth in the modern Australian experience; it has been critical to its political maturity, to its demography, its economic development, its social cohesion and its relations with the rest of the world, and also to its very self-understanding and identity.<sup>5</sup>

For over a century, Australian immigration policies have affected the way in which Cypriots have migrated to, and settled in, Australia.

### White Australia Policy

In 1891 it was estimated that 87 per cent of the Australian population was of ‘Anglo-Celtic’ origin. Six percent were Northern European, three percent Aboriginal, two percent Asian, and less than one percent Southern European.<sup>6</sup> Richards claimed that, “Distance and control had made the Australian colonies more homogeneously British than anywhere else in the British diaspora.”<sup>7</sup> Throughout the following 60 years, the ethnic composition of Australia became slimmer, a result of the strictly implemented White Australia policy. The 1954 Australian Census (which did not count Aboriginals) showed 86 percent Australian-born, seven percent British-born, four percent from

<sup>3</sup> Republic of Cyprus - Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2017, *High Commission of the Republic of Cyprus in Canberra*, viewed 10 January 2017, <[http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/highcom/highcomcanberra.nsf/community01\\_en/community01\\_en?OpenDocument](http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/highcom/highcomcanberra.nsf/community01_en/community01_en?OpenDocument)>.

<sup>4</sup> Based on G. Verropoulou, ‘The demography of Cyprus, 1881-1982’, PhD thesis, London School of Economics, London, 1998, Table 6.2, 149.

<sup>5</sup> E. Richards, *Destination Australia: Migration to Australia since 1901*, University of NSW Press, Sydney, 2008, x.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, 12.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, 12.



northern or central Europe, less than two percent southern European, and less than half of one percent Asian.<sup>8</sup>

The Immigration Restriction Act 1901 represented the official establishment of the White Australia policy.<sup>9</sup> The legislation was, “among the first pieces of legislation introduced to the newly formed federal parliament...” was specifically designed to restrict non-British immigration to Australia, and, “allowed for the deportation of ‘undesirable’ people who had settled in any Australian colony prior to federation.”<sup>10</sup> Many policies remained in place until 1973, when the Whitlam Government, “removed the last formal vestiges of the White Australia policy and its specific restrictions on non-white immigration.”<sup>11</sup>

The Immigration Restriction Act 1901 introduced a dictation test to prevent ‘non-whites’ from entering Australia as immigrants<sup>12</sup> and created the legal foundation of the White Australia Policy. Dawson argued:

Although after 1914 Cypriots were considered British subjects [Figure 6.2] and travelled on British passports (until independence in 1960), they were not treated the same as other Commonwealth citizens ... Cyprus’ geographical position caused uncertainty among Australian government officials as to how to classify Cypriots, and they were often referred to as Asian or southern European, both of which were considered ‘undesirable’.<sup>13</sup>

In 1916, a migration agent in Nicosia, representing several shipping companies, wrote to the Australian government requesting that the Immigration Restriction Act 1901 not apply to Cypriots as they were, “all of White Race and should make energetic, hardworking and sober Australian citizens.”<sup>14</sup> However, the request was not granted. Indeed, “During the 1920s and throughout the 1930s, the Australian government’s immigration policies restricted entry for peoples of non-Anglo Celtic background and favoured English-speaking immigrants.”<sup>15</sup> Additionally, immigration restrictions specifically aimed at reducing the intake of southern Europeans, impacted on prospective Cypriot migrants.<sup>16</sup>

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8 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008, *Australian Historical Population Statistics 2014*, viewed 26 February 2019, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/3105.0.65.0012014?OpenDocument>>.

9 National Museum of Australia n.d., *White Australia Policy*, viewed 20 March 2017, <[http://www.nma.gov.au/online\\_features/defining\\_moments/featured/white\\_australia\\_policy\\_begins](http://www.nma.gov.au/online_features/defining_moments/featured/white_australia_policy_begins)>.

10 *ibid.*

11 Richards, *Destination Australia*, 257.

12 *ibid.*, 18-19.

13 Dawson, ‘Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne’, 96.

14 *ibid.*, 95.

15 *ibid.*, 97.

16 G. Freeman & J. Jupp, *Nations of Immigrants: Australia, the United States, and international migration*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1992, 4.

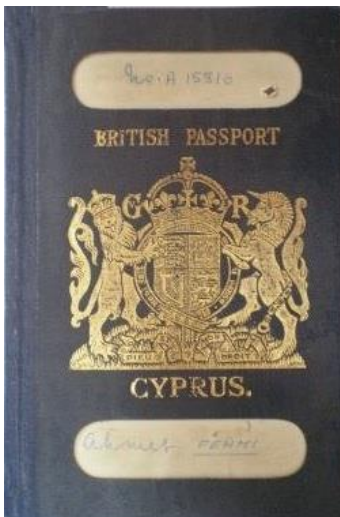


Figure 6.2 British Passport Cyprus<sup>17</sup>

In 1928 a series of communications between the Australian Government and the British Governor of Cyprus clarified the requirement for all alien immigrants to arrive with either a Landing Permit (issued after an Australian resident guaranteed their upkeep) or Landing Money (of at least £40) to ensure that they were, “not likely to become a charge upon the public.”<sup>18</sup> The Governor of Cyprus assured the Australian officials that they were complying with Australian requirements but could not guarantee that the £40 produced at interview would still be in the migrant’s possession upon arriving in Australia, and as visa applications were rapidly increasing, asked to be advised if migrants arrived in Australia without funds. The Prime Minister’s Department advised the Governor of Cyprus that in November 1928, 24 Cypriot migrants arrived in Australia without Landing Permits and almost penniless.<sup>19</sup> In addition, the letter from Australia stated:

As these people are of Greek race and cannot speak English, and as it has been found necessary, owing to the conditions prevailing in Australia, to place a limit on the number of Greeks admitted to this country, and to confine the classes eligible for admission mainly to close relatives of persons already resident in Australia, the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia would appreciate your taking steps to prevent the issue of passports for Australia to intending migrants from Cyprus, except in cases where they are coming to close relatives residing in Australia and hold Landing Permits authorising their admission into this country ... where a Cypriot of superior standing desired to come to Australia, but had no relatives here to apply on his behalf for a Landing permit, an application ... would receive due consideration.<sup>20</sup>

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17 Wikimedia Commons 2011, *British Cypriot Passport photo*, viewed 8 August 2018, <[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:British\\_cypriot\\_passport.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:British_cypriot_passport.jpg)>.

18 National Archives of Australia, ‘Immigration Restrictions, Cypriots’, NAA: A458, W156/1/279, 12.

19 *ibid.*, 7

20 *ibid.*, 8.

The Australian government was clearly trying to restrict the arrival of Cypriots, although they were British subjects and should have had the migration rights of other British subjects.

The Maltese, also British subjects, were officially designated as 'non-whites' in 1916, and thereby prohibited entry. A shipload of Maltese headed for Western Australia threatened a public relations disaster for the government, prosecuting conscription in an upcoming referendum. With the anti-conscription movement arguing that white men would be sent to war, and replaced by non-whites, the government couldn't risk their arrival; they could not disembark until after the referendum was held. Having lost the referendum, the Prime Minister arranged for an education test to be administered, in Dutch. Unsurprisingly, all failed, and were denied entry.<sup>21</sup> In 1920, when Britain urged acceptance of Maltese migrants to ease post-war overpopulation in Malta and to help populate Australia, the Australian government placed a quota of 260 per annum on new Maltese migrants, which, "caused not only turmoil in Malta but was also considered an affront against the British Empire."<sup>22</sup> While the quota was lifted in 1924, a restriction still limited disembarkation of Maltese to less than 20 from each vessel or during each month, at each port.<sup>23</sup>

From 1932, the dictation test was used to exclude migrants. It could be administered to any migrant in any language (not necessarily in English or the native tongue of the prospective migrant) and any number of times during the first five years of residence.<sup>24</sup> "The language used was at the discretion of the customs officer administering the test. If by some chance an 'undesirable' applicant passed the test, they could be asked to write in different languages until they failed."<sup>25</sup>

### Key migration policies and political changes

Australia's immigration policies significantly transformed in 1945, following World War II. The war in the Pacific raised concerns about Australia's vulnerability to an invasion.<sup>26</sup> "There was also a critical shortage of labour to meet the demands of the post-war reconstruction of the economy." The mantra 'populate or perish' saw Australia commit to a population increase of two percent each year, half of which, "would be based on large immigration programmes."<sup>27</sup> A preference for British

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21 B. York, *The Maltese in Australia*, AE Press, Melbourne, 1986, 56-58.

22 S. Affeldt, *Consuming whiteness: Australian racism and the 'White sugar' campaign*, Lit Verlag, Vienna, 2014, 234.

23 *ibid.*, 235.

24 Migration Heritage Centre New South Wales n.d., *Immigration Restriction Act*, viewed 19 April 2017, <<http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/objectsthroughtime/immigration-restriction-act/>>.

25 Australian Government – Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2015, *A History of the Department of Immigration – Managing Migration to Australia*, viewed 29 January 2017, <<https://www.border.gov.au/CorporateInformation/Documents/immigration-history.pdf>>.

26 *ibid.*, 26.

27 *ibid.*, 26.

migration remained.<sup>28</sup> The general Assisted Passage Migration Scheme (the 'Ten Pound Pom' scheme) for British migrants, was launched in 1945, and enabled British migrants, from any British colony and for the price of £10 per adult, to migrate to Australia.<sup>29</sup> It was not offered to Cypriots.

In late 1951, the British Consulate in Suez wrote to the British Embassy in Cairo noting that, "Maltese desiring to proceed to Australia can obtain the Shipping to Australia Certificate from the Australian Legation in Cairo provided they comply with [Australian government requirements]..." and asking if their office could also assist Cypriot British Subjects.<sup>30</sup>

The request was of course forwarded to Australia and in early 1952 the Secretary of the Department of Immigration responded:

The question of Cypriot immigration was considered by the Immigration Advisory Council recently which recommended to the Minister that Cypriots should not be encouraged to migrate to Australia, and that the entry of those not nominated by relatives or friends residing here, should be limited to 50 per month. This includes Cypriots resident in Cyprus as well as those residing in Egypt ... the Australian Legation should, as a general rule, reject applications by Cypriots who have not been nominated by a resident of Australia...<sup>31</sup>

In 1952, the Australian Government offered assisted passage to numerous non-British citizens, including refugees from Eastern Europe as well as Greeks and Italians; however this scheme was not offered to the 'undesirable' Cypriots.<sup>32</sup>

Also in 1952, Mr B. R. Watson of the Department of Immigration suggested that Australia might intervene in the initial vetting of applications to migrate to Australia:

over the past two years or more, some very undesirable migrants have arrived from Cyprus ... the trouble arises from the Government of Cyprus allowing the investigations to be carried by the [apparently unreliable] local Police ... Immigration are not altogether happy with present arrangements ... we agreed with the vetting of applications by the Government of Cyprus [but] the Migration Officer should have the final say and the right to conduct further enquiries if he wished.<sup>33</sup>

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28 Richards, *Destination Australia*, 181.

29 Australian Government – Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 36.

30 National Archives of Australia, 'Immigration to Australia – Cyprus', NAA: A1838, 1531/82, 28.

31 *ibid.*, 24.

32 Dawson, 'Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne', 99.

33 National Archives of Australia, 'Immigration to Australia – Cyprus', 31.

The Australian Government was fearful that European Communists would, “slip into Australia disguised as immigrants.”<sup>34</sup> As a result, in October 1951, eight Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) agents had been, “attached to Australian embassies including Holland, Greece, Austria and Germany, disguised as migration officers, to vet intending migrants”<sup>35</sup>

During EOKA’s fight for *enosis* from 1955 to 1960, left-wing Greek Cypriots, particularly those who were members of AKEL, were violently targeted. Amidst global paranoia about the rise and spread of communism, the Australian Secret Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) was concerned that communists might be among Cypriots seeking migration to Australia, and, “insisted that emigrants’ names be checked with records held in Athens where communists could be identified.”<sup>36</sup> In addition, ASIO insisted on further checks of non-Cypriots, “because Greek Communists, who for some years after the Second World War challenged the government being imposed on Greece by the British and US governments, might attempt to enter Australia via Cyprus.”<sup>37</sup> Dawson contended, “In all likelihood, the general fear of communism at the time heightened the government’s suspicion of Cypriots and led to their unwillingness to allow large numbers to enter the country.”<sup>38</sup>

Suspicion of Cypriots is well illustrated by the case of Demetrius (‘Jimmy’) Anastassiou, a Greek Cypriot who arrived in Australia in 1949, at the age of 22.<sup>39</sup> Due to his links with the Communist Party of Australia and his political activities, he came to the attention of a local resident of Morwell in Victoria, who wrote to his local federal member notifying him that, “like all Communists, I consider him (Anastassiou) disloyal and a menace to the country of his adoption.” The letter was given directly to the Minister for Immigration, then to the Director General of ASIO, and the Victorian Regional Director of ASIO. A classified security file on Mr Anastassiou was opened, and the original allegations confirmed. When Anastassiou applied to become an Australian citizen in 1962,

the Secretary of the Department of Immigration was informed by Colonel Charles Spry, the Director-General of ASIO, who personally reviewed the case, that information he held on Anastassiou was ‘of such a nature’ that he could not grant a security clearance for his application. Consequently, Jimmy Anastassiou’s application for naturalisation was rejected.

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34 F. Cain, *The Australian Security Intelligence Organization: An Unofficial History*, Spectrum Publications, Melbourne, 1994, 105.

35 *ibid.*, 105.

36 *ibid.*, 105.

37 *ibid.*, 105.

38 Dawson, ‘Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne’, 100.

39 P. Deery, ‘Dear Mr. Brown’, *History Australia*, 2(2), 2005, 1.

A long, heart-rending, handwritten letter from Anastassiou to the Minister for Immigration ... proved futile and the original decision was confirmed.

Anastassiou remained an 'alien', "until the Whitlam Government, which had a far more sympathetic Minister for Immigration, Al Grassby, and which saw sustained action on Anastassiou's behalf by Senator George Georges, that Anastassiou was eventually granted citizenship."<sup>40</sup> His citizenship was effective from 16 May 1973 and ASIO was notified three months later.<sup>41</sup>

A 1955 Department of Immigration circular stated:

As a means of curtailing the entry of the less desirable types ... it has been decided that as a general rule non-British Europeans and Cypriots over the age of sixteen years seeking to enter Australia for residence shall be required to pass a literacy test ... Failure to pass the test shall entail rejection for admission as a general rule. Where the head of the family fails to pass the test any members of his family ... should normally be rejected.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the migration restrictions placed on Cypriots, their numbers increased significantly between 1947 and 1954 (as shown in Table 6.2). Terrorist activity saw the suspension of processing of applications for Cypriot migration to Australia for much of the period from May 1956 to 1959. The few arrivals during that period were mostly female: the wives, children, parents and fiancées of men already in Australia.<sup>43</sup> While in 1955, 17 percent of all Cypriot emigrants came to Australia, by 1959 and 1960, that proportion was just 1.8 percent.<sup>44</sup>

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40 Deery, 'Dear Mr. Brown', 12.

41 *ibid.*, 12.

42 National Archives of Australia 2019, 'Immigration - Literacy Test for Non British Europeans and Cypriots', NAA: C3939, N1955/25/75049, viewed 20 December 2019, <<https://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/Interface/DetailsReports/ItemDetail.aspx?Barcode=1043149&isAv=N>>.

43 FCO141/3808, secret, ? to Deputy Administrative Secretary, 23 May 1956.

44 Verropoulou, 'The demography of Cyprus, 1881-1982', 165.

Table 6.2 Census Records of Cypriots in Australia

Year	Population	% change	Year	Population	% change
1881 <sup>45</sup>	10	–	1981 <sup>46</sup>	23332	+7.9
1911 <sup>47</sup>	26	+160	1986 <sup>48</sup>	23643	+1.3
1933 <sup>49</sup>	502	+1830	1991 <sup>50</sup>	22153	– 6.3
1947 <sup>51</sup>	681	+36	1996 <sup>52</sup>	20652	– 6.8
1954 <sup>53</sup>	5773	+750	2001 <sup>54</sup>	19482	– 5.7
1961 <sup>55</sup>	8576	+49	2006 <sup>56</sup>	18392	– 5.6
1966 <sup>57</sup>	10703	+25	2011 <sup>58</sup>	18073	– 1.7
1971 <sup>59</sup>	13267	+24	2016 <sup>60</sup>	16938	– 6.3
1976 <sup>61</sup>	21629	+57			

45 A.M. Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Port Melbourne, 2005, 32.

46 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2009, *2103.0 - Census of Population and Housing, 30 June 1981. Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings*, Australia, 8, viewed 26 April 2018,

<[https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/6DB3D211B739EB5FCA2575830012DFDD/\\$File/24430\\_1981\\_SC\\_PD\\_Australia.pdf](https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/6DB3D211B739EB5FCA2575830012DFDD/$File/24430_1981_SC_PD_Australia.pdf)>

47 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013, *2112.0 - Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1911. Volume II - Part II Birthplaces*, viewed 26 April 2018, 109 & 113, <[https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/0354DDBB061331F2CA2578390011E1AF/\\$File/1911%20Census%20-%20Volume%20II%20-%20Part%20II%20Birthplaces.pdf](https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/0354DDBB061331F2CA2578390011E1AF/$File/1911%20Census%20-%20Volume%20II%20-%20Part%20II%20Birthplaces.pdf)>.

48 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2009, *2102.0 - Census of Population and Housing, 1986. Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings*, Australia, 10, viewed 26 April 2018,

<[https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/BE4233879E74840CCA2574D50019556D/\\$File/24870\\_1986\\_Summary\\_Characteristics\\_of\\_Persons\\_and\\_Dwellings\\_Australia.pdf](https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/BE4233879E74840CCA2574D50019556D/$File/24870_1986_Summary_Characteristics_of_Persons_and_Dwellings_Australia.pdf)>.

49 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011, *2110.0 - Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1933. Volume I - Part X Birthplace*, viewed on 26 April 2018, 728 & 730, <[https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/8E20C54FF42D1136CA2578400010818C/\\$File/1933%20Census%20-%20Volume%20I%20-%20Part%20X%20Birthplace.pdf](https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/8E20C54FF42D1136CA2578400010818C/$File/1933%20Census%20-%20Volume%20I%20-%20Part%20X%20Birthplace.pdf)>.

50 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008, *2101.0 - Census of Population and Housing, 1991. Census Characteristics of Australia*, 17, viewed on 26 April 2018, <[https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/792BBD9457634FFECA2574BE00826627/\\$File/27100\\_1991\\_20\\_Census\\_Characteristics\\_of\\_Australia.pdf](https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/792BBD9457634FFECA2574BE00826627/$File/27100_1991_20_Census_Characteristics_of_Australia.pdf)>.

51 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011, *2109.0 - Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1947. Volume I - Part XII Birthplace*, viewed 26 April 2018, 638 & 640, <[https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/12E0F80677C9A71ACA25784100197F2E/\\$File/1947%20Census%20-%20Volume%20I%20-%20Part%20XII%20Birthplace.pdf](https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/12E0F80677C9A71ACA25784100197F2E/$File/1947%20Census%20-%20Volume%20I%20-%20Part%20XII%20Birthplace.pdf)>.

52 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008, *3105.0.65.001 - Australian Historical Population Statistics, 2006. Data Cubes: Table 85, Population, sex and country of birth, states and territories, 1996 census (usual residence)*, viewed 27 April 2018, <[https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/ABS@Archive.nsf/log?openagent&3105065001\\_table85.xls&3105.0.65.001&Data%20Cubes&D2609D1C08A0AA18CA2571760022BD89&0&2006&23.05.2006&Latest](https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/ABS@Archive.nsf/log?openagent&3105065001_table85.xls&3105.0.65.001&Data%20Cubes&D2609D1C08A0AA18CA2571760022BD89&0&2006&23.05.2006&Latest)>.

53 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011, *2108.0 - Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1954. Volume VIII - Part I AUSTRALIA Cross-Classifications of the Characteristics of the Population*, 22, viewed 26 April 2018, <<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/2109.01947?OpenDocument>>.

54 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2002, *2001 Census Community Profiles. Expanded Community Profile Table X02, 27*, viewed 26 April 2018, <[http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/CensusOutput/copsub2006.NSF/All%20docs%20by%20catNo/2001~Community%20Profile~0/\\$File/XCP\\_0.zip?OpenElement](http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/CensusOutput/copsub2006.NSF/All%20docs%20by%20catNo/2001~Community%20Profile~0/$File/XCP_0.zip?OpenElement)>.

55 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2013, *2107.0 - Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1961. Volume VIII - Part I AUSTRALIA Cross-Classifications of the Characteristics of the Population*, viewed 26 April 2018, <[https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/5DAB2B0940E0F583CA257879001B0B86/\\$File/1961%20Census%20-%20Volume%20VIII%20-%20Part%20I%20AUSTRALIA%20Characteristics%20of%20Population.pdf](https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/5DAB2B0940E0F583CA257879001B0B86/$File/1961%20Census%20-%20Volume%20VIII%20-%20Part%20I%20AUSTRALIA%20Characteristics%20of%20Population.pdf)>.

56 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2018, *2006 Census Community Profiles. Expanded Community Profile Tables X01a and X01c*, viewed 26 April 2018, <[http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/CensusOutput/copsub2006.NSF/All%20docs%20by%20catNo/2006~Community%20Profile~0/\\$File/XCP\\_0.zip?OpenElement](http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/CensusOutput/copsub2006.NSF/All%20docs%20by%20catNo/2006~Community%20Profile~0/$File/XCP_0.zip?OpenElement)>.

57 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011, *2106.0 - Census of Population and Housing, 1966. Volume 1. Population: Single characteristics. Part 3. Birthplace, 9 and 11*, viewed 26 April 2018, <[https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/1B2E556727ECD0D5CA257880008129CD/\\$File/1966%20Census%20-%20Volume%20I%20Population%20-%20Single%20Characteristics%20-%20Part%203%20Birthplace.pdf](https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/1B2E556727ECD0D5CA257880008129CD/$File/1966%20Census%20-%20Volume%20I%20Population%20-%20Single%20Characteristics%20-%20Part%203%20Birthplace.pdf)>.

58 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2018, *2011 Census Community Profiles. Expanded Community Profile Tables X01a and X01c*, viewed 26 April 2018, <[http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/CensusOutput/copsub.NSF/All%20docs%20by%20catNo/2011~Community%20Profile~0/\\$File/XCP\\_0.zip?OpenElement](http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/CensusOutput/copsub.NSF/All%20docs%20by%20catNo/2011~Community%20Profile~0/$File/XCP_0.zip?OpenElement)>.

59 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011, *2105.0 - Census of Population and Housing, 1971. Bulletin 4. Birthplace - Part 9 Australia*, 4, viewed 26 April 2018, <[https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/4A7405CAEE20468CCA2578840017C851/\\$File/1971%20Census%20-%20Bulletin%20No%204%20-%20Birthplace%20-%20Part%209%20AUSTRALIA.pdf](https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/4A7405CAEE20468CCA2578840017C851/$File/1971%20Census%20-%20Bulletin%20No%204%20-%20Birthplace%20-%20Part%209%20AUSTRALIA.pdf)>.

60 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2018, *2071.0 Census of Population and Housing: Reflecting Australia - Stories from the Census, 2016. Data Cubes - Cultural Diversity, Table 1. Country of Birth of Person by State and Territory of Usual Residence, Count of persons - 2016(a)*, viewed 26 April 2018, <<https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/SUBSCRIBER.NSF/log?openagent&207103%20-%20cultural%20diversity.xls&2071.0&Data%20Cubes&21F50C2D0457EF67CA2581620019845C&0&2016&20.07.2017&Latest>>.

61 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012, *2104.0 - Census of Population and Housing, 1976. Population and Dwellings, Summary Tables*, Australia, 2, viewed 26 April 2018, <[https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/3ECD2EDA52B9984ACA25758B00118D29/\\$File/24170\\_1976\\_Pop\\_Dwell\\_Sum\\_AUST.pdf](https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/3ECD2EDA52B9984ACA25758B00118D29/$File/24170_1976_Pop_Dwell_Sum_AUST.pdf)>.

In 1964 the Australian Government decided that Cypriots, no longer British citizens,

... whether of Greek, Turkish or other origin, may be considered for entry to Australia as unassisted migrants from Cyprus upon nomination by close relatives already in Australia who are able to guarantee private accommodation for them. Any applicants possessing special qualifications or experience which would enable them to make a significant contribution as migrants may be considered on their merits without sponsorship.<sup>62</sup>

Although in 1965 the Australian Government made an agreement with the Government of the newly independent Malta to provide their citizens with assisted passage to Australia,<sup>63</sup> a similar agreement was not reached with the Government of the Republic of Cyprus for assisted passage to be offered to Cypriots.<sup>64</sup>

Many Turkish Cypriots sought to leave throughout the 1960s and 1970s due to the politically volatile environment, which began with EOKA's fight for *enosis* in 1955.<sup>65</sup> This is evident from Table 6.3 which shows that from 1961 to 1966 Turkish Cypriots comprised 17.1 percent of all emigrants from Cyprus, which was proportionate to their population in Cyprus (18.1 percent in 1960).<sup>66</sup> However, their proportion increased to 25.9 percent of all Cypriot emigrants in 1967, 24.5 percent in 1970, 27.0 percent in 1971 and 34.1 percent in 1972. Turkish Cypriots were disproportionately seeking to emigrate from Cyprus, coinciding with conflicts and displacements throughout the 1960s and early 1970s. While further examination of migration trends would be valuable, the data is not readily accessible and it is outside the scope of this study.

Following the bloody Christmas of 1963, and UN intervention, The *Washington Post* published an article on 19 September 1964, suggesting that the Australian Government provide a Mass Assisted Passage Scheme for Turkish Cypriots, as a solution to the intercommunal conflict then occurring in Cyprus.<sup>67</sup> In response, the Secretary of the Department of Immigration wrote to the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs on 17 November, 1964, stating that:

This Department could not, in general, support any proposals for a group migration approach ... [as it] would be contrary to the basic policy to consider each applicant for migration on individual merit. In this particular instance, there would be the broader problems of adopting for Turkish Cypriots an approach not available to all Cypriots and of

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62 National Archives of Australia, 'Cyprus - Relations with Australia - Cypriot migration to Australia', NAA: A1838, 152/10/7, 3.

63 National Archives of Australia, 'CAMILLERI Mary born 18 May 1946 - Maltese - travelled per MIALI flight under Malta Australia Assisted Passage Agreement', NAA: A2478, CAMILLERI M.

64 Dawson, 'Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne', 103.

65 S. Hüssein, *Yesterday & Today: Turkish Cypriots of Australia*, PromoPlus, Melbourne, 2007, 17-18.

66 Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture*, 8.

67 Dawson, 'Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne', 102.



the reactions of such an approach in Cyprus itself, in Greece and in Australia amongst the large Greek community.<sup>68</sup>

*Table 6.3 Percentage distribution of emigrants by ethnicity, 1961-1972*<sup>69</sup>

Year	Greek Cypriot	Turkish Cypriot	Armenian Cypriot
1961	79.5	18.9	1.4
1962	80.6	13.9	5.5
1963	78.6	15.4	5.5
1964	78.6	19.5	1.5
1965	80.2	19.1	0.4
1966	83.8	15.8	0.4
1967	73.2	25.9	0.6
1968	81.1	18.8	0.2
1969	85.2	14.2	0.4
1970	75.1	24.5	0.2
1971	72.6	27.0	0.4
1972	65.9	34.1	0.0
Total	78.9	19.2	1.7

Three years later, the Australia Government's position changed; however, only in the case of Turkish Cypriots. Dawson stated, "as violence between the two communities escalated in Cyprus, the Australian government gave a number of Turkish Cypriots assisted passage under the Australia/Turkey Assisted Passage Scheme of 1967."<sup>70</sup> This is clearly evident in Table 6.3 where in 1966 Turkish Cypriots comprised 15.8 percent of all Cypriot migrants; in 1967, 25.9 percent; and in 1968, 18.8 percent. Dawson suggests that in order to maintain strong relations with Greece, the Australian Government chose not to publicise their decision to extend to Turkish Cypriots the opportunity to migrate to Australia under this scheme.<sup>71</sup>

1966 saw the beginning of the abolition of the White Australia policy, and an increase of non-European migration to Australia.<sup>72</sup> The *Migration Act 1966* resulted in legal equality between British, European and non-European migrants.<sup>73</sup> As such, "Yearly non-European settler arrivals rose

68 National Archives of Australia, 'Cyprus - Relations with Australia - Cypriot migration to Australia', 3.

69 Verropoulou, 'The demography of Cyprus, 1881-1982', 260.

70 Dawson, 'Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne', 170.

71 *ibid.*, 102-103.

72 National Museum of Australia n.d., *End of the White Australia policy*, viewed 6 January 2020, <<https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/end-of-the-white-australia-policy>>.

73 *ibid.*

from 746 in 1966 to 2,696 in 1971, while yearly part-European settler arrivals rose from 1498 to 6054.”<sup>74</sup>

1973 saw the abolition of the White Australia policy and the introduction of policies centred around multiculturalism and cultural pluralism.<sup>75</sup> In 1973, the Whitlam Labor government, “took three further steps in the gradual process to remove race as a factor in Australia's immigration policies.” These steps included legislating, that all migrants, of whatever origin, be eligible to obtain citizenship after three years of permanent residence...”<sup>76</sup> issuing, “policy instructions to overseas posts to totally disregard race as a factor in the selection of migrants...”<sup>77</sup>; and ratifying, “all international agreements relating to immigration and race.”<sup>78</sup> In 1973 Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration said, “[The White Australia Policy] is dead, give me a shovel and I will bury it.”<sup>79</sup>

The immediate aftermath of the 1974 war in Cyprus saw the displacement of 215,000 Cypriots, comprising one third of the Greek Cypriot and half of the Turkish Cypriot populations.<sup>80</sup> This led to the admission, post-1974, of both Greek and Turkish Cypriot displaced persons to Australia.<sup>81</sup> The Cypriot population in Australia increased from 13,267 at the 1971 census to 21,629 in 1976.<sup>82</sup>

The Cypriot migrant population in Australia peaked at 23,639 at the 1986 census. Since then, whilst the number of Cypriot-born migrants has fallen, there is still a consistent flow of migration from Cyprus to Australia, with 16,938 Cyprus-born residents recorded in the 2016 census.

## Demographic data on Cypriots in Australia

The earliest records of Cypriots in Australia are from the 1850s, during the gold rush in Victoria; many settled in Ballarat and Daylesford. The Census of the British Empire held in 1881 was the first time that the colonies of Australia all held simultaneous censuses; ten Cyprus-born people were recorded as residing in Australia.<sup>83</sup> Table 6.2 shows that in 1933 there were 502 Cyprus-born people

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74 European Parliament 2010, *Abolition of the 'White Australia' Policy*, viewed 6 January 2020, <[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009\\_2014/documents/danz/dv/0220\\_13\\_1/0220\\_13\\_1en.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009_2014/documents/danz/dv/0220_13_1/0220_13_1en.pdf)>.

75 E. Koleth, ‘Multiculturalism: A review of Australian policy statements and recent debates in Australia and overseas’, *Research Paper 6 2010–11*, 2010, Parliament of Australia, Canberra.

76 European Parliament 2010, *Abolition of the 'White Australia' Policy*.

77 *ibid.*

78 *ibid.*

79 G. Tavan, ‘Creating Multicultural Australia: Local, Global and Trans-National Contexts for the Creation of a Universal Admissions Scheme, 1945–1983’, in T. Triadafilopoulos (ed.), *Wanted and Welcome? Policies for Highly Skilled Immigrants in Comparative Perspective*, Springer, New York, 2013, 39–59

80 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement: Alamina*.

81 Hüssein, *Yesterday & Today*, 18.

82 J. Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001, 419.

83 Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia*, 32.

in Australia, a significant jump from the 26 in 1911. It also shows the first significant wave of migration from Cyprus to Australia occurring between 1947 and 1954 (the post-World War II period). Further significant waves of migration corresponded with political unrest in Cyprus (1955 to 1960, 1963, 1964, 1967, 1974). A significant jump in the numbers of Cyprus-born migrants also took place in the decade following the 1974 war.

The 2016 Australian Census recorded 16,938 Cyprus-born people in Australia (Table 6.4); a fall of 6.3 percent from the 2011 Census. The decline in Cyprus-born people continues the pattern since the 1991 Census; the simplest explanation would be that older people are dying.

*Table 6.4 Details from 2016 Census Records of Cypriots in Australia*<sup>84</sup>

Australian Cypriots	Total	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	TAS	NT	ACT
Cypriot-born	16938	6239	7574	1161	1179	465	62	119	130
Cypriot ancestry	28992	10699	12071	2290	2655	644	130	238	278
Christian	12248								
Muslim	2506								
Other/no religion	2161								

Furthermore, the 2016 Australian Census recorded 28,992 people of Cypriot descent in Australia.<sup>85</sup> The 2016 Census shows that the great bulk of Cyprus-born people lived in Victoria (45 percent) and New South Wales (NSW) (37 percent); seven percent lived in each of South Australia and Queensland; and less than five percent lived in other states or territories. The Census also revealed that almost 29,000 Australians claimed Cypriot ancestry. The religious affiliations of Cyprus-born people suggest that 72 percent were Greek Cypriots (or Maronites and Armenians), 15 percent were Turkish Cypriots, with another 13 percent having another or no religion.

The numbers of Cypriots are likely to be greater than represented, as Greek Cypriot data may be intertwined with that of mainland Greeks, and Turkish Cypriot data may be intertwined with that of mainland Turks.

<sup>84</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics 2018, *2011.0 Census of Population and Housing: Reflecting Australia – Stories from the Census, 2016. Data Cubes – Cultural Diversity, Tables 1, 5 and 9*, viewed 26 April 2018, <<https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/SUBSCRIBER.NSF/log?openagent&207103%20-%20cultural%20diversity.xls&2071.0&Data%20Cubes&21F50C2D0457EF67CA2581620019845C&0&2016&20.07.2017&Latest>>.

<sup>85</sup> *ibid.*.

Today, Australia is home to the second largest Cypriot community outside Cyprus, after the United Kingdom.<sup>86</sup> Other major destination countries, during the period 1961 to 1982 were the United States, Canada, South Africa and Greece. Data on earlier periods is unavailable.

Emigration data from 1961 to 1973 shows that only 18 percent of Cypriot migrants during that period fell into the 40-plus age group (Table 6.5), showing that they were predominantly working-aged people and their dependent children.<sup>87</sup> Such data from other periods are not readily available.

*Table 6.5 Percentage distribution of emigrants in age groups, 1961-1982*<sup>88</sup>

Period	Age Group	Percentage
1961-1973 <i>All Cypriots</i>	0-14	27
	15-39	55
	40+	18
1974-1981 <i>Greek Cypriots Only</i>	0-14	24
	15-39	58
	40+	18

The distribution of emigrants by ethnicity from 1961 to 1972 was Greek Cypriot (78.9 percent), Turkish Cypriot (19.2 percent), and Armenian Cypriot (1.7 percent). Interestingly, the percentage of Turkish Cypriots rose from 18.9 percent in 1961 to 34.1 percent in 1972.<sup>89</sup> This rise in Turkish Cypriot migration to Australia correlates with the intercommunal conflicts occurring throughout the 1960s.

### Greek Cypriot migration

The earliest Greek Cypriot migrants arrived in Australia, attracted by the gold rushes, during the 1850s.<sup>90</sup> According to James Jupp, Tony Meringa and George Kalenithidis settled in Ballarat and Daylesford, two large goldfield townships in Victoria.<sup>91</sup> Following the occupation of Cyprus by the United Kingdom in 1878, further Cypriot migration occurred.

<sup>86</sup> Republic of Cyprus - Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

<sup>87</sup> Verropoulou, 'The demography of Cyprus, 1881-1982', Table A8.6, 260.

<sup>88</sup> Based on Verropoulou, 'The demography of Cyprus, 1881-1982', Tables A8.6 and A8.9, 260-261.

<sup>89</sup> Verropoulou, 'The demography of Cyprus, 1881-1982', Table A8.8, 260.

<sup>90</sup> Australian Government – Department of Social Services 2014, *The Cyprus-born Community*, viewed 2 June 2016, <[https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/02\\_2014/cyprus.pdf](https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/02_2014/cyprus.pdf)>.

<sup>91</sup> Jupp, *The Australian People*, 419.

The period after World War II (1947 to 1954) saw many more Cypriots move to Australia. The first significant arrival of Cyprus-born immigrants began after World War II and also in response to political unrest between 1955 and 1974. Then thousands of Greek Cypriots migrated to Australia after the 1974 Turkish offensive in Cyprus.

## Turkish Cypriot migration

Prior to Cyprus becoming a British Crown Colony in 1925, the status of the Cypriots was regulated since it was annexed in November 1914, whereby, “the British government decided that all residents would become British subjects if they were residing in the island at the time.”<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, in 1917 an ‘Order in Council’ was announced, stipulating, “that Cypriots residing abroad at the time of the annexation had to prove that they had been born in Cyprus and then had to reside in Cyprus for a year or in a British Dominion for five out of the last eight years to apply for a certificate of British Cypriot nationality.”<sup>93</sup>

Australian census records show that, prior to 1940, there were just three settlers from Cyprus who spoke Turkish as their primary language.<sup>94</sup> Turkish Cypriots were prevented from migrating to Australia until the 1940s, despite hundreds of them having fought in the Cyprus Regiment of the British Army,<sup>95</sup> because Turkey was classified as an enemy in World War I.<sup>96</sup> Notable Turkish Cypriot migration to Australia began in the late 1940s;<sup>97</sup> though Muslim, Turkish Cypriots entered under the White Australia policy because as British citizens, Australian officials had fewer discretionary powers to refuse their entry. Sixty-six Turkish Cypriots arrived in Australia from 1947-1949, marking the beginning of a Turkish Cypriot immigration trend to Australia.<sup>98</sup> By 1956 there were 350 Turkish Cypriot settlers living in Australia.<sup>99</sup> According to the Islamic Council of Victoria:

Between 1947 and 1971 the Muslim population of Australia increased from 2,704 to 22,311. Apart from the immigration of Albanians, who came in relatively small numbers, the only Muslims acceptable under the prevailing immigration restriction policy were Turkish-Cypriots who held British passports by virtue of the occupation of their land by the British

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92 A. Varnava & E. Smith, ‘Dealing with destitute Cypriots in the UK and Australia, 1914-1931’, in P Payton & A Varnava (eds.), *Australia, Migration and Empire: Immigrants in a Globalised World*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, 2019, 287.

93 *ibid.*, 287.

94 Hüssein, *Yesterday & Today*, 17.

95 Varnava, *Serving the empire in the Great War*, 85-86.

96 Museums Victoria 2017, *Immigration History from Turkey to Victoria*, viewed 20 December 2019, <<https://origins.museumsvictoria.com.au/countries/turkey>>.

97 Hüssein, *Yesterday & Today*, 26.

98 *ibid.*, 17.

99 *ibid.*, 18.

Empire. European Turks and “Turks of Ottoman race” were theoretically acceptable but were certainly not encouraged to migrate.<sup>100</sup>

According to the National Archives of Australia, the Turkish-Cypriots who came at this time were mainly skilled tradesmen.<sup>101</sup>

## Creating communities in Australia

### Greek Cypriot community

The settlement of early Greek Cypriot migrants in Australia was aided by Greek churches and already established community groups,<sup>102</sup> which helped find work and accommodation for the newly arrived Greek Cypriots. Shialis’ research investigated significant social aspects that influenced Greek Cypriot settlement in Australia; the ability for Greek Cypriots to build upon the foundations of the Greek migrant population in Australia was crucial. Shialis stated, “Social networking was a key mechanism for migrants to find work, socialise and receive assistance in any matter they needed.”<sup>103</sup>

In the late 1920s, as Cypriot migration to Australia increased (see Table 6.2), Greek Cypriots began to establish ‘Cyprus Clubs’ (Figure 6.3) in several cities and towns of Australia. These clubs provided social events for the Cypriot community and assistance to newly arrived migrants.

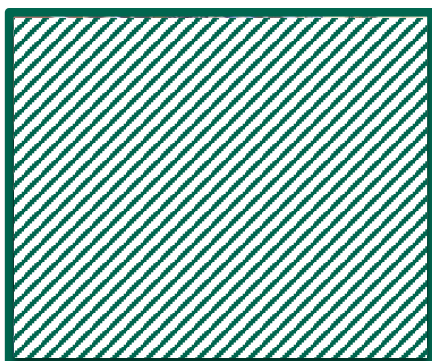


Figure 6.3 The 100-year old Cyprus Hellene Club and Australia Hall in central Sydney<sup>104</sup>

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100 Wilderness Christianity 2002, *After the Second World War*, viewed 20 June 2016, <[http://wildernesschristianity.net/info/Islam-misc/ICV\\_history8.shtml](http://wildernesschristianity.net/info/Islam-misc/ICV_history8.shtml)>.

101 National Archives of Australia 2019, *Muslim Journeys Arrivals*, viewed 20 June 2016, <[www.naa.gov.au/collection/snapshots/uncommon-lives/muslim-journeys/arrivals.aspx](http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/snapshots/uncommon-lives/muslim-journeys/arrivals.aspx)>.

102 Shialis ‘A Home Away from Home’, 337.

103 M. Shialis, ‘Greek – Cypriot settlement in South Australia during the 1950s’, *Modern Greek Studies (Australia and New Zealand)*, Thinking Diversely: Hellenism and the Challenge of Globalisation (Special Issue), 2012, 132.

104 Image from State of New South Wales and Office of Environment and Heritage, *Cyprus-Hellene Club*, viewed 5 January 2020, <<https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/HeritageItemImage.aspx?ID=5045005#ad-image-0>>.

Many Greek Cypriot communities and organisations formed, starting more than a century ago, as shown in Appendix 5. Their formation demonstrated the strong desire for the Greek Cypriot migrants to forge links with each other and distinguish themselves from the Greeks, who had well-established clubs. Several of these clubs had affiliations across the political spectrum.

The first church founded by the Greek Orthodox community in Australia was Ayia Trias (Holy Trinity) in Surry Hills, Sydney, in 1898 (Figure 6.4). Two years later, in 1900, the Annunciation of our Lady (Theotokos) was founded in East Melbourne.<sup>105</sup> Formal control began with the establishment in March 1924 of the Metropolis of Australia and New Zealand, under the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, to oversee the expanding Greek population. By 1927 that population numbered over 10,000 people and had established churches in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth and Port Pirie.<sup>106</sup>

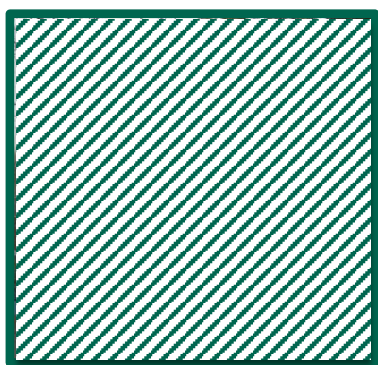


Figure 6.4 Ayia Trias in Surry Hills<sup>107</sup>

The Apostolos Andreas church in West Sunshine (Figure 6.5), constructed by the Greek Cypriot community starting in 1955, is very important to the collective identity of Greek Cypriots in Melbourne. Dawson claimed that, “in Melbourne, for many first generation Cypriots, being Cypriot was far more important [than their village identity].” She argued that this was clearly evident in the establishment of the Apostolos Andreas church, where asserting ‘Cypriotness’, “which had nothing to do with Turkish-Cypriots”<sup>108</sup> was actually “a way of distinguishing themselves from the wider Greek community.”<sup>109</sup>

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105 Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia*, 44.

106 Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia 2017, *The History of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia*, viewed 25 April 2017, <[http://www.greekorthodox.org.au/?page\\_id=3670](http://www.greekorthodox.org.au/?page_id=3670)>.

107 Image from Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia 2017, *The Holy Trinity, Surry Hills, NSW*, viewed 1 May 2017, <[http://www.greekorthodox.org.au/?page\\_id=5092](http://www.greekorthodox.org.au/?page_id=5092)>.

108 Dawson, ‘Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne’, 208.

109 *ibid.*, 157-158.

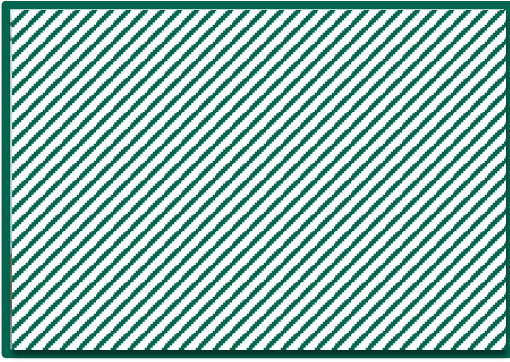


Figure 6.5 *Apostolos Andreas Church*<sup>110</sup>

It was probably natural for Greek Cypriots to assert their ‘Cypriotness’; during the 1950s, no Pan-Hellenic organisation had been formed and the established Greek communities comprised people from specific islands or regions – the Ithacan’s Association, Orpheus (governed by the Samians) and many other island- and regional-based groups<sup>111</sup> – and promoted rivalry rather than commonality.<sup>112</sup> In such a climate, in West Sunshine which had attracted many Greek Cypriot settlers,<sup>113</sup> it was natural for the Cypriots to form their own Community in 1955.

Five years later, in 1960, the community-built Apostolos Andreas Greek Orthodox Church, one of the earliest Greek Orthodox churches to be built in suburban Melbourne,<sup>114</sup> was completed. The church is culturally significant as it is the only Greek Cypriot church in Australia.<sup>115</sup> Choosing ‘Apostolos Andreas’ over any other possible designation for their new church was a unifying choice as for generations all Greek Cypriots had revered and tried to make pilgrimages to the monastery of Apostolos Andreas on the Karpas Peninsula.<sup>116</sup>

The established church and the well-established associated community offered significant assistance when the post-1974 Greek Cypriot refugees arrived in Melbourne.<sup>117</sup> Dawson argued, “Churches, social and cultural associations, an ethnic press and more supportive government policies, meant that Cypriots who came after 1974 were less pioneering...”<sup>118</sup> Interestingly, she also

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110 Heritage Council Victoria Database 2000, *St. Andrews Greek Orthodox Church (Greek Cypriot)*, viewed 26 April 2017, <<http://vhd.heritagecouncil.vic.gov.au/places/106309>>.

111 Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia*, 68.

112 *ibid.*, 75.

113 *ibid.*, 75.

114 *ibid.*, 75.

115 *ibid.*, 75.

116 Lukach, 150-151.

117 A. Dawson, ‘Transnational flows and generational disjunctures: Conceptions of ‘homeland’ among Melbourne Greek Cypriots’, in H. Lee (ed.), *Ties to the Homeland: Second Generation Transnationalism*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2008, 72-91.

118 Dawson, ‘Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne’, 125.



argued that the more contemporary experience of Cyprus experienced by the refugees, “would further hybridise imaginings of the homeland within the community and its institutions.”<sup>119</sup>

## Turkish Cypriot community

Many Turkish Cypriots were told by their friends, prior to arriving in Australia, of the help that could be provided by the ‘Cyprus Club’ or the ‘Greek Cypriot Club’.<sup>120</sup> Club members helped to find temporary housing as well as jobs for both Greek and Turkish Cypriot migrants.<sup>121</sup> As many Turkish Cypriots spoke Greek, it was easy for them to communicate with the Greek Cypriots in Australia, and the assistance of those clubs was eagerly sought out.<sup>122</sup> Indeed, of the 118 Cypriots who travelled on the *Misir* and disembarked at Melbourne in February 1949, all but one, including all 11 Turkish Cypriots, gave their address as the Cyprus Club.<sup>123</sup> While they could not all have resided at the Cyprus Club, they all clearly intended to use it as a stable contact address.

Unlike the Greek Cypriots, who built social networks based on the existing Greek populations in Australia, the Turkish Cypriots did not have a Turkish community with which to engage. Instead, it was the Turkish Cypriots who welcomed and supported the first Turkish migrants to Australia in 1968 (Figure 6.6).

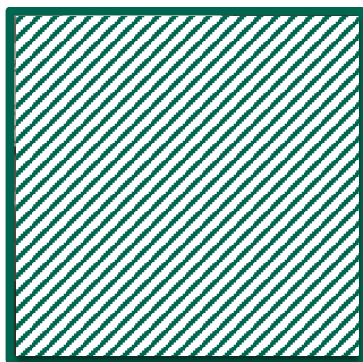


Figure 6.6 Turkish Cypriots welcome migrants from Turkey to Australia in 1968<sup>124</sup>

Three significant events changed Australians’ perceptions of Turkish Cypriots, according to Cahill.<sup>125</sup> Firstly, in 1953 Turks fought alongside Australians in the Korean War. Major Osman Köksal was sent

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119 Dawson, ‘Transnational flows and generational disjunctures’, 77.

120 Hüssein, *Yesterday & Today*, 31.

121 *ibid.*, 32-33.

122 *ibid.*, 32.

123 National Archives of Australia 2020, ‘Incoming passenger list to Fremantle “Misr” arrived 21 February 1949’, NAA: K269, 21 Feb 1949 MISR, viewed 7 January 2020, <<https://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/NAAMedia/ShowImage.aspx?B=9245057&T=PDF>>.

124 Image from Twitter 2016, *Turkish Cypriots Aus @OZTCYP*, viewed 1 May 2018, <<https://mobile.twitter.com/oztcyp>>.

125 D. Cahill, ‘Turkish Cypriots in Australia: The Evolution of a Multi-hyphenated Community and the Impact of Transnational Events’, in M.S. Michael (ed.), *Reconciling Cultural and Political Identities in a Globalized World: Perspectives on Australia-Turkey Relations*, Palgrave Macmillan, England, 2015, 220.

from Korea to Australia in March 1953 to develop relations between the countries and to participate in ANZAC Day commemorations, celebrating Australian heroism during the disastrous 1915 Gallipoli campaign, the history of which is also deeply important to Turkish nationalism. Throughout Major Köksal's widely reported visit, Turkish Cypriot migrant Hasan Dellal acted as translator for Australian Government officials. Crowds of Turkish Cypriots witnessed Major Köksal's participation in the ANZAC Day march and services at Melbourne's Shrine of Remembrance.<sup>126</sup> Secondly, three years later, at the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games, Hasan Dellal and his brother İbrahim acted as interpreters for the Turkish Olympic wrestling team.<sup>127</sup> Thirdly, in 1957, despite the lack of formal diplomatic relations between Turkey and Australia<sup>128</sup>, the Cyprus Turkish Association was granted permission by Turkey's President to march in the ANZAC Day parade and lay a wreath at the Melbourne Shrine of Remembrance on ANZAC Day on behalf of the Republic of Turkey.<sup>129</sup> As a result of these landmark events, Turkish Cypriots gained a positive profile within Australian society.

Formal diplomatic relations between Australia and Turkey were established in 1967, and a bilateral agreement on assisted migration, the Australian-Turkish Assisted Passage Scheme, was signed. Under the agreement, Australia offered migration to entire families from Turkey, as permanent migrants.<sup>130</sup> The Scheme, under which more than 19,000 Turkish migrants arrived in Australia between 1968 and 1974 to supplement the local labour force,<sup>131</sup> has been described by Salih Yucel as, "a turning point in the history of Muslims in Australia."<sup>132</sup> The National Archives of Australia stated, "The small [Turkish Cypriot] community that arrived in the late 1940s and 1950s was settled by the time the first wave of immigrants from Turkey arrived in the 1960s. The early group were able to support and mentor the later Turks..."<sup>133</sup> That support started when Qantas Flight QF174.027, carrying the first 168 Turkish migrants under the Scheme, arrived at Sydney airport on 14 October 1968.<sup>134</sup> According to Hatice Başarın and Vecihi Başarın:

Turkish Cypriots, who had earlier migrated to Australia on their British passports, were very excited that mainland Turks were arriving. Members of the Australia Federation of Islamic Societies and the Cypriot Turkish Club were there [at Sydney airport] in strength to welcome

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126 Hüseın, *Yesterday & Today*, 173-175.

127 *ibid.*, 94.

128 Diplomatic relations between Australia and Turkey were established in 1967.

129 Hüseın, *Yesterday & Today*, 189.

130 Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Turkey Country Brief*, <<https://dfat.gov.au/geo/turkey/Pages/turkey-country-brief.aspx>>, accessed 15 November 2018.

131 Hüseın, *Yesterday & Today*, 196.

132 S. Yucel, *The Struggle of Ibrahim: Biography of an Australian Muslim*, Tughra Books, Clifton, USA, 2010, 79.

133 National Archives of Australia, *Muslim Journeys Arrivals*.

134 Başarın & Başarın, *The Turks in Australia*, 4.

their brothers and sisters. Several traveled from Melbourne. Placards, banners and red Turkish flags with white star and crescent were everywhere.<sup>135</sup>

Turkish migrants were forced to be self-reliant, since Australian society lacked facilities required for their settlement. According to Başarin and Başarin:

Although there were small Cypriot Turkish communities and Islamic establishments in Sydney and Melbourne offering what help they could, there was no strong organizational infrastructure or body of professionals who could assist the settlement of large numbers of Turks. Bereft of the extended family and the community networks that they had left behind, the value of friendship became paramount. Anybody who could speak both Turkish and English, like the Cypriot Turks and many Greeks, were extremely important to them.<sup>136</sup>

Turkish Cypriots, “played a small, but key role in the integration of the Muslim communities into multicultural Australia...”<sup>137</sup> including the important work of first-generation Turkish Cypriots, such as bothers Hasan Dellal and İbrahim Dellal, and Ahmet Mustafa, from Larnaca.

The second generation have also been very active. For example, Dr Hasan Dellal, Foundation Executive Director of the Australian Multicultural Foundation, has played a central role in promoting social cohesion and working against violent extremism since the September 11 terror attacks on the United States.<sup>138</sup> Indeed, Hasan, İbrahim and Hass are all recipients of the Order of Australia.<sup>139</sup>

The 2011 Australia census indicated that Turkish Cypriots were more widely spread across Australia than were the Turkey-born community.<sup>140</sup> Perhaps this is because they migrated earlier and in smaller numbers than the Turkish-born community who could much more easily settle together in suburbs or towns. Cahill stated:

Turkish Cypriots in Australia have in the aftermath of the Second World War constructed a relatively small but complex immigrant community presence characterized by their individual and evolving multi-hyphenated identities as Turkish Cypriot Muslim Australians. Like many other communities, during the past seven decades since the late 1940s, they have been impacted by a series of momentous transnational events in Greece and Turkey as well as on their conflict-ridden homeland of Cyprus.<sup>141</sup>

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135 Başarin & Başarin, *The Turks in Australia*, 4.

136 *ibid.*, 6.

137 Cahill, ‘Turkish Cypriots in Australia’, 212.

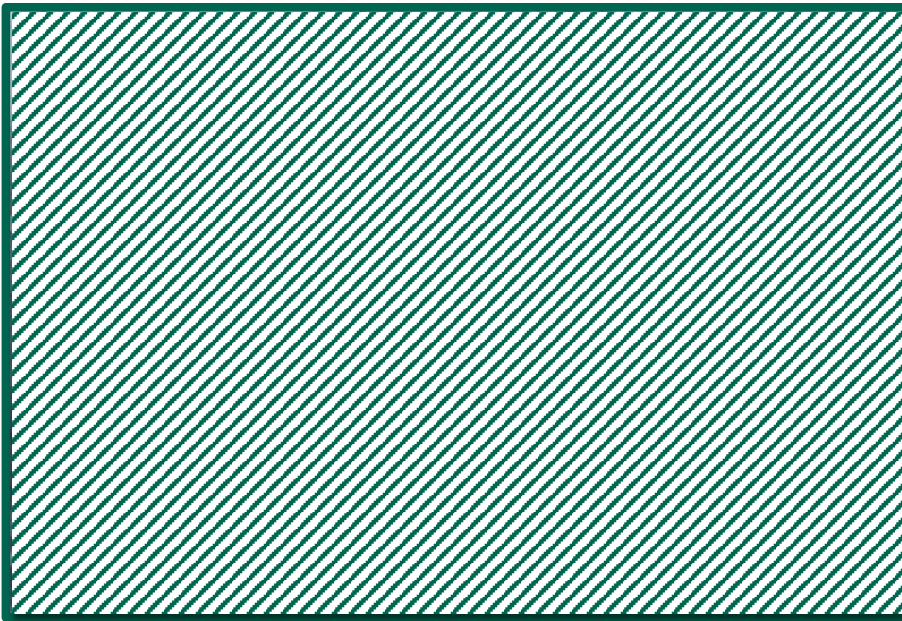
138 *ibid.*, 212.

139 Hüssein, *Yesterday & Today*, 104.

140 Cahill, ‘Turkish Cypriots in Australia’, 213.

141 *ibid.*, 211.

The Cyprus Turkish Association was formed in 1956, and bought a building in Carlton in which social events and meetings were held.<sup>142</sup> *Bayram* prayers also took place at the venue, as there were very few mosques;<sup>143</sup> the Turkish Cypriot community would invite other ethnic groups to share in the *Bayram (Eid)* prayer at the venue (Figure 6.7). The building was used until 1985, when the Association bought land and started work on the Sunshine Mosque.<sup>144</sup> The Turkish Cypriot communities and organisations of Australia (Appendix 6) provided assistance to new arrivals and the early Turkish migrants.<sup>145</sup>



*Figure 6.7 Turkish Cypriots alongside Afghans, Albanians and Malaysians in front of the Rathdowne Street building in 1957<sup>146</sup>*

The formation of these community organisations demonstrates the strong desire for the Turkish Cypriot communities across Australia to forge links with each other and distinguish themselves from the Greek Cypriots. The older community groups were also instrumental, in the early years of migration, in bringing together the Muslim minorities of Australia to create a network and religious spaces to practice Islam.

The first mosque in Australia (Figure 6.8) was established in South Australia in 1861, and another in 1890, for the Afghan cameleers.<sup>147</sup> Most mosques, however, were built after 1975.

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142 Hüssein, *Yesterday & Today*, 286.

143 *ibid.*, 286.

144 *ibid.*, 286.

145 Hüssein, *Yesterday & Today*; and D. Haverick, *Muslims making Australia home: Immigration and Community Building*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2019.

146 Facebook 2019, *Turkish Cypriots Australia*, viewed 17 April 2017,

<[https://www.facebook.com/pg/turkishcypriotsaustralia/photos/?tab=album&album\\_id=689499281090968](https://www.facebook.com/pg/turkishcypriotsaustralia/photos/?tab=album&album_id=689499281090968)>.

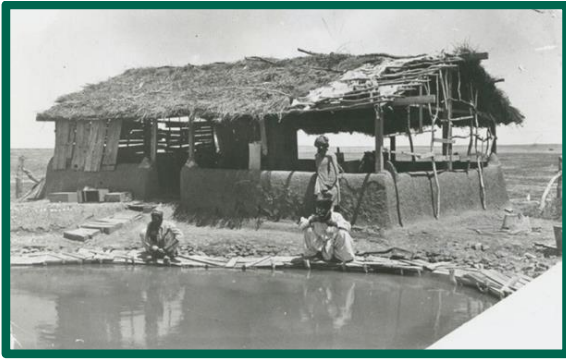


Figure 6.8 Marree mosque, 1884<sup>148</sup>

Today, the Sunshine Mosque (Figure 6.9), known as the Cyprus Turkish Islamic Community of Victoria, is the biggest mosque in Victoria. It is just three kilometres from Apostolos Andreas Church; both Cypriot communities had settled in the same suburbs of Melbourne.<sup>149</sup> According to its official website, “Today the Sunshine Mosque represents an achievement and a gift to the wider Australian community by the Turkish Cypriot community.”<sup>150</sup>

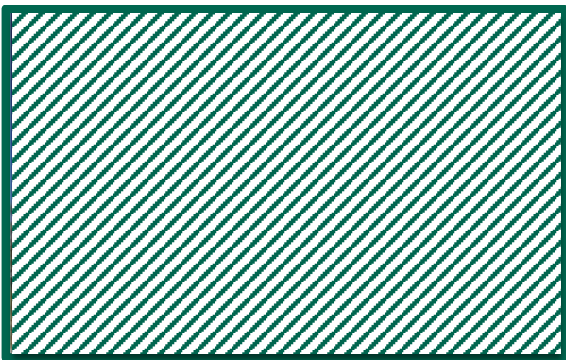


Figure 6.9 Sunshine Mosque<sup>151</sup>

## Participant statistics

As previously stated, participants were Greek and Turkish Cypriot migrants to Australia, born between 1924 and 1950, who experienced childhood in Cyprus and migrated to Australia between 1947 and 1988. The following charts show their demographic characteristics.

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147 Migration Heritage Centre New South Wales 2011, *Objects through time*, viewed 6 January 2020, <<http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/objectsthroughtime/broken-hill-mosque-collection/index.html>>.

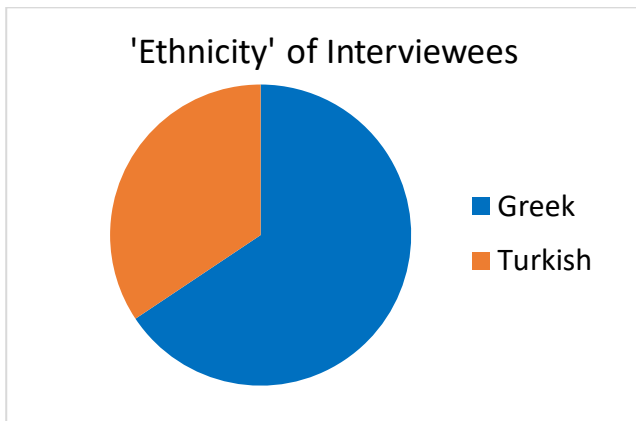
148 Image from State Library of South Australia, *The Mosque, Marree [B 15341]*, viewed 5 January 2020, <<https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+15341>>.

149 Sunshine Mosque n.d., *About*, viewed 18 April 2017, <<http://www.sunshinemosque.com.au/about-the-sunshine-mosque/>>.

150 *ibid*.

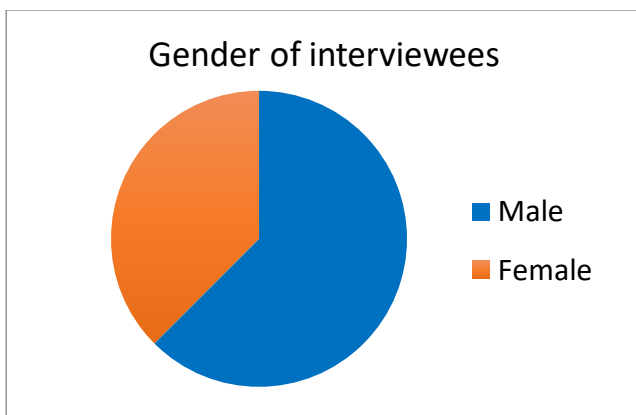
151 Image from Twitter 2018, *Muslim Culture @MuslimCulture*, viewed 5 January 2020, <<https://twitter.com/muslimculture/status/952826381984940033>>.

The distribution of participants amongst Greek (21) and Turkish (11) Cypriots is shown in Figure 6.10. Clearly more Greek than Turkish Cypriots were interviewed in Australia, where Turkish Cypriots are fewer and more difficult to locate. The distribution was not a great problem for my larger study as more Turkish than Greek Cypriots were interviewed in Cyprus and the overall distribution was quite well balanced.



*Figure 6.10 'Ethnicity' of participants*

The gender distribution of interviewees is shown in Figure 6.11. Clearly more men than women were interviewed and this imbalance persisted in Cyprus, too. My contact persons arranged for more men than women to participate as subjects.



*Figure 6.11 Gender proportions of participants*

The interview participants were aged between 57 and 91 years of age at the time of their interviews, as represented in Figure 6.12. Their average age was 77 years.

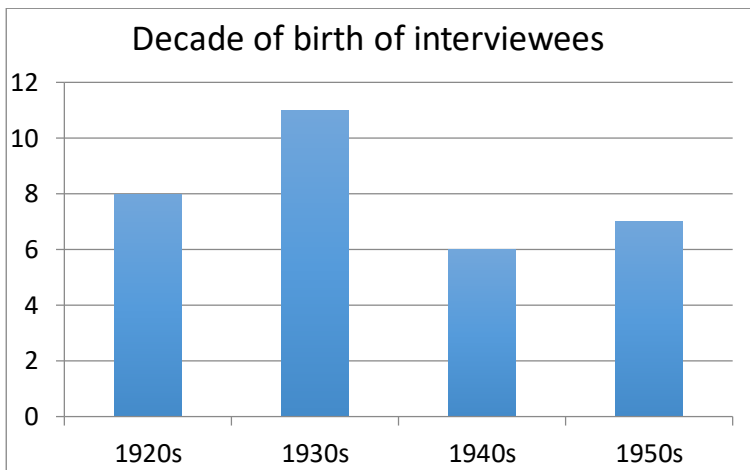


Figure 6.12 The decade of birth of the participants

The home districts of participants are shown in Figure 6.13. Although it would be preferable to have some subjects from Limassol and more than one from Kyrenia districts, the other four districts are well represented.

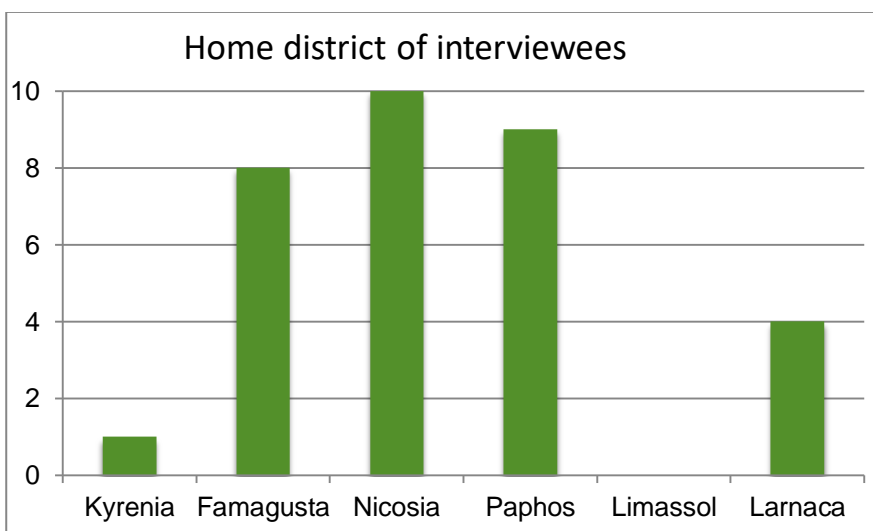


Figure 6.13 The home district of the participants

While it was straightforward to select interview subjects from former mixed villages in Cyprus, I did not have the luxury of rejecting Australian subjects who did not fit this criterion. So long as they had had interactions with the 'other' group, they were regarded as valuable sources. Figure 6.14 shows that 50 percent came from mixed villages or larger towns, and 50 percent came from mono-communal villages.

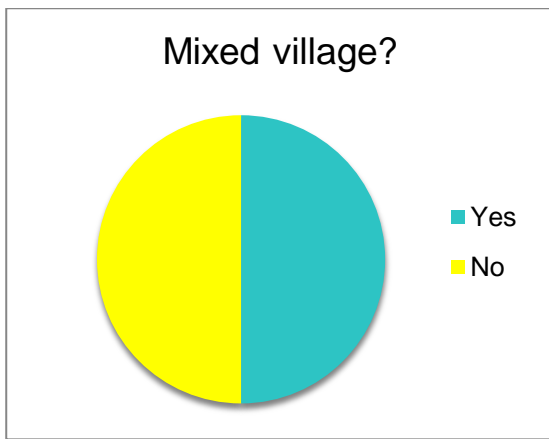


Figure 6.14 Participants originally from a mixed village

A large proportion of the participants – 44 percent – migrated to Australia before Cypriot independence, as shown in Figure 6.15. Their experiences were in many cases different to those of the 19 percent arriving during the conflicts of the 1960 and early 1970s, and to those of the 38 percent arriving after the war of 1974. A striking distinction is evident between the charts showing migration of Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots to Australia. A disproportionately high number of Turkish Cypriots arrived between 1960 and 1973 when they experienced violence and displacement. The disproportionately high number of Greek Cypriots arriving post-1974 reflects the period of their mass displacement.

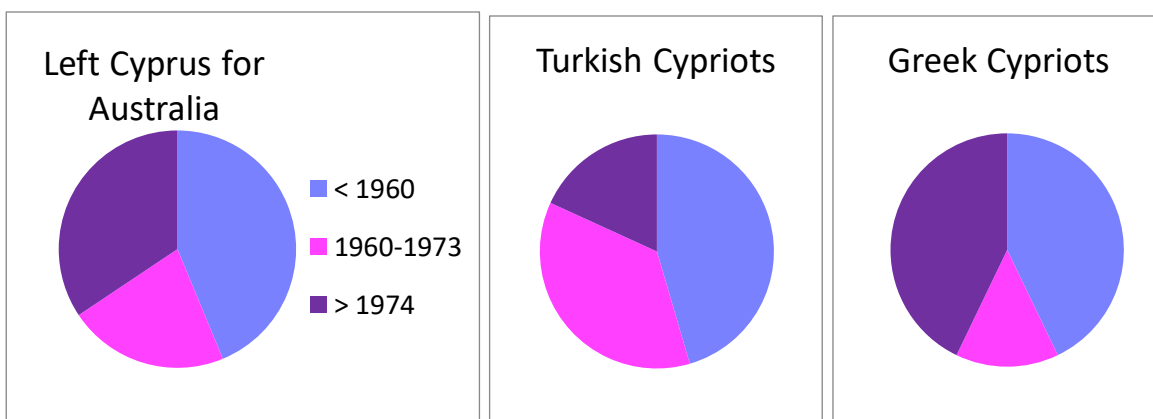


Figure 6.15 The period when the participants left Cyprus for Australia

Figure 6.16 shows the diverse range of cities in which interview subjects currently reside. Figure 6.17 shows the distribution of Cyprus-born people throughout Australia, from the 2016 Census<sup>152</sup>. Clearly people from South Australia, the Australian Capital Territory, the Northern Territory and Western Australia are over-represented, people from Victoria are slightly over-represented, and

152 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2018, 2071.0 *Census of Population and Housing: Reflecting Australia – Stories from the Census, 2016. Data Cubes – Cultural Diversity, Table 1. Country of Birth of Person by State and Territory of Usual Residence, Count of persons - 2016(a).*



people from New South Wales are under-represented amongst the interview subjects. The advantage of this distribution – people from many places in Australia – is the collection of stories from people with more diverse migration and settlement experiences. Unfortunately no Cypriots from Queensland or Tasmania were interviewed.

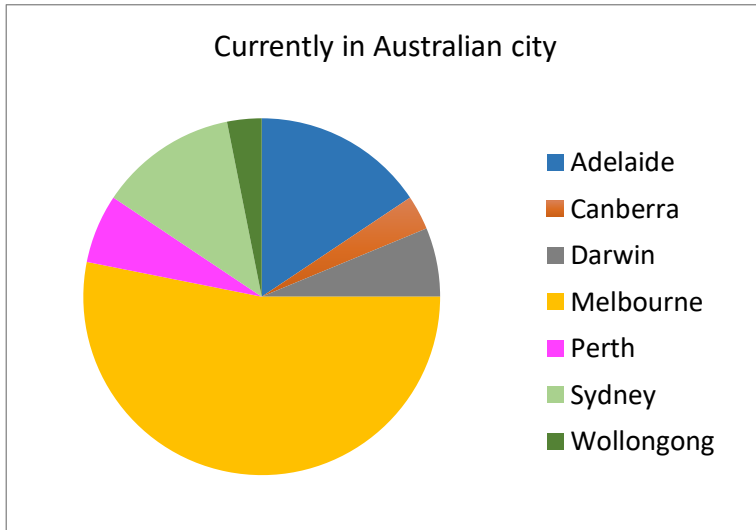


Figure 6.16 The Australian city in which participants currently reside

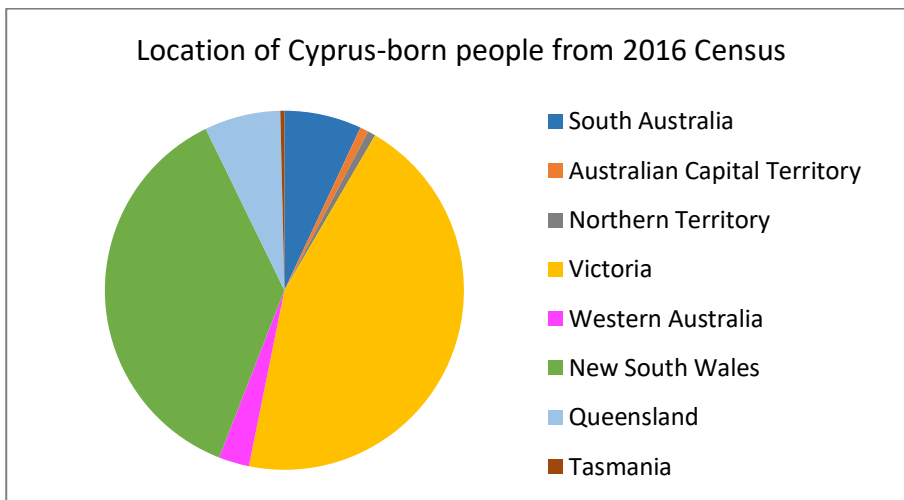


Figure 6.17 The distribution of Cyprus-born people in Australia, 2016

Whilst other studies of Cypriots in Australia have focussed on just one community<sup>153</sup>, and often just one state in Australia, this study involves the most diverse range of Cyprus-born people living in Australia conducted to date. Details of all of the interviewees are shown in Appendix 2.

153 Shialis, 'A Home Away from Home'; Dawson, 'Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne'; Hüssein, *Yesterday & Today*; Adal, 'Turkish Cypriot Women in Australia'; and L. Ali & C.C. Sonn, 'Multiculturalism and whiteness: Through the experiences of second generation Cypriot-Turkish', *The Australian Community Psychologist*, 21(1), 2009, 24-38.

## Migrating – why, with whom and to where?

Since the 1850s, Cypriots migrated to Australia for ‘a better life’. For some that meant greater political and financial security; for others, escaping war and conflict; and especially for single Cypriot men over many decades, it meant to find well-paid work.

Some answered the question *Why did you migrate?* with flippant or shallow answers; life decisions had not been deeply considered. Themistoclis said, “Friends told me there was plenty of money ... and plenty of women!”<sup>154</sup> My great-aunt Galatia (Julie) (Figure 6.18), who migrated as a 16-year old said, “My sister told me to come. She knew my mother and father were very poor.”<sup>155</sup> Nearchos said, “Just for better work prospects. It was hot, hard, dusty work in Cyprus with the tractors.”<sup>156</sup>



*Figure 6.18 Galatia (right) of Polis Chrysochous with her niece*

After the division of the island in 1974, the decision to migrate was more urgent. Androula left, “Because there were not any jobs in Cyprus. It was terrible. We lost everything. We used to live in a tent.”<sup>157</sup> Andreas B said, “I could not stand the situation there. From our home in the kitchen I could see the tanks.”<sup>158</sup> Ilkay<sup>159</sup> and his wife Ilmiye (Figure 6.19) left Cyprus to escape. Ilmiye said, “I came with my parents [in 1972], they wanted to escape the war ... We still considered that period as being war ... we suffered a lot from the Greeks, and from the Turks from Turkey.”<sup>160</sup>

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154 Themistoclis, a Greek Cypriot born in Kilanemos in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1951; interviewed 1 December 2014.

155 Galatia (Julie), a Greek Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1939, migrated to Australia in 1956; interviewed 3 May 2015.

156 Nearchos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kritou Terra in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 27 April 2015.

157 Androula, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Famagusta in 1954, migrated to Australia in 1976; interviewed 30 November 2014.

158 Andreas B, a Greek Cypriot man born in Pyroi in 1940, migrated to Australia in 1975; interviewed 1 May 2015.

159 Ilkay, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lefke in 1946, migrated to Australia in 1978; interviewed 3 August 2014.

160 Ilmiye, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in 1955, migrated to Australia in 1978; interviewed 3 Aug 2014.



*Figure 6.19 Couple Ilkay (left) and Ilmiye (right) of Lefke*

In answering the question *With whom did you migrate?* 90 percent of the interview participants described the encouragement of family and/or friends already living in Australia. They may have travelled alone but they were welcomed by familiar faces and their settlement was considerably eased. For Aziz,<sup>161</sup> İbrahim A,<sup>162</sup> Münüfe<sup>163</sup> and Myrofora, migration was made much easier because they each had a brother already living in Australia. Myrofora described the environment she entered:

My brother migrated to Australia before me. He lived with a Turkish Cypriot friend from our village. They helped each other build a house. They were carpenters. When I came to Australia, I lived in the Turkish Cypriot house with my brother and sister [-in-law], until our house was finished.<sup>164</sup>

Myrofora was encouraged by her brother to come to Australia. Initially living with one of the 'other' group was not exceptional; the two men were clearly very close friends.

Nafiya spoke of her family's migration experience:

My sister's husband came first to Australia. He fought in the army [Cyprus Regiment of the British Army] with the Australians against the Germans. He came with an invitation. After a couple of years, my sister came. She was the third or fourth Turkish Cypriot lady to migrate to Australia. After my sister, my husband came, (my baby was one month at the time) ... with about fifty Turk Cypriots and a couple hundred Greek Cypriots. And then I came after that, about two and a half years later with my son, in 1954. We all stayed together at first. When we first came, we thought we might go back after five years of hard work here to go build a house back there. But then the troubles started over there.<sup>165</sup>

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161 Aziz, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayios Nicolaos, Famagusta District in 1930, migrated to Australia in 1951; interviewed 4 October 2017.

162 İbrahim A, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Kivisil in 1935, migrated to Australia in 1958; interviewed 4 October 2017.

163 Münüfe, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Kaleburnu (Galinoporni) in 1951, migrated to Australia in 1971; interviewed 12 July 2017.

164 Myrofora, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Komi Kebir in 1937, migrated to Australia in 1955; interviewed 9 August 2014.

165 Nafiya, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Lemba in 1929, migrated to Australia in 1952; interviewed 15 October 2014.

Nafiya's family's plan to go 'home' after five years was common amongst many southern European migrants to Australia in the 1950s and 1960s<sup>166</sup>. She referred to 'troubles' in Cyprus in the late 1950s; those troubles led to surges of Turkish Cypriot migrants in the 1960s and early 1970s, as discussed previously (Table 6.3). Nearchos had a different migration mentality:

I was married [in 1961] and had all our kids in Cyprus and we came all together. I already had five brothers already here and two uncles from my mother's side. My wife had second cousins here, and also my mother and father [were here].<sup>167</sup>

It would be hard to imagine a more supportive environment into which to migrate. Nearchos and his family were migrating not on a whim or for five years of hard work, but permanently, immersed in a large extended family.

Some Cypriot migrants faced objections from their families in Cyprus. Hakki migrated to Australia in 1970 with the support of his mother, but against his father's wishes. Hakki wanted to emigrate for a better life, and received an invitation through the Australian High Commission in Nicosia, from his Turkish Cypriot friend living in Australia. However, his father said, "You get a job in Cyprus and you don't go anywhere else in the world." Hakki replied, "No, Dad. I have to go." On his first night he stayed with a Turkish Cypriot friend's sister. "The next day I found another house with other Turkish Cypriots."<sup>168</sup> Sermen had a starkly different story to that of Hakki. He migrated, alone, because, "my father said there is no life for us in Cyprus." Two years later, in 1973, his mother and two siblings arrived in Australia, and ten years after that his father arrived. Initially, he lived with a Greek family from Greece for five years. He spoke Greek with them and the friendship still endured.<sup>169</sup>

Cypriots settled in diverse places in Australia – inner- and outer-city suburbs, as well as small towns in rural areas. Jupp stated:

The pattern of Cypriot settlement is similar to that of those born in Greece, although this is less true of Melbourne than of Sydney, which may reflect the higher Turkish proportion of the Melbourne population. In Melbourne the largest numbers live in the outer working-class suburbs of Sunshine, Broadmeadows, Keilor and Whittlesea, rather than in such long-established Greek areas as Northcote, Oakleigh and Richmond. In Sydney the largest numbers are in the traditional Greek areas of Canterbury, Marrickville, Randwick and Rockdale, with a significant number in the less distinctively Greek suburb of Bankstown. Apart from Melbourne and Sydney, the great majority of the Cyprus-born live in Adelaide,

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166 C. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1963, 142.

167 Nearchos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kritou Terra in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 27 April 2015.

168 Hakki, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Larnaca in 1951, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 6 May 2017.

169 Sermen, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Nicosia in 1952, migrated to Australia in 1971; interviewed 4 October 2017.

Brisbane and Wollongong. The Adelaide population is predominantly Greek as is that of Brisbane.<sup>170</sup>

In answering the question *Where did you first settle when you arrived in Australia?* some participants told of accidental settlement. Antonis stated:

On the way to Australia we had a stopover in Darwin for ten days. A friend of mine offered me a job in the fish markets. But I was scared of the crocodiles. I just wanted to go to a city and I ended up in Adelaide. I had no initial plans to come to Adelaide. I ended up in a small town and I thought: Is this the big city? It was Port Augusta! I then went on to Adelaide. I stayed my first night with my cousin. The next day I went next door and rented a room.<sup>171</sup>

Themistoclis was meant to settle in Sydney; however he got sick from the water on the ship, the *Corsica*. "I left Cyprus with twelve pounds. I got to Melbourne and I had ten shillings. I stopped here because I had a friend from the same village who lived in North Fitzroy. We were sleeping three in every room. All Greek Cypriots – three from our village."<sup>172</sup>

## Migrant challenges

Cypriot migrants faced many challenges and barriers to their settlement in Australia, including language, religion, racism, and demographic challenges.

### Language, religion and racism

Assimilating into the Australian culture had its challenges for many of the early Cypriot migrants. The most immediate problem was that many (59 percent of my participants) could not speak English upon their arrival in Australia. Panayiota stated:

I learnt English when I came to Australia. There were English language classes in our village in Cyprus every Saturday but I never had time to go as I was looking after the family. My neighbour helped me speak English because I went everywhere with her and I slowly picked it up, little by little, until you get used to it.<sup>173</sup>

Some, however, did speak English and found migrating easier than others. My *pappou* Costas discussed how his migration and settlement in Australia was made easier by his English proficiency.

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<sup>170</sup> Jupp, *The Australian People*, 420.

<sup>171</sup> Antonis, a Greek Cypriot born in Aglantzia in 1926, moved to Rizokarpasso at the age of ten and migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 1 May 2015.

<sup>172</sup> Themistoclis, a Greek Cypriot born in Kilanemos in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1951; interviewed 1 December 2014.

<sup>173</sup> Panayiota, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayios Elias in the Famagusta District in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 3 April 2014.

“I knew the English language. Others did not know the language. It was very useful to speak English before I migrated. I enjoyed that.”<sup>174</sup>

While all non-English speaking migrants to Australia would have foreseen that they would struggle with language, there was a particular challenge that took the Turkish Cypriot migrants by surprise. In Cyprus they had belonged, and they had fought, as Australians had, too, in Britain’s wars. They did not anticipate the strong anti-Turk sentiment held by many local Australians, a resentment held since the World War I battle at Gallipoli.<sup>175</sup> Hüsein quoted a Turkish Cypriot who migrated to Australia in the 1940s. Osman Saban described the hostility he felt:

We never told the locals that we were Turkish. When we did we were spat on and abused. When I was asked of my nationality I used to say that I was Polish or Hungarian. When the Turkish army went to Korea to fight the locals began to like us.<sup>176</sup>

Having come from the Crown Colony of Cyprus to the former Colony of Australia, many early Turkish Cypriot migrants were also surprised that although many government institutions, policies and practices were familiar, they could not fully practice their religion. There were no mosques; this was very different to Cyprus.<sup>177</sup> They had come from one British colony to another former colony, and many had friends who helped them settle and find jobs, but the religious life of Turkish Cypriots was curtailed.

## Isolation

Those who migrated to more regional areas of Australia often faced isolation. After the 1974 war, Spyridon went to London and then arrived in Perth in 1978.

There is not all that many Cypriots. They live in all different parts, unlike London where all the Cypriots live near each other. It was logical to speak Greek in London but not in Perth. There are some Greek Cypriots but we do not know of any Turkish Cypriots in Perth. There were very few – maybe a couple but we didn’t know them.

Fortunately, Spyridon could speak English and was able to integrate into the wider Perth population.<sup>178</sup> Others, though, felt much more isolated. My *yiayia* Olga spent some months in Wilcannia near Broken Hill in 1952 and said, “there were no Cypriots there at all.” This was difficult

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174 Costas, a Greek Cypriot born in Ayia Irini in 1925, migrated to Australia in 1947; interviewed 30 November 2013.

175 Hüsein, *Yesterday & Today*, 34.

176 *ibid.*, 35.

177 *ibid.*, 286.

178 Spyridon, a Greek Cypriot man born in Morphou in 1940, migrated to Australia in 1988; interviewed 25 April 2014.

for her as she did not speak English. When she and my *pappou* moved to Katoomba in 1958, she also faced isolation, as there were no Cypriots there, and only one Greek family (whom she did not like).<sup>179</sup>

Similarly, Nearchos found that there were, “Not many of either [Greek or Turkish Cypriots] when I migrated to Canberra [in 1970]. There are currently about sixty or seventy.”<sup>180</sup> This was also the case for Turkish Cypriots, even those who lived in Melbourne and Sydney, as there were so few other Turkish Cypriots. Luckily for many, they were able to mix with Greek Cypriots.

## Demographic imbalance

The effect of the demographic imbalance – the dearth of women – on the migrant experience during the post-war period in Australia, and throughout White Australian history, has been examined by Zora Simic.<sup>181</sup> The imbalance arose due to labour imperatives<sup>182</sup> and, “partially accounts for Australia’s historic status as a ‘Man Zone’ with a highly masculinised public life and national identity.”<sup>183</sup>

The majority of Cypriots who emigrated from the 1940s to the 1960s, most of whom were sponsored by Cypriot friends living in Australia, were men.<sup>184</sup> Table 6.6 shows that females comprised just 20 percent of the Cyprus-born population in 1947. This had implications for the marriage prospects of Cypriot male migrants. The proportion of females rose rapidly between the 1954 and 1961 censuses, during times when Cypriot immigration was limited to wives, children, parents and fiancées of men already settled – skewed towards females – and to a nearly 50/50 split in 1976. Dawson contended, “It was difficult for Cypriots to acquire the funds to emigrate and many arrived in Australia in great debt.”<sup>185</sup> Furthermore, “Those who were married typically left their families in Cyprus until they had saved enough money and could prove to the Australian government that they had a suitable dwelling and income [to support their families].”<sup>186</sup>

During the post-war period, ‘migrant bachelors’ faced significant obstacles in trying to find a wife. Obstacles ranged from, “a lack of opportunity to meet local women or women of their own

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179 Olga, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1930, migrated to Australia in 1950; interviewed 30 November 2013.

180 Nearchos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kritou Terra in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 27 April 2015.

181 Z. Simic, ‘Bachelors of misery and proxy brides: Marriage, migration and assimilation, 1947–1973’, *History Australia*, 11(1), 2014, 169-170.

182 *ibid.*, 149.

183 *ibid.*, 169-170.

184 Dawson, ‘Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne’, 101.

185 *ibid.*, 101.

186 *ibid.*, 101.

background to imbalances within their own ethnic group to prohibitive migration policies to xenophobia and racism.”<sup>187</sup> In this climate of a lack of suitable women, one migrant bachelor, Ibrahim Dellal, who arrived in Australia in 1950 aged 18, decided to marry Sheila Chapman, the woman whom he loved, “a polite, well mannered and honest Irish girl.” They married in 1957, with the blessings of both sets of parents. Though she did not convert to Islam, Sheila was very active in the local Muslim community groups.<sup>188</sup>

*Table 6.6 Gender Distribution of Cyprus-born residents in Australia (Note data not available from Censuses of 1921, 1986, 1996 or 2016)*

Census Year	Females	% Females	Males	% Males
1911 <sup>189</sup>	6	23.1	20	76.9
1933 <sup>190</sup>	54	10.8	448	89.2
1947 <sup>191</sup>	137	20.1	544	79.9
1954 <sup>192</sup>	1519	26.3	4254	73.7
1961 <sup>193</sup>	3508	40.9	5068	59.1
1966 <sup>194</sup>	4726	44.2	5977	55.8
1971 <sup>195</sup>	5942	44.8	7325	55.2
1976 <sup>196</sup>	10362	47.9	11267	52.1
1981 <sup>197</sup>	11353	48.7	11979	51.3
1991 <sup>198</sup>	10825	48.9	11328	51.1
2001 <sup>199</sup>	9711	49.8	9771	50.2
2006 <sup>200</sup>	9260	50.3	9132	49.7
2011 <sup>201</sup>	9234	51.1	8839	48.9

187 Simic, ‘Bachelors of misery and proxy brides’, 170.

188 Yucel, *The Struggle of Ibrahim*, 63.

189 Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2112.0 - *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1911. Volume II - Part II Birthplaces*, 109 and 113.

190 Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2110.0 - *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1933. Volume I - Part X Birthplace*, 728 and 730.

191 Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2109.0 - *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1947. Volume I - Part XII Birthplace*, 638 and 640.

192 Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2108.0 - *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1954. Volume VIII - Part I AUSTRALIA Cross-Classifications of the Characteristics of the Population*, 22.

193 Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2107.0 - *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1961. Volume VIII - Part I AUSTRALIA Cross-Classifications of the Characteristics of the Population*, 27.

194 Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2106.0 - *Census of Population and Housing, 1966. Volume 1. Population: Single characteristics. Part 3. Birthplace*, 9, 11.

195 Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2105.0 - *Census of Population and Housing, 1971. Bulletin 4. Birthplace – Part 9 Australia*, 4.

196 Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2104.0 - *Census of Population and Housing, 1976. Population and Dwellings, Summary Tables, Australia*, 2.

197 Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2103.0 - *Census of Population and Housing, 30 June 1981. Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings, Australia*, 8.

198 Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2101.0 - *Census of Population and Housing, 1991. Census Characteristics of Australia*, 17.

199 Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001 *Census Community Profiles. Expanded Community Profile Table X02*, 27.

200 Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006 *Census Community Profiles. Expanded Community Profile Tables X01a and X01c*.

201 Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011 *Census Community Profiles. Expanded Community Profile Tables X01a and X01c*.



Many Turkish Cypriot men wrote home to find women to marry by proxy, and bring to Australia. Salih, a Turkish Cypriot man interviewed by Hüssein, stated, “There were no Turkish girls here. We all tried to bring brides from Cyprus. Letters would travel back and forth. We used to speak with the parents of the females.”<sup>202</sup>

My participant Ilkay mentioned that it was common for families with daughters in Cyprus to be approached (through letters) by ‘lonely’ Turkish Cypriot men in Australia to send their daughters to Australia to marry them. “I remember my sister was approached but she refused. Several years later she came to Australia on her own will ... I remember a girl from my village, the same age as my sister, was sent here as a bride.”<sup>203</sup>

Figure 6.20 shows Turkish Cypriot couple Yildiz and Recep Eyiam shortly after Yildiz arrived in Melbourne in 1952.<sup>204</sup> Recep, born in 1922, was an early Turkish Cypriot migrant to Australia, escaping the economic hardships of post-World War II Cyprus and arriving on the *Misir* on 21 February 1949.<sup>205</sup> Yildiz Dervish, born in 1925, arrived in Australia on the *Corsica* in January 1952. The couple married by proxy and, “interestingly, the marriage permit indicates that Redjeb [Recep] was present at the ceremony and a proxy stood in for Yildiz, suggesting that the ceremony took place in Australia.” The couple had never met.



Figure 6.20 Yildiz & Recep Eyiam, Melbourne, circa 1952<sup>206</sup>

Zara, a Turkish Cypriot woman interviewed by Adal, said that her father arrived in Australia in 1949 for a better life, with no English at all. When he decided he wanted to get married, “He wrote to his

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202 Hüssein, *Yesterday & Today*, 52.

203 Ilkay, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lefke in 1946, migrated to Australia in 1978; interviewed 3 August 2014.

204 M. McFadzean, 2011, *Yildiz & Redjeb Eyiam (Eyyam), Turkish Cypriot Migrants, 1949 & 1952*, in Museums Victoria Collections, viewed 18 November 2018, <<https://collections.museumsvictoria.com.au/articles/10586>>.

205 Hüssein, *Yesterday & Today*, 330.

206 National Library of Australia. Museums Victoria Collection, viewed July 2020; at <<https://collections.museumsvictoria.com.au/articles/10586>>

mother and his mother found him a bride in Cyprus. So he had not seen my mother and she did not know him. They married by proxy: she was in Cyprus, him here, and they got married.”<sup>207</sup>

### *Case Study #2: Ali Mehmet / Alexandros Mihail*

My participant Ali (Alex) arrived as a migrant bachelor in 1949.<sup>208</sup> He was one of the earliest Turkish Cypriot migrants to Australia and the first to go to Adelaide, arriving with £5 in his pocket. He joined three Greek Cypriot friends who had encouraged him to come to join them. They each lent him £5 – a substantial amount, about one week’s wages – to help him start his life in Australia. He used to go to Mildura each year to pick fruit and his employer, a Greek migrant from Icaria, grew very fond of him and decided to help him find a wife – his wife’s sister.

When his bride-to-be arrived in Australia she discovered her intended was a Muslim; that presented just a small barrier to the planned nuptials as Ali was happy to become a Christian. His family back home in Cyprus knew of his intentions and gave no objection; after all, his grandmother had been a Christian so it was not an unheard of arrangement. Ali Mehmet, who had regularly rung the church bell and gone to Christian events with his friends in his village in Cyprus, felt it natural to become Alexandros Mihail.<sup>209</sup>

## Occupations of Cypriots in Australia

Most of the early Greek and Turkish Cypriot migrants undertook work in factories, the agricultural fields, or building national infrastructure.<sup>210</sup> Some, however, had the entrepreneurial skills required to establish their own businesses, once they had saved enough money.<sup>211</sup> Ali (Alex),<sup>212</sup> “worked with my father until I came to Australia in 1949. It was agricultural work. Fruit trees, wheat, tobacco, sesame, peas, beans, hay, et cetera.” In Australia, he worked for Holden for three months and then moved to Mildura for fruit picking.

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207 Adal, ‘Turkish Cypriot Women in Australia’, 99.

208 Hüssein, *Yesterday & Today*, 333.

209 Ali (who later became Alexandros), a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lythrangomi in 1928, migrated to Australia in 1949; interviewed 3 June 2014.

210 Hüssein, *Yesterday & Today*, 19 and 420.

211 Hüssein, *Yesterday & Today*, 84 and 166.

212 Ali (who later became Alexandros), a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lythrangomi in 1928, migrated to Australia in 1949; interviewed 3 June 2014.

In Cyprus, my *yiayia* Olga helped her mother in the house. In Australia she did unskilled work; “I worked in a factory. I worked at Coles. And Florida Café in Katoomba. And in Melbourne at Spencer Street Railway station.”<sup>213</sup>

Some migrants stopped practicing their trades when arriving in Australia. Nevzat initially gave up his hairdressing trade when he arrived in Australia. “I had a [barber] shop with both Greek and Turkish Cypriot customers ... I gave up the hairdressing shop in Cyprus and worked in a factory when I arrived to Australia. This was about 1962, and then I started my own business hairdressing again. [At first] my wife [Nafiya<sup>214</sup>] did not work because she was very sick. I had my kids to look after so I worked a double shift in a factory and did some hairdressing as well.”<sup>215</sup>

While some migrants down-skilled upon arriving in Australia, others up-skilled. Andreas B worked in agricultural fields in Cyprus. “I was very lucky to find a job [in Australia]. Within two weeks on 10 February I was teaching Greek at Woodville High!”<sup>216</sup> Others continued their trade upon arriving in Australia. In Cyprus, Andreas K (Figure 6.21) used to be a builder. In Australia, “I was a builder, as in Cyprus. I worked in the building trade until I was 71. I then worked in a shop until I was 79.”<sup>217</sup>



*Figure 6.21 Andreas K of Kythrea, on the ship to Australia*

Some migrants established their own businesses in Australia, and flourished. In Cyprus Nearchos was an agricultural worker driving tractors; in Australia he was a successful businessman, owning supermarkets in Canberra. “I bought my first shop from my brothers.”<sup>218</sup> When Hakki first migrated to Melbourne in 1970, he worked in a seat-belt factory. He had borrowed money from friends when he first arrived and worked overtime, determined to pay them back. “I used to get 38 dollars

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213 Olga, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1930, migrated to Australia in 1950; interviewed 30 November 2013.

214 Nafiya, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Lemba in 1929, migrated to Australia in 1952; interviewed 15 October 2014.

215 Nevzat, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lemba in 1927, migrated to Australia in 1954; interviewed 15 October 2014.

216 Andreas B, a Greek Cypriot man born in Pyroi in 1940, migrated to Australia in 1975; interviewed 1 May 2015.

217 Andreas K, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kythrea in 1924, migrated to Australia in 1961; interviewed 3 January 2015.

218 Nearchos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kritou Terra in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 27 April 2015.

a week.” Hakki became involved in community work, to support elderly people and those who needed assistance, which eventually led him to enter politics.<sup>219</sup>

## Interactions between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Australia

Aside from some recorded accounts of Turkish Cypriots being helped by Greek Cypriots upon arriving in Australia, there is very little literature on the interactions between, and simultaneous migration experiences of, Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Australia. Participants told stories of interactions and friendships between the two communities.

Although Hüssein provided examples of Greek and Turkish Cypriot men sharing houses and Turkish Cypriot men frequenting Greek Cypriot and Greek cafes in the 1940s and 1950s, Turkish Cypriot academic Mimi claimed that since the 1940s, “on the whole, the two groups avoid each other...” although he acknowledged that there were some people in both communities who maintained informal relations.<sup>220</sup> The evidence from my participants reveal that Mimi’s contention was false.

Only a few of Dawson’s Greek Cypriot subjects – those who came to Australia in the late 1940s and 1950s – “socialised with Turkish Cypriots in the early years of their settlement.”<sup>221</sup> Her study found that:

most first generation Greek Cypriots by and large tended to socialise only with other Greek Cypriots and sometimes Greeks, but rarely with other ethnic groups. However, unlike their parents, most second and third generation Greek Cypriots tend to socialise with people of all ethnic backgrounds, but even so, few have relations with Turkish Cypriots, largely because of estrangements caused by Cyprus’ recent history.<sup>222</sup>

Perhaps Dawson’s findings were limited as she only interviewed Greek Cypriots from Deryneia, a mono-communal Greek Cypriot village (of 2736 people, only five of whom were Turkish Cypriots in 1960).<sup>223</sup> As such, the Greek Cypriots of Deryneia were unlikely to grow up with close Turkish Cypriot friends in Cyprus, and thus did not maintain or establish new friendships with the ‘other’ group upon migrating to Australia.<sup>224</sup> Despite this, Dawson’s study revealed one interesting story of a new friendship in Australia:

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219 Hakki, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Larnaca in 1951, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 6 May 2017.

220 Dawson, ‘Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne’, 127.

221 *ibid.*, 127.

222 *ibid.*, 128.

223 Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture*, 16.

224 Dawson, ‘Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne’, 40.

I didn't know any Turkish Cypriots in Deryneia, but in my daughter's godmother's village I knew a couple of Turkish families. Then in Australia we had two Turkish Cypriot boys live in our bungalow when they came from Cyprus. They were always very good people. When my daughter Eve was a small girl, they would take her in the pram. I would say 'Come on Ibrahim can you take her for a little walk so I can cook, wash and do the cleaning?' And he would say, 'Alright my sister Georgina.' One day Ibrahim went back to Cyprus to marry a girl. When he returned years later to Australia I saw him at the supermarket. He saw me and kissed me and said, 'Oh my sister Georgina long time to see you' ... His wife was beautiful. Always he was happy to see me.<sup>225</sup>

My research, which includes data on Greek and Turkish Cypriots from mixed and mono-communal villages of Cyprus, living in Australia, revealed that 57 percent of Greek Cypriots interacted with Turkish Cypriots in Australia, and all of the Turkish Cypriots interacted with Greek-Cypriots in Australia. Of the Greek Cypriots who did not interact with Turkish Cypriots in Australia, most were from places outside of Melbourne and Sydney (like Adelaide and Darwin) where it was less likely that they would encounter Turkish Cypriots.

Friendships between Greek and Turkish Cypriot migrants to Australia fell into two categories: Cyprus-made friendships between those who migrated together, and the much more numerous Australian-made friendships between those who made new friends on their migration journey or after their arrival in Australia. Answers to the question *How did you interact with other Greek and Turkish Cypriots when you first arrived in Australia?* show that participants had strong connections with friends from the 'other' group but, in many places, there were few Cypriots, so limited opportunities for friendships to be maintained or to develop.

While Cyprus was divided, Antigone's affections were not. She had a close friend of the 'other' group: "My nickname for my Turkish Cypriot friend was 'my beloved enemy'.<sup>226</sup> There are extremists on both sides. Mostly we got on well."<sup>227</sup> Nafiya described the Greek Cypriot, Rodopi, who was her first neighbour in Australia: "Still now we are just like sisters. We are so close. I've been to her house; know her daughter and two boys. If she had half a lemon, she would give it to me. Any presents she would receive we would share with her."<sup>228</sup> When Nafiya's husband Nevzat first arrived in Sydney in 1954, he found, "there was only one Greek Cypriot coffee house in the city. The Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots mixed together, played cards. There were many Greek

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225 Dawson, 'Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne', 127-128.

226 I have taken her deeply evocative words as the title of this thesis.

227 Antigone, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prastio in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1988; interviewed 25 April 2014.

228 Nafiya, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Lemba in 1929, migrated to Australia in 1952; interviewed 15 October 2014.

Cypriots who had come over before so we mixed with them.”<sup>229</sup> My great-aunt Galatia (Julie) spoke of her decades-long friendships with Turkish Cypriots she met in Wollongong:

There were a few Greek Cypriots, but many more Greeks. I also have a few Turkish Cypriot friends here. We have been friends for many years and they speak Greek. We would attend each other’s functions. Our children all know each other. My Turkish Cypriot friends attended my daughter’s wedding.<sup>230</sup>

Coffee shops were mentioned by many of my participants as a place where Greek and Turkish friends, old and new, would meet. Ilkay said, “The coffee shops are full of [Cypriot] Greeks and Turks. They still get together to play cards, they are all friends ... we were invited to have dinner at the Cypriot Club in Stanmore [Sydney].”<sup>231</sup> For Hakki, the Cyprus Club on Lonsdale Street in Melbourne was a sanctuary. “At that time, it was the best eating place; there was no [other] Cypriot or Turkish [restaurant] where we could go for dinner or lunch.” Except for the food on offer at the Cyprus club, Hakki explained, “The best you could do was fish and chips!”<sup>232</sup>

The bloody history of Cyprus did not prevent Hakki and Savvas (Sam) (Figure 6.22) from forming a close friendship in the 1990s. They both recalled that, after 1974, mainland Greeks in Australia used to write for the newspapers about Turkey and the ‘invasion’, with the intent of causing tension between the two communities. Hakki stated, “But things are very good between us now. First of all, we live outside Cyprus, we can’t change nothing!”<sup>233</sup> Sam replied, “Exactly right; whatever has happened, has happened there.” Since Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Australia were removed from the political environment of Cyprus, and unaffected by the segregation of the two communities, they could maintain their friendships with the ‘other’ if they so wished.<sup>234</sup>

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229 Nevzat, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lemba in 1927, migrated to Australia in 1954; interviewed 15 October 2014.

230 Galatia (Julie), a Greek Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1939, migrated to Australia in 1956; interviewed 3 May 2015.

231 Ilkay, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lefke in 1946, migrated to Australia in 1978; interviewed 3 August 2014.

232 Hakki, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Larnaca in 1951, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 6 May 2017.

233 *ibid.*

234 Savvas (Sam), a Greek Cypriot man born in Peyia in 1939, migrated to Australia in 1958; interviewed 6 May 2017.



*Figure 6.22 Friends, Savvas (Sam) of Peyia (left) and Hakki (right) of Larnaca*

It is striking that so many of my Greek and Turkish Cypriot participants have maintained deep friendships over several decades, despite political unrest and the intercommunal conflicts occurring in Cyprus throughout the 1960s and 1970s, and four decades of the island being divided. Nevzat said that, “There were no troubles between Greek and Turkish Cypriots here in Australia during the conflict in Cyprus. We had many Greek [Cypriot] friends here which we knew and socialised with.”<sup>235</sup> In some instances, those friendships were very beneficial. Myrofora joined her brother in Melbourne in 1955 and initially lived with him and his wife in the house of her brother’s best friend. In late 1974:

I didn’t know where my mother was. I sent letters to the village and they kept being sent back. I went with my brother to see the Turkish Cypriot friend. I asked him if he was sending letters back to his family in the village and he said yes, and they were being received. I asked him to send a letter from me to his mother, and then get his mother to send it to my mother. He said he’d be happy to do this, but also said that they had changed the name of the village – this is why my letters kept getting returned to me... If you send it with the Turkish name, they will get your letter and you can find out ...They got the letter ... I got an answer back and my family said they were OK.<sup>236</sup>

There has been little research into the interactions between Greek and Turkish Cypriots living in Australia today. Interviews revealed that several older Greek and Turkish Cypriots have maintained their friendships over the years; however, little is known about the relations between the new waves of migrants, nor of relations between the second and third generations of Greek and Turkish Cypriots living in Australia.

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<sup>235</sup> Nevzat, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lemba in 1927, migrated to Australia in 1954; interviewed 15 October 2014.

<sup>236</sup> Myrofora, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Komi Kebir in 1937, migrated to Australia in 1955; interviewed 9 August 2014.

## Interacting with mainland Greek or Turkish migrants

In Australia, the relationships between Greek Cypriots and mainland Greeks (who had arrived earlier and were in the majority) were warm. Perhaps, as the Greeks came from many different islands and mainland locations, relating to Cypriots was not much different to relating to a Greek from an island different to one's own. According to Andreas K, who migrated to Darwin in 1961, "Most of the 'mainland' Greeks in Darwin are actually from the Greek island of Kalymnos. Yes, I mixed and worked with them. Many of the soccer clubs in Darwin were Greek and they would hold big functions where the entire Greek community would meet."<sup>237</sup> Similarly, Father Charalambos S identified strongly with the Greeks: "I don't separate Greeks from the mainlanders and the Cypriots."<sup>238</sup>

Myrofora's family became entwined with many Greek families:

We would go to Greek dances every now and again. In South Melbourne there were many Greeks who I became friends with. In fact, many of the rooms in this house were rented to Greek families. They got married and my daughter was a bridesmaid for many of the weddings! Because many people migrated without their families, we would all become like one big family with so many migrants living in the house. We would spend Christmas and Easter together.<sup>239</sup>

Dimos felt very much at home. "There were twelve people in my group at work. Ten were Greeks! So I had no trouble fitting in. We also have a big family. I have seven siblings and my wife has twelve. There are over forty people in the family!"<sup>240</sup> Panayiota also interacted closely with mainland Greeks:

There was a strong Greek community there in Port Pirie. There was one church. Everyone would be invited for each other's weddings, baptisms, et cetera. There were no Turkish Cypriots that I knew of in Port Pirie. There was a strong interaction with the mainland Greeks. We would all attend social functions together. Not many are left in Port Pirie.<sup>241</sup>

Greek Cypriots formed friendships not only with mainland Greeks, but with many other nationalities also. Themistoclis said that he, "made a lot of friends with Greeks, but not only Greeks: Italians,

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237 Andreas K, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kythrea in 1924, migrated to Australia in 1961; interviewed 3 January 2015.

238 Father Charalambos S, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1931, migrated to Australia in 1963; interviewed 2 May 2015.

239 Myrofora, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Komi Kebir in 1937, migrated to Australia in 1955; interviewed 9 August 2014.

240 Dimos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Loutros in 1936, migrated to Australia in 1974; interviewed 1 December 2014.

241 Panayiota, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayios Elias in the Famagusta District in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 3 April 2014.



Australians, et cetera ... I married a Croatian girl who I met here. I had no problems with my Turkish Cypriot friends here in Australia.”<sup>242</sup>

For some Greek Cypriots, interactions with Greeks were not always positive. Antigone was conscious that, “You would lose your dialect somewhat talking to mainland Greeks.” Indeed, children attending Saturday Greek schools would learn ‘proper’ Greek, so the dialect was threatened.<sup>243</sup>

As mentioned earlier, while Greek Cypriots built social networks based on the existing Greek populations in Australia, Turkish Cypriots did not have a Turkish community to engage with when they first migrated. Many established friendships with mainland Turks after their arrival in 1968. Raif, a mainland Turkish migrant interviewed by Başarin and Başarin explained:

All I thought about on the plane [from Turkey to Australia] was how to get over the next two years and go back home with our savings. But Turkish Cypriots were waiting for us with a wonderful and unexpected welcoming ceremony. They were carrying flags and placards: ‘Welcome our brothers and sisters’, ‘Welcome Muslim friends’. Their children were in national costume.<sup>244</sup>

Ismail, a mainland Turkish migrant interviewed by Başarin and Başarin stated, “We had a lot of help from Cypriot Turks. Many of them came to visit us at the hostel and assisted us with our needs.”<sup>245</sup>

My participant Nevzat found that:

In Woollahra, our neighbours were mainland Greek people and we would talk and mix with them. But then we moved to Penrith about 35 years ago and it’s a lot more isolated here. The mainland Turkish people came well after in the ‘60s and we had normal relations with them. They created their own clubs.<sup>246</sup>

Interestingly, Başarin and Başarin, investigating the experiences of mainland Turkish migrants to Australia, found that many of them were assisted not only by Turkish Cypriots when they arrived, but by mainland Greeks – many of whom could speak Turkish.<sup>247</sup> Halim stated:

In Australia, we have more to do with the Greeks than the Italians or Australians. I am proud of being Turkish and I say that I’ve had more help from Greeks than anyone else. Of course,

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242 Themistoclis, a Greek Cypriot born in Kilanemos in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1951; interviewed 1 December 2014.

243 Antigone, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prastio in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1988; interviewed 25 April 2014.

244 Başarin & Başarin, *The Turks in Australia*, 47.

245 *ibid.*, 11.

246 Nevzat, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lemba in 1927, migrated to Australia in 1954; interviewed 15 October 2014.

247 Başarin & Başarin, *The Turks in Australia*, 113.

the Turkish Cypriots were also helpful, they came to the hostel and shared their knowledge. However, the Greeks came, took us as a family for meals at their homes. Some of them had parents who spoke as good as Turkish as I did. They lent us money when we badly needed it, took us to shops and showed us around.<sup>248</sup>

Although the majority of my Turkish Cypriot participants spoke of their established friendships with mainland Turks after their arrival in 1968, many also told me that they engaged with Greek Cypriots, and Greeks. Ali who became 'Alexandros' so that he could marry his Greek wife, said, "I would interact with Greeks from the mainland through my wife's family. I am now part of the Spartan club! The Cyprus club is very far away. The Spartan club is next door."<sup>249</sup>

When I interviewed Münüfe, she spoke of a similar experience.

When I was working in the factory, there was a Greek lady from Greece, and her mum, she said, was from Constantinopoli – Istanbul. And she speak Turkish better than me! And I didn't understand Greek that much at that time, and she teach me, Greek and Turkish.<sup>250</sup>

It is clear that many Greek Cypriots established close relationships with mainland Greeks, and that many Turkish Cypriots established close relationships with mainland Turks; however, interestingly, several Turkish Cypriots formed close relations with mainland Greeks, too.

## Identity formation and 'belonging': Cypriot diaspora in Australia

The identities held by Australian Cypriots are quite diverse. Factors such as ethnicity, religion, gender, education, English proficiency, village of birth (mixed or not), year of migration, and place of settlement have influenced the ways in which they identify with both their first homeland – Cyprus – and with Australia.<sup>251</sup> Dawson contended, "Transnational communities are not homogeneous and although transnational ties might be important in the construction of cultural identity and ideas of the homeland, the local context will always determine how these processes occur."<sup>252</sup> In addition, she argued that formal connections of the Cypriot diaspora with Cypriot community groups and associations in Australia, as well as their family connections in Cyprus, played an influential role in the construction of their identities.<sup>253</sup>

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248 Başarin & Başarin, *The Turks in Australia*, 113.

249 Ali (who later became Alexandros), a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lythrangomi in 1928, migrated to Australia in 1949; interviewed 3 June 2014.

250 Münüfe, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Kaleburnu (Galinoporni) in 1951, migrated to Australia in 1971; interviewed 12 July 2017.

251 Dawson, 'Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne', 207-208.

252 *ibid.*, 208.

253 *ibid.*, 208.

Furthermore, it could be argued that the 'imagined' homeland and nostalgia felt by both Greek and Turkish Cypriot migrants and refugees, also played a significant role in their identity formation. Dawson described some difficulties she encountered when asking Greek Cypriots about their identity:

Asking people about their cultural affiliations was not easy. This was made explicit when Eleftheria, a part-time agricultural labourer, said: 'If someone asks me if I'm Greek or Greek Cypriot, I say 'I'm an international!' I live on earth.' Eleftheria's response, like those of many women I interviewed, was an expression of frustration at being defined by their ethnic identity and implied that this marker was irrelevant to her everyday life.<sup>254</sup>

Similarly, Turkish Cypriots also find this question difficult and complex. Ali and Sonn described the struggle for Turkish Cypriots to assert their identity:

Due to the conflict around the legitimacy of TRNC [Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus], the voices of Cypriot Turks and the representations of Cyprus have been restricted making Cyprus, for those who are not familiar with its history, a Greek Island with Cypriot Greek population. As a result of these historical and political processes, Cypriot Turks who identify as a Cypriot lose their 'Turkishness' as Cyprus is represented as a Greek Island. On the other hand, identification as a Turk leads to the assimilation of their identity with mainland Turks. Although Cypriot Turks have strong ties with the mainstream Turkish community, they perceive themselves and are perceived by mainland Turks as different, on the basis that they are not from Turkey and differ in terms of speaking and cultural values such as level of secularity.<sup>255</sup>

## Identity as children

Interviewees' identities as children are shown in Figure 6.23. Significantly, 10 of the 32 participants – almost one third – had identified simply as 'Cypriot'. This suggests that distinctions and divisions between the two communities were not an aspect of their childhood experiences, nor of their families' instruction to the children. More striking is the fact that 27 of the 32 – 85 percent – had 'Cypriot' as a descriptor; just five did not include 'Cypriot' in their childhood identity. This suggests that Greek Cypriots in rural villages did not strongly align or identify with Greeks, and Turkish Cypriots did not strongly align or identify with Turks. Most of these people, and their families and communities (for that is how their identities were formed) regarded themselves as Cypriots.

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<sup>254</sup> Dawson, 'Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne', 175.

<sup>255</sup> Ali & Sonn, 'Constructing Identity as a Second-Generation Cypriot Turkish in Australia', 25.

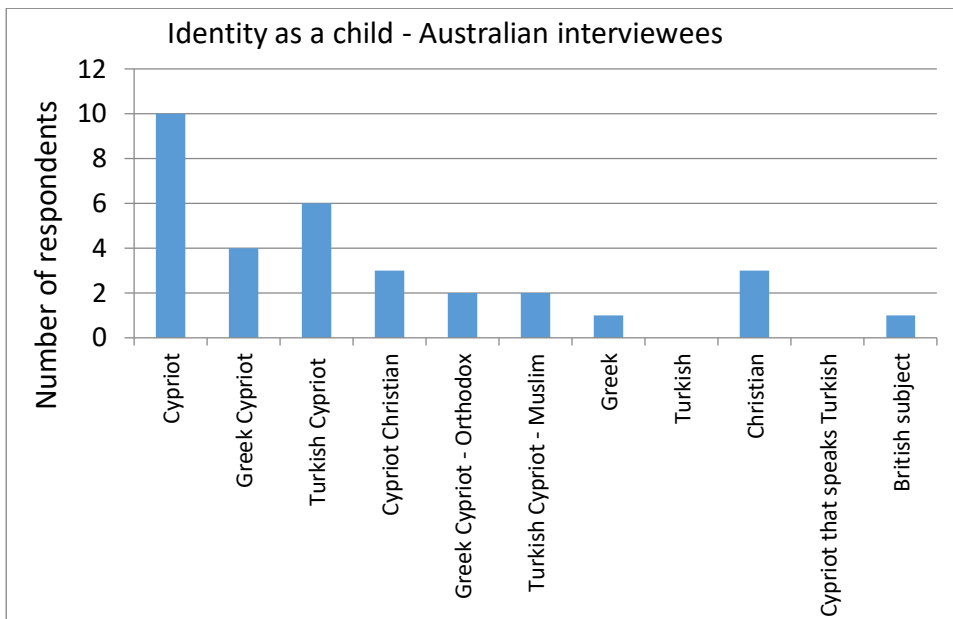


Figure 6.23 Identity of participants as children

### Greek Cypriot identity

The sharing of recipes amongst friends and family in Melbourne was found by Tina Kalivas to be, “a means for Greek Cypriot immigrants to communicate and negotiate relationships with others; in doing so they also reinforced and contributed to new knowledge about Cypriot identity.”<sup>256</sup>

Dawson, also studying Greek Cypriots, claimed, “the Melbourne Cypriot community often excluded Turkish Cypriots in the way they constructed their identities.”<sup>257</sup> Her research found that early Greek Cypriot migrants from the mono-cultural village of Deryneia saw themselves as Greek, as that aligned them with a supportive and much longer-established migrant group. Later, when the Apostolos Andreas church became a cultural centre, their Cypriotness was a way of distinguishing themselves from the larger Greek community.<sup>258</sup>

The findings from this research into Greek Cypriots’ identities starkly differs from Dawson’s findings, as most of the Greek Cypriot participants said they had Cypriot (whether hyphenated or not) rather than Greek identities.

256 T. Kalivas, ‘Cookbooks, Memories and Family Recipes: Greek Cypriot Immigrants’ Cultural Maintenance and Adaptation in Melbourne’, in E. Close, G. Couvalis, G. Frazis, G.M. Palaktoglou & M. Tsianikas (eds.), *Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the 7th Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies*, Flinders University, Adelaide, 2007, 207.

257 Dawson, ‘Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne’, 208.

258 *ibid.*, 208.

## Turkish Cypriot identity

Turkish Cypriots were delighted to welcome and assist Turkish migrants from the late 1960s. However, they quickly realised that the mainland Turks were different from themselves in many ways. Cahill contended, the Cypriot aspect of their hyphenated identity came to the fore as they differentiated themselves from the ethnic Turks.”<sup>259</sup>

The ways in which Turkish Cypriots in Australia constructed their multi-hyphenated identity, and the implications this had for their sense of belonging, were investigated by Ali and Sonn through the semi-structured interviews of ten people.<sup>260</sup> They conducted discourse analysis in order to identify the discursive constructions of both identity and sense of belonging felt among the Turkish Cypriots in Australia.<sup>261</sup> The discourses included: modern Muslim, language, phenotype and ancestry and generation.<sup>262</sup> These discourses generated the multi-hyphenation of this identity, “positioning them as either Cypriot Turkish Australians or Cypriot Turkish in Australia.”<sup>263</sup> The authors claimed that the, “discourses have highlighted not only the current socio-political context as shaping subjectivities, but also the historical and political collective memory that continues in the construction of ethnic identities.”<sup>264</sup>

The hyphenation of identity among Turkish Cypriots was evident in my interviewees’ presentation of themselves. As children, many identified as ‘Turkish Cypriot’; however, others identified as ‘Cypriot that speaks Turkish’, and some identified solely as ‘Cypriot’. It is interesting to note that none identified as ‘Turkish’. For those who migrated to Australia, their childhood identity went mostly unchanged; however it was further hyphenated due to their increased sense of belonging in Australia.

## Feeling Australian?

For many of the Greek Cypriot diaspora living in South Australia, building a new home in Australia provided them with a sense of belonging and identity in their new land.<sup>265</sup> Shialis found that, “Property ownership is of great significance in rebuilding their lives and it has enabled them to cope

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259 Cahill, ‘Turkish Cypriots in Australia’, 221.

260 Ali & Sonn, ‘Constructing Identity as a Second-Generation Cypriot Turkish in Australia’, 3.

261 *ibid.*, 3.

262 *ibid.*, 3.

263 *ibid.*, 3.

264 *ibid.*, 3.

265 Shialis, ‘A Home Away from Home’, 344.

with having to change their attitudes and adjust to the social structure.”<sup>266</sup> Although many Greek Cypriots were faced with difficulties when attempting to integrate into the wider Australian community, they had achieved integration in their own way.<sup>267</sup> Whilst many experienced language barriers, they now, “call Australia their new home with Cyprus in their blood.”<sup>268</sup> They had made new lives for themselves, creating a home away from home.<sup>269</sup>

A different conclusion was arrived at by Dawson, who found that when it came to Greek Cypriots’ sense of belonging in Australia, “Generational differences also impact on the way people construct their identity.”<sup>270</sup> Her research showed that, “In Melbourne, most first generation Cypriots do not identify themselves as partly Australian, as do second and third generation Cypriots, even though many have lived in Australia for most of their lives.”<sup>271</sup>

The findings of my research, which solely focussed on first generation Cypriots living in Australia contradicts those of Dawson, and align with Shailis’. Many of my participants, now in their old age, feel ‘Australian’.

In response to the question, *Do you feel Australian?* many participants responded in the affirmative, stating the length of time they have lived in Australia as the main reason for their Australian identity. My great-aunt Galatia (Julie) responded, “Yes I do – sixty years now! Australia was a new beginning.”<sup>272</sup> Münüfe said, “Yes. I have lived most of my life here.”<sup>273</sup> After almost 70 years in Australia, my *pappou* Costas said, “I feel more of a sense of belonging here in Australia. I still like Cyprus, but not to live there anymore.”<sup>274</sup>

Later arrivals, although less emphatic about feeling Australian, also referred to the duration of time spent in Australia as the main reason for their Australian identity. Nearchos said, “I think so, yes. It’s logical to say that. I was 29 years old when I came. I have spent more than double that time in Australia.”<sup>275</sup> Ilkay said, “I still accept myself as Cypriot Turkish; however, I have spent more than forty years here, so I’m an Aussie, Aussie Turk. I think we always had dual identities anyway; and we

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266 Shailis, ‘A Home Away from Home’, 344.

267 *ibid.*, 344.

268 *ibid.*, 344.

269 *ibid.*, 344.

270 Dawson, ‘Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne’, 208.

271 *ibid.*, 208.

272 Galatia (Julie), a Greek Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1939, migrated to Australia in 1956; interviewed 3 May 2015.

273 Münüfe, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Kaleburnu (Galinoporni) in 1951, migrated to Australia in 1971; interviewed 12 July 2017.

274 Costas, a Greek Cypriot born in Ayia Irini in 1925, migrated to Australia in 1947; interviewed 30 November 2013.

275 Nearchos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kritou Terra in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 27 April 2015.

still have dual identities.”<sup>276</sup> Hakki stated, “I am Australian. I have lived here for 47 years; I am more Australian than Cypriot. But at the same time, I cannot forget Cyprus. I miss it every minute of every day.”<sup>277</sup>

The response of Panayiota reflected the time she has already spent in Australia, as well as her comfort in Australian society, “I feel a Cypriot of course – I came from Cyprus. But after I had my first two kids, now I am used to Australia. I feel safe and secure here. I know I will always stay here.”<sup>278</sup> Andreas B also described his comfort with Australian society. He felt “Cypriot first and then Australian. I am very proud of Australia. I like the system that exists here; it is similar to old Cyprus system because we were both under the British rule.”<sup>279</sup> Ilmiye provided a poignant yet simple response: “Our life is here, we can never ever complain about Australia ... because this is where I earn money, this is where I eat, this is where I sleep; this is my country now.”<sup>280</sup> Aziz (Figure 6.24) had a very simple response to the question: “You are here, you have to be Australian!”<sup>281</sup>



*Figure 6.24 Aziz of Ayios Nicolaos with the author*

Ali (Alex) pinpointed a moment 18 years after his arrival: “My identity changed in 1967. That was when I was naturalised and became an Australian citizen.”<sup>282</sup> Many other participants referred to citizenship and naturalisation as the main reason for their Australian identity. Nevzat said, “We are Turkish Cypriots. But we are also naturalised Australians.” For Nevzat, another crucial link to his Australian identity was that, “our kids and grandkids are Australian.”<sup>283</sup>

Others also referred to having children and/or grandchildren in Australia as one of the main reasons for their Australian identity. Savvas (Sam) said, “Oh yes, I can’t run away, I have children and

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276 Ilkay, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lefke in 1946, migrated to Australia in 1978; interviewed 3 August 2014.

277 Hakki, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Larnaca in 1951, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 6 May 2017.

278 Panayiota, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayios Elias in the Famagusta District in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 3 April 2014.

279 Andreas B, a Greek Cypriot man born in Pyroi in 1940, migrated to Australia in 1975; interviewed 1 May 2015.

280 Ilmiye, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in 1955, migrated to Australia in 1978; interviewed 3 Aug 2014.

281 Aziz, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayios Nicolaos, Famagusta District in 1930, migrated to Australia in 1951; interviewed 4 October 2017.

282 Ali (who later became Alexandros), a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lythrangomi in 1928, migrated to Australia in 1949; interviewed 3 June 2014.

283 Nevzat, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lemba in 1927, migrated to Australia in 1954; interviewed 15 October 2014.

grandchildren here now!”<sup>284</sup> Ibrahim A said that Cyprus is his country – “I was born there, you can’t take it from your heart” – but he also said that he felt Australian: “I couldn’t not; I live in this country, my children and grandchildren have grown up here.”<sup>285</sup> Georgia felt that, “I still have a strong Cypriot identity. I cook a lot of traditional Cypriot dishes. But I won’t leave because my grandkids are here.”<sup>286</sup>

Research into the identity of fifteen Turkish Cypriot women in Australia found that, for Adal’s participants, ‘family’ was the most critical factor in creating a sense of belonging and feeling at home in Australia.<sup>287</sup> Adal’s research also revealed that, “Although the child migrant women and Australian-born women all said they call Australia home, most described a strong emotional attachment to Cyprus...”<sup>288</sup> My study found similar results among some Greek and Turkish Cypriot participants.

Whilst Sermen said that he felt Australian, he had a problem with the term ‘Australian’: “The only Australians are the indigenous people!” He still felt a strong connection to Cyprus as, after all, “my motherland is Cyprus.”<sup>289</sup> Similarly, Antigone and Spyridon said that although they felt Australian, “Cyprus will always be in our hearts.”<sup>290</sup>

These quotes perhaps encapsulate what homeland is: The length of time that migrants lived in Australia seemed to gradually strengthen their ties, and taking Australian citizenship was a turning point for some, when they consciously realised that they would stay in Australia. More powerfully, seeing their children and grandchildren with established lives led to the realisation that they felt a deep sense of belonging. Their children and grandchildren tie them to, and root them in Australia.

## Returning ‘home’

All of the participants had returned to Cyprus, at least once, since migrating to Australia. On average, the participants returned to Cyprus for a visit 14.2 years (Greek Cypriots after 14.0 years; Turkish Cypriots after 14.5 years) after first migrating to Australia. Whilst some early migrants took up to 30 years to return, many later (1970s onwards) migrants returned as soon as three years after

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284 Savvas (Sam), a Greek Cypriot man born in Peyia in 1939, migrated to Australia in 1958; interviewed 6 May 2017.

285 Ibrahim A, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Kivisil in 1935, migrated to Australia in 1958; interviewed 4 October 2017.

286 Georgia, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Petra in 1958, migrated to Australia in 1983; interviewed 3 January 2015.

287 Adal, ‘Turkish Cypriot Women in Australia’, 112.

288 *ibid.*, 60.

289 Sermen, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Nicosia in 1952, migrated to Australia in 1971; interviewed 4 October 2017.

290 Antigone, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prastio in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1988; and Spyridon, a Greek Cypriot man born in Morphou in 1940, migrated to Australia in 1988; both interviewed 25 April 2014.



migrating. The later migrants had also visited Cyprus many more times than the earlier migrants. The length of time between migrating to Australia and visiting Cyprus, and the amount of times they had visited since migrating, likely impacts their sense of belonging in Australia and their identity.

Negative experiences were reported by many of Adal's 15 Turkish Cypriot women when they returned to visit Cyprus for the first time after emigrating to Australia. They found it to be an alienating experience because of, "negative emotions associated with not finding their family members or because of displaced communities resulting from the 1974 war." Furthermore, Adal found that when they returned, "they did not identify themselves with the places they were born in and where they had grown up. Their homes had changed, leaving them in despair, and all expressed that they would not go back to Cyprus to live."<sup>291</sup>

My participants, both Greek and Turkish Cypriot, spoke of similar experiences. In response to the question *What were your impressions of Cyprus upon your visit?* my great-aunt Galatia (Julie) said:

When I went back there and talked to some of my Turkish friends, things changed. We are still friends. But they all moved up north and my village now is all Greek. I feel sorry about that ... I miss [Cyprus] because it's my country, my people are there. But I love Australia too.<sup>292</sup>

Panayiota was disconcerted when she visited Cyprus:

Everything changed. It was very, very different. I didn't understand much because they changed everything. Money was different. First, we had pounds in Cyprus and Australia. Then Australia changed to dollars, and Cyprus to Euros! Very unusual. I missed Cyprus for the first two years ... not any more.<sup>293</sup>

It was very emotional for Hakki to return to Cyprus after the checkpoints opened in 2003, as he went to visit the house in which he grew up. He struggled with the fact that he had to ask permission to go into his home.<sup>294</sup> Georgia also found the experience traumatising. She found that there was nothing left; "My village is on the buffer zone. I think only one building is still standing in

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291 Adal, 'Turkish Cypriot Women in Australia', 99.

292 Galatia (Julie), a Greek Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1939, migrated to Australia in 1956; interviewed 3 May 2015.

293 Panayiota, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayios Elias in the Famagusta District in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 3 April 2014.

294 Hakki, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Larnaca in 1951, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 6 May 2017.

the village. They have demolished everything.” She will visit Cyprus, “But only for holidays. My family are all there.”<sup>295</sup>

Myrofora visited Cyprus but she did not like it; “I felt like a stranger in my own country. When I last went [prior to the checkpoints opening] I couldn’t go to the north. And if I went now ... I still don’t think I would go at all. It hurts too much.” She went on to say, “It’s easier for my children because they didn’t grow up there. But for me, it used to be paradise there. Now there is absolutely nothing there. They have pulled the house there. They stole all tiles off the roof.” Did Myrofora miss Cyprus? “The way it was – Yes. The way it is now – No.”<sup>296</sup>

Ilmiye had visited Cyprus since migrating to Australia and missed it dearly. “Yes [I miss Cyprus] but if you ask me, we have no country now. We are from Cyprus, I love my country, I love Cyprus. I am Turkish, no one can say to me that I am not Turkish; I am Cypriot Turkish. But you go there and [they say to you] ‘Oh, you’re from Australia!’ You come here and [they say to you] ‘You bloody wog’ ... I have no country now.”<sup>297</sup>

The memories of crossing the checkpoints and visiting the family homes for those who were (or whose families were) displaced post-1974 are discussed in Chapter 7.

## Conclusion

Cypriots have been migrating to Australia since the 1850s gold rushes. When Cyprus became a British Protectorate and later a Crown Colony, migrants’ paths were eased. Although their entry to Australia was restricted in the late 1950s, significant waves of Cypriot migration followed turmoil at home; Turkish Cypriot migration markedly increased during the 1960s, when they faced significant displacement in Cyprus, whereas Greek Cypriot migration increased significantly post-1974, when one third of the community had been displaced. In the 1940s and 1950s, Greek and Turkish Cypriots often came together to Australia and settled in similar locations to one another. This chapter underlines decades of immigration policy settings that impacted the migration of Cypriots to Australia, and the barriers that were overcome by both Greek and Turkish Cypriots to make their journey down under.

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295 Georgia, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Petra in 1958, migrated to Australia in 1983; interviewed 3 January 2015.

296 Myrofora, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Komi Kebir in 1937, migrated to Australia in 1955; interviewed 9 August 2014.

297 Ilmiye, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in 1955, migrated to Australia in 1978; interviewed 3 Aug 2014.

Although the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities established their own organisations, they did interact with one another. They worked together, socialised and helped one another. While the established Greek migrants helped the settlement of the early Greek Cypriot migrants, it was in fact the established Greek Cypriot migrants who helped settle many of the early Turkish Cypriot migrants in the 1940s and 1950s. In 1968, it was the Turkish Cypriot migrants who welcomed migrants from mainland Turkey. Whilst many Greek Cypriots engaged closely with mainland Greeks, the first wave of Turkish Cypriot migrants did not have such an opportunity to engage with mainland Turks. From 1968 onwards, this changed.

Most Cypriots migrated to Australia 'for a better life' – greater security and job prospects – and the vast majority were encouraged by friends or relatives to make the journey. Ninety percent of the interview participants already had family and/or friends living in Australia, making their settlement easier. It appears to have been more difficult for Turkish Cypriots who migrated to Australia than for Greek Cypriots: they came in much smaller numbers, they had a different religion to the wider Australian community, they faced anti-Turk sentiment for decades after World War I, and they did not have established mainland Turkish communities to support them when they first migrated. The data of this study also suggests that it was initially more difficult for those who migrated to rural areas; feelings of disconnectedness and isolation resulted, but perhaps they assimilated into the wider Australian community more quickly as a result.

Despite the obstacles faced by Greek and Turkish Cypriot migrants, many successfully built happy lives for themselves in Australia. Whilst the majority of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots who migrated to Australia now identify as 'Australians', many still hold onto their Cypriot (often hyphenated) identity, but have adopted an Australian identity as well.

There is very little literature on the interactions between, and simultaneous migration experiences of, Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Australia. My participants have provided first-hand oral testimonies of the interactions and friendships between the two communities. Some friendships between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Australia were extensions of old friendships – people who came to Australia together, or encouraged each other to join them in Australia. However, some were new friendships forged as their paths crossed in Australia. Many Greek and Turkish Cypriots have maintained deep friendships over several decades, despite political unrest and the intercommunal wars occurring in Cyprus throughout the 1960s and in 1974, and more than four decades of the island being divided.

# Chapter 7 – Rupture

*Historians always chronicle the mayhem, the genocides, the wars, the redress of social grievances, because those moments are extraordinary not ordinary.*<sup>1</sup>

When I first envisaged the scope of my research, I did not plan to discuss or explore the conflicts in Cyprus which escalated from the mid-1950s. A substantial amount of research has already been conducted regarding the political turmoil both leading up to and following independence, and I wanted instead to focus on the ‘good times’ prior to the problems. However, I soon realised that the significance of the stories of friendship and cooperation between Turkish and Greek Cypriots could only be properly understood if they were contextualised amidst the stories of subsequent rupture.

Many complexities arise when looking at historical accounts of Cyprus’ recent history. The rise of nationalism in Cyprus led to conflict, segregation and the construction of two opposing hegemonic nationalistic narratives commonly held and conveyed among Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriot nationalist narrative holds that the times before 1974 (from about 1955) were tumultuous and volatile; relations were always difficult, so the ‘intervention’ was justified. The Greek Cypriot nationalist narrative holds that the times before 1974 were peaceful and harmonious; nothing happened during the twenty previous years which could justify the 1974 ‘invasion’.<sup>2</sup> The hegemonic narratives continue to be strengthened and reinforced; the structured memories of Turkish and Greek Cypriots are thus curated in the present, within the context of division, displacement and nationalism. Inherited amnesia persists.

This chapter examines memories of Turkish and Greek Cypriots and tests the hegemonic nationalist narratives.

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<sup>1</sup> Jeremy Rifkin in E. Moretti (dir), *The Third Industrial Revolution*, Vice Documentary films, New York, 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Kızılyürek, ‘From Traditionalism to Nationalism and Beyond’, 58-67.

## Conflict

*The Greeks don't remember what happened before 1974 and the Turks can't forget it.*<sup>3</sup>

Hundreds of thousands of Cypriots have experienced – or inherited vivid memories of – conflicts and political turmoil throughout the twentieth century.<sup>4</sup> Thousands of Turkish and Greek Cypriots were displaced, many left the island for good, and hundreds of others remain missing, but not forgotten.

There is little evidence of conflicts between Christian and Muslim Cypriots during the Ottoman era (1571 – 1878).<sup>5</sup> The change to British administration in 1878, though, seems to have changed some people's hopes for the future. Following his 1907 visit to Cyprus, Churchill said:

I think it is only natural that the Cypriot people who are of Greek descent should regard their incorporation with what may be called their mother country as an ideal to be earnestly, fervently and devoutly cherished. Such a feeling is an example of the patriotic devotion which so nobly characterizes the Greek nation...<sup>6</sup>

The quote goes on to state:

On the other hand, the opinion held by the Moslem populations of the island that the British occupation should not lead to the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire ... is one which His Majesty's government are equally bound to regard with respect.<sup>7</sup>

Greek Cypriot leaders rejoiced at – and utilised – the first part of that quote, while ignoring the second. A few years later, in 1915, Cyprus was offered to Greece if it would join Britain in its war efforts; Greece declined.<sup>8</sup> While the arguments for *enosis* were against Britain rather than against Turkish Cypriots, political actions of nationalistic Greek Cypriots caused disquiet amongst Turkish Cypriots. A cyclical motion took place, whereby the British were unwilling to relinquish Cyprus and the Greek-Cypriot political elites remained stubborn in their struggle for *enosis*, despite alternative views being held by large numbers of the population.<sup>9</sup> Instead of implementing a policy whereby Turkish and Greek Cypriots played a larger and more cooperative role in government, “the British

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3 A. Vartiainen, former UNFICYP Commander, in R. Ellis 'The ghosts of Cyprus', *Cyprus Centre for European and International Affairs Indepth* 9(4), viewed 23 February 2020, <<https://ccea.unic.ac.cy/volume-9-issue-4-r-ellis/>>.

4 Bowman, 'Seeing What's Missing in Memories of Cyprus', 1.

5 Çiçek, 'Living together', 60.

6 C.P. Ioannides, *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule: Culture, Politics and Movement toward Union with Greece, 1874-1954*, Lexington Books, Lanham, USA, 2019, 43.

7 Yiangou, *Cyprus in World War II*, 186.

8 M. Kidron, 'The choice before the people of Cyprus: Colony, enosis or independence', *Socialist Review*, 5(7), 1956, 2-3.

9 A. Varnava, *British Cyprus and the long Great War, 1914-1925: empire, loyalties and democratic deficit*, Routledge, Abingdon, UK, 2019, 211.

were not interested in planning for an alternative to their rule, which could have united the majority of the population, including the rising labour movement, behind an alternative to *enosis*.”<sup>10</sup>

The first serious protests occurred in October 1931. After the Colonial Government’s Bill to increase taxes was defeated in the Legislative Council, the Governor pushed it through with an Order-in-Council. That spark ignited members of the Council whose efforts to discuss *enosis* had for years been quashed, and then the populace at large. An explosive manifesto published by the Bishop of Kitium, followed by his public plea for civil disobedience, led to widespread protests.<sup>11</sup> Police opened fire, one young man was killed, and protests spread throughout the island.<sup>12</sup>

Turkish Cypriots had good reason to fear *enosis*; following the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne in Crete, all of the Muslims – mostly ethnic Cretans (local Christians who had converted to Islam during Ottoman occupation) – had been expelled from Crete.<sup>13</sup> The Turkish Cypriots surely realised that such an expulsion could happen to them too. Furthermore, division of Turkish and Greek Cypriots in Cyprus is evident in the decline in the proportion of ‘mixed’ places (see Figure 2.2) after 1931.

Eventually the increasingly urbanised and well-educated Greek Cypriot community formalised their desire for *enosis*. On 1 April 1955 the Greek Cypriot nationalist organisation *Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston* (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) (EOKA) printed and distributed its declaration of anti-colonial sentiment. EOKA’s nationalist and anti-colonial guerrilla movement, which involved violent attacks on both British civilian and military targets, was coupled with a desire for *enosis* (union) with Greece.<sup>14</sup> EOKA imitated other anti-colonial struggles, though it was unique for being a right-wing nationalist organisation and in demanding, “not independence but the right to become part of another country.”<sup>15</sup>

The first underground Turkish Cypriot organisation, Volkan, was established within months; it served the purposes of the Colonial government to have Turkish and Greek Cypriots fight each other rather than join together in an anti-colonial movement. The British recruited Turkish Cypriots as auxiliary police to fight the EOKA insurrection; of course this led to violent interethnic

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10 Varnava, *British Cyprus and the long Great War*, 212.

11 Mayes, *Makarios*, 16-17; and Leventis, *Cyprus*, 70-71.

12 *ibid.*, 17-18.

13 M. Perakis, ‘Muslim exodus and land redistribution in Autonomous Crete (1898–1913)’, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 26(2), 2011, 135-150.

14 A. Karyos, ‘EOKA and Enosis in 1955-59: Motive and Aspiration Reconsidered’, paper presented at the 4th Hellenic Observatory PhD Symposium, London School of Economics, London, 25-26 June, 2009, 7.

15 Bryant, *The Past in Pieces*, 7.

confrontations.<sup>16</sup> In 1958, the resistance organisation *Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı* (TMT) was established. On 12 June, 1958, the infamous Geunyeli incident saw eight unarmed Greek Cypriots from the village of Kondemenos murdered by members of TMT near the Turkish-populated village of Geunyeli. This incident made it clear that the push for *enosis*, “had turned to civil war between Greek and Turkish Cypriots as well.”<sup>17</sup> Tensions between Greek Cypriots and the British escalated during this period, ending in 1960 with the declaration of Cyprus’ independence.<sup>18</sup> The tensions between Turkish and Greek Cypriots, however, did not end.

Disagreements over constitutional amendments proposed by the Makarios government led to the eruption of intercommunal violence – the ‘bloody Christmas’ – on the night of 20-21 December 1963<sup>19</sup> and led to the division of Nicosia, the island’s capital, and the relocation of a significant proportion of the Turkish Cypriot population into enclaves.<sup>20</sup> It prompted the involvement of the United Nations, who have remained on the island, guarding the Green Line – the buffer zone separating the two sides – ever since.<sup>21</sup> Papadakis stated, “The violence that began during Christmas 1963 lasted until 1967.”<sup>22</sup>

By 1967, the two sides had begun negotiations and signs of political stability appeared.<sup>23</sup> The Greek Cypriot leadership distanced itself from the ideal of *enosis*<sup>24</sup> and moved towards the goal of rebuilding political stability while safeguarding Cyprus from the secessionist demands of Turkish Cypriots.<sup>25</sup> Despite this shift, discontented radical Greek Cypriot pro-*enosis* factions, with the support of elements within the Greek junta – who came into power in Greece by force of arms in 1967 – carried out acts of sabotage in the name of the union that they felt had been betrayed by their politicians.<sup>26</sup>

The intra-ethnic strife among Greek Cypriots culminated in the coup d’état against President Archbishop Makarios of July 15, 1974. It was carried out by pro-*enosis* factions who identified themselves as EOKA-B, with the support of the Greek junta.<sup>27</sup> The coup d’état triggered the military offensive of Turkey five days later on 20 July 1974. By 15 August the second offensive by the Turkish

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16 J. Asmussen, ‘Conspiracy Theories and Cypriot History: The Comfort of Commonly Perceived Enemies’, *The Cyprus Review*, 23(2), 2011, 129.

17 Asmussen, ‘Life and Strife in Mixed Villages’, 106.

18 Faustmann, ‘Independence Postponed’, 413-419.

19 Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus*, 146.

20 Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone*, 82.

21 Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus*, 146.

22 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, ‘Introduction’, 2.

23 *ibid.*, 3.

24 Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus*, 146.

25 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, ‘Introduction’, 3.

26 *ibid.*, 3.

27 *ibid.*, 3.

Army took place (often referred to by Greek Cypriots as the 'second invasion'<sup>28</sup>), leaving the northern third of the island occupied.<sup>29</sup>

The Greek Cypriot economy recovered in the post-1974 climate, while the Turkish Cypriot economy stagnated.<sup>30</sup> "Many Turkish Cypriots found themselves living in isolation and poverty ... [and] left the island, while people from Turkey continued to settle in the north."<sup>31</sup>

Hundreds of Turkish and Greek Cypriots remain missing from the intercommunal fighting and wars that took place in 1963, 1964 and 1974.<sup>32</sup> The Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus (CMP) has estimated that in 2006, there were 2002 missing persons. As of 31 December 2019, that number was 1033; 223 Turkish Cypriots and 810 Greek Cypriots<sup>33</sup> (Appendix 7).

The important work of Cypriot journalist, Sevgül Uludağ, in the *Yenidüzen* newspaper<sup>34</sup> has revealed vital information about both Turkish and Greek Cypriot missing persons in Cyprus, from the 1960s to 1974. Bryant described Uludağ's book, *Oysters with the Missing Pearls*, as, "one of the first attempts to bring to light the stories that had been suppressed and denied on both sides of the island."<sup>35</sup> Her nomination for the 2019 Nobel Peace Prize was supported by governments of both the north and the south.

There are differences in the ways that the two communities remember conflict: As Bowman has observed:

For Turkish Cypriots, the years between 1963 and 1974 are central to their remembrance of conflict, as these were the trying times when life was largely restricted to fortified, impoverished ethnic enclaves. Thousands fled the island whereas those that remained lived in fear of being attacked by extremists. Greek Cypriots concentrate their memories on 1974, when Turkey invaded and partitioned the island in response to a coup led by Greek Cypriot ultra-nationalists and sponsored by the dictatorship in Greece.<sup>36</sup>

Cyprus remains divided, and the 'green line' or 'border' dividing the Turkish and Greek Cypriot populations remains "the central most important icon in the political imaginary of Turkish-Cypriot

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28 Demetriou, Report 1 – 'Life Stories: Greek Cypriot Community', 6.

29 Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus*, 146.

30 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, 'Introduction', 3-4.

31 *ibid.*, 4.

32 Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus, *About the CMP*, viewed 24 January 2019, <<http://www.cmp-cyprus.org/content/about-cmp-0>>.

33 Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus, *Facts and Figures*, viewed 5 January 2020, <<http://www.cmp-cyprus.org/content/facts-and-figures>>.

34 *Yenidüzen*, *home page*, viewed 28 January 2019, <<http://www.yeniduzen.com/>>.

35 Bryant, *The Past in Pieces*, 202.

36 Bowman, 'Seeing What's Missing in Memories of Cyprus', 1.



administrators, from the days when they were fighters under the TMT.”<sup>37</sup> As further explained by Navaro-Yashin:

“Partition or Death” was the slogan of Turkish-Cypriot and Turkish nationalists in the 1950s and 1960s (“Ya Taksim, Ya Olum”). Borders which were erected in 1963, as barricades, barrels, and barbed wires, between community enclaves and units, were revised in 1974, with the Turkish army’s invasion, this time dissecting the island through a complicated line right down the middle, passing through towns, neighborhoods, and villages. The TMT’s dream of “partition” was realized and implemented as plan and project.<sup>38</sup>

The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), proclaimed in 1983, continues to be economically and politically dependent on Turkey as it is not internationally recognised.<sup>39</sup> The United Nations continues to guard the Green Line and efforts to reunify the island continue.<sup>40</sup>

## Displacement

*They say a person should love their homeland that’s also what my father often says  
My homeland has been divided in two which of the two pieces should I love.*<sup>41</sup>

One cannot write about twenty-first century conflicts in Cyprus without examining the mass displacements of both Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Bryant explained the enormity of the impact that displacement had on the lives of Cypriots:

Over the past half century, Cyprus has experienced several waves of displacement that have uprooted villages, severed ties of people and land, and remade the social geography of the island. For the more than 215,000 Cypriots who have been displaced, the flight from their homes and resettlement elsewhere is both a lasting personal trauma and, for many, a political cause.<sup>42</sup>

Turkish and Greek Cypriots found themselves displaced during the intercommunal conflicts starting in 1958 and occurring throughout the 1960s. Demetriou stated, “after the inter-ethnic killings of 1963, that separation took on a decisively geographical aspect with the retreat of Turkish-Cypriots into self-administered enclaves.”<sup>43</sup> This is demonstrated in Figure 7.1, which shows the distribution of Turkish Cypriots throughout Cyprus from 1891 to 1973; stark changes are observed after 1946. In 1963, those displaced, “were largely Turkish Cypriots (25,000 according to the United Nations)

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37 Navaro-Yashin, ‘Confinement and the Imagination: Sovereignty and Subjectivity in a Quasi-State’, p.108

38 *ibid.*, 109.

39 Dietzel, *The Ecology of Coexistence and Conflict in Cyprus*, 146.

40 *ibid.*, 146.

41 N. Yaşın, *Hyacinth and Narcissus*, Cem, Istanbul, 1979, 36,

42 Bryant, Report 2 – ‘Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community’, vii.

43 Demetriou, Report 1 – ‘Life Stories: Greek Cypriot Community’, 5.

who abandoned their villages for the security of protected enclaves. Many of their homes were looted and destroyed.”<sup>44</sup> Some Greek Cypriots were also displaced during the 1960s from predominantly mixed places, as these became Turkish Cypriot enclaves.<sup>45</sup> In response to increasing intercommunal violence in Cyprus during the early 1960s, the United Nations Security Council authorised the establishment of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) in March 1964.<sup>46</sup>

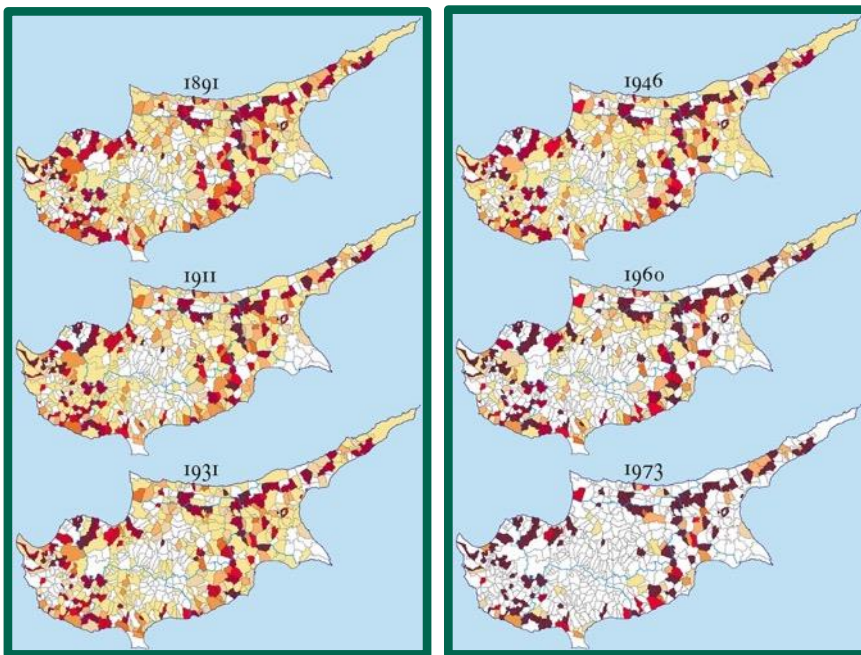


Figure 7.1 Distribution of Turkish Cypriot population, from census and UN data<sup>47</sup>

Turmoil continued and in 1974 approximately 160,000 Greek Cypriots – comprising almost one third of their population at the time – were forced to move from the north to the south (see Figure 7.2), and 45,000 Turkish Cypriots – comprising almost half of their population – were forced or volunteered to move from the south to the north.<sup>48</sup>

44 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement*.

45 Demetriou, Report 1 – ‘Life Stories: Greek Cypriot Community’, 5.

46 Ladini, ‘Peacebuilding, United Nations and Civil Society’, 48.

47 Images by AM Hadjilyra from Wikipedia, *Demographics of Cyprus*, viewed 5 January 2020, <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics\\_of\\_Cyprus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Cyprus)>.

48 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement*.



Figure 7.2 Green Line (in blue)<sup>49</sup>

There were differences in the experiences of Turkish Cypriots who were displaced in 1958 and/or 1963, and those displaced only as a result of the 1974 war. According to Bryant:

While the latter group had witnessed the displacement of others, in many cases because they took refuge in their own towns or villages, they remained unprepared for their own uprooting in and after 1974. In contrast, those displaced in 1963 were still refugees in 1974 and so often saw the island's division and their settlement in the north as a resolution of their refugee status.<sup>50</sup>

Despite this difference in experience, Bryant explained that there is one factor that not only unites the experiences of ninety percent of Turkish Cypriots, but also distinguishes them from Greek Cypriots – life in the enclaves between 1963 and 1974:

Although many Turkish Cypriots were not displaced until 1974, most nevertheless report a life of fear and restriction during the previous decade. This unites them with Turkish Cypriots from throughout the island during this period, who report living in cramped conditions and in what may be called an 'anticipation of violence,' ...<sup>51</sup>

Some Greek Cypriots who had remained in the north were exchanged in August 1975 following the ceasefire, under *the Vienna Agreement*. Furthermore, some 10,000 Turkish Cypriots who had refused to leave their homes (and sought refuge in British bases) were forcibly transferred to the

49 Based on UN map of Cyprus, <<https://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/english/htmain.htm>>.

50 Bryant, Report 2 – 'Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community', 17.

51 *ibid.*, 17.

north via Turkey.<sup>52</sup> The agreement was interpreted differently by each side. Demetriou described, “official Turkish-Cypriot interpretations maintaining it was a population exchange agreement, while Greek-Cypriot ones maintain it was a temporary humanitarian measure...”<sup>53</sup>

Properties left behind by Turkish Cypriots in the south were mostly allocated to Greek Cypriots, primarily refugees, although some remain vacant.<sup>54</sup> Many of the properties left behind by Greek Cypriots were looted, “and most were later given to or occupied by Turkish Cypriots who fled or migrated from the south.”<sup>55</sup> Properties of Greek Cypriots, “were also given to Turkish Cypriots whose homes in the north had earlier been destroyed, as well as to Turkish nationals who immigrated [sic] during this period from Turkey.”<sup>56</sup>

A study by Tasoulla Hadjiyanni of Greek Cypriot refugees and their children found several factors that contributed to the accentuation of refugee consciousness among those who were displaced. The relocation of refugees from rural to urban areas and vice versa may have increased their sense of loss and refugee consciousness.<sup>57</sup>

After the 1974 war, Greek Cypriot refugee associations were established. They worked with the government, “to locate co-villagers and neighbours who had been scattered in various refugee settlements all over the island...” and settle them together. Demetriou claimed, “This scattering had variable effects across communities, as, for example, it meant the beginning of the demise of the Maronite community...”<sup>58</sup> Bryant reported that many Greek Cypriot refugee interviewees held the belief that the Greek Cypriot leadership in fact executed an intentional plan to prevent the resettlement of entire villages, to encourage the longing for return.<sup>59</sup>

The Turkish Cypriot administration aimed to resettle Turkish Cypriot refugees from the same villages into the same villages in the north.<sup>60</sup> This meant that, “persons from villages near the sea were resettled near the sea, while those from the foothills and plains were resettled in similar areas.”<sup>61</sup> Vamik Volkan claimed that this was possible, “Since there were more vacated villages in

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52 Bryant, Report 2 – ‘Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community’, 10; and A. Gurel, M. Hatay & C. Yakinthou, Report 5 – ‘An Overview of Events and Perceptions’, *Displacement in Cyprus: Consequences of Civil and Military Strife*, Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) Cyprus Centre, Oslo, 2012, 10.

53 Demetriou, Report 1 – ‘Life Stories: Greek Cypriot Community’, 6.

54 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement*.

55 *ibid.*

56 *ibid.*

57 T. Hadjiyanni, ‘Housing, Refugee Consciousness, and the Meaning of Lost Places: the Children of Cypriot Refugees’, PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, Minnesota, 1999, 105.

58 Demetriou, Report 1 – ‘Life Stories: Greek Cypriot Community’, 10.

59 Bryant, *The Past in Pieces*, 13.

60 *ibid.*, 13.

61 *ibid.*, 13.

the North than had been left behind by migrating Turks in the South...”<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, a point system developed under *İskan Topraklandırma ve Eşdeğer Mal Yasası* (ITEM law) enabled provision of houses to Turkish Cypriot refugees according to the value of the house they were forced to leave behind.<sup>63</sup>

However, Volkan’s research in 1975 illustrated that, despite these efforts, six months after the war was over, many Turkish Cypriot settlers were not happy with their new homes in previously abandoned villages, even if they were a good match for or even ‘better’ than their previous homes and villages.<sup>64</sup> Volkan observed:

Each building bore a crudely scrawled code number required by the central Cypriot Turkish administration as a means of inventory and control. Somehow these ugly scrawls depressed me, reminding me of the tattoos used in concentration camps. They certainly detracted from any homelike aspect these houses might have had, and they served to remind the villagers that their houses were not their very own.<sup>65</sup>

Furthermore, Volkan noted Turkish Cypriots’ unease living in a Greek Cypriot’s former home. On the one hand, it was difficult for many to clearly separate themselves from the ‘enemy’ who had previously lived in the house. On the other hand, Turkish Cypriots also felt ‘survivor guilt’ through occupying a home of a Greek Cypriot refugee.<sup>66</sup>

Turkish and Greek Cypriots often deny each others’ claims to refugeehood. Dikomitis explained:

In both communities there is a denial about the existence of genuine refugees in the other community. Turkish Cypriots tend to describe the Greek Cypriots who left the north “either as paying their dues for the crimes they committed against Turkish Cypriots or as leaving because they chose to do so.” In the Greek Cypriot community the position is that the Turkish Cypriots had time to prepare their move to the north and that they knew they had to leave, and therefore they are not actual refugees.<sup>67</sup>

This maintenance of one’s own victimhood while denying victimhood of the ‘other’ precludes a resolution of the ‘Cyprus problem’.

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62 Volkan, *Cyprus-War and Adaptation*, 123.

63 Dikomitis, *Cyprus and its Places of Desire*, 13.

64 Volkan, *Cyprus-War and Adaptation*, 123-124.

65 *ibid.*, 125.

66 *ibid.*, 127.

67 Dikomitis, *Cyprus and its Places of Desire*, 11-12.

## Direct and secondary trauma

*Nostalgia identifies the distinctive nature of a given time period by the aspirations and desires that it satisfied, and which have not been met since.*<sup>68</sup>

Trauma has engulfed the island of Cyprus for centuries. In relation to contemporary Cyprus, trauma serves politicians – for as long as Cyprus remains divided. The maintenance of the memories of trauma, of refugee consciousness, prevent healing of the people but are political necessities. Catia Galatariotou claimed:

All historical vicissitudes are inevitably intertwined with psychological processes and states of mind. In Cyprus from the mid-1950s onwards these became increasingly pathological, partly because they were products and catalysts of manifold and un-worked through traumatic experience, the concentrated trauma of the 1974 war being bookended by the long-term strain and cumulative traumatisation which preceded and then followed – and in many ways intensified after – the war.<sup>69</sup>

A complicating factor in understanding loss is, “the positioning of the self, vis-à-vis the ‘nation’ in locating this loss.”<sup>70</sup> Demetriou contends that, “Between the official and the private, the public and the intimate are discourses and practices that contradict nationalist rhetoric, take it for granted, debate it or render it irrelevant.”<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, through her anthropological research, she has found that:

between the poles of the two authorities that have been appropriating the losses of the Cyprus conflict ... personal losses of friends, family, bonds and ‘memories’ (understood for example as memories of the life one should have had but did not) collide with, but sometimes also prop up, the official rhetoric. At the point of this clash, loss turns into a different point of encounter. The recognition of others’ losses calls forth the blind spots of nationalist historiography, where atrocities were only committed by the other, and claims and rights are the sole prerogative of the self...<sup>72</sup>

Therefore, explaining one’s loss is, according to Demetriou, “often the location where knowledge of this encounter surfaces, even if it remains unreplicated on the level of the official and in policies and politics that ‘matter’.”<sup>73</sup> Additionally, collective loss can often result from personal loss:

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68 Doumanis, *Before the Nation*, 53.

69 C. Galatariotou, ‘Truth, Memory and the Cypriot Journey towards a New Past’, in R. Bryant & Y. Papadakis (eds.), *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*, I.B. Taurus, New York, 2012, 242.

70 Demetriou, ‘Situating Loss in the Greek-Turkish Encounter in Cyprus’, 47.

71 *ibid.*, 47.

72 *ibid.*, 47.

73 *ibid.*, 47.

in the process of reconfiguring loss, a critical reflection on community develops, the disjunctures between personal losses and the rhetoric of collective loss begin to appear. An affective relation to these private losses is nurtured according to hegemonic rhetoric, but in the process the failures of consensus on what the political condition of being a refugee subject is are realized.<sup>74</sup>

Cypriots' 'not telling' arises here, where stories which contradict the hegemonic rhetoric are withheld, even from children and grandchildren. Peoples' need to belong, to conform, sees them self-censoring the stories that do not fit.

Trauma takes several forms. When it comes to direct trauma, Catia Galatariotou explained that, "when a traumatic experience has not been worked through in the mind, Past and Present become fixed at the point of trauma..."<sup>75</sup> She explained the psychological effect of this trauma, as, "in a collapse of temporal differentiation the subject (person or collective) does not so much recall the traumatic experience as lives in it and remains fundamentally defined by it."<sup>76</sup> Consequently, in situations of trauma, memories of an event can become, "distorted or embellished to another."<sup>77</sup> This is because, "Remembering is the outcome of an unconscious interpretive and reconstructive process, rather than the assessing of an objectively accurate record of an event."<sup>78</sup>

Two types of indirect trauma have been described by Volkan. The first, 'chosen trauma', involves a "shared mental representation of a massive trauma" experienced by the ancestors of a large group of people at the hands of a common enemy.<sup>79</sup> Volkan stated, "Within virtually every large group there exists a shared mental representation of a traumatic past event during which the large group suffered loss and/or experienced helplessness, shame and humiliation in a conflict with another large group."<sup>80</sup> Over generations, chosen traumas develop into something greater than a memory or shared piece of the past; the shared chosen trauma binds descendants together with a group identity.<sup>81</sup>

Interestingly, as argued by Volkan, "When a large group regresses, its chosen trauma is reactivated in order to support the group's threatened identity. This reactivation may have dramatic and

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74 Demetriou, 'Situating Loss in the Greek-Turkish Encounter in Cyprus', 60-61.

75 Galatariotou, 'Truth, Memory and the Cypriot Journey towards a New Past', 244.

76 *ibid.*, 244.

77 *ibid.*, 250.

78 *ibid.*, 250.

79 V.D. Volkan, 'Transgenerational transmissions and chosen traumas: An aspect of large-group identity', *Group Analysis*, 34(1), 2001, 87.

80 *ibid.*, 87.

81 *ibid.*, 88.

destructive consequences...”<sup>82</sup> and has the potential to, “exert a powerful psychological force.”<sup>83</sup> As a result, a ‘time collapse’ commonly occurs, whereby a current perceived threat is conflated with the past trauma.<sup>84</sup>

This can have a detrimental effect on the reunification efforts of Cypriots. Volkan explained, “This process magnifies the image of current enemies and current conflicts, and an event that occurred centuries ago will be felt as if it happened yesterday.”<sup>85</sup> Further, once such responses become apparent as shared by a large group, they can impact cultural and political processes.<sup>86</sup> If people feel helpless, they can share senses of shame, humiliation, survivor guilt, and if those are not processed normally, they transmit their sense of trauma to the next generation.<sup>87</sup>

The second type of indirect trauma, ‘trans-generational transmission of trauma’ or ‘secondary trauma’, is the emotional duress that results when an individual hears about the firsthand trauma experiences of another, most commonly one’s ancestor. The most familiar example of secondary trauma relates to descendants of Holocaust survivors.<sup>88</sup>

Secondary trauma is most often, “linked to the past generation’s inability to mourn losses of people, land or prestige, and indicates the large group’s failure to reverse narcissistic injury and humiliation inflicted by another large group, usually a neighbour...”<sup>89</sup> Volkan explained:

While each individual in a traumatized large group has his or her own unique identity and personal reaction to trauma, all members share the mental representations of the tragedies that have befallen the group. Their injured self-images associated with the mental representations of the shared traumatic event are ‘deposited’ into the developing self-representation of children in the next generation as if these children will be able to mourn the loss or reverse the humiliation. If the children cannot deal with what is deposited in them, they, as adults, will in turn pass the mental representation of the event to the next generation.<sup>90</sup>

Should the next generations be unable to reverse the trauma, they may manipulate the function of that trauma: “unsuccessful attempts to reverse ancestors’ humiliation may become an idealization

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82 Volkan, ‘Transgenerational transmissions and chosen traumas’, 79.

83 *ibid.*, 87.

84 *ibid.*, 89.

85 *ibid.*, 89.

86 V.D. Volkan, ‘Trauma, identity and search for a solution in Cyprus’, *Insight Turkey*, 10(4), 2008, 106.

87 *ibid.*, 106.

88 Volkan, ‘Trauma, identity and search for a solution in Cyprus’, 106; J.S. Kestenberg & I. Brenner, *The Last Witness: The Child Survivor of the Holocaust*, American Psychiatric Press, Washington, D.C., 1996; and V.D. Volkan, G. Ast & W.F. Greer, *Third Reich in the Unconscious: Transgenerational Transmission and its Consequences*, Routledge, New York, 2002.

89 Volkan, ‘Transgenerational transmissions and chosen traumas’, 87.

90 *ibid.*, 87-88.



of and preoccupation with victimhood...”<sup>91</sup> This transmission of trauma relates well to Greek Cypriots, in particular. Many people born after 1974 (in their 40s and younger) hold strident views, untempered by the intervening decades, as described below.

A further factor regarding secondary trauma is education. Spyros Spyrou’s recent study of national identity construction examined Greek Cypriot children’s engagement with nationalism in the context of the classroom, and found:

... the process of engagement between children, teachers, and nationalism often produces powerful senses of belonging which are, however, always limited and unstable both because of ideological contradictions and ambiguities and because of children’s access to alternative knowledge.<sup>92</sup>

Additionally, Michalinos Zembylas’ two-year ethnographic study of Greek-Cypriot teachers’ constructions of Turkish-speaking children’s identities in the Greek-Cypriot educational system found:

Turkish-speaking children enrolled in these schools are racialized, ethnicized and classed within the dominant discourse of Greek-Cypriot teachers. [And] how the homogenized perceptions expressed by the majority of participating teachers in this study are illustrative of structural racism that reinforces these constructions in teaching practices.<sup>93</sup>

The education system adds fuel to nationalism, ‘otherness’ and breeds animosity between Turkish and Greek Cypriot youths.

An investigation of secondary trauma within the specific context of Greek Cypriot children of refugees found that the ‘refugee mentality’ had been transferred; the children of refugees continue to experience a sense of loss and dislocation.<sup>94</sup> According to and Hadjiyanni, “Predictors of a child’s refugee consciousness included factors related to the child’s background such as whether a family’s origins were urban or rural, whether a family had missing people, and the age of the child.”<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, ‘purposive acts’ whereby, “the refugees willingly kept their children’s refugee consciousness alive... ” were also a predictor.<sup>96</sup> Such acts include, “the number of sources children had available from which to learn about the occupied places and the number of objects brought from the occupied places displayed in their homes.”<sup>97</sup> A similar finding of children’s ‘refugee consciousness’ appeared also in Madeleine Leonard’s study of 20 Turkish Cypriot and 20 Greek

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91 Volkan, ‘Trauma, identity and search for a solution in Cyprus’, 106.

92 S. Spyrou, ‘Children’s educational engagement with nationalism in divided Cyprus’, *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 31(9/10), 2011, 1.

93 M. Zembylas, ‘Greek-Cypriot Teachers’ Constructions of Turkish-speaking Children’s Identities: Critical Race Theory and Education in a Conflict-ridden Society’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33(8), 2010, 1372.

94 Hadjiyanni, ‘Housing, Refugee Consciousness, and the Meaning of Lost Places’, iv.

95 *ibid.*, iii.

96 *ibid.*, iv.

97 *ibid.*, iv.

Cypriot children aged between 14 and 16 years of age. During focus group discussions, many Greek Cypriot youths assumed the status of 'refugee', despite not having directly experienced displacement.<sup>98</sup> "It was clear that the refugee status of parents and grandparents had been appropriated by young people and many spoke with intense feelings of longing for the homes and lands of their elders' generation."<sup>99</sup>

The secondary trauma passed on to Turkish Cypriots appears to have taken a different course. Bryant's extensive ethnographic work on the displacement of Cypriots shows that after 1974, "both official and personal Greek Cypriot histories engaged in a remembrance of the lost home that insisted on the temporariness of the present and the future as a return to the past." This often led to secondary trauma transmitted to children. However, in contrast, "Turkish Cypriot official histories engaged in a politics of forgetting in the creation of a new state, and, indeed, Turkish Cypriots did not write poetry or songs for their lost homes or relay secondary trauma to their children."<sup>100</sup> Volkan's investigation into the impact of secondary trauma on Turkish Cypriots echoed Bryant's findings as he found that, "In present-day Cyprus most of the new Turkish Cypriot generation seems to hold onto a denial of the past to a greater extent than they accept being reservoirs of their ancestors' misery and associate tasks to reverse it."<sup>101</sup> This is largely due to the humiliation and victimisation they felt because their relatives had lived in enclaves for up to eleven years prior to 1974.<sup>102</sup> This had manifested in denial and an inability to grieve.<sup>103</sup>

After 1974 they continued to live in an invisible enclave. The new generations' attempt to resolve the harmful influences of previous generations' massive trauma has not always been an adaptive one ... The attempt to erase the parents' and grandparents' history in the enclaves is connected with denial that they are offspring of humiliated, shamed and victimized parents, as well as a general denial of their losses.<sup>104</sup>

Perhaps secondary trauma is one of the factors that has led to Turkish and Greek Cypriot youths having contrasting hopes of reunification, discussed in Chapter 8.

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98 M. Leonard, 'Young people's perspectives on conflict, reconciliation and reunification in Cyprus', *Children's Geographies*, 11(3), 2013, 335.  
99 *ibid.*, 335.

100 R. Bryant, 'History's remainders: On time and objects after conflict in Cyprus', *American Ethnologist*, 41(4), 2014, 690.

101 Volkan, 'Trauma, identity and search for a solution in Cyprus', 101.

102 *ibid.*, 106-107.

103 *ibid.*, 106-107.

104 *ibid.*, 106-107.

## Participants' recollections

### Participants' first awareness of conflict

All of the participants (details of whom are shown in Appendix 2) were asked when they first became aware of conflicts in Cyprus; the results are shown in Figure 7.3. The paler blue bars represent people learning of conflict in each decade; the darker blue bars represent dominant years (1955, 1963, 1974).

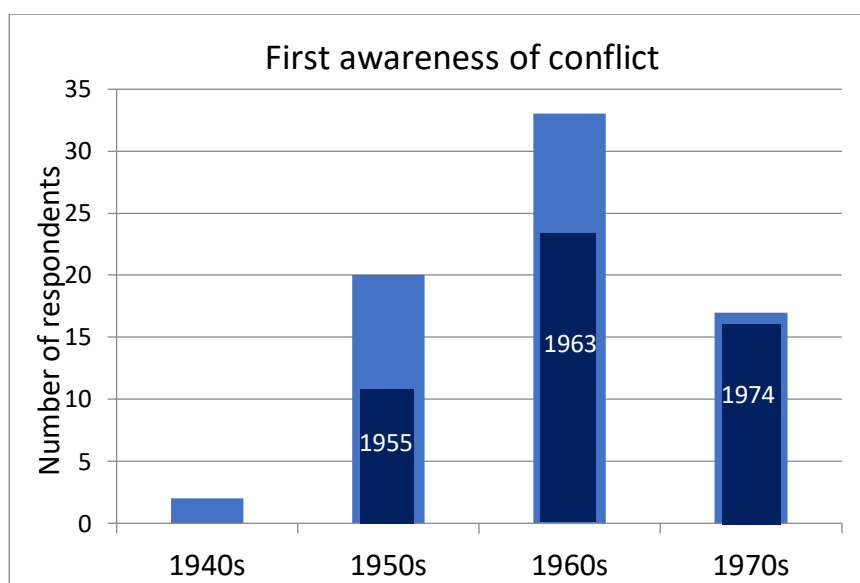


Figure 7.3 Period in which participants were first aware of intercommunal conflicts in Cyprus

It is clear that many people in small villages were unaware of the agitation that had been brewing in large cities and towns since the 1930s; 50 out of 72 (69 percent) first became aware of conflicts in the 1960s or 1970s.

Eleven of the respondents were first aware of conflict in 1955, the year in which the EOKA *enosis* violence began.<sup>105</sup> Of those respondents, three were from urban Nicosia, three from Morphou in the Nicosia district, two from Episkopi in the Kyrenia district, and one each from Kritou Terra in the Paphos district, Marona in the Paphos district, and Ayia Irini in the Kyrenia district.

Twenty-three of the respondents were first aware of conflict in 1963, the year in which the intercommunal violence reached a crescendo from 20–21 December 1963, known as the 'bloody Christmas'.<sup>106</sup> Of those respondents, seven were from Polis Chrysochous in the Paphos district; six

<sup>105</sup> Karyos, 'EOKA and Enosis in 1955-59', 7.

<sup>106</sup> Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone*, 82.

from Alaminos (which had a Turkish Army camp established less than five miles from the village in that year) in the Larnaca district; five from Ayia Irini in the Kyrenia district; one each from Lefka in the Nicosia district, Loutros in the Nicosia district, Galinoporni in the Famagusta district, urban Larnaca, and Khoulou in the Paphos district.

Strangely, sixteen of the respondents – 22 percent – were completely taken by surprise in 1974 when the Turkish army intervened and the island was divided. Eight of those were people who had migrated to Australia in the 1940s and early 1950s; one (from Ayia Irini) had moved to London in 1971. The other seven who were surprised in 1974 lived in Cyprus – three in Ayia Irini in the Kyrenia district, two in nearby Morphou in the Nicosia district, one each in Kato Polemidhia in the Limassol district and Silikou in the Paphos district.

Of the one in London and the seven in Cyprus who were completely surprised by the events of 1974, seven were males born between 1933 and 1964 and one female born in 1941. Discounting one who was a 10-year old child, the average age of the others in 1974 was 25 years, whereas the average age of all those participants living in Cyprus in 1974 (excluding the 10-year old) was 31 years. My findings show that youth, and males, were more likely to be unaware of the conflicts that had been occurring around them for years. The lack of awareness of these people points to their living lives focussed on their village and their community; having little exposure to or interest in the wider world.

## Participant recollections of rupture

*In the aftermath of war, those who remain must live in the conflict's ruins.*<sup>107</sup>

Recollections of rupture are grouped by village to allow for the examination of commonalities or contrasts between Turkish and Greek Cypriots from the same village, which might emerge from this grouping.

My participants in Cyprus and Australia were asked if they had been displaced in the 1960s and/or the 1970s. While the 21 participants of this study who had migrated to Australia prior to 1974 may have had family and friends displaced, and lost property themselves in the aftermath of the 1974 Turkish offensive, they were not themselves displaced and are excluded from the following analysis. Fifty-one people – 11 Australian interviewees and all 40 from Cyprus – contribute to the data

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<sup>107</sup> Bryant, 'History's remainders', 681.

shown in Figure 7.4. Around half had been displaced and half had not; that will allow comparison of their responses to other questions. Slightly more Turkish Cypriots had been displaced; that is unsurprising as two of the villages chosen for the focus in Cyprus were in the current south, so of course more Turkish Cypriots than Greek Cypriots interviewed in Cyprus had been refugees.

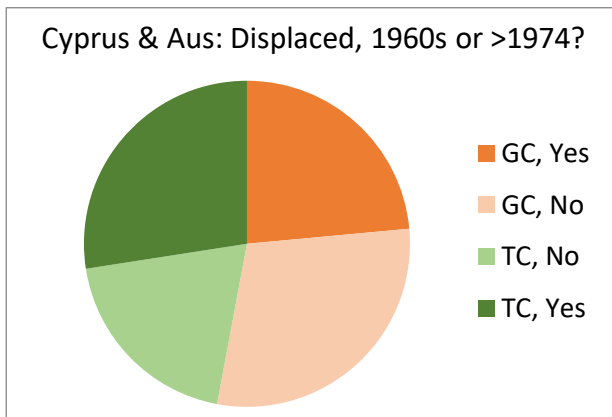


Figure 7.4 Participants displaced in the 1960s or 1970s <sup>108</sup>

While combined data on all participants is interesting, it is useful to consider the three different villages – Ayia Irini, Alaminos and Polis Chrysochous – which were the focus of the study in Cyprus. Furthermore, although some participants would give short answers when questioned about the times of conflict, others would open up quite a lot. Several of the accounts that follow are highly sensitive.

### *Ayia Irini (Kyrenia District)*

Ayia Irini was a Turkish-Cypriot majority village. The Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) estimates that in 1973 there were 556 (82 percent) Turkish Cypriots and 126 (18 percent) Greek Cypriots in the village.<sup>109</sup> This was a significant change from the 305 (65 percent) and 166 (35 percent) respectively recorded in the 1960 census.<sup>110</sup>

While both Alaminos and Polis Chrysochous experienced turmoil in 1963, in Ayia Irini no such stark moments split the community until 1974, when Greek Cypriots fled south.

In August 1974, almost all the Greek Cypriots fled from the advancing Turkish army. However, five of them managed to remain in the village until November 1976, when they relayed a “request” to UNFICYP to be taken to the other side of the Green Line. Currently,

<sup>108</sup> Note that all Turkish Cypriots from Polis Chrysochous have been recorded as being displaced, due to being enclaved in 1963.

<sup>109</sup> PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement: Ayia Eirini*.

<sup>110</sup> Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture*, 14.

like the rest of the displaced Greek Cypriots, the Greek Cypriots of Ayia Irini are scattered throughout the island's south.<sup>111</sup>

Hürsiye was completely surprised by nearby conflict in 1963, during which her husband was killed. Tragically, his body had not been found. He is one of many Turkish and Greek Cypriot missing persons. She had a three-year-old daughter and four-year-old son at the time of her husband's death; "They don't remember him."<sup>112</sup>

Loss comes in many forms. Demetriou listed, "property, life and bodily integrity ... [as the] first features to be inventorized in accounts of conflict and war."<sup>113</sup> However, other intangible losses exist too: "Memories, social relations, community or 'the life we could have had'..."<sup>114</sup> She argued that, "a person without dead or missing relatives still mourns for the possibilities war has foreclosed for them."<sup>115</sup>

When I asked Hüseyin G (Figure 7.5) if I could see some of his old photos, he told me that the Turkish military had destroyed them all – so as to destroy memories of the old times. Many of the Greek Cypriots who fled Ayia Irini in July 1974 lost all of their photos; I was surprised to learn that the Turkish Cypriots did, too. Hüseyin became emotional and told me how sad and depressed he was when his Greek Cypriot friends fled Ayia Irini in 1974.<sup>116</sup> This – my first participant interview in Cyprus in 2015 – was my first encounter with grief and trauma felt by those not displaced from their homes. The most obvious suffering, of course, was felt by those whose loved ones were killed, and by those who lost their homes and lands and became refugees. The less violent losses felt by those who remained in their homes and villages were nevertheless deep and enduring griefs.

Many of my Turkish Cypriot participants from Ayia Irini maintained close relations with Greek Cypriots up until 1974. Ülgü moved to Morphou when she married in 1968, as her husband worked there with his close Greek Cypriot friend.<sup>117</sup> Her cousin Serpil moved to Lefkoşa in 1973.<sup>118</sup> Although both women recalled tension and signs of conflict arising in Ayia Irini in 1963, they maintained friendships with many Greek Cypriots up until 1974.

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111 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement: Ayia Eirini*.

112 Hürsiye, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1936; interviewed 25 May 2015.

113 Demetriou, 'Situating Loss in the Greek-Turkish Encounter in Cyprus', 46.

114 *ibid.*, 47.

115 *ibid.*, 47.

116 Hüseyin G, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1939; interviewed 25 May 2015.

117 Ülgü, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1948; interviewed 24 July 2015.

118 Serpil, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1949; interviewed 24 July 2015.



*Figure 7.5 Hüseyin G (centre) with his wife (right) and the author*

Some Turkish and Greek Cypriots worked together right up until the 1974 war. In 1974, Tayfun (Figure 7.6) was a teenage boy working with Greek Cypriots in the building industry. He wanted to work in a physically demanding occupation that would help him develop “a triangle shaped body” that was highly desirable to the girls. Tayfun had not encountered any intercommunal trouble until the first few months of 1974; however, that did not discourage him from wanting to work with Greek Cypriots. When the war broke out Tayfun thought it would only be for a short period. He waited one week for his Greek Cypriot friends to return, then “a month, three months, a year ... I waited.”<sup>119</sup>



*Figure 7.6 Tayfun (right) of Ayia Irini with his son Arda (left) and the author*

Tayfun was not the only one who waited. Feriha, the widow of my *pappou* Costas’ best friend Mehmet Emin, grieved terribly when her Greek Cypriot friends left the village in 1974. For the first few years, the Turkish Cypriots tried to look after the farms that belonged to their friends, expecting them to soon return but, “We couldn’t look after fields, we couldn’t keep on watering the plants and eventually all of the citrus trees died. After the Greeks left, it was too difficult for us to continue looking after the farms on our own.” Tending the trees of the ‘enemy’ was not her responsibility but she still carried that guilt with her, more than forty years later. She did state,

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<sup>119</sup> Tayfun, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1959; interviewed 18 June 2015.

however, that “Mehmet Emin [her late husband] and others looked after Constantinou’s [my *pappou’s*] land.”<sup>120</sup>

The recollections of Turkish Cypriots from Ayia Irini describe a time up until 1974 when friendships still existed between Turkish and Greek Cypriots, despite the wars of the 1960s. This is contrary to the Turkish Cypriot nationalist narrative, which claims that relations were always volatile and no deep connections to the ‘other’ existed. Of course problems existed elsewhere, however my evidence supports the idea that rural areas away from major towns were more insulated from the violence. Furthermore, whilst there are many accounts of the grief experienced by those who were displaced, the grief felt by those who remained is often overlooked.

The Greek Cypriots of Ayia Irini also recalled troubles in the 1960s. My great-uncle Iordanis described his first experience of intercommunal tensions in Ayia Irini in the 1960s. A person had died but there was no priest in the village to conduct the burial practices. Iordanis and his Turkish Cypriot friend went together by car to a neighbouring village to fetch a priest. On the way there they saw the road was blocked by Turkish Cypriots. While he himself had fought for EOKA in the 1950s, he had fought against the British; not against his friends and neighbours. This was the first time Iordanis had seen anything of this nature since independence. They were forbidden to pass. The man guarding the road crossing was his friend – the Turkish Cypriot leader of Ayia Irini – and he had a gun pointing towards him. Iordanis asked what this was all about and the man said, “Come over here by yourself and we will talk about it, just the two of us.” Iordanis’ friend in the car told him not to go with the man, as he feared for his safety. Iordanis took his advice and instead spoke to the senior man in charge of the road crossing; he let them through.<sup>121</sup>

A similar account of one friend saving another was told by Emmanuelle’s interviewee Grigoris, whose family fled their home in 1974 but were stopped at a Turkish-manned roadblock. “The situation looked very bleak. By chance, Grigoris’ Turkish Cypriot friend Niyazi was also there and was able to convince the Turkish officers not to shoot Grigoris’ family and let them escape.”<sup>122</sup> Such instances of people helping members of the ‘other’ community are not uncommon. Another account, of a Greek Cypriot protecting others in 1963, was told by Leyla, interviewed in 1996 as part of an oral history project. Asked if her Greek neighbours had attacked the Turkish Cypriots, she replied:

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120 Feriha, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1934; interviewed 1 June 2015.

121 Iordanis, a Greek Cypriot born in Ayia Irini in 1936; interviewed 19 June 2014.

122 Grigoris Savvas Loupi, born 1921 in Livadi, in Emmanuelle, *Tales of Cyprus*, 53.



No, no, they didn't attack us. The soldiers who came from Greece attacked us. The soldiers wanted to kill us. But our village's administrator didn't let them kill us. He said: "If you do anything to or if you even touch my Turks, you have to kill me first. No one will even touch our Turkish villagers." And because of that only a few people had been killed.<sup>123</sup>

Mr Andreas, interviewed for the same oral history project in 2010, told of another crucial intervention:

Another incident that made an impression on me took place during the second phase of the invasion in 1974. One of my brothers remained in the village along with some other people. One day, a group of Turkish Cypriot soldiers from Chados were asked by Turkish generals to gather the people of Marathovounos. They wanted to judge them and make them pay for the pillages they committed against the properties of Turkish Cypriots of Chados during the incidents of 1964.

However, when the Turkish Cypriot soldiers saw who these people were, they said to the generals that they had captured the wrong people, because with these people they used to live, work, eat, and have fun together. One of them said: "These people are our brothers. They never hurt us." Obviously, the nationalists, who probably did these pillages, had already abandoned the village ... Finally, they convinced the Turkish generals to let them go and thus my brother and the others were spared.<sup>124</sup>

The bonds between villagers were often stronger than their bonds to their 'motherlands'.

### *Case study #3: Irini and Kostas*

As teenagers, both Irini and Kostas (Figure 7.7) joined EOKA. Irini described her time in EOKA and the beginning of the intercommunal strife, when Turkish Cypriots were recruited by the British as auxiliary police:

On three occasions those Turkish Cypriot police actually rescued or supported us ... In Myrtou, which was six miles further down from the village, there was the roadblock. The English were searching the cars ... at the roadblock and if they found weapons it would be big trouble. But one Turkish police officer that was there said to the English, "They are from our village and they are good, trustworthy men," and he said, "Let them pass through." And they let them through without searching them! We were fearful. We used to transport weapons and messages, information to other villages where we had the resistance that would be up in the mountains. Because they couldn't come down, so we had to take things to them ... We were fighting to get rid of the English. We didn't want the English. We

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123 Mediaprof n.d., *Leyla's Story*, viewed 27 February 2020, <<http://www.mediaprof.org/cyvoices/faika3.html>>.

124 Mediaprof n.d., *Mr. Andreas's Story*, viewed 27 February 2020, <<http://www.mediaprof.org/cyvoices/mario-alexia-marinos-1.html>>.

wanted to be independent. At the end of 1956, and in '57, they put the Turkish against us and we had lots of trouble ...<sup>125</sup>



*Figure 7.7 Couple Irini (right) and Kostas (left) of Ayia Irini with the author*

Whilst Irini recounted the support of her Turkish Cypriot villagers, she did not acknowledge the growing discontent felt by the Turkish Cypriots at this time, and instead blamed the British for the intercommunal strife that unfolded. She went on to state:

In 1963, it started again. There were troubles. We were against the Turks. And when Makarios got in, he organised an army – an army to get the Greeks and Turks together; the Christians and Turks together. And we also had people from our village who were against the Turks which created more problems. It's from there that it started. That's when the problems of the division of Cyprus started. That's when the Turkish started to realise that we can't get along together. Therefore, Cyprus was divided and it remains like that today ... [After 1974] everything was cut off. We weren't allowed to go over to the other side, and they weren't allowed to come over to our side. No contact; not even telephone calls.<sup>126</sup>

Kostas had many regrets from his involvement with EOKA during the mid-to-late 1950s, when he was a teenager “just following orders”. I could see the deep sorrow in his eyes when he said, “I feel guilty to this day for the terrible things that EOKA made me do.”<sup>127</sup>

In 1974, with escalating tensions, some Turkish Cypriot girls from nearby Morphou were captured by Greek Cypriot soldiers, “our people”, and imprisoned in a Turkish Cypriot café in Ayia Irini. After three days without food or water, Kostas couldn't leave them suffering:

What a terrible thing to do! How could you lock them up?! ... I kept an eye on them and then I got them out and took them home. They had a wash, they got some milk and they went back. I told them not to leave: ‘Otherwise our people – they will kill me.’ ... I was asked by some other villagers what was I doing? ... My people threatened to kill me because they

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125 Irini, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1938; interviewed 15 July 2015.

126 *ibid.*

127 Kostas, a Greek Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1938; interviewed 15 July 2015.

said, 'Why did you do such a thing?' ... They took them to another house ... One of our people went there with a bomb. He said he was going to kill them in the house ... I heard the bomb go off. I ran! I was wondering what happened and whether the girls were killed ... There was crying and screams. I opened up the door. They all came out alive ... I cried with joy ... They said to me, 'What have we done? They are going to kill us!' Then the soldiers took them away ... I ran up to the soldiers and asked them to let them go home. They did, and I took them home.<sup>128</sup>

When the war broke out a few months later, Kostas and Irini fled, eventually settling in Episkopi. Since the checkpoints opened in 2003, they had travelled north many times to see their friends in Ayia Irini. "There is still lots of love", Kostas said. They had also met some of those young Turkish Cypriot girls, now women in their fifties. Their rescuer was deeply respected by them and their families.<sup>129</sup>

The accounts of Greek Cypriots from Ayia Irini describe tension and conflict in the 1960s; this is contrary to the Greek Cypriot nationalist narrative, which claims that prior to 1974, there was harmony between the two communities. This contradiction was also discovered by Sant Cassia:

personal recollections are much more complex, and richer, than officially sponsored history, and individuals also remember violence by Greek Cypriots against the Turkish Cypriots. When individuals mention such inter-communal killings but say to the anthropologist 'don't write this down', they are engaging in passive complicity with officially sponsored accounts.<sup>130</sup>

Fortunately, many of my Greek Cypriot participants had broken away from parts of their hegemonic nationalist narrative when speaking with me.

### *Polis Chrysochous (Paphos District)*

Polis Chrysochous had for many decades been a Greek-Cypriot majority village. PRIO estimates that in 1973 there were 714 (49 percent) Turkish Cypriots and 747 (51 percent) Greek Cypriots in the village.<sup>131</sup> This was a significant change from the 664 (40 percent) and 963 (59 percent) respectively (and 18 British) recorded in the 1960 census.<sup>132</sup>

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128 Kostas, a Greek Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1938; interviewed 15 July 2015.

129 *ibid.*

130 Sant Cassia, 'Martyrdom and witnessing', 50.

131 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement: Polis*.

132 Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture*, 25.

On 14 February 1964, due to intercommunal fighting, all the Turkish Cypriots of Polis Chrysochous (664 in 1960) and the neighbouring village Prodromi (334 in 1960) took refuge in the Turkish Cypriot secondary school, where they were besieged.<sup>133</sup> In 1968 an enclave was established, with refugee housing; however the situation continued until July 1974, “when Greek Cypriot forces launched an attack on the Turkish Cypriot quarter, after the Turkish Cypriots refused to surrender their guns.”<sup>134</sup> Some fled, while the rest were evacuated on 22 August 1975 to the north under UNFICYP escort.<sup>135</sup> My participants’ accounts suggest that some people were already taking refuge in the school in 1963.

Ertherul (Figure 7.8) remembered the troubles starting in 1955 when EOKA first surfaced. In 1963 some Greek Cypriots killed some Turkish Cypriots in the Limni mines. That triggered the bulk of Turkish Cypriots of Polis Chrysochous to move into the secondary school in 1963 and form an enclave in early 1964.<sup>136</sup>



*Figure 7.8 Ertherul of Polis Chrysochous with the author*

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133 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement: Polis*.

134 *ibid.*

135 *ibid.*

136 Ertherul, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1947; interviewed 13 July 2015.

Gülten (Figure 7.9) married in 1949 at the age of 14 and moved to Evretou. She then moved to Polis Chrysochous in 1956 and finally to Morphou after the war in 1974. She had been a refugee twice. Her life changed dramatically in 1963 when she, along with the majority of the Turkish Cypriots from Polis Chrysochous, was forced to live in a school for nearly 11 years, until August 1974.<sup>137</sup> Özcan also lived in the school for 11 years. “In 1963 all of the Turkish Cypriots were gathered together. I knew I was being moved somewhere, but didn’t know exactly where.”<sup>138</sup>



*Figure 7.9 Gülten of Polis Chrysochous with the author*

My Turkish Cypriot participants recalled not only intercommunal tensions between Turkish and Greek Cypriots, but intra-communal tensions within the Greek Cypriot community. Artam had a ‘Cypriot’ identity as a child; however as Greek Cypriot nationalism grew during the late 1950s, he felt more Turkish Cypriot. After 1963 relations between the two communities started to sour, and division also occurred within the Greek Cypriot community. Artam recalled Greek Cypriot brothers being instructed to kill each other, as one was a member of EOKA, and the other was a member of the opposing communist group AKEL.<sup>139</sup>

These accounts of Turkish Cypriots from Polis Chrysochous reveal a very tense environment in Polis Chrysochous throughout the 1960s. Whilst these accounts fit with the Turkish Cypriot nationalist narrative, participants’ recollections of deep community-level and personal-level relations, as described in Chapters 2 to 5, do not fit within the nationalist narrative.

Greek Cypriots from Polis Chrysochous also spoke of the intercommunal tensions and conflicts leading up to the 1974 war. Nikos said, “After 1955 things changed.” He remembered that Turkish Cypriots were told that they could only buy from Turkish Cypriots, and Greek Cypriots that they could only buy from Greek Cypriots. As a student, Nikos worked at the British-owned Limni mine.

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137 Gülten, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Pelathousa in 1935; interviewed 24 July 2015.

138 Özcan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1955; interviewed 13 July 2015

139 Artam, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1944; interviewed 13 July 2015.

Before 1956, Turkish and Greek Cypriots worked in shifts together. He got on well with his Turkish Cypriot co-workers. However, after 1956 the British split them into separate shifts. There were two Greek Cypriot shifts and one Turkish Cypriot shift – the midnight to 8:00 a.m. shift – per day. As time passed, many Turkish Cypriots stopped working there, as they were afraid. Nikos started working the Turkish Cypriot shift, as they needed more workers.<sup>140</sup>

Naturally, Greek Cypriots also recalled the Turkish Cypriots moving into the school and enclave. Eleni G remembered that, “They gathered them up in 1963 ... the village was split ... and they left in 1974.” She recalled both Turkish and Greek Cypriots killing each other in Polis Chrysochous during the 1960s.<sup>141</sup> Paraskivou also remembered when her Turkish Cypriot neighbours moved into the school in 1963. “They left by themselves”, she said. Paraskivou described the grief she felt when the Turkish Cypriots left her village in 1974. “When the Turkish Cypriots left the village it was very hard; I lost all of my neighbours and friends. It was like my family was split.”<sup>142</sup>

Turkish and Greek Cypriots were forced to adjust their warm relations with one another due to the tense environment in the lead-up to the 1974 war. Christodoulos finished high school and then studied in Leeds in the UK on a scholarship. He returned to Cyprus to attend two years of Teacher’s Training College in Larnaca in the 1960s, where he shared a room with two Turkish Cypriots. They became best friends (Figure 7.10). One day in 1974, in the lead-up to the war, Christodoulos was filling his car with petrol in Morphou when he heard a familiar voice. It was one of his Turkish Cypriot friends from Teacher’s College. They were so excited to see each other and moved to embrace – but his friend signalled restraint; Turkish soldiers were nearby and they could be seen.<sup>143</sup>

Like those of the Turkish Cypriots, the accounts of Greek Cypriots from Polis Chrysochous describe tension and conflict between the two communities throughout the 1960s; this is contrary to the Greek Cypriot nationalist narrative which states that the times before 1974 were peaceful.

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140 Nikos, a Greek Cypriot born in Polis Chrysochous in 1942; interviewed 18 June 2015.

141 Eleni G, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Neakhorio, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1935; interviewed 9 June 2015.

142 Paraskivou, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prodromi, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1936; interviewed 14 July 2015.

143 Christodoulos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1929; interviewed 17 June 2015.



Figure 7.10 Christodoulos of Polis Chrysochous while he was at teacher's training college

### *Alaminos (Larnaca District)*

Alaminos had for many decades had similar numbers of Turkish and Greek Cypriots. PRIO estimates that in 1973 there were 292 (53 percent) Turkish Cypriots and 258 (47 percent) Greek Cypriots in the village.<sup>144</sup> This was a small change from the 251 (45 percent) and 313 (55 percent) respectively recorded in the 1960 census.<sup>145</sup> In Alaminos, villagers were all affected by the Turkish Army base established a few miles away in 1963. That coloured their lives for the next eleven years until the Turkish Cypriots were moved north. Neither Turkish nor Greek Cypriots were displaced during the intercommunal strife of 1963-64 or 1967. The PRIO Cyprus Centre explained:

The first conflict-related displacement occurred in 1974, when in reaction to the Turkish military offensive of 20 July, the Greek Cypriot National Guard attacked the village. Turkish Cypriot men took up a defensive position; the two sides exchanged fire, and both sides suffered casualties, resulting in the death of five Greek Cypriots and eight Turkish Cypriots. On 21 July, the Turkish Cypriot Fighters surrendered, following which thirteen of them were taken to the village center and executed. Meanwhile, most of the civilian population sought refuge in Kofinou/Geçitkale ... where males of fighting age were taken to a POW camp that had been erected beside the village. Many families fled to the other side of the divide through hills and plains, usually after sunset. By December 1974, there were no Turkish

144 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement: Alamino*.

145 Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture*, 18.

Cypriots left in the village ... The total number of displaced Turkish Cypriots from Alaminos is estimated to be 280 (292 in 1973).<sup>146</sup>

Whilst the Turkish Cypriots of Alaminos may not have feared their Greek Cypriot neighbours, they did fear EOKA. Mustafa stated, “Before 1955, there was no tension in Alaminos between the two communities.” When ethnic tension arose in the mid-1950s, Mustafa and his family were fearful of EOKA and felt a sense of security when the right-wing Turkish Cypriot nationalist group TMT was established.<sup>147</sup>

Some of my participants lost loved ones during the period of intercommunal strife. Sadiye recalled negative slogans about Turkish Cypriots circulating around the village in the early 1960s. That was her first memory of tension between the two communities. She married in 1967 and had three children. Her husband was tragically killed during the 1974 war; she was a widow at the age of 25. After the war, rather than moving to Değirmenlik (formerly Kythrea) with the majority of Turkish Cypriots from Alaminos, she decided to settle in Lefkoşa. She wanted to provide her children with greater opportunities for education and work as it was, and remains, the capital of both the north (as Lefkoşa) and the south (as Lefkosia).<sup>148</sup>

One of my Turkish Cypriot participants from Alaminos had experienced displacement prior to 1974. Naile was passionate about education and started a tailoring course. Unfortunately, she could not finish it as the 1963 conflict broke out; further training by her Greek Cypriot teacher was not possible. Her family migrated in 1964 to Aglantzia, where she met her husband; they married in 1969. Naile was displaced again in 1974 and settled in the north of the divided capital – Lefkoşa.<sup>149</sup>

The accounts of Turkish Cypriots from Alaminos are traumatic. They fit within the Turkish Cypriot nationalist narrative; however, their recollections of deep community-level and personal-level relations, as described in Chapters 2 to 5, are in tension with the nationalist narrative.

Many of my Greek Cypriot participants from Alaminos also experienced trauma. Charalambos P told of the day that he and two of his friends were shot in the 1974 war; his friends died (see Figure 7.11). Charalambos still had a bullet lodged next to his spine (Figure 7.12); doctors considered it too dangerous to remove it.

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146 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement: Alamino*.

147 Mustafa, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1948; interviewed 9 July 2015.

148 Sadiye, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1949; interviewed 9 July 2015.

149 Naile, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1947, moved to Aglantzia in 1964; interviewed 9 July 2015.





Figure 7.11 Memorial in Alaminos commemorating the two Greek Cypriots killed during the 1974 conflict



Figure 7.12 Charalambos P of Alaminos, Symon, and the x-ray showing the bullet from 1974

During the fight for *enosis* in the 1950s, Charalambos was arrested and jailed by the British. However, that was not a shameful memory; his mug shot was professionally coloured and was framed and displayed proudly in his house (Figure 7.13). His past fighting and the violence and turmoil up until 1974 were separate, in his mind, to his relationships with his friends.<sup>150</sup>

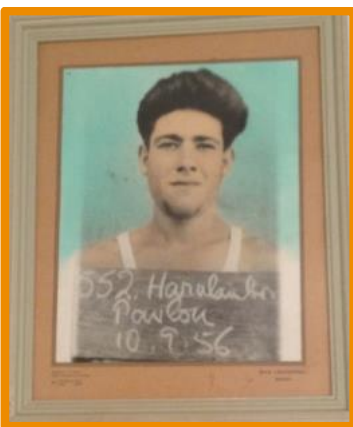


Figure 7.13 Charalambos' mug-shot when he was taken prisoner by the British in 1956

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150 Charalambos P, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1934; interviewed 27 May 2015.

Another member of EOKA from Alaminos, Father Charalambos S (Figure 7.14) said:

I was involved in EOKA from 1955 – 1959. I was one of the leaders and the struggle started on the first of April 1955. I left for England in 1952 to get married and we went there for economic reasons. I worked in a restaurant. I was in England (where I had got married) for three years and soon as I heard about the struggle I left for Cyprus immediately. I stayed there 'til the end. I wanted to get rid of the British from Cyprus. My parents and siblings left for Australia and wanted me to come too. But I wanted to stay and fight and if I got killed, it would be my honour and privilege. But I did not leave until the struggle ended. I stayed there till 1969. From 1955 onwards I was a priest. Under my priest's robe, I had a heavy weapon. I have 32 bullets in there and other ammunition. The British used to hide in caves. If there were six hiding I would kill them instantly. But if there were more than that I would only manage to wound them. I was never caught. I never retreated. If anything I became wilder and more energised. I considered this my job. I was an ace at aiming and shooting. I was better than the Greeks. I also received a medal.<sup>151</sup>



*Figure 7.14 Father Charalambos S of Alaminos, with his wife*

Father Charalambos' revelations are extraordinary – but were of their time. Archbishop Makarios III supported EOKA and condoned violence against the British, for the goal of *enosis*. With such a role model, it is not surprising that a priest joined the many Greek Cypriots acting as terrorists / freedom fighters.

An interesting account is provided by Eleni N (Figure 7.15), who grew up with many Turkish Cypriot friends. She stated that a Turkish military base had been stationed just five miles from Alaminos from 1963 to 1974. Amongst small mixed villages, I suspect that Alaminos was quite unusual in this regard. Initially both Turkish and Greek Cypriots were frightened of them; however, over the years, tension grew between Turkish and Greek Cypriots in the village, largely due to the presence of the

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<sup>151</sup> Father Charalambos S, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1931, migrated to Australia in 1963; interviewed 2 May 2015.

base. Eventually, many relationships deteriorated. How did Eleni feel when many of her former friends left the village in 1974? “I was glad to see them go.” Eleni was relieved that the tension was over and that life could move on.<sup>152</sup> Eleni’s statement contradicts the Greek Cypriot nationalist narrative, which maintains that times before 1974 were characterised by harmonious intercommunality.



*Figure 7.15 Eleni N of Alaminos, with the author*

The accounts of Greek Cypriots, like those of the Turkish Cypriots from Alaminos, describe tension and conflict in the 1960s and in 1974. Whilst Eleni was glad to see the Turkish Cypriots leave, Charalambos P<sup>153</sup> remembered his friends very fondly. These accounts demonstrate that the experiences of each community are not identical; differences, naturally, exist. These differences challenge the nationalist narratives.

### *Other villages*

Whilst conducting my fieldwork in the north of Cyprus, Turkish Cypriot Community Leaders were crucial to recruitment of participants. They spoke to their friends about my project and some, even though they did not come from the three villages I selected, were keen to contribute and volunteered to be participants. I did not want to deny them the opportunity (or me the privilege) of conducting the interview. Some of their recollections, and some of those of the Australian Cypriot interviewees, are captured in this section.

Several people remember cooperation between Turkish and Greek Cypriots during the times of war. Emir served from 1955 to 1960 as a police officer in the British Army’s fight against EOKA. Although he had many Greek Cypriot friends who were members of EOKA, he never turned them in to the British authorities. He enjoyed living in his small and friendly village up until 1960, when all of

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152 Eleni N, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1945; interviewed 27 May 2015.

153 Charalambos P, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1934; interviewed 27 May 2015.

the Greek Cypriots of the village fled to the neighbouring village of Koukla, due to civil tension. Emir recalled the period between 1963 and 1974 as being “very tense” in Cyprus.<sup>154</sup>

Some participants recalled the involvement of Greece in the 1974 war. Alkan moved from Silikou to Polemidhia (about 20 kilometres away) when he married in 1973. A few months later, early in 1974, soldiers from mainland Greece went to Silikou with the intention of harming Turkish Cypriots; however Alkan recalled that the Greek Cypriots of Silikou “would not let the soldiers harm them and kicked them out of the village.” When war broke out in 1974, most refugees from Polemidhia fled to Episkopi. Alkan ran away, arriving after two days at the British base at Akrotiri. He asked United Nations officials there to bring his family to the camp – which they did. They were then flown to Adana in Turkey and finally settled in Morphou (Güzelyurt) in 1975.<sup>155</sup>

Some participants recalled a shift in the attitudes of Greek Cypriots. Nafiya spoke of a change she noticed:

We would all celebrate Christmas and Easter together, and they would celebrate our events like Bayram. But after, the Greek Cypriots would send their kids to school in Greece, and I think they were brainwashed. When they came back, everything started to change. This was in the late '40's when things started changing.<sup>156</sup>

Her husband Nevzat echoed Nafiya's comments:

After World War II ... in the late '40's, when many Greek Cypriots came back from being schooled in Greece and being brainwashed, the Greek Cypriots would say they would kill the English, then the Turkish, but not the Turkish Cypriots. The *enosis* movement started around this time, because England did not offer Cyprus to Greece, and this angered many Greek Cypriots who wanted union with Greece.<sup>157</sup>

Another story of Greek Cypriots' attitudes was told by Ilmiye. Her mother, as a young woman, was going out with friends in the summertime in Morphou:

They were all ready to go to the movies, to cinema, of course Greeks and Turks together. There was the neighbour's girl and her mother [Greek Cypriots] ... and the little girl said to my mother 'one day we are all going to kill you'. As soon as the mother heard, she slapped

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154 Emir, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Souskiou in 1933; interviewed 2 July 2015.

155 Alkan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Silikou in 1948, moved to Kato Polemidhia when he married in 1973; interviewed 2 July 2015.

156 Nafiya, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Lemba in 1929, migrated to Australia in 1952; interviewed 15 October 2014.

157 Nevzat, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lemba in 1927, migrated to Australia in 1954; interviewed 15 October 2014.

her ... [Greek Cypriots] teach their children in the house, then the school, then the church; what do you expect from the children?<sup>158</sup>

The segregation of Turkish and Greek Cypriots occurred in many villages of Cyprus throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Ilkay said that he had a wonderful time growing up with his Greek Cypriot friends and neighbours; however, “after the EOKA troubles, we were separated”:

As we grew older and went to upper primary school, we would go to Troodos in Kakopetria ... there was a creek there and they made twelve camps, and in each camp there were ten children ... we had two weeks for boys and two weeks for girls ... we were mixed [Greek and Turkish Cypriots] ... until 1958 we were together, and when the EOKA troubles started, they separated us, Turks in one group and Greeks in another.<sup>159</sup>

Ilkay recalled troubles first emerging in Lefke in 1958:

In Lefke, something happened ... they [Greek Cypriots] burned a shop ... from Makrasyka three buses full of Greeks came to invade Lefke, or fight Lefke. I was in primary school then and I went to see the fire and he [owner of the shop] had very nice stuff in there and it was all burnt. As I was going up, I heard men screaming and shouting coming from the north. I said what is happening? They said ‘the Greeks are coming, the Greeks are coming!’ So I went home, and most of the villagers, the men, were at work in the mines. So the women and children, we got whatever we had, and we started running ... if they had guns they would have killed us. So we met there on the road, and we started throwing rocks at them. And the buses stopped, but they didn’t get out, I can’t remember them getting out. But then the buses left, they went back. But that night, because that happened, a lot of [Turkish Cypriot] women and men started swearing at the Greeks. And the Greeks got scared and some of them left that night. The next day, the women and children, they then got together in the street and they put barrels and stopped the buses [of Greek Cypriots] coming from the mines and started [throwing stones] at them. And then the British Army came and took some of them [Turkish Cypriots] to prison. They opened the doors and let them go. Nothing happened, but this was the troubles in Cyprus. So the Greeks got scared, they said somebody came to attack them, so now, they’re going to attack us. So they got their stuff and moved.

While the census of 1946 showed 981 (26%) Greek Orthodox living in Lefke,<sup>160</sup> by 1960 there were only 34 (less than 1 percent) living there<sup>161</sup>. By 1964, due to further intercommunal strife, all of the remaining Greek Cypriots had fled the town.<sup>162</sup>

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158 Ilmiye, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in 1955, migrated to Australia in 1978; interviewed 3 Aug 2014.

159 Ilkay, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Lefke in 1946, migrated to Australia in 1978; interviewed 3 August 2014.

160 Percival, *Census of population and agriculture*, 7.

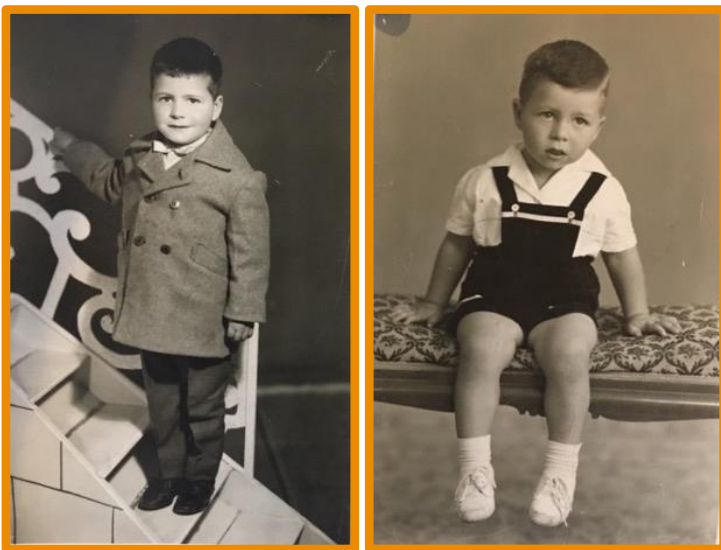
161 Republic of Cyprus, *Census of population and agriculture*, 11.

162 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Internal Displacement in Cyprus: Lefka*.

Displacement occurred throughout the 1960s. In 1963-64, Erol left Khoulou with his family and migrated to Stavrokonno, a solely Turkish Cypriot village located in the southern foothills of the Troodos mountains. It was less than 20 miles away and still in the Paphos district, but nevertheless a big upheaval. All of Erol's family were displaced by the 1974 war. They had to move north and settled in Akdogan (formerly Lisi).<sup>163</sup>

Several Greek Cypriots described cooperation between Turkish and Greek Cypriots during the times of conflict. Ioannis (Figure 7.16) talked of his father, who was born in Asia Minor and spoke Turkish when he came to Cyprus:

When he went to war [in 1974], he was sent with a squadron to take over a [small] Turkish Cypriot village. He was put in charge of nineteen young soldiers who had just joined the army. But he told us that he protected the Turkish Cypriots from these aggressive [Greek Cypriot] nationalists ... my father was protecting the Turkish Cypriots and giving them food. He was speaking to them in Turkish and they trusted him. That's something that, of course, those Turkish Cypriots will never forget.<sup>164</sup>



*Figure 7.16 Ioannis of Kato Zodhia*

Nearchos mentioned that from 1955, British soldiers asked several Turkish Cypriots in Kritou Terra to investigate the Greek Cypriots of the village who were involved with EOKA. When the British questioned his Turkish Cypriot neighbours about him, Nearchos said, "they never said anything; they were very nice to us."<sup>165</sup>

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163 Erol, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Khoulou in 1951.

164 Ioannis, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kato Zodhia in 1959, migrated to Australia in 1976; interviewed 19 March 2017.

165 Nearchos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kritou Terra in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 27 April 2015.

Displacement was traumatic and complex; some participants gave compelling accounts. Georgia discussed her displacement following the outbreak of the 1974 war:

We fled at the beginning of the war, to the mountains. These were bare mountains with no cover, and the Turks could see us and were bombing the mountains. So my uncle came and took us to Troodos. My dad though stayed back in the village and did not leave. We never returned to the village. From there my father was released and re-joined the family. We settled in a small village called Treis Elies. After a year and a half we went to Limassol. And then after that to Nicosia and stayed there for two years.<sup>166</sup>

Androula had an unusual wedding (Figure 7.17): “I got engaged in 1973 and in 1974 the war started and we all disappeared as refugees. I lived under a tent for two years, and I got married in a tent.”<sup>167</sup>



*Figure 7.17 Androula of Famagusta on her wedding day*

It appears that some people took drastic measures to avoid displacement and separation. Nearchos described a Turkish Cypriot man from his village being baptised Christian Orthodox when the war broke out in 1974. “He was 45 or 50 years old and was baptised Andreas. He did not want to go with the Turks when the invasion happened. He had always mixed with Greeks ...”<sup>168</sup>

Placing blame on outside countries (Turkey, Greece, the United Kingdom, the United States) for the ‘Cyprus problem’ is a favourite passtime of many Cypriots. However, some participants had a different idea of who, or what, to blame. Ioannis reflected: “My father would say to me,

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166 Georgia, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Petra in 1958, migrated to Australia in 1983; interviewed 3 January 2015.

167 Androula, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Famagusta in 1954, migrated to Australia in 1976; interviewed 30 November 2014.

168 Nearchos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kritou Terra in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1970; interviewed 27 April 2015.

‘Nationalism is the enemy of the people.’” These words must have had a significant impact on Ioannis, as he said:

Turkish Cypriots were not the enemy, Turkey was not the enemy; nationalism was the enemy. And nationalism does not have a country. So what destroyed us was the trust we put into our nationalist leaders. And those nationalist leaders tricked us into thinking that they would defend us, and none of them defended us; they didn’t even bother to defend us. They just left us helpless and hostages. How can I forget as a fifteen year old being chased by three airplanes and being shot at? ... and I used to be really bitter at the Turks, at those pilots, but now I’m thinking: they were doing a job. The enemy was within, it was inside Cyprus.<sup>169</sup>

The nationalistic environment that Ioannis experienced in Cyprus had impacted many parts of his life, including his identity. When I asked Ioannis about his identity, he said, “Identity is just a stamp, and people are not stamps.” His views are very much contrary to the Greek Cypriot nationalist narrative.<sup>170</sup>

The recollections of both Turkish and Greek Cypriots have challenged the hegemonic nationalist narratives, whilst providing insights into the complexities and differences in the experiences of Cypriots throughout the 1960s and up until 1974. Whilst trauma was experienced by many, some recall helping, or being helped by, the ‘other’ group during times of war and hardship.

## Conclusion

Stories of displacement and loss paint a picture of the formerly entangled lives of many Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Many Turkish and Greek Cypriots supported one another during the conflicts of the 1960s and 1970s, and the grief after division of the island was felt not just by those who became refugees but also by those who remained in the once mixed villages, but lost their dear friends and neighbours and their way of life. Grief was, and continues to be, experienced due to the deterioration of tight-knit communities and deep friendships.

Oral history projects in Cyprus may be of significant value. According to Briel, they can, “give a voice to marginalised groups, and to work through and, sometimes, against official, state-sponsored memories.”<sup>171</sup> The results of this project revealed that the events of the 1960s and 1970s still affect

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169 Ioannis, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kato Zodia in 1959, migrated to Australia in 1976; interviewed 19 March 2017.

170 *ibid.*

171 Briel, ‘The Uses of Oral History in Cyprus’, 28.



both Turkish and Greek Cypriots who long for closure.<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, whilst hegemonic nationalist narratives may continue to be reinforced through the government, media and in classrooms, my participants' stories contradict and undermine those narratives. Stories of rupture and displacement throughout the 1960s conflict with the Greek Cypriot nationalist narrative, which contends that life was peaceful in Cyprus prior to 1974. Stories of Turkish and Greek Cypriots helping each other in crises conflict with the Turkish Cypriot nationalist narrative, which contends that relations between the two communities were never warm. Most importantly, stories of Turkish and Greek Cypriots from each of the three focus villages are in accord. If they told different stories, it would be difficult to elicit a 'truth', but by collecting stories from both groups – those who remained and those displaced as refugees – which are in accord, I believe that I have presented reliable accounts.

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172 Briel, 'The Uses of Oral History in Cyprus', 40.

# Chapter 8 – Repair

*Only love and poetry  
remained on the threshold of destruction  
untouched, to wait patiently  
in the slaughtered wind and the fire of hate<sup>1</sup>*

With stories of rupture come stories of repair. Significant trauma is, of course, still felt by many Cypriots, including my interviewees. Many, however, told of forgiveness, of reconnecting with old friends, and spoke to me of their hopes for reunification.

This chapter delves into the mess of contemporary Cypriot political consciousness and its links to the past, the complexities of how the past has shaped the attitudes of my participants towards the ‘other’; their desire to return ‘home’ – or not; the delight, and devastation, of returning ‘home’; and their current hopes, doubts and efforts for reunification.

Recollections are grouped by village to allow examination of commonalities or contradictions between Greek and Turkish Cypriots from the same village. This chapter is both devastating and hopeful.

## How memories of the past shape attitudes towards the ‘other’

*One must exercise due caution in interpreting what is recounted [in the context of Cyprus], not as either true or false, but as far more complex, enmeshed in complex agendas which individuals are in the process of scripting.<sup>2</sup>*

Several extensive studies have explored the ways in which the two communities view the times before conflict and how those memories correlate with the ways in which they currently view each other.<sup>3</sup> The study by Lytras and Psaltis found that, “Greek Cypriots seem to remember life with Turkish Cypriots as more positive, cooperative and pleasant, whereas Turkish Cypriots remember life as more negative and less pleasant with less social contacts between the two communities.”<sup>4</sup>

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1 N Kranidiotis 1989, in Eliophotou, A. ‘Nikos Kranidiotis, the lyrical man of Kyrenia’, *In Focus Magazine* 9(2) 2012, viewed 23 February 2020, <<https://cyprusinfocus.org/essay/nikos-kranidiotis-the-lyrical-man-of-kyrenia/>>.

2 Sant Cassia, ‘Martyrdom and witnessing’, 33.

3 Reference several

4 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 9.

When questioned about their present views of the other community, “Turkish Cypriots reported feeling more intergroup anxiety, more symbolic threat and more group esteem threat than Greek Cypriots while Greek Cypriots reported experiencing more realistic threats.”<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, their study found that, “Greek Cypriots reported greater levels of trust towards Turkish Cypriots and were found to hold more positive attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots than vice versa.”<sup>6</sup>

Interestingly, Greek Cypriots expressed a more positive attitude towards reunification than did Turkish Cypriots. Furthermore, “Bi-communal, bi-zonal federation was found to be the only solution to the Cyprus problem that was accepted by the majorities in both communities as either very satisfactory or as a compromise.”<sup>7</sup>

When analysing the current views of participants who had once had positive contacts with the other group, Lytras and Psaltis found a causal pathway which empirically demonstrated that, “the memory of having positive contact and friendships with members of the other community, on the one hand reduces perceived threats and anxiety while on the other hand, promotes trust and positive attitudes between the members of the two communities.”<sup>8</sup> This appears to be commonplace in Cyprus. Those who had everyday experience of, and friendships with, the ‘other’ could not regard them, even today, as an enemy. Unfortunately, those everyday experiences and friendships predominantly occurred in small, mixed villages, between minor players in Cyprus’ big history. They were much less common in big cities, and have not influenced attitudes towards the ‘other’ amongst the major actors; the educated and powerful who control, or thwart, dialogue and efforts towards reunification.

Another study into the two communities, including both quantitative and qualitative research, was undertaken by Griffiths. He examined the responses of Greek and Turkish Cypriots regarding political relations as well as their attitudes towards one another, and how these were perceived to have been affected by violence. In relation to the memories and perceptions of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots regarding the 1963-64 period of intercommunal conflict, Griffiths’ study suggested that, amongst both communities and individuals, “attitudes and relations were perceived to have been damaged by the 1963-4 period of violence.”<sup>9</sup> Additionally, in relation to the memories and perceptions of both groups regarding the 1974 war, “The attitudes and relations at an individual

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5 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 9.

6 *ibid.*, 9.

7 *ibid.*, 9.

8 *ibid.*, 9.

9 Griffiths, ‘Memories of violence in Cyprus’, 149.

level were harmed as a result of 1974, according to responses from both Greek and Turkish Cypriots. This was illustrated with extracts that discussed themes of economic isolation and political stagnation.”<sup>10</sup> At the community level, each group agreed that relations were severely damaged by the 1974 war. Unsurprisingly, the results suggest that Turkish Cypriots felt attitudes towards the other had worsened prior to 1974, whilst, “1974 retains an important position in Cypriot identities and was reflected in the nationalist narratives.”<sup>11</sup>

Ethnographic fieldwork of Turkish Cypriots undertaken by Navaro-Yashin in the late 1990s and early 2000s, including in the aftermath of the opening of the checkpoints, found that Turkish Cypriot participants who lived under the administration of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, “often referred to their polity by using the Turkish phrase *uyduruk devlet*, which can be translated literally as “the made-up state.” ”<sup>12</sup> She explained that the term refers to both the administration as well as the territory itself, “and therefore to the space of a distinct and historically specific polity”.<sup>13</sup>

Many of Navaro-Yashin’s participants revealed a “melancholic interiority” during the period just prior to the checkpoints opening.<sup>14</sup> “The term they often employed to express their condition, feeling, or inner state of being was *maraz* ... In the Turkish-Cypriot dialect and usage, *maraz* refers to a state of mental depression, deep and inescapable sadness and unease...”<sup>15</sup> Furthermore:

They referred specifically to their state of confinement in northern Cyprus, with checkpoints closed and access to the south denied, the economic blockade and political stalemate, as well as the lack of resolution of the Cyprus problem. This was a historically specific and subjective interpretation of an inner state of being and feeling.<sup>16</sup>

Regarding the construction of hegemonic nationalist narratives, Bowman argued, “As people remember these extraordinary events, their memories have been rendered into narratives that give pulse and shape to the identities of those intimately involved in the conflict.”<sup>17</sup> He went on to say that, “The other side – as if there ever were a singular, unitary “other side” – becomes demonized, homogenized, and worse, omitted entirely from the prevailing narratives.”<sup>18</sup> These narratives developed as a result of the island being divided for over four decades, allowing each community to

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10 Griffiths, ‘Memories of violence in Cyprus’, 177.

11 *ibid.*, 178.

12 Y. Navaro-Yashin, *The Make-believe Space: Affective Geography in a Postwar Polity*, Duke University Press Durham, NC, 2012, 5-6.

13 *ibid.*, 6.

14 *ibid.*, 161.

15 *ibid.*, 161.

16 *ibid.*, 161.

17 Bowman, ‘Seeing What’s Missing in Memories of Cyprus’, 119.

18 *ibid.*, 119.

accentuate their own suffering, displacement and loss, while ignoring and denying the suffering of the 'other'.<sup>19</sup>

The trust, familiarity and even kinship felt by many Greek and Turkish Cypriots towards each other have been overshadowed by the wars of the 1960s and 1974, and the continuing occupation of the north of the island. Worse: the hegemonic nationalist narratives have discouraged people from telling 'good' stories of the 'other', even to their own children. The long division of Cyprus means that fewer and fewer people with such stories survive, to influence future dialogue.

In Huw Halstead's 2004 study of Greek-Turkish intercommunal relations in Cyprus, he found that his Greek Cypriots participants often embraced a dichotomy of remembrance that neatly fitted within their hegemonic nationalist narrative:

switching between narratives of hostile Turkish invasion and harmonious co-existence with Turkish Cypriots gave them access both to the comfort of a Pan-Hellenic sense of victimhood and injustice, and to a localized Cypriot notion of unity and tolerance that exempted them from the excesses of this nationalist narrative. This permitted them to preserve access to both a Greek community and a Cypriot one, and governed the boundaries of their relationship to "Turks," on the one hand, and "Turkish Cypriots," on the other.<sup>20</sup>

The manifestation of the hegemonic nationalist narratives on the attitudes towards the 'other' group can be detrimental to relations between younger generations, born after 1974. According to Bowman, "Just as Turkish Cypriots are often taken aback by the emotional intensity of Greek Cypriot outrage over the events of 1974, so are Greek Cypriots surprised that Turkish Cypriots, too, imagine themselves as victims in the Cyprus conflict."<sup>21</sup>

Merve, a 22-year-old Turkish Cypriot woman who was interviewed by Bowman in the early-to-mid 2000s, had participated in conflict-resolution workshops with Greek Cypriots over many years. She reflected on her first direct experience with Greek Cypriots about the conflict:

For us, we were taught, and I really believe that's what it was, that in 1963 in December ... the Greek Cypriots attacked for the first time, attacked 103 villages at the same time, and

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19 Bryant, Report 2 – 'Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community', vii.

20 H. Halstead, 'Harmony and strife in memories of Greek-Turkish intercommunal relationships in Istanbul and Cyprus', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 32(2), 2014, 405.

21 Bowman, 'Seeing What's Missing in Memories of Cyprus', 124.

that's how the ethnic violence started, and it went on until 1974 when Turkey intervened and divided the island. For us, that 11 year period was like the worst period of time that Turkish Cypriots could experience and for [Greek Cypriots] those 11 years didn't even exist. And for [the Greek Cypriots] everything started in '74 when Turkey just came out of the blue and decided to divide the island for nothing. I remember I was just so shocked, and I would say, how could you ignore those years? So many people died ... my parents also told me stories, but they wouldn't just make them up, you know? Those were what they really experienced.<sup>22</sup>

An echo of Merve's words is heard when Papadakis described interviewing Turkish Cypriots in Lefkoşa for his PhD project in the late 1980s and early 1990s. He was completely taken aback when he spoke with Ahmet who told him about the Bloody Christmas; he had never heard of it before.<sup>23</sup> Ahmet explained, "But the war was in 1963, up to 1967 ... We left our homes in 1963 and 1964 ... Some left their homes in 1974, but it was the Peace Operation then ..."<sup>24</sup> Papadakis asked himself, "How come no one spoke about what happened in the 1960s?"<sup>25</sup>

I have encountered this confusion, too. It is a common occurrence for me to engage in a conversation with Greek Cypriots born (and educated) after 1974, whether in Cyprus or Australia, about missing persons. Frequently they exclaim, "I never knew there were missing Turkish Cypriots too!" I have come to realise that their ignorance is the result of the construction of, and strict adherence to, the nationalist narrative by governments, education systems, the media, their family members and their broader networks. Papadakis et al. contended, "Along with memory and history, the experience of suffering in Cyprus has also become officially sharply divided to the point where terms such as "the dead," "the missing," or "the refugees" refer only to those of the speaker's side."<sup>26</sup>

Often, I found that Greek Cypriots were unaware of the suffering of Turkish Cypriots throughout the 1950s and 1960s, as well as in 1974; they thought that they owned the victimhood narrative. In order for reunification and reconciliation to be achieved, each side needs to acknowledge the suffering of the other.

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22 Bowman, 'Seeing What's Missing in Memories of Cyprus', 124.

23 Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone*, 82.

24 *ibid.*, 82.

25 *ibid.*, 83.

26 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, 'Introduction', 13.

## Desire to return home

*The experience of dislocation influences the attachment to the new place that forced migrants inhabit. The conscious recall of, or the impulsive longing for the lost home, has clear bearing on life in the place of exile.*<sup>27</sup>

The connection that refugees have with the home they were forced to leave can endure for years.<sup>28</sup> Dikomitis explained that, “Even when the rhythm of daily life has returned, feelings of nostalgia, loss, fear and anger are constantly lurking around the corner for those in exile.”<sup>29</sup> The main contention of Dikomitis’ ethnographic study of Greek and Turkish Cypriot refugees from the village of Larnakas tis Lapithou (*Kozan*) was that the longing to return home – to reconnect with old homes, social networks and communities left behind (‘places of desire’) – was both real and symbolic for both communities.<sup>30</sup> On the one hand, the ‘place of desire’ represented an attachment to the place itself, “the house, the village, the landscape...”; on the other hand, it represented, “an expression of demand for justice, a recognition of the suffering that each side experiences.”<sup>31</sup>

The desire to return home is often complicated by an overlay of emotional encumbrance. Ayla Gurel, Mete Hatay and Christalla Yakinthou claimed that this is, “because it has had, and continues to have, a direct impact on the lives of individuals and local communities, more than any other aspect of the Cyprus problem.”<sup>32</sup> They explained this further:

Most Cypriots link the issue of displaced persons’ rights with the wrongs done to them by the other community; the loss of homes, property and livelihoods; ancestral lands; original habitats and cultural artefacts; and the social life that surrounded them. Thus, there are highly emotive, normative and personal sentiments surrounding the issue.<sup>33</sup>

The desire to return home differs between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Dikomitis stated that in the case of Greek Cypriots:

The official line ... is that the displaced Greek Cypriots should one day be able to return home and that therefore a culture of memories and collective nostalgia must be preserved.

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27 Dikomitis, *Cyprus and its Places of Desire*, 14.

28 *ibid.*, 14.

29 *ibid.*, 14.

30 *ibid.*, 6.

31 *ibid.*, 6.

32 Gurel, Hatay & Yakinthou, ‘An Overview of Events and Perceptions’, 1.

33 *ibid.*, 1.

Well into the fourth decade after the partition of Cyprus, the official Greek Cypriot position is that the current situation is *temporary*...<sup>34</sup>

This official position contrasts starkly with that of the Turkish Cypriots, which holds that 1974 was the definitive moment which ended decades of suffering at the hands of Greek Cypriots.<sup>35</sup> Dikomitis claimed, “The official Turkish Cypriot position always emphasized that the 1974 displacement to the north, and the division of Cyprus, was *permanent*. The Turkish Cypriot authorities have insisted since the final displacement that their new place in north Cyprus is to be considered ‘home’.”<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, regarding the Turkish Cypriot position, Bryant explained:

For some, there is a desire for return; for others, there is an insistence on remaining where they are and a refusal to be displaced again. These desires are reflected in media and political rhetoric and shape the ways that many Cypriot displaced persons perceive not only the political future but also their own experiences of loss and uprooting.<sup>37</sup>

‘Refugee status’ may influence an individual’s memory of the other group and their willingness to live together once again.<sup>38</sup> Lytras and Psaltis claimed that “conditions in which a refugee was forced to take refuge inform their willingness to ‘return’.”<sup>39</sup> Dikomitis observed that Turkish Cypriots increasingly emphasised their ‘refugee status’, due to the realisation that their post-1974 displacement might not be the final one – which has ultimately strengthened their attachment to the villages in which they currently reside. “As far as the Turkish Cypriots are concerned what has happened is justice and to be relocated again would be injustice. This explains the recently emerged emphasis on their refugee identity.”<sup>40</sup> Her findings thus indicated that the majority of her Turkish Cypriot interview participants wished to remain where they currently live, where they settled post-1974. They longed for ‘a final solution’ of the intercommunal conflict in Cyprus.<sup>41</sup> “The fact that Turkish Cypriots experienced several displacements during the past decades left them with a persistent feeling of insecurity and they believe that a conclusive solution would enable them to start giving their past experiences a place.”<sup>42</sup> Lytras and Psaltis explained further:

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34 Dikomitis, *Cyprus and its Places of Desire*, 11.

35 The Turkish armed offensive is annually celebrated as the ‘Happy Peace Operation’, which was aimed at liberating Turkish Cypriots and protected them from being exterminated by Greek Cypriots.

36 Dikomitis, *Cyprus and its Places of Desire*, 11.

37 Bryant, Report 2 – ‘Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community’, vii.

38 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 41.

39 *ibid.*, 41.

40 Dikomitis, *Cyprus and its Places of Desire*, 19-20.

41 *ibid.*, 17-18.

42 *ibid.*, 17-18.



A catalyst for the Turkish Cypriots' reluctance to return appears to be the influence of the Turkish Cypriot nationalist discourse. Beginning with the 1950s, the Turkish Cypriot "counter nationalism" shifted discursively from demands for relative to demands for total autonomy, and began advocating ethno-religious homogeneity and close links to the "motherland" ...<sup>43</sup>

This is reflected in the experience of Sultan, a Turkish Cypriot woman from Dali who moved to Argaki (Akçay) via Louroujina and Nicosia, who was interviewed by Bryant in 2012:

My husband became ill from fear. This man who had never been afraid, they managed to take him prisoner and frighten him so much he became ill. For several years we kept moving around until in 1974 we finally settled in Akçay. We found a place that was Turkish Cypriot property and we rented it, and my husband began to buy and sell wheat and barley and flour.<sup>44</sup>

Sultan and her husband had settled. Bryant explained that, "Although her family still has several hundred dönüms of land in and around Dali village, she says that they have no plans to return and have settled permanently in Argaki/Akçay."<sup>45</sup>

Many Greek and Turkish Cypriots wrote memoirs and poems about their trauma. For example, the Turkish Cypriot nationalist narrative is reflected in the memoir of Aziz:

Before EOKA was formed and the shooting started ... I lived with Greeks, was friends with them, but EOKA and its murderous ways and its obsession with unity with Greece began the end of that friendship. And the 1963 attacks and massacres – and the two boys slaughtered in my own livingroom – well, that was the death of friendship. We are free now, the Turks of Cyprus. The propaganda that the Greeks constantly bombard the world with says that we Turks have always lived happily with the Greeks and that we should do so again. But this is propaganda by people who did not live through the years of suffering that we did ... I am free, and I want no return to the "good old days", if that's what the Greeks call them.<sup>46</sup>

It is important to note that memoirs are designed for an audience, whilst recollections revealed in interviews, though coloured by participants' experiences, prejudices and traumas, are often less carefully structured and edited; more raw. Additionally, to date, many more accounts of pain and terror, than of peaceful intercommunalism, have been promulgated. The wars of the 1960s and 1974 overshadow more than three centuries of peaceful coexistence, and make such coexistence very difficult for many to imagine as they grapple with the future of Cyprus.

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43 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 41.

44 Bryant, Report 2 – 'Life Stories: Turkish Cypriot Community', 44.

45 *ibid.*, 44.

46 Aziz, *The Death of Friendship*, 137-138.

Of Greek Cypriot refugees, on the other hand, Lytras and Psaltis claimed that, “[they] tend to hold fast to an aspiration to return to their homes that are sometimes in mixed villages.”<sup>47</sup> Dikomitis reaffirmed this argument:

Greek Cypriots emphasize their attachment to their former villages and hence their ‘refugeeness’, because they feel that their suffering has not been recognized sufficiently. At every opportunity Greek Cypriot refugees stress that they are the ‘real’ refugees on Cyprus and express this in different ways.<sup>48</sup>

The role of the Greek Cypriot hegemonic nationalist narrative, which affirms the past Greek Cypriot connection to the land, and demands unrestricted future rights to the north of Cyprus, “is crucial in understanding the perpetuation of the refugee return aspiration rhetoric...”<sup>49</sup> The ‘myth’ of the return of all Greek Cypriot refugees to their pre-1974 homes involves both the idealisation of the past and the memory of collective loss.<sup>50</sup> Lytras and Psaltis provided further explanation of this myth:

The refugees’ reconstruction of the past in a fabled form is individualized and reflects particular strategies to adapt to the challenges and opportunities of their present and bring to fruition the promises of particular imagined futures. In some individual cases the loss of the home and of the past, coupled with resistance to the conditions of the present favour the reproduction of the myth. In others, the transition to the conditions after the dislocation and the re-orientation towards the present and the future eventually replaced the perpetuation of the myth of return.

This is evident in the literature. In 2012 Demetriou interviewed Nadia, a Greek Cypriot woman who lived in Famagusta up until her early teens, moved to the UK to live with her father in the late 1960s/early 1970s. Nadia returned to Cyprus in the summer of 1974 for a holiday, when the war broke out. Because of her British citizenship, she, like many others, was airlifted to London. Despite this, she told of her loss:

I was never able to go back and until today I have a recurring dream that as if by magic the fences open up and I find my house. In another dream I am allowed to go up to a point but not beyond and this affects me much more ... I feel I lost part my life for which I never stopped mourning. I may have grown up, got married, lived in another country, but I have always felt that something happened to me about which I was completely unable to do anything, that they stole a part of my life ... A long time passed until you could find your feet

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47 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 41.

48 Dikomitis, *Cyprus and its Places of Desire*, 19-20.

49 Lytras & Psaltis, *Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus*, 41.

50 *ibid.*, 41.

again and be able to laugh in the way that you used to laugh before and then you never laugh with your whole being because a part of you still hurts for this loss. I am now 56 and I still wonder whether I will ever see Famagusta again. And it's not about the houses or the wealth that my family lost. I lost my memories, the smells of my city, an integral part of my life ... you know, you say where are my things, my albums, my notebooks from school? You'll say "are these things important?" It seems they are. The things that make you feel there is a continuity, it's as if this continuity does not exist. It's as if you were here and suddenly you found yourself here, and there is a huge gap in between. I feel as if I have lived all this time without a sense of belonging, for I don't feel I belong in Nicosia. And I am a flexible person otherwise, but there are people who are imprisoned in this, in this feeling of loss.<sup>51</sup>

The Greek Cypriot nationalist narrative is echoed in the memoir of Rina Castelli, a Greek Cypriot woman who was displaced from Kyrenia in 1974:

31.12.1974. New Year's Eve in a place that is not mine, in a house that does not belong to me, trying to stifle the cry from my dangling roots as they seek to return to the soil in which my ancestors had planted them 40 centuries before. I await the new year without any wish for happiness. I await it with one humble request: that it bring less pain and less injustice than this one. Just that.<sup>52</sup>

An interesting, recent perspective on the Greek Cypriot 'myth' of return has been provided by Dikomitis: "Before the opening of the checkpoints, Greek Cypriots refugees, almost without exception, claimed they wanted to return to their former villages and houses."<sup>53</sup> However, their notion of the conditions in which they would return was altered after they were able to visit their homes after the checkpoints opened in 2003. What has not changed, however, "is that Greek Cypriots refugees still cling vehemently to their refugee identity, albeit in different ways."<sup>54</sup> Decades of an identity of suffering cannot easily be shed.

## The opening of the checkpoints

*From now on so many things have changed,  
the optical signs are transposed,  
the perspectives have been modified.  
Does the house exist or not exist,  
has it withstood the rains of last winter or has it yielded?*<sup>55</sup>

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51 Demetriou, Report 1 – 'Life Stories: Greek Cypriot Community', 35.

52 R. Castelli, *Refugee in my Homeland: Cyprus 1974*, Kyrenia Flower Show Edition, Nicosia, 1979, 66.

53 Dikomitis, *Cyprus and its Places of Desire*, 17.

54 *ibid.*, 17.

55 G. Moleskis 1990, 'Memories from the Paternal Home', *Poems – From the Collection The House End Time*, viewed 28 January 2019, <<http://giorgosmoleskis.com.cy/en/poems>>.

In a surprise move on 23 April 2003, the Turkish Cypriot authorities opened several checkpoints between the two sides.<sup>56</sup> Up until this point, from 1974 to 2003, “communication between the two parts was impossible, whether through crossing, post or telephone.”<sup>57</sup> As such, according to Bryant, “international media heralded the opening of the checkpoints as a momentous event that echoed the fall of the Berlin Wall.”<sup>58</sup> She described the movement of people through the checkpoints:

cameras captured the [two-way] rush of Cypriots across the line to visit homes unwillingly abandoned three decades earlier. It was a euphoric moment, one filled with the tears of return to lost homes and the laughter of reunions. Old friends were found and new ones made, and many Cypriots revelled in the simple freedom of being able to stroll in the streets that had long been forbidden to them.<sup>59</sup>

The opening of the checkpoints provided powerful imagery; Demetriou contends that, “Since 2003, the sight of masses waiting to cross to the other side in those first few days has come to signify ‘the political issue’ and all its attending concepts: ‘re-unification’ and ‘division’, ‘peace’ and ‘(negotiation) stalemate’, ‘hope’ and ‘disillusionment’.”<sup>60</sup>

Bryant argued that the opening of the checkpoints, “in many ways has driven the two communities further apart.”<sup>61</sup> She described the cease-fire line – the ‘border’ – as a visible wound, a proof of wrong-doing of the ‘other’. Both communities used the wound for their purposes: in the north, it was a reminder of the dangers faced by Turkish Cypriots in the past; in the south, a reminder of the surprise war of 1974. Those meanings were challenged in 2003, as:

when a border is closed one can more easily use one’s past suffering to construct a present struggle against an evil other who seeks to do violence to one in the future. But the opening of the checkpoints brought people face to face with real others with a different narrative of suffering that seemed to fracture, compete with, or even to deny their own.<sup>62</sup>

Since then, both Greek and Turkish Cypriots have been able to cross between the two sides.<sup>63</sup> There are currently (February 2020) seven checkpoints.<sup>64</sup> The ‘return’ of Greek Cypriot refugees has been

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56 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, ‘Introduction’, 4.

57 O Demetriou, ‘To cross or not to cross? Subjectivism and the absent state in Cyprus’, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 13 (4), 2007, 992.

58 Bryant, *The Past in Pieces*, 1.

59 *ibid.*, 1.

60 Demetriou, ‘To cross or not to cross?’, 988-989.

61 Bryant, *The Past in Pieces*, 1.

62 R. Bryant, ‘Partitions of memory: Wounds and witnessing in Cyprus’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 54(2), 2012, 332-360.

63 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, ‘Introduction’, 4.

64 Neither the United Nations, the Republic of Cyprus Government nor the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus Government officially advises the checkpoints; they are listed at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_Nations\\_Buffer\\_Zone\\_in\\_Cyprus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Buffer_Zone_in_Cyprus).

solely symbolic; they are allowed temporary visits, but no permanent return.<sup>65</sup> Turkish Cypriots, however, as citizens of the Republic of Cyprus, are allowed to reside in the south.

The homogenisation of Greek and Turkish Cypriots into their own communities increased during the years and decades following the 1974 war.<sup>66</sup> Emerging alongside that homogenisation was the concretisation of the nationalist narratives on displacement, as described by Demetriou, “into divergent perspectives on coexistence and property restitution.”<sup>67</sup> She explained that, “The opening of the checkpoints in 2003 marked a turning point in the sense that abandoned properties became accessible, even for the brief time of one’s visit to a home now lived in by someone else...”<sup>68</sup>

Demetriou’s “concretised divergent perspectives” abound in other literature.

The return imagined by Greek Cypriots, “is not a simple resettling in their homes but primarily entails the reconstruction of lost communities.”<sup>69</sup> Indeed, Bryant explained, “for many Cypriots even the initial moment of euphoria at seeing their homes again was already tainted by the discovery that a “real” return might not be possible.”<sup>70</sup>

The village of Lapithos (*Lapta*) offered Bryant a place where both Greek and Turkish Cypriots could experience ‘return’. For the Turkish Cypriots, a return to Lapithos, from where they had been exiled in 1964<sup>71</sup>, stirred memories of a sometimes threatening past. Crossing to the other side reinforced their understanding of the island's division, and the protection of their rights, as a minority, in the north. For the Greek-Cypriots, expelled in 1974<sup>72</sup>, returning to Lapithos reinforced their sense of loss and the harsh realisation that their dream of returning to the past, which had been mythologised in exile, could never be realised.<sup>73</sup>

In a fieldwork study of displacement and perceptions in Cyprus, Gurel, Hatay and Yakinthou found that, for many Greek Cypriot participants, “visiting the north made them realize that return was now not very likely or as desirable as previously felt. A commonly mentioned reason was the fact that with other people having established their lives there, all was now changed.” Understandably, a further reason was just, “how complicated return would be for them given that their lives have

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65 Dikomitis, *Cyprus and its Places of Desire*, 7.

66 Demetriou, Report 1 – ‘Life Stories: Greek Cypriot Community’, 6.

67 *ibid.*, 6.

68 *ibid.*, 6.

69 Bryant, *The Past in Pieces*, 3.

70 *ibid.*, 3.

71 PRIO Cyprus Centre 2011, *Routes of Displacement and Resettlement: Lapithos*, viewed 21 January 2019, <<http://www.prio-cyprus-displacement.net/default.asp?id=451>>.

72 *ibid.*

73 Bryant, *The Past in Pieces*, 3-4.

been set up for so long in a different place and community.”<sup>74</sup> Many Greek Cypriots faced the reality of the impracticality of their permanent return ‘home’. The same study found that most Turkish Cypriots participants discussed, “how their visit to the south confirmed their long-held view that return was unrealistic however desirable it may be for some.” However, interestingly, “[a] few would consider it only if their village community as a whole was returning.” Turkish Cypriot participants were generally pessimistic about the viability of bringing the two Cypriot communities together, citing predominantly safety reasons.<sup>75</sup>

Research by Aybil Göker into Turkish Cypriots’ sense of belonging found that the condition of subjection that had been imposed on them had not, in many cases, waned, despite the opening of the checkpoints.<sup>76</sup> Subjection is a process, “in which the person is taught to exist solely through the internalisation of hegemonic discourse; this encourages the individual to be passive and to alienate herself from her other private experiences.”<sup>77</sup> With the opening of the checkpoints, the legitimacy and ‘truth’ of the hegemonic discourse/narrative was challenged. However, in such a circumstance, “the person is expected to act right at that moment with vigilance and to deliberately protect her way of being...”<sup>78</sup> Fatma, a Turkish Cypriot woman interviewed by Göker in 2003, was one such person; her “indecisiveness about the decision to cross the checkpoints to go ‘home/other side/Rum’s place’ derived from the long-lasting process of naturalising and normalising the condition of subjection.”<sup>79</sup> As such, her private memories that could have been revived when meeting again with her childhood Greek Cypriot friend, “were inhabited by the power of her ‘ideological way of being’.”<sup>80</sup> Consequently, “Fatma was deliberately ‘protecting’ her existence by not alienating herself from her political subjection.”<sup>81</sup> This process of protecting one’s subjection was also exhibited by other Turkish Cypriots interviewed by Göker.

Navaro-Yashin interviewed Turkish Cypriot Hatice Hanım after the checkpoints had opened:

She had just returned from visiting the village she and her family had left behind in 1974 when they became refugees and moved to the north. “My heart is burning,” she said. “My inside is hurting.” She then told me how she had found her family home in their original village in the south. “The Greek-Cypriots placed a wire fence around a whole

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74 Gurel, Hatay & Yakinthou, ‘An Overview of Events and Perceptions’, 34.

75 *ibid.*, 34.

76 Göker, ‘Senses of Belonging and ‘Belongings’ and Making ‘Home’ Away from Home’, 136.

77 *ibid.*, 136.

78 *ibid.*, 136-137.

79 *ibid.*, 136.

80 *ibid.*, 136.

81 *ibid.*, 137.

neighbourhood in our village. They turned that whole area into a sheepfold. Our home was left in there; we couldn't go in. It was full of sheep shit. The windows had been ripped out, and there was no door or roof any longer, either. I couldn't see a sign of any of our furniture or things. The Greek-Cypriots must have looted everything after we left. It feels so bad." For a long time, Hatice Hanım was unable to recover from that heavy feeling of having found her ancestral home on the Greek side looted and in ruins.<sup>82</sup>

Whilst visiting the house that one grew up in can be traumatic, many of those living in the houses had kept the belongings of those who had fled. Nikoletta Christodoulou found that, after the checkpoints opened and people of both communities visited their old homes, "Many, although not all, discovered that the current occupants had kept family photos and keepsakes of the former inhabitants with the intention of returning these possessions to their owners some day."<sup>83</sup>

Papadakis wrote of Mrs Katinou's stance:

You know that for years after they left, my husband saved the money for the rent in the bank? He felt bad that we were living in Mustafa's house and not paying the rent. I remember that a few years after the invasion – may God one day punish those who divided our country – he tried to see if he could find a way to send him the money. But others told him that it wouldn't be a good idea ... So he saved it in the bank, waiting for the day when Mustafa would return. I think he stopped doing it a few years ago. But if God blesses us and Mustafa and Zehra return one day, then I swear on the bones of my mother that we will pay them every last pound.<sup>84</sup>

I have heard many other stories like this. Sitting in a Turkish restaurant in Canberra one night in June 2017, my husband and I chatted with the couple sitting at the next table. She was Greek Cypriot; he was Turkish. She told me of her experience returning to her mother's house in the north after the checkpoints opened in 2003. The Turkish Cypriot woman living in the old family house, a friend of the woman who fled and left all her belongings, was delighted to see the daughter of her old friend. She brought out a box. Inside were belongings including gold jewellery and wish bones from a chicken (this was sentimental, as the two women used to play a game with the chicken bones when they were children). She had saved these for decades.<sup>85</sup>

Many Greek and Turkish Cypriots have returned 'home' since 2003, visiting their abandoned houses as well as old friends and neighbours. Bryant argued, "Recent contacts between Turkish and Greek Cypriots show that there are many bonds of friendship and neighbourliness that have survived the

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82 Navaro-Yashin, *The Make-believe Space*, 155.

83 Christodoulou, 'Living memory', 142.

84 Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone*, 52.

85 Similar stories can be found in the Cyprus Mail from the time of the opening of the checkpoints

violence provoked by nationalist politics and the separation of decades.”<sup>86</sup> My research shows this, too. It is also important to note that there has been an absence of ethnic violence since the checkpoints opened.<sup>87</sup>

## Participant recollections of repair

When the checkpoints opened in 2003, twenty-nine years after the two communities were separated, people were able to cross and visit one another. Among my participants, details of whom are shown in Appendix 2, 32 (80 percent) of the 40 interviewed in Cyprus had crossed the checkpoints, as shown in Figure 8.1. Of the eighteen people interviewed in Cyprus who had been displaced in 1974, only one had not crossed the checkpoints; everyone else had gone back to their old village. That one person was Gülten, who had been amongst the hundreds of Turkish Cypriots in Polis Chrysochous who fled their homes and sought refuge in a school in 1963, and lived there until 1974. It is not surprising that she had not sought to revisit the site of such trauma, but her son had visited.<sup>88</sup> Those who had not been displaced were less likely to have crossed; seven of 22 had not crossed. All of the 40 interviewees in Cyprus, including Gülten, had been sought out by old friends visiting from the ‘other’ side.

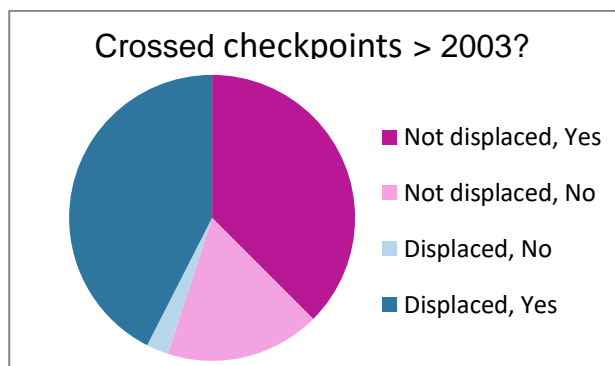


Figure 8.1 Cyprus participants who had crossed the checkpoints since 2003

### Ayia Irini (Kyrenia District)

Many of the participants from Ayia Irini had crossed to the south several times. Tayfun had done so many times. He had been worried that he had forgotten all of his Greek, but the language quickly came back to him. Others had similar experiences. Tayfun mentioned that three of his close female Greek Cypriot friends came to visit him in 2003; “We cried together, after 29 years apart.” He had

<sup>86</sup> Bryant, *Imagining the Modern*, 249.

<sup>87</sup> Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, ‘Introduction’, 4.

<sup>88</sup> Gülten, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Pelathousa in 1935; interviewed 24 July 2015.



since attended many Greek Cypriot weddings and his son Arda told me that he, too, has often had dinner at the houses of Greek Cypriot family friends.<sup>89</sup>

Not only have Turkish Cypriots from Ayia Irini crossed to visit their long-lost Greek Cypriot friends and neighbours, but the Greek Cypriots from Ayia Irini also visit them. İbrahim C told me that since 2003 he had visited the south of the island several times to see his Greek Cypriot friends who fled Ayia Irini in 1974 and settled in the town of Polemidhia in the Limassol district. He stated happily that, “When the gates open, then we get contact and they always are visiting us. Sometimes we go over and visit them – the villagers; from this village.”<sup>90</sup> Similar interactions were described by Hüseyin G, who said that he visited his Greek Cypriot friends and that they had visited him; he loved seeing them and they all become very emotional: “There are many tears when we see each other.”<sup>91</sup> Likewise, İbrahim U had many Greek Cypriot friends who visited him, and he visited friends in the south a couple of times each week.<sup>92</sup>

This cross-visiting was also described by Greek Cypriot participants from Ayia Irini. When interviewed in June 2015, Kaiti had visited the north five times since the checkpoints opened – her Turkish Cypriot friends always put on a big lunch for her. Those friends also often visited her in Lefkosia. Kaiti had maintained strong relationships with many of her former friends and neighbours, especially with her milk brother (milk-relations were explored in Chapter 5).<sup>93</sup>

Feriha (Figure 8.2) said that after the checkpoints opened in 2003, many of her Greek Cypriot friends came to visit her. My great-uncle İordanis<sup>94</sup> refused to cross to the north but he and his wife Androula once met Feriha and her late husband Mehmet Emin at the checkpoint. “We were made very welcome ... We met at the gate and they took us from there to their house. We ate too much at their house! I cried and cried because I was so happy.”<sup>95</sup>

These stories demonstrate that some people would cross not once, but frequently, investing in rebuilding relationships with their old friends.

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89 Tayfun, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1959; interviewed 18 June 2015.

90 İbrahim C, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1948; interviewed 1 June 2015.

91 Hüseyin G, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1939; interviewed 25 May 2015.

92 İbrahim U, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1945; interviewed 13 June 2015.

93 Kaiti, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1950; interviewed 17 July 2015.

94 İordanis, a Greek Cypriot born in Ayia Irini in 1936; interviewed 19 June 2014.

95 Feriha, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1934; interviewed 1 June 2015.



*Figure 8.2 Feriha of Ayia Irini with the author*

Kostas and Irini spoke of reunification, and ownership of the land. Kostas said, “If we can go over to the other area and they can come over to this area, that would be OK. The Turks should come over here.”<sup>96</sup> Irini elaborated: “The Turks have a lot. This area that we have here: it’s the Turks’. There is lots of land. This land is Turkish land.”<sup>97</sup>

Such acknowledgment that, even after several decades, the land on which refugees have settled does not feel like their own, surprised Mrs Anna, interviewed for an oral history project in 2010. When she visited her old home, the Turkish Cypriot woman living there was the daughter of her father’s old workmate and good friend, and her whole family had been invited to the wedding of that woman’s sister. The woman treated Mrs Anna:

very kindly; she welcomed her and she allowed her to cut some fruits from the garden. Moreover, ... she was very friendly since she offered to cook so as for all of them to eat together. What impressed Mrs. Anna the most though, was that she even told her: “This is your house and if you come back to Lapithos, you are the one who is going to live here, not me”.<sup>98</sup>

#### Case study #4: Andreas S

This account of a person revisiting their village and finding old friends was one which I witnessed myself.<sup>99</sup> My great-uncle Andreas had meningitis, a complication of measles, as a child. He has been deaf most of his life. Having completed primary school, he can read and write. He lip-reads and has slurred speech.

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96 Kostas, a Greek Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1938; interviewed 15 July 2015.

97 Irini, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1938; interviewed 15 July 2015.

98 Mediaprof n.d., *Mrs. Anna's Story*, viewed 27 February 2020, <<http://www.mediaprof.org/cyvoices/eftichia-natasa-1.html>>.

99 An account of this visit to Ayia Irini in 2015 was first published in S. Jacobs, ‘The stolen tomatoes’, *Neos Kosmos*, 6 May, 2017, 16-17.

Andreas had his limitations but he was a successful farmer. He was very proud of the produce that he grew. He had found underground water, bought a pump and set up the village's first irrigation system. He had many Turkish Cypriot friends, some of whom worked with him in his fields. He had been in his fields when a friend ran to him in July 1974 and told him that Turkish soldiers were coming – *RUN!* He ran; he had nothing but the clothes he wore.<sup>100</sup>

In his ancestral village of Ayia Irini Andreas was judged not by his disability but by his character. Villagers knew to face him when talking, so that he could see their lips, but as they had all grown up together this was no concession – it was second nature. Out of his own village, Andreas could never achieve the success or sense of belonging that he had known before.<sup>101</sup>

Andreas' visit to Ayia Irini in 2015, nearly four decades after he fled, was with my parents and myself. Andreas was very emotional (Figure 8.3) when he entered the house in which he grew up; it is now abandoned.



*Figure 8.3 Andreas in his childhood home in 2015*

In the square between the mosque and the coffee shop, a man I had interviewed the previous week recognised me and my parents. İbrahim C<sup>102</sup> came to greet us – and then recognised the spritely old man with us. Andreas was remembered and greeted very warmly. More men came and greeted him; even some of the young men, born after 1974, smiled widely as they witnessed the reunion of Andreas and his friends.

Another man strode quickly towards Andreas with a big smile. Fuat was not recognised, so he took off his hat (Figure 8.4) – and Andreas suddenly smiled from ear to ear, grasped his hand warmly and

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100 Andreas S, a Greek Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1933; interviewed 17 June 2015.

101 *ibid.*

102 İbrahim C, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1948; interviewed 1 June 2015.

they started talking animatedly. It was a lovely reunion of men who had worked closely together, filled with many laughs. Andreas told us later that many of the Turkish Cypriots of the village worked for him on his land. He paid them a wage and he shared his profits with them, too.<sup>103</sup> He had been loved and respected, and had then fled his land and lost both his community and his sense of self.



*Figure 8.4 Andreas with his old friend Fuat*

These accounts of Cypriots of Ayia Irini rejoicing in meeting their old friends demonstrate the closeness that once existed between the two communities. Greek Cypriots visited their former village, and Turkish Cypriots visited their friends in the south.

### Polis Chrysochous (Paphos District)

Despite the segregation that occurred in 1963 between Greek and Turkish Cypriots from Polis Chrysochous, many of my participants still longed to reunite with old friends once the checkpoints had opened. Artam said that although relations were tense from 1963, he still remained friends with many Greek Cypriots of the village. Since 2003 he had crossed the checkpoints several times to visit friends, and one of them has also visited him in Morphou.<sup>104</sup>

Besides the visits of individuals are some organised events. Since the checkpoints opened, Niyazi (Figure 8.5) had organised a group comprising Greek and Turkish Cypriots of Morphou, which was his current home, which organised cultural evenings, football matches and other joint events. Niyazi brought elderly people from both communities together with young people, in an effort to promote reunification of the island.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Andreas S, a Greek Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1933; interviewed 17 June 2015.

<sup>104</sup> Artam, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1944; interviewed 13 July 2015.

<sup>105</sup> Niyazi, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Varosha in 1949, moved to Polis Chrysochous at the age of seven; interviewed 13 June 2015.

These accounts of Turkish Cypriots from Polis Chrysochous show that they have sought to reconnect with their old friends and neighbours.

Many Greek Cypriots of Polis Chrysochous felt a deep loss when their Turkish Cypriot friends and neighbours were forced to leave the village. Paraskivou said, “When the Turkish Cypriots left the village it was very hard, I lost all of my neighbours and friends. It was like my family was split.”

Paraskivou had many Turkish Cypriot friends who, since the checkpoints opened in 2003, had come to visit her, and, “they light a candle in the church each time they visit.”<sup>106</sup> My great-aunt Maria, too, spoke of her heartbreak when her village was split: “I cried and cried when my Turkish Cypriot friends were forced to leave Polis.” Although Maria had not crossed through the checkpoints since they opened in 2003, some of her old friends had visited her. A couple even visited her in May 2015 (Figure 8.6), just a few weeks prior to our interview; they all had lunch together.<sup>107</sup>



*Figure 8.5 Niyazi of Polis Chrysochous*



*Figure 8.6 Maria of Ayia Irini and Polis Chrysochous with her friend Salih*

Some of the Greek Cypriot participants spoke of their connections with the former Turkish Cypriot inhabitants of Polis Chrysochous through their family members’ close relations with them.

Christodoulos recalled that when his father died, a large coach carrying five Turkish Cypriot families

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<sup>106</sup> Paraskivou, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prodromi, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1936; interviewed 14 July 2015.

<sup>107</sup> Maria, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1929, moved to Polis Chrysochous in 1949 when she married; interviewed 7 June 2015.

arrived with several dishes to share at the communal meal after the funeral. Christodoulos found this act of friendship and generosity to be deeply moving. Recently [in 2015], a busload of Turkish Cypriots visited Polis Chrysochous and Christodoulos was delighted to see them and bought them all a drink.<sup>108</sup> Eleni G had a similar experience. Her husband, Odysseas, was a barber by trade and indulged his passion for photography by becoming the village photographer. He was very involved in both groups in Polis Chrysochous as he photographed weddings and all sorts of other celebrations. He never charged money; he loved taking photos and giving them to his friends. “He loved everybody no matter who they were and threw many parties for his friends.” He even threw a big party for a busload of Turkish Cypriot refugees from Polis who visited the village after the checkpoints opened. “He put on a big feast for them!”<sup>109</sup>

These accounts of Greek Cypriots from Polis Chrysochous shows that they welcomed their former neighbours with open arms when they returned to the village.

### Alaminos (Larnaca District)

Since the checkpoints opened in 2003, cross-visits have also occurred between current and former inhabitants of Alaminos. Mustafa visited Alaminos and was reunited with many of his old Greek Cypriot soccer friends. When he asked to pay for some fruit and vegetables during his visit, a Greek Cypriot said, “No, you are from this village – take them!”<sup>110</sup>

Some friendships between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots of Alaminos led to risks being taken to see one another prior to the checkpoints opening. Since the checkpoints opened, Kyriacou (Figure 8.7) and her husband had visited many of their Turkish Cypriot friends in the north, most of whom settled in the village of Kythrea. They, too, had visited Kyriacou and her husband many times; they used to see each other about twice a month. Even before 2003, Kyriacou once went illegally across the border through the village of Pyla to visit her Turkish Cypriot friends, and one of her friends came through Pyla in the opposite direction to visit her in Alaminos. That would have been very risky; their friendship bonds must have been very deep. Kyriacou was a strong and brave woman.<sup>111</sup>

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108 Christodoulos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1929; interviewed 17 June 2015.

109 Eleni G, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Neakhorio, near Polis Chrysochous, in 1935; interviewed 9 June 2015.

110 Mustafa, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1948; interviewed 9 July 2015.

111 Kyriacou, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Pyrga in 1944, moved to neighbouring Alaminos when she married at age 15; interviewed 2 June 2015.



*Figure 8.7 Kyriacou of Alaminos*

The story of Charalambos P's involvement in EOKA and the bullet still lodged in his spine since 1974 was told in Chapter 7. Within weeks of the checkpoints opening in 2003, one of his best friends, by then a police officer in the north, came to visit to find out, after 29 years, whether he had lived or died:

For a police officer to come and visit me shows how much we loved each other. I wasn't to blame for anything – for what happened ... I didn't know that I was to be a soldier and participate in the war ... He continues to visit me. He's coming again soon. I've got nothing against him or the Turkish Cypriots – it was war time. I don't hold any grudges about being shot ... I've had about one hundred Turkish Cypriot people come and visit me. I'm not a bad person – people like me. All I did was good to them. I had four Turkish women working in my fields picking vegetables and fruit.

Since then, that friend had visited him many times, along with over 100 other Turkish Cypriots formerly from Alaminos. He had maintained contact with his friends by letter and telephone and still felt incredibly loved and respected by his Turkish Cypriot friends.<sup>112</sup>

The accounts of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots of Alaminos were full of warmth and generosity, and of ongoing relationships. Whilst I expected that the Greek Cypriots would share positive experiences of reconnection and hope, I was less optimistic that the same would be expressed by Turkish Cypriots, due to the brutality and displacement they encountered in 1974. The fact that they, too, described their joy in reconnecting with their Greek Cypriots friends points to significant relations between the two groups.

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112 Charalambos P, a Greek Cypriot man born in Alaminos in 1934; interviewed 27 May 2015.

## Other villages

Many loving reunions took place after the checkpoints opened. By 2015, Alkan visited Kato Polemidhia once or twice a month. When he saw his Greek Cypriot friends for the first time since the checkpoints opened they laughed and cried; “We were so happy,” he said. When he visited in June 2015, Alkan helped restore the *Camii* (mosque) in Polemidhia. His Greek Cypriot friends also visited him in Morphou.<sup>113</sup> Naile had visited her father’s house in Aglantzia (where she was born) since the checkpoints opened in 2003. She saw some of her old Greek Cypriot neighbours there; “We were happy to see each other.”<sup>114</sup>

Ramadan (Figure 8.8) also spoke of the joy of reconnecting with old friends and relatives. He had Greek Cypriot cousins as his grandmother had been Christian and his grandfather Muslim. After 1974, the family was divided. After the checkpoints opened, “We went many times. We saw my friends and relatives. Kilani is a beautiful place. You should visit! When you enter into Kilani there’s a beautiful church.”<sup>115</sup> It was odd, and wonderful, to hear a Muslim extolling the beauties of a Christian church in the village from which he had been expelled.



*Figure 8.8 Ramadan of Kato Polemidhia and Kilani with the author*

There were participants, however, who had less joyous experiences returning ‘home’. Themistoclis said, “I have been two or three times back to my village. There was nothing there. No house. Only one or two Turkish Cypriots. I only saw one friend when I went back. He was the only one that was alive. He was crying.”<sup>116</sup> Panayiota was also devastated when she visited her old home:

The house was still there, but not like before. There are a couple of mainland Turkish families living in there now. There are not many Turkish Cypriots there now – most migrated

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113 Alkan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Silikou in 1948, moved to Kato Polemidhia when he married in 1973; interviewed 2 July 2015.

114 Naile, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Alaminos in 1947, moved to Aglantzia in 1964; interviewed 9 July 2015.

115 Ramadan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Kato Polemidhia in 1964, spent much of his early childhood in Kilani; interviewed 13 July 2015.

116 Themistoclis, a Greek Cypriot born in Kilanemos in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1951; interviewed 1 December 2014.



to other countries. It made me very upset. I was crying because everything was different. I went there for the first time about five years ago. Many of my family were still there when the invasion happened. Not many people are left in the village. Some went to England, Australia, et cetera.<sup>117</sup>

There are diverse experiences of going 'home'. For many, it was highly traumatic returning home, seeing childhood homes destroyed, or seeing other families living in them. The receptions they received from old friends and even from strangers, though, tempered that experience. Antigone told of her experience returning home:

When I returned to Morphou, I said to myself, 'I'm going to be strong, I'm going to be OK', but however much you say, you don't know what to expect. There were nice people in my dad's house ... and they gave me a coffee and water and they brought me *glyko* [*glyko tou koutaliou* – preserved fruit in syrup] and the *glyko* was made from my dad's trees. When I went to eat it I remembered how my dad planted three trees [specifically] to make *glyko*, and I felt ill.<sup>118</sup>

Dimos shared a similar story:

My village is now under Turkish control. But I visited my village with my wife and two of my grandchildren. The man who was living in my house, welcomed us. When we wanted to leave to go eat something, he insisted on having us stay for a meal. He even killed a goat for us. They really looked after us. I also visited the nearby village of Limnitis and I saw a Turkish Cypriot. I remembered him. He asked me who I was and I said I was the son of my father. He remarked that my father was his brother! Not literally of course, but they were close as brothers.<sup>119</sup>

Returning to the physical 'home' was distressing for the majority of the participants. Whilst some people visited just once, many others, like Ramadan<sup>120</sup> and Alkan<sup>121</sup>, built connections with the 'other' group by visiting frequently. The visits 'home' have been both precious and painful for people returning, and the people welcoming them.

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117 Panayiota, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayios Elias in the Famagusta District in 1926, migrated to Australia in 1948; interviewed 3 April 2014.

118 Antigone, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Prastio in 1941, migrated to Australia in 1988; interviewed 25 April 2014.

119 Dimos, a Greek Cypriot man born in Loutros in 1936, migrated to Australia in 1974; interviewed 1 December 2014.

120 Ramadan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Kato Polemidhia in 1964, spent much of his early childhood in Kilani; interviewed 13 July 2015.

121 Alkan, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Silikou in 1948, moved to Kato Polemidhia when he married in 1973; interviewed 2 July 2015.

## Reunification efforts and hopes for the future of Cyprus

Due to the ‘divergent trajectories’ of Greek and Turkish Cypriot memories, as well as their ways of remembering, it would be reasonable to expect very different reactions to the prospect of reunification.<sup>122</sup>

There is a long list of plans and proposals put forward by various countries and parties to try to resolve the Cyprus dispute. These include: Acheson Plans, 1964; Intercommunal Talks, 1968 – 1974; 1977 High Level Agreement; Twelve Point Proposal, 1978; 1979 High Level Agreement and Interim Agreement; Five Point Proposals 1984; Draft Framework Agreement 1986; and Set of Ideas, 1989.<sup>123</sup>

Between 2000 and 2003, large numbers of Turkish Cypriots took to the streets to protest against their leadership’s handling of reunification negotiations.<sup>124</sup> At a demonstration in 2002, almost half the population were active.<sup>125</sup> They demanded, “re-unification of the island to allow it to join the EU as a single member state.”<sup>126</sup> Demetriou explains that, “Such membership, it was thought, offered a way out of the problems that the decades of political isolation had created: unemployment, dependence on the Turkish state, financial mismanagement, cronyism, limitations to free speech.”<sup>127</sup> Consequently,

The demonstrations brought about a profound shift in the discourses on the Cyprus problem. In the south, the prejudicial views of Turkish Cypriots that the media had presented up to then subsided and Turkish-Cypriots came to be seen as victims of a Turkey-bound regime which had been oppressing them. In the north the border became the focal point of political action, signifying the barrier to EU membership.<sup>128</sup>

The Annan Plan to resolve the Cyprus dispute was a United Nations proposal for a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation of two states. The Plan, in its fifth revision, was put to Greek and Turkish Cypriots to vote on as referendum on 24 April 2004.<sup>129</sup> The European Union, which Cyprus was scheduled to join on 1 May 2004, preferred a united Cyprus but was prepared to admit the

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122 Bowman, ‘Seeing What’s Missing in Memories of Cyprus’, 126.

123 Sözen, ‘The Cyprus Negotiations and the Basic Parameters: From the 1963 Inter-communal Negotiations to the Annan Plan’, 2-7.

124 Demetriou, ‘To cross or not to cross?’, 993.

125 *ibid.*, 993.

126 *ibid.*, 993.

127 *ibid.*, 993.

128 *ibid.*, 993.

129 A. Varnava & H. Faustmann, ‘Introduction’, in A. Varnava & H. Faustmann (eds.), *Reunifying Cyprus: The Annan Plan and Beyond*, I.B. Tauris, London, 2011, 1-8, 1.

Republic of Cyprus as a divided island.<sup>130</sup> The President of the Republic of Cyprus, Tassos Papadopoulos, strongly encouraged Greek Cypriots to reject the Plan<sup>131</sup> and the Turkish Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktaş, also called upon his people to reject the Plan.<sup>132</sup>

The past is a tool of politicians. Papadakis et al. claimed that, “The two major ethnic groups remember and forget the past in different ways, turning memory too into a means of legitimating their political claims, one side [Turkish Cypriot narrative] arguing that the past legitimates division and the other [Greek Cypriot narrative] that it legitimates reunification.”<sup>133</sup> Whilst nationalist narratives suggest that Greek Cypriots express a greater desire for reunification than Turkish Cypriots, this is not necessarily the case. The Annan Plan was supported by 65 percent of Turkish Cypriots and was rejected by 76 percent of Greek Cypriots. While the issues were complex (including security and property compensation) and the timing was complicated by Cyprus’ imminent accession into the European Union, both sides voted in opposition to their hegemonic nationalist narratives.<sup>134</sup> As the Plan was not approved by both communities, it was not implemented.<sup>135</sup>

George Christou argued that, from a Greek Cypriot perspective, rejection of the Annan Plan “represented a victory for those who wanted a unitary ‘Cypriot state’ solution to the Cyprus conflict, and for the leadership an additional strategic opportunity to achieve this within the EU...”<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, it “normatively transformed the politics of blame in the EU, refocusing the EU’s approach and efforts on Regulations that would facilitate the economic development of the Turkish Cypriots in the north and integration across the island.”<sup>137</sup>

The Greek Cypriot hegemonic nationalist narrative has changed over the decades, to fit with the emergent political goal of the time. Dikomitis explained:

... when Greek Cypriots demanded Union with Greece they constructed a narrative of Cyprus as a historically Greek island whose natives were ‘Greeks’ and had struggled for centuries against various enemies, notably the ‘Turks’. Later however, especially after 1974, when a new demand for the reunification of Cyprus emerged, the plot of history changed

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130 Varnava & Faustmann, ‘Introduction’, 19.

131 A. Varnava & H. Faustmann, ‘Introduction’, in A. Varnava & H. Faustmann (eds.), *Reunifying Cyprus: The Annan Plan and Beyond*, I.B. Tauris, London, 2011, 1-8, 180.

132 Michael, *Resolving the Cyprus Conflict*, 182.

133 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, ‘Introduction’, 12-13.

134 A. Sözen & K. Özersay, ‘The Annan Plan: State succession or continuity’, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 43(1), 2007, 125.

135 Varnava & Faustmann, ‘Introduction’, 1.

136 G. Christou, ‘The limits of the EU in the Cyprus conflict: the Greek Cypriot perspective’, in M.S. Michael & Y. Vural (eds.), *Cyprus and the Roadmap for Peace: A Critical Interrogation of the Conflict*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham, 2018, 155.

137 *ibid.*, 155.

into a past of peaceful coexistence, one that legitimised a united Cyprus, the main actors now being Greek *Cypriots* and Turkish *Cypriots*, categories that didn't point towards unbridgeable difference, as with *Greeks* and *Turks*, but now expressed 'natural' affinity.<sup>138</sup>

As soon as the result of the Annan Plan was declared, President Papadopoulos said, "I should emphasise that the Greek Cypriots have not rejected the solution of the Cyprus problem. They are not turning their backs on their Turkish Cypriot compatriots. They have simply rejected this particular solution on offer."<sup>139</sup>

The positions of the two conflicting sides is explained by Michael:

Greek Cypriot prosperity rendered any economic incentive associated with the Annan Plan superfluous, and elevated security and functionality to their prime concerns. The risks associated with the proposal, in conjunction with reassurance from EU membership, entrenched the status quo. In contrast, Turkish Cypriot dissent was nurtured by the lack of alternatives and the dire future prospects for their community.<sup>140</sup>

A few days after the referendum, the Republic of Cyprus entered into the European Union.<sup>141</sup> The failure of the referendum meant that Turkish Cypriots remained outside and the Green Line became the European Union's "uncertain border in the east."<sup>142</sup>

The failure of the 2004 Annan Plan, according to Bryant, demonstrated that contact does not consequently result in reconciliation.<sup>143</sup> There have been attempts to reunify Cyprus since the 2004 Annan Plan; most recently the extensive work of the United Nations Special Adviser for Cyprus, Espen Barth Eide, whose efforts failed at the 'Cyprus Talks' in Mont Pèlerin, Switzerland, in July 2017.<sup>144</sup> Bowman argued that a recurring pattern exists in the telling of stories and adherence to hegemonic nationalist narratives that partially explains how 40 years of negotiations have failed to unite Cyprus.<sup>145</sup> However, he argued that those narratives constructed through conflicting memories, "[do] not preclude the possibility that creative minds may find ways to fill in what's been left out of selective memories. When this starts to happen more often, expect Cypriots to gain just a little more faith in finding workable ways to share the island peacefully."<sup>146</sup>

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138 Bryant & Papadakis, 'Introduction', 11.

139 BBC News 2004, *In quotes: Cyprus reunification fails*, viewed 20 June 2016, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3656653.stm>>.

140 Michael, *Resolving the Cyprus Conflict*, 182.

141 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, 'Introduction', 4.

142 *ibid.*, 4.

143 Bryant, *The Past in Pieces*, 1-4.

144 H. Smith 2017, 'Cyprus reunification talks collapse amid angry scenes', *The Guardian*, viewed 5 January 2019, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/07/cyprus-reunification-talks-collapse-amid-angry-scenes>>.

145 Bowman, 'Seeing What's Missing in Memories of Cyprus', 119.

146 *ibid.*, 126.

A survey of 1000 Greek Cypriots aged between 18 and 65, about their attitudes towards unification, began with Webster's hypothesis that Greek Cypriot refugees were more likely to seek reunification, due to the direct financial gains to be made.<sup>147</sup> "Most refugees hold land claims and thus will receive financial rewards either by having their lands returned to them or by payment in kind following a political solution on the island."<sup>148</sup> Surprisingly, Webster instead found that 'refugee status' was not a significant factor in the formation of perceptions of reunification or maintaining the status quo, division.<sup>149</sup> It is important to note, however, that there was a stark difference in the attitudes of older and younger generations. Webster found that older Greek Cypriots showed a systematic preference for unification, in some form, whereas the younger participants preferred the status quo.<sup>150</sup>

Regarding Turkish Cypriot attitudes towards reunification, Jakobsson Hatay found that a disproportionate number of youths (compared with older generations) voted 'Yes' in the 2004 referendum.<sup>151</sup> A study conducted by Leonard nine years after Jakobsson Hatay's, of 20 Greek Cypriot and 20 Turkish Cypriot children aged between 14 and 16 years of age, found that Turkish Cypriot youths were less in favour of reunification than were the Greek Cypriot participants.<sup>152</sup> They often expressed concerns that reunification would not be safe because Greek Cypriots have a "deep-seated dislike of Turkish Cypriots."<sup>153</sup> The difference between the outcomes of the two studies may be due to the time elapsed between the studies, or perhaps because Leonard's sample size was quite small.

Their family, of course, affect youths' attitudes. Volkan's study found that despite many Turkish Cypriot youths rejecting the secondary trauma passed down from the older generations,

The presence in society of parents and grandparents who were directly traumatized causes more problems and splits. Some of them, psychologically speaking, still "live" in the 1960s and 1970s, while others strongly deny the past and do not wish to remember the horrors associated with it.<sup>154</sup>

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147 C. Webster, 'Division or unification in Cyprus? The role of demographics, attitudes and party inclination on Greek Cypriot preferences for a solution to the Cyprus problem', *Ethnopolitics*, 4(3), 2005, 303.

148 *ibid.*, 303.

149 *ibid.*, 307.

150 *ibid.*, 303.

151 T. Bachchelli, 'Saying Yes to EU Accession: Explaining the Turkish Cypriot Referendum Outcome', *The Cyprus Review*, 16(2), 2004, 63.

152 Leonard, 'Young people's perspectives on conflict, reconciliation and reunification in Cyprus', 330.

153 *ibid.*, 330.

154 Volkan, 'Trauma, identity and search for a solution in Cyprus', 101.

This suggests a disconnect between the attitudes of the older and younger generations of Turkish Cypriots. In their study, Gurel, Hatay and Yakinthou found that their Turkish Cypriot participants (including people from different generations, most of whom were displaced in 1963 or 1974 or both, with the rest having parents who were displaced) were “generally pessimistic about the viability of bringing the two Cypriot communities together again, mainly for safety reasons.”<sup>155</sup>

The 2011 documentary *Sharing an Island* sought to initiate intercultural dialogue between three Greek Cypriots and three Turkish Cypriots who had never known the unified Cyprus of old – as they were born into a divided country and grew up in separate ‘bubbles’, unfamiliar with their fellow Cypriots living on the ‘other’ side of the Green Line. The documentary demonstrated the profound ignorance of each community about the other, and revealed the power of intercultural dialogue in bringing to the surface the ‘truths’ told to each community about their shared past. Participants were awakened to the distortion of the ‘truth’ that they had been taught. The realisation reached by both Greek and Turkish Cypriots that the actual ‘truth’ of Cyprus’ past lies somewhere between the stories told to each group was deeply insightful and moving. The connections formed and level of empathy felt towards one another bred tolerance, respect, and an eagerness for reunification amongst those young subjects.<sup>156</sup>

My findings are based on participants most of whom were born before the 1950s and grew up in mixed villages, or had close relations with neighbouring mixed or mono-communal ‘other’ villages. My participant group differs from that of Gurel, Hayay and Yakinthou, as most were of an older generation. Whilst several of my Turkish Cypriot participants expressed their hopes for “security” in the future, the majority of both my Greek and Turkish Cypriot participants expressed a desire for reunification. This research aims to engage a younger generation of Cypriots, through the stories of their parents or grandparents, to learn about the old days. Dialogue between young people of Cyprus, as demonstrated in *Sharing an Island*, is a powerful and promising way to approach discussions of reunification of the island.

### Hopes of my participants

Whilst the majority of my participants expressed hope for reunification, their levels of optimism varied. Gülten was born in Pelathousa in 1935 and moved to Evretou when she married in 1949. She then moved to Polis Chrysochous in 1956 and finally to Morphou after the war in 1974. She

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<sup>155</sup> Gurel, Hatay & Yakinthou, ‘An Overview of Events and Perceptions’, 34.

<sup>156</sup> D. Stylianou (dir), *Sharing an Island*, Nicosia, 2011.

hoped that, “our children and grandchildren can live together in a peaceful Cyprus.”<sup>157</sup> Gülten’s hope aligns with Bowman’s finding that, “Turkish Cypriots appear more willing to let go of the past conflicts with their neighbors, making less of memory. They hope that unification will end their isolation and create more opportunities.”<sup>158</sup>

Some participants believed that the youths of each community light a way forward for reunification, while others believed that they are the greatest barrier. My great-uncle Iordanis said:

My desire is, for in the future, for us to live together again. I want to come to this climate again. I am sure that we can do it. There are young people from both sides now cooperating. This is because we had this cooperation. If we come together, I am sure there will be no incidents.<sup>159</sup>

In contrast, Nafiya expressed concerns about young people: “I wish Cyprus would come together again. I want Greeks and Turks to live there happily. Maybe generation by generation they will forget all about it. I don’t think they will mix again. Each side they don’t know each other.”<sup>160</sup> Some, like Niyazi,<sup>161</sup> had turned hope into action, organising bicomunal and cross-generational events where young Cypriots met, so that they may find reason to strive for reunification of the island.

Additionally, some older generations had prepared their children for life after reunification by teaching them the language of the ‘other’ community. While interviewing Andreas K,<sup>162</sup> his son told me of his most recent visit to Cyprus. Travelling in the north of Cyprus he had chatted with some Turkish Cypriot youths, born well after 1974, whose parents had taught them Greek, “to help prepare them for when the country comes together again.” I came across a similar circumstance when Tayfun’s son Arda joined us for his father’s interview. Tayfun explained that he had taught Arda Turkish as a child, and Greek as well, as he believed that speaking Greek would be advantageous when the country is unified. In fact, fluency in Greek has been useful, as Arda studied and worked in the south.<sup>163</sup> I did not hear equivalent stories of Greek Cypriots teaching their children Cypriot Turkish; perhaps because Cypriot Greek has long been the dominant language on the island, they did not see it as a significant advantage.

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157 Gülten, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Pelathousa in 1935; interviewed 24 July 2015.

158 Bowman, ‘Seeing What’s Missing in Memories of Cyprus’, 126.

159 Iordanis, a Greek Cypriot born in Ayia Irini in 1936; interviewed 19 June 2014.

160 Nafiya, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Lemba in 1929, migrated to Australia in 1952; interviewed 15 October 2014.

161 Niyazi, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Varosha in 1949, moved to Polis Chrysochous at the age of seven; interviewed 13 June 2015.

162 Andreas K, a Greek Cypriot man born in Kythrea in 1924, migrated to Australia in 1961; interviewed 3 January 2015.

163 Tayfun, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Ayia Irini in 1959; interviewed 18 June 2015.

Though longing for it, not all participants viewed reunification as achievable. At 88 years of age, Nevsal had no expectations of reunification; she had been disappointed too many times before.<sup>164</sup> Nevsal's view was common; many Cypriots have had their hopes dashed too often and dare not hope again. Kaiti shared Nevsal's concerns. She hoped for reunification but, "I do not think it will happen."<sup>165</sup>

Outside interference hindering the reunification process was a concern expressed by several participants. Ertherul blamed the British for causing the tensions and events which led to the division of Cyprus, and hoped that the island would be reunified in his lifetime. He was concerned that external meddling hinders the peace process.<sup>166</sup> Similarly, cousins Ülgü and Serpil (Figure 8.9) wished for Cyprus to be reunified; however, they were concerned about outside interference from the United Kingdom and the United States.<sup>167</sup>



*Figure 8.9 Ülgü (left) and Serpil (right) of Ayia Irini with the author*

Whilst pessimism and doubt about the prospect of reunification are front-of-mind for many participants, the majority hope for reunification, even if they do not think it will be achieved.

### Present day political climate in Cyprus

Two types of violent memories exist: "one that may create divisions between communities, while another may encourage a sense of collective victimhood." Griffiths argued, "Through recollection and transmission, such memories could drive communities apart or together, intentionally or

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164 Nevsal, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Polis Chrysochous in 1927; interviewed 24 July 2015.

165 Kaiti, a Greek Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1950; interviewed 17 July 2015.

166 Ertherul, a Turkish Cypriot man born in Polis Chrysochous in 1947; interviewed 13 July 2015.

167 Ülgü, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1948; and Serpil, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in Ayia Irini in 1949; both interviewed 24 July 2015.



otherwise. Often reconciliation needs to take place before a political solution can be found, although these processes exist in tandem.”<sup>168</sup>

Perhaps the way forward, for reconciliation to be achieved, is at the grassroots level. Ladini contended that in recent years, “there has been a growing role for Cypriot civil society organisations, which have proved competent to organise joint initiatives across the north/south division of the island.”<sup>169</sup> Today there are many civil society groups, organisations and individuals in Cyprus, and abroad, who are working towards enhancing cooperation between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, as well as the ultimate reunification of the island.<sup>170</sup> In addition, “there has been a substantial amount of peacebuilding work (training, conflict resolution workshops, interactive problem solving workshops, communication workshops, bicomunal projects, meetings, contacts, visits) over the past two decades.”<sup>171</sup> These efforts are vital to the reunification of Cyprus. Bryant contended, “In a globalized world and a renewed Cyprus, it seems time to take the local seriously. In Cyprus, taking the local seriously means taking seriously the neighborliness that has survived three decades of separation, a neighborliness that can now be put into political action.” It is time for a grassroots-level movement to mobilise and strive to reunify Cyprus.

Whilst the foundations for reconciliation may have been laid between the two Cypriot communities at the grassroots level, for reconciliation to be achieved the foundations need to be built upon. Griffiths argued, “For this to result in reconciliation, Cypriot elites need to change their policies in a number of areas for this groundwork to constitute a sound progression towards a sustainable solution.”<sup>172</sup>

## Conclusion

This chapter provides a case study of present-day Christian- Muslim relations, against the backdrop of the post-9/11 global-political Christian-Muslim divide. The once strong relations between Christian (Greek) Cypriots and Muslim (Turkish) Cypriots are evident as, post-2003, people sought to reconnect with one other – to make up for three lost decades. Current relations between Greek

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168 Griffiths, ‘Memories of violence in Cyprus’, 2.

169 Ladini, ‘Peacebuilding, United Nations and Civil Society’, 48.

170 Home for Cooperation, *About Us*, viewed 26 April 2018, <<http://www.home4cooperation.info/what-is-the-h4c>>; and Facebook 2019, *Cyprus Academic Dialogue*, viewed 26 April 2018, <[https://www.facebook.com/pg/CyprusAcademicDialogue/about/?ref=page\\_internal](https://www.facebook.com/pg/CyprusAcademicDialogue/about/?ref=page_internal)>.

171 N. Gillespie, V. Georgiou & S. Insay 2011, ‘Cyprus civil society: developing trust and cooperation’, *INTRAC Research Briefing Paper*, viewed 5 May 2019, <<https://www.intrac.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Research-Briefing-Paper-Cyprus-civil-society-developing-trust-and-cooperation.pdf>>,7.

172 Griffiths, ‘Memories of violence in Cyprus’, 2.

and Turkish Cypriots allow for a fascinating glimpse of different experiences and perspectives of contemporary Christian- Muslim relations, often hidden from mainstream political discourse.

It is evident from this study that the trauma of the past has left indelible scars on many Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and their desire to return home has been shaken by the reality they faced when they could return 'home' post-2003; consequently, refugee consciousness remains a fundamental component of the identities of Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

My participants told of deep connections with the 'other' which have persisted through decades of conflict, nationalism, propaganda and war, despite their refugee consciousness. When the checkpoints opened in 2003, after 29 years of division, 80 percent of my participants crossed to the other side, seeking to reconnect with old friends. Many were moved to tears by those reunions and surprised by the kindness and hospitality of strangers now living in their old homes and villages. Participants expressed tenuous hopes for a united future. Some felt that Cyprus was just a little pawn in a game played by other countries; some have been disappointed too many times.

# Conclusion

“I love you like my own granddaughter.” I had just concluded my interview with Nafiya and Nevzat, when Nafiya planted a kiss on me and said these words. I had been given their phone number by a Turkish Cypriot community leader several weeks earlier and had called them to request an interview. They had reluctantly agreed. When I arrived at their house in Penrith, Australia, they were hospitable but wary – which was understandable; I was a stranger, and half-Greek Cypriot, after all. During our time together, as I opened up to them about myself, my family and my PhD project, they became more and more comfortable. I spent about four hours in their home, receiving their warm hospitality and revelling in the stories that they generously shared with me.

After the interview, as I got into my car, Nafiya strolled down the driveway to their gate, to give me a traditional Cypriot farewell (waving goodbye until I was out of sight). When I reached her I wound down my window and she handed me a rose that she had just picked from her garden. She said, “This is a symbol of my love and respect for you,” and then, in Greek, “Σ'αγαπώ πολύ [I love you]”. I replied, in Turkish, “Seni seviyorum [I love you].” My heart was full.

Conducting interviews has been complicated and difficult – and joyful. Every interview offered something unexpected and delightful. People shared their hospitality, their memories and insights into their lives and, often, when we parted, their affection towards me. I was both an insider, through my grandparents; and an outsider, as an innocent from Australia.

This historical ethnographic study sought to record and examine first-hand oral history accounts of the relationships between Turkish and Greek Cypriots from several former mixed villages of Cyprus before civil unrest broke out on the island, during the period of the wars of the 1960s and 1974, and since the checkpoints opened in 2003. This thesis also captures oral history accounts of Cypriots from mono-communal villages who had close relations with those in neighbouring mixed or ‘other’ villages.

Responses and data from all 72 study participants contributed to all of the Figures and Tables showing study results, presented in Chapters 2 to 5, and Chapters 7 and 8. Only participants interviewed in Australia contributed to such Figures and Tables in Chapter 6. Some interview data lent itself to quantitative analysis; for example, those questions with Yes/No answers, such as whether people had entered the religious house of the ‘other’ group, whether they had crossed the

checkpoints after 2003, whether they recalled *koumbaroi* from the other group, or intermarriages, or cross-religious milk mothers. For such questions, the responses of Turkish and Greek Cypriots, of women and men, of participants in Australia or in Cyprus, of people displaced or not displaced, of people born in each decade, could be compared and led to some useful insights. Beyond their 'Yes' or 'No' responses, people elaborated and the qualitative data presented – participant quotes and case studies – provided meaning and perspective to this study.

Importantly, this dissertation looks at Turkish and Greek Cypriots equally; most previous studies have focused on one group or the other. At least one quote from every participant is included. Selection of quotes has meant that Turkish Cypriot voices comprise 46%, and Greek Cypriot voices 54%, of participant quotes presented in this thesis (participants were 46% Turkish Cypriot and 54% Greek Cypriot).

Additionally, women's voices comprise 39%, and men's voices 61%, of participant quotes presented in this thesis (participants were 40% women and 60% men). That balance of representation means that the women participants' voices are as prominent, and as valuable within this dissertation, as are the men's'.

This dissertation has contributed to the existing body of knowledge of Cypriot society during its colonial and post-colonial periods,<sup>1</sup> as well as Australian diaspora histories.<sup>2</sup> It has explored the history of diversity in Cyprus to reveal cooperation and integration across religious and class divides. Although Cypriot society was fragmented to an extent, it was not until well into the period of British rule that the rise of nationalism divided society along two distinct nations, across all classes.

This study has deconstructed the post-1974 hegemonic nationalist narratives commonly held and conveyed by Turkish and Greek Cypriots.<sup>3</sup> Those narratives evolved from trauma and refugee nostalgia and have been politicised, manifesting in the hearts and minds of today's Cypriot youth.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Varnava, 'British Imperialism in Cyprus'; Varnava, 'Reinterpreting Macmillan's Cyprus Policy'; Varnava, 'Recruitment and Volunteerism for the Cypriot Mule Corps'; Varnava, 'Serving the Empire in the Great War'; Varnava, 'British Cyprus and the Long Great War'; Asmussen, 'Life and Strife in Mixed Villages'; Asmussen, "'Dark-Skinned Cypriots will not be accepted!'"; Asmussen, 'Intermarriages and interethnic love stories in Cyprus'; Asmussen, 'Conspiracy Theories and Cypriot History'; and Bryant, 'Imagining the Modern'.

2 Dawson, 'Transnational flows and generational disjunctures'; Dawson, 'Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne'; Shialis, 'Greek-Cypriot settlement in South Australia during the 1950s'; Shialis, 'A Home Away from Home'; Shialis, 'The Settlement of Greek-Cypriot Migrants and Refugees in South Australia'; Adal, 'Turkish Cypriot Women in Australia'; Ali & Sonn, 'Multiculturalism and whiteness'; and Ali & Sonn, 'Constructing Identity as a Second-Generation Cypriot Turkish in Australia'.

3 Kizilyürek, 'From Traditionalism to Nationalism and Beyond'.

4 Volkan, 'Cyprus-War and Adaptation'; Volkan, 'Transgenerational transmissions and chosen traumas'; Volkan, 'Trauma, identity and search for a solution in Cyprus'; Volkan & Greer, 'Third Reich in the Unconscious'; Bryant, 'Partitions of memory'; Bryant, 'History's remainders'; and Demetriou, 'Life Stories'.

Whilst the narratives may continue to be reinforced through the government, media and in classrooms, my participants' stories, which are in accord, contradict and undermine those narratives.

Through the lens of the subaltern, this dissertation provides different perspectives and experiences to the contemporary (post-9/11) global-political context of the Muslim-Christian divide. It examines Turkish and Greek Cypriots' journeys from friendship to rupture, loss and, ultimately, towards repair. The binary nature of Muslim-Christian relations portrayed in the media is overly simplistic. This dissertation has explored current relations between Turkish and Greek Cypriots, allowing a fascinating glimpse of contemporary Muslim-Christian relations hidden from mainstream political discourse. Additionally, although the focus of this dissertation is on the British rather than the Ottoman period, it adds to the existing body of literature concerning intercommunal relationships between Muslims and Christians in a formerly Ottoman space.<sup>5</sup>

This dissertation makes a substantial contribution to the ethnographic literature of Greek Cypriots<sup>6</sup>, and its contribution to the ethnographic literature of Turkish Cypriots<sup>7</sup> – a people who have been comparatively understudied – is even more significant. It provides substantial insight into their everyday histories, identities, struggles, losses, and hopes. This thesis has strived to represent the experiences of both Turkish and Greek Cypriots, posed side-by-side.

Accounts from both Turkish and Greek Cypriots, including those who remained and those who were displaced from the same three villages, shared a great deal of common ground; Turkish and Greek Cypriots painted very similar pictures of life in their former mixed villages. The previously limited understanding of intercommunality that once existed, at the community-level, in the former mixed villages of Cyprus during the period from the 1920s to the 1960s, has been significantly expanded through accounts of Turkish and Greek Cypriots' school and work lives; of their acquisition of the 'other' language; of cross-religious encounters, entering the church or mosque of the 'other' group and sharing celebrations such as Easter and *Bayram*; of attending and celebrating weddings of the 'other' group; of religious syncretism – including accounts of *linobambakoi* still encountered in the mid-20th century, and of priests, a *hoca* and their community praying together for a miracle. Further, while religious syncretism allowed for community-level relations to flourish, it also created an environment where personal-level relations could form and deepen.

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<sup>5</sup> Doumanis, 'Before the Nation'.

<sup>6</sup> Papadakis, 'Greek Cypriot Narratives of History and Collective Identity'; Papadakis, 'Echoes from the Dead Zone'; and Demetriou, 'Life Stories'.

<sup>7</sup> Bryant, 'The Past in Pieces'; Bryant, 'Partitions of memory'.

Personal-level relations existed between individuals of the two different communities during the period from the 1920s to the 1960s and even, in some instances, up until 1974. My research counters many highly politicised narratives and propaganda that claim friendships between members of the two communities were a rarity,<sup>8</sup> and reveals numerous previously-buried accounts of deep and multifaceted personal-level relations between Turkish and Greek Cypriots.

According to interviewees from both groups, deep friendships were common. Such friendships sometimes led to the choice of *koumbaroi* (best man, matron of honour, groomsmen and bridesmaids) from the 'other' group – an unexpected finding as such roles cross religious divides and forge formal familial ties. In contrast to previous work which has described intermarriages as 'exceptional', they were common enough that the majority of participants knew of such unions, and ten percent of participants recalled them within their own families – providing the first tentative quantification of twentieth century intermarriages in Cyprus. Although all the historical, anthropological, religious and legal evidence suggests that the most common intermarriages were those of Turkish Cypriot (Muslim) men to Greek Cypriot (Christian) women, my research shows that intermarriages went both ways. Surprisingly, people born in every decade from the 1920s to the 1960s recalled intermarriages. It appears that in some mixed villages many aspects of intercommunal life, including intermarriages, continued until the island was divided in 1974.

The most striking and original example of personal-level relationships presented by this thesis is the practice of cross-religious milk kinship. The joining together of two families of different religions through the practice of wet nursing demonstrates a level of real intimacy between Turkish and Greek Cypriots. It appears that the religious meaning understood by Turkish Cypriots grew into a shared cultural practice adopted by Greek Cypriots – as a form of trans-cultural diffusion. Amongst the participant cohort in Cyprus, 72 percent of those asked about milk mothers recalled cross-religious examples, and one quarter cited examples from within their own families – quantifying, for the first time, a formerly almost unknown practice in the mixed villages of Cyprus.

Clearly these four categories of deep personal-level relations (friendships, *koumbaroi*, marriage and milk kinship) between the two groups were common within mixed villages. Accounts from both Turkish and Greek Cypriots, including those who remained and those who were displaced from the same three villages, were indistinguishable – again, pointing to their reliability. Such evidence from

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<sup>8</sup> Kyrris, 'History of Cyprus'; and Aziz.

three very geographically distant villages (and others) points to such personal-level relations being widespread throughout Cyprus during the twentieth century.

This thesis also portrays how religious, ethnic and national identities formed and evolved amongst Turkish and Greek Cypriots in both Cyprus and Australia. Determining one's identity is not an easy task, for any group of people. This dissertation illustrates the instability of identities, revealing participants' multi-hyphenated identities, aspects of which were felt more acutely at different points during their lives. Whilst the majority claimed that they had maintained their childhood identities throughout their lives, some reflected on the ways in which their identities had changed over time.

A strong Cypriot identity emerged from this research, with 55 (76 percent) of 72 participants including 'Cypriot' in their descriptor. Furthermore, while 23 (58 percent) of 40 Greek Cypriots had a primarily religious identity, or a hyphenated-religious identity (pointing to the significant role of Christianity in their lives), only two Turkish Cypriots expressed a hyphenated-religious identity (pointing to the less significant role that Islam played in their lives). Furthermore, the majority of Turkish and Greek Cypriots who migrated to Australia identified as 'Australian'; however, this was often hyphenated onto their Cypriot identity.

The main focus of the investigation into the experiences of the Cypriot diaspora in Australia, including why each group migrated, how they settled and with which communities they engaged, was to explore the relations between Turkish and Greek Cypriot migrants in Australia. There is very little literature on their interactions or their simultaneous migration experiences. My study is the first to comprehensively capture stories of interactions and friendships between the two communities in Australia. Some friendships between Turkish and Greek Cypriots in Australia were extensions of old friendships – people who came to Australia together, or encouraged others to join them in Australia, and some were new friendships forged as their paths crossed in Australia. Many Turkish and Greek Cypriots have maintained deep friendships over several decades, despite political unrest and the intercommunal wars occurring in Cyprus throughout the 1960s and in 1974, and the decades-long division of the island.

This thesis also explored the decades of Australian immigration policy settings that impacted Cypriot migration, and the barriers that were overcome by both Turkish and Greek Cypriots to make their journeys. Although the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities established their own organisations, they did interact with one another. They worked together, socialised and helped one

another. Whilst Greek Cypriots engaged closely with mainland Greeks, the first wave of Turkish Cypriot migrants had no mainland Turks with whom to engage. Instead, established Greek Cypriot migrants helped settle many of the early Turkish Cypriot migrants from the 1940s to the 1960s.

This thesis set out to examine the memories of displacement and loss, as well as the experiences of reconnection and hope. Participants' stories paint a picture of the formerly entangled lives of many Cypriots. Many Turkish and Greek Cypriots supported one another during the conflicts of the 1960s and 1974, and the grief after division of the island was felt not just by those who became refugees, but also by those who remained in the once mixed villages but lost their dear friends and neighbours and their way of life. Grief was, and continues to be, experienced due to the loss of tight-knit communities and deep friendships.

This study reveals that the trauma of the past has left indelible scars on many Turkish and Greek Cypriots, and their desire to return 'home' has been shaken by the harsh reality that they faced post-2003: they cannot go back in time. Consequently, refugee consciousness remains a fundamental element of the identities of Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Whilst hegemonic nationalist narratives may continue to be reinforced through the media and in classrooms, my research provides participants' accounts which contradict and undermine those narratives. Stories of rupture and displacement throughout the 1960s contradict the Greek Cypriot nationalist narrative, which contends that life was peaceful in Cyprus prior to 1974. Stories of reconnections once the checkpoints opened, and hopes for reunification, conflict with the Turkish Cypriot national narrative, which contends that relations between the two communities were never warm.

This thesis fills a gap in the broad colonial and post-colonial histories of Cyprus, by providing a nuanced understanding of the deep community- and personal-level relations that once existed between the two communities. The main arguments of this thesis are that many genuine and deep intercommunal friendships existed, particularly in the former mixed villages of Cyprus; and that, in many respects, the two groups lived as a single harmonious and integrated community. Friendships endured through decades of war, displacement, and division; and although trauma lives on, love and hope do, too.

The final contribution of this thesis is the awakening of hidden stories. Most interviews took place in participants' homes and often their children or grandchildren, interested in hearing stories of the old days, sat with us. During our interview in Sydney, Ilmiye said to me, "Did you see my son just now? He was listening to our conversation. That's because we never tell them [our children] about



our lives in Cyprus, about what the Greeks did to us. So, if they hear our conversation, straight away they get interested.”<sup>9</sup> Such ‘not telling’ is a common phenomenon in Cyprus, too:

memory and forgetting among the two ethnic groups that previously lived together and yet have come to remember ... in markedly different ways ... how silences regarding certain events ... leads to social forgetting, since the younger generations have no way of knowing what took place.<sup>10</sup>

As I conducted more interviews, something became very clear to me: the elderly Cypriots I interviewed had not shared many of their experiences of growing up in Cyprus with intercommunality, friendship and cooperation, with their children or grandchildren.

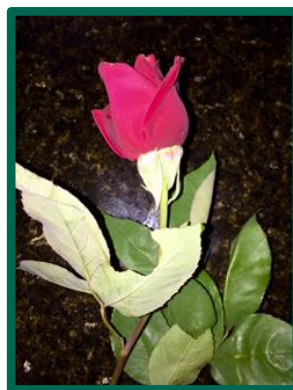
*What?! You visited a mosque?*

*I didn't know you lived with a Turkish Cypriot family when you first moved to Australia!*

*Mum, you never told me that you spoke Greek as a kid!*

These stories were hidden – there was no oral history – and thus they open Cyprus’ ‘secret archive of inherited amnesia’.<sup>11</sup>

Doing this research now, as that generation ages, is significant not only for the purpose of capturing these intimate histories, but because it has implications for future understandings of Cypriot histories, relationships and identities. I hope this research awakens new generations of Cypriots to their shared past, and nourishes their imaginings of a shared future.



*My rose from Nafiya*

---

9 Ilmiye, a Turkish Cypriot woman born in 1955, migrated to Australia in 1978; interviewed 3 Aug 2014.

10 Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz, ‘Introduction’, 12.

11 Alev, ‘Drifting in the Dead Zone in Cyprus’, 78.

# Appendices

Appendix 1: Permission to Advertise / Recruit Form, Letter of Introduction, Information Sheet, Consent Form, Photographic Release Forms, Interview Questions



## PERMISSION TO PLACE ADVERTISEMENT / RECRUIT FORM

**Greek and Turkish Cypriot relations in Cyprus during the 1930s-1950s**

I .....,  
*Insert name*

being over the age of 18 years hereby consent to assist in the advertisement for and/or recruitment of interview subjects for the Flinders University postgraduate study on Greek and Turkish Cypriot relations in Cyprus during the 1930s-1950s, on behalf of the religious or community organisation with which I am affiliated.

1. I have read the letter of introduction and information sheet provided for participation in the research project "Greek and Turkish Cypriot relations in Cyprus during the 1930s-1950s".
2. Details of procedures and any risks have been explained to my satisfaction.
3. I am satisfied that this project is credible and will be conducted in a respectful manner.

**Name of Religious Institution or Community Organisation:**

.....

**Address of Religious Institution or Community Organisation:**

.....

**Signatory's position:** .....

**Signature:** ..... **Date:** ...../...../.....

I certify that I have explained the study to the above-named person and consider that she/he understands what is involved and freely consents to assist in advertising/recruiting participants.

**Researcher's name:** .....

**Researcher's signature:** ..... **Date:** ...../...../.....

*This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project number 6318). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au)*



## ΕΓΚΡΙΣΗ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗΣ / ΕΝΤΥΠΟ ΠΡΟΣΛΗΨΗΣ

### Ελληνοκυπριακές και Τουρκοκυπριακές σχέσεις στην Κύπρο κατά την περίοδο 1930 – 1950

Ο/Η .....

ηλικίας άνω των 18 ετών με την παρούσα συγκατατίθεμαι να συμμετάσχω στη βοήθεια για την πρόσληψη ερωτηθέντων σε συνέντευξη για την μεταπτυχιακή μελέτη του Πανεπιστημίου Flinders σχετικά με τις σχέσεις Ελληνοκυπρίων και Τουρκοκυπρίων στην Κύπρο της περιόδου 1930 – 1950, εκ μέρους της θρησκευτική κοινότητας οργάνωσης με την οποία εκπροσωπώ.

1. Διάβασα την επιστολή εισαγωγής και το πληροφοριακό έντυπο που παρέχεται για τη συμμετοχή μου στην ερευνητική εργασία "Σχέσεις Ελληνοκυπρίων και Τουρκοκυπρίων στην Κύπρο της περιόδου 1930-1950".
2. Λεπτομέρειες των διαδικασιών και τυχόντες κίνδυνοι μου έχουν επεξηγηθεί ικανοποιητικά.
3. Είμαι πεπεισμένος ότι αυτή η εργασία θα είναι αξιόπιστη και θα διεξαχθεί με σεβασμό.

Όνομα Θρησκευτικού Ιδρύματος ή Κοινοτικού Οργανισμού:

.....

Διεύθυνση Θρησκευτικού Ιδρύματος ή Κοινοτικού Οργανισμού:

.....

Θέση/Βαθμός του υπογράφοντος: .....

Υπογραφή ..... Ημερομηνία: ...../...../.....

Πιστοποιώ ότι εξηγήσα τη μελέτη στον/στην ανωτέρω αναφερόμενο/η και θεωρώ ότι κατάλαβε το είδος της συμμετοχής του/της και συναινεί ελεύθερα να βοηθήσει στην πρόσληψη συμμετεχόντων στη μελέτη.

Όνομα ερευνητή: .....

Υπογραφή ερευνητή: ..... Ημερομηνία: ...../...../.....

*Αυτή η ερευνητική εργασία έχει εγκριθεί από το την Επιτροπή Δεοντολογίας Έρευνας Κοινωνικής και Συμπεριφοράς του Πανεπιστημίου Flinders (Project number 6318). Για περισσότερες πληροφορίες σχετικά με την δεοντολογική έγκριση της εργασίας μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με τον Εκτελεστικό Αρμόδιο της Επιτροπής στο τηλέφωνο 8201 3116, ή στο φαξ 8201 2035 ή στο email [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au)*



## İLAN VERİLMESİNE İLİŞKİN FORM/ KATILIMCI BULMA FORMU

1930-1950 yılları arasında Kıbrıs'taki Yunan-Türk ilişkileri

Ben.....  
Adınız

18 yaşının üzerinde bir birey olarak ve bağlı olduğum din veya bir toplum kuruluşu adına, Flinders Üniversitesinin "1930-1950 yılları arasında Kıbrıs'taki Yunan-Türk ilişkileri" konusundaki çalışmasına ilişkin ilan vermeye ve mülakat yapılacak kişilerin bulunmasına yardımcı olmayı kabul ediyorum.

1. "1930-1950 yılları arasında Kıbrıs'taki Yunan-Türk ilişkileri" adlı araştırma projesine katılmaya ilişkin sağlanan tanıtım mektubu ve bilgi notunu okudum.
2. Prosedürlerin ve mevcut olabilecek risklerin detayları tatmin edici bir şekilde tarafıma izah edildi.
3. Bu projenin güvenilir olduğu ve saygı çerçevesinde yürütüleceği konusunda tatmin oldum.

**Din Kuruluşunun veya Toplum Kuruluşunun Adı:**

.....

**Din Kuruluşunun veya Toplum Kuruluşunun Adresi:**

.....

**İmzalayanın pozisyonu:**

.....

**İmza:** .....

**Tarih:** ...../...../.....

Adıgeçen kişiye bu araştırmayı açıkladığımı ve kişinin, bu araştırmanın ne içerdiğini anladığını ve özgür iradesiyle ilan verme ve mevcut katılımcıların bulunması konularında yardımcı olacağını kabul ettiğini onaylıyorum.

**Araştırmacının adı:** .....

**Araştırmacının imzası:** ..... **Tarih:** ...../...../.....

*Bu proje Flinders Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Davranışsal Araştırmalar Etik Komitesi tarafından onaylanmıştır. (Project number 6318). Projenin etiksel onayı ile ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak için Komite Sekreteri ile 8201 5962 numaralı telefon, 8201 2035 numaralı faks veya e-posta ile [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au) adresi aracılığıyla irtibat kurabilirsiniz.*



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School of International Studies  
Flinders University  
GPO Box 2100  
Adelaide SA 5001  
Tel: +61 8 82012423  
Email: [andrekos.varnava@flinders.edu.au](mailto:andrekos.varnava@flinders.edu.au)  
CRICOS Provider No. 00114A

## LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Dear Sir/Madam

This letter is to introduce Stephanie Jacobs who is a PhD student in the International Studies School at Flinders University. She will produce her student card, which carries a photograph, as proof of identity.

She will be undertaking research leading to the production of a thesis or other publications on the subject of Greek and Turkish Cypriot relations in Cyprus during the 1930s-1950s.

She would be most grateful if you would volunteer to assist in this project, by granting an interview which covers certain aspects of this topic. No more than 90 minutes on one occasion would be required.

Be assured that any information provided will be treated in the strictest confidence and none of the participants will be individually identifiable in the resulting thesis, report or other publications. You are, of course, entirely free to discontinue your participation at any time or to decline to answer particular questions.

Since she intends to make a tape recording of the interview, I will seek your consent, on the attached form, to record the interview, to use the recording or a transcription in preparing the thesis, report or other publications, on condition that your name or identity is not revealed, and to make the recording available to other researchers on the same conditions (or that the recording will not be made available to any other person). It may be necessary to make the recording available to secretarial assistants for transcription, in which case you may be assured that such persons will be advised of the requirement that your name or identity not be revealed and that the confidentiality of the material is respected and maintained.

Any enquiries you may have concerning this project should be directed to me at the address given above or by telephone on (+61 430248652) or e-mail ([stephanie.jacobs@flinders.edu.au](mailto:stephanie.jacobs@flinders.edu.au))  
Thank you for your attention and assistance.

Yours sincerely

Dr Andrekos Varnava  
Senior Lecturer  
School of International Studies  
Flinders University  
Australia

*This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project number 6318). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au)*

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΣΗΣ

Αγαπητέ Κύριε / Κυρία

Η επιστολή αυτή σκοπό έχει να συστήσει την Stephanie Jacobs η οποία είναι υποψήφια διδάκτορας στη σχολή των Διεθνών Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου Flinders . Θα παρουσιάσει τη φοιτητική της κάρτα, η οποία φέρει φωτογραφία , ως απόδειξη της ταυτότητας.

Θα αναλάβει έρευνα που οδηγεί στην παραγωγή της διδακτορικής διατριβής ή άλλες δημοσιεύσεις σχετικά με το θέμα των σχέσεων Ελληνοκυπρίων και Τουρκοκυπρίων στην Κύπρο από τις δεκαετίες του 1930 – 1950.

Θα σας ήταν ευγνώμων αν θα ήσασταν εθελοντής για να βοηθήσετε αυτή την εργασία, χορηγώντας μια συνέντευξη που καλύπτει ορισμένες πτυχές αυτού του θέματος . Όχι περισσότερες από δύο ώρες σε κάθε περίπτωση που θα χρειαζόταν.

Να είστε βέβαιοι ότι οποιαδήποτε στοιχεία παρέχονται θα αντιμετωπίζονται με απόλυτη εχεμύθεια και κανένας από τους συμμετέχοντες δεν θα είναι αναγνωρίσιμος στην προκύπτουσα εργασία, αναφορά ή άλλες δημοσιεύσεις. Είστε, φυσικά, εντελώς ελεύθεροι να διακόψετε τη συμμετοχή σας σε οποιαδήποτε ώρα ή να αρνηθείτε να απαντήσετε σε συγκεκριμένες ερωτήσεις.

Θα ζητήσω τη συγκατάθεσή σας, σχετικά με το συνημμένο έντυπο, για να καταγράψω τη συνέντευξη, για να χρησιμοποιήσω την καταγραφή ή τη μεταγραφή στην προετοιμασία της διατριβής, και / ή άλλες δημοσιεύσεις, υπό την προϋπόθεση ότι το όνομα ή η ταυτότητά σας δεν αποκαλύπτεται . Μπορεί να είναι απαραίτητο η καταγραφή να διατεθεί στις βοηθούς γραμματείς για μεταγραφή, οπότε μπορείτε να είστε σίγουροι ότι τα πρόσωπα αυτά θα ενημερωθούν για την προϋπόθεση ότι το όνομα ή την ταυτότητά σας δεν θα αποκαλυφθούν και ότι ο απόρρητος χαρακτήρας του υλικού είναι σεβαστός και θα διατηρηθεί .

Οποιοσδήποτε απορίες μπορεί να έχετε σχετικά με αυτή την εργασία θα πρέπει να τις απευθύνετε σε μένα στη διεύθυνση που αναφέρεται παραπάνω ή τηλεφωνικώς στο (+61 430248652) ή e -mail ([stephanie.jacobs@flinders.edu.au](mailto:stephanie.jacobs@flinders.edu.au))

Σας ευχαριστώ για την προσοχή και τη βοήθειά σας .

Με εκτίμηση

Dr Andrekos Varnava

Υφηγητής

Σχολή των Διεθνών Σπουδών (School of International Studies)

Πανεπιστήμιο Flinders

Αυστραλία

*Αυτή η ερευνητική εργασία έχει εγκριθεί από το την Επιτροπή Δεοντολογίας Έρευνας Κοινωνικής και Συμπεριφοράς του Πανεπιστημίου Flinders (Project number 6318). Για περισσότερες πληροφορίες σχετικά με την δεοντολογική έγκριση της εργασίας μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με τον Εκτελεστικό Αρμόδιο της Επιτροπής στο τηλέφωνο 8201 3116, ή στο φαξ 8201 2035 ή στο email [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au)*

## TAKDİM MEKTUBU

Sayın İlgili,

Bu mektup, Flinders Üniversitesi'nin Uluslararası Çalışmalar Okulunda Doktora öğrencisi olan Stephanie Jacobs'ı taktim etmektedir. Bayan Jacobs, bunu kanıtlamaya yönelik olarak fotoğraflı kimliğini gösterecektir.

1930-1950 yılları arası Kıbrıs'ta Rum ve Türkler arasındaki ilişkiler üzerine bir tezin veya diğer yayınların oluşmasını sağlayacak bir araştırma gerçekleştirecektir.

Bayan Jacobs, bu araştırma projesinin belirli boyutlarını ele alacak konular üzerinde kendisiyle gönüllü olarak mülakat yapmanızdan minnettar olacaktır. Bir görüşme için, iki saatten daha az bir zaman gerekecektir.

Vermiş olacağınız bilgilerin sıkı bir şekilde gizli tutulacağından ve katılımcıların bu araştırma nihayetinde hazırlanacak olan tezlerde kimliklerinin açıklanmayacağından emin olunuz. Katılımınızı istediğiniz bir zaman yarıda bırakmayı veya bazı soruları yanıtlamamayı seçmekte tabi ki sonuna kadar özgürsünüzdür.

Adınız veya kimliğiniz ifşa edilmemesi kaydıyla, bu tezin ve/veya diğer yayınların hazırlanmasına yönelik, mülakatın kaydedilmesi amacıyla kayıt veya transkripsiyon (çevriyazı) kullanılması için ekteki diğer bir formda sizin izniniz alacağım. Transkripsiyon için kaydın, sekreteryaya yardımcılara sağlanması gerekli olabilir. Bu durumda, bu kişilerin sizin adınızın veya kimliğinizin ifşa edilmemesi gerektiği ve kişisel bilgilerinizin gizliliğinize saygı duyulacağı ve saklı tutulacağı konusunda bilgilendirileceklerinden emin olabilirsiniz.

Bu proje ile ilgili olan sorularınızı yukarıda verilmiş olan adresime yönlendirebilir veya bunları +61 430248652 arayarak görüşebilir veya [stephanie.jacobs@flinders.edu.au](mailto:stephanie.jacobs@flinders.edu.au) 'ya iletebilirsiniz.

İlginiz ve yardımınız için teşekkürler.  
Saygılarımla

Dr Andrekos Varnava  
Kıdemli Öğretim Üyesi  
Uluslararası Çalışmalar Okulu  
Flinders Üniversitesi  
Avustralya

Bu proje Flinders Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Davranışsal Araştırmalar Etik Komitesi tarafından onaylanmıştır (Project number 6318). Projenin etiksel onayı ile ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak için Komite Sekreteri ile 8201 5962 numaralı telefon, 8201 2035 numaralı faks veya e-posta ile [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au) adresi aracılığıyla irtibat kurabilirsiniz.



Ms Stephanie Jacobs  
School of International Studies  
Faculty of Social and Behavioural  
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Belconnen  
ACT 2817  
Australia  
Tel: +61 430 248 652  
stephanie.jacobs@flinders.edu.au  
CRICOS Provider No. 00114A

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## INFORMATION SHEET

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**Title:** Greek and Turkish Cypriot relations in Cyprus during the 1930s-1950s

**Investigators:**

Ms Stephanie Jacobs  
School of International Studies  
Flinders University  
Ph: +61 430248652

**Description of the study:**

This study is part of the project entitled '*Greek and Turkish Cypriot relations in Cyprus during the 1930s-1950s*'. This project will investigate what the relationships were like between Greek and Turkish Cypriots living in mixed villages of Cyprus during the 1930s-1950s. This project is supported by The School of International Studies at Flinders University.

**Purpose of the study:**

This project aims to explore the relationships that were developed between Greek and Turkish Cypriots while living in several mixed villages of Cyprus during the 1930s-1950s.

The significance of this project, in broad terms, is the preservation of a recent example of a time and place where not only religious harmony existed in terms of Christian-Muslim relations, but ethnic harmony as well in terms of Greek and Turkish relations, as experienced by a mixed population. This research will not only capture the social and cultural reasons why and how this was able to occur; it will also provide lessons to be learned of inter-religious and inter-ethnic co-existence.

**What will I be asked to do?**

You are invited to attend a one-on-one interview with a history student who will ask you a few questions about your life growing up in a mixed village of Cyprus. The interview will take about 90 minutes. The interview will be recorded using a digital voice recorder to help with looking at the results. Once recorded, the interview will be transcribed (typed-up) and stored as a computer file and then destroyed once the results have been finalised. This is voluntary. If you consent, parts of the interview will be videorecorded also, this is your choice.

inspiring  
achievement



**What benefit will I gain from being involved in this study?**

The sharing of your experiences will improve understanding of the relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus prior to civil unrest, and will shed light on what everyday life was like in the mixed villages.

**Will I be identifiable by being involved in this study?**

We do not need your name and you will be anonymous. Once the interview has been typed-up and saved as a file, the voice file will then be destroyed. Any identifying information will be removed and the typed-up file stored on a password protected computer that only the coordinator (Ms Stephanie Jacobs) will have access to. Your comments will not be linked directly to you. If you choose to identify yourself, and/or allow for videorecording of the interview to take place, that is your choice.

**Are there any risks or discomforts if I am involved?**

The investigator anticipates few risks from your involvement in this study. If you have any concerns regarding anticipated or actual risks or discomforts, please raise them with the investigator.

**If you experience emotional discomfort and require debriefing**

If the interview has made you remember events which are upsetting to you, and you require some psychological briefing after the interview, please contact, free of charge:

In Australia: Samaritans Crisis Hotline 13 52 47; Lifeline 13 11 14.

In Cyprus: Cyprus Samaritans: 8000 7773.

**How do I agree to participate?**

Participation is voluntary. You may answer 'no comment' or refuse to answer any questions and you are free to withdraw from the interview at any time without effect or consequences. A consent form accompanies this information sheet. If you agree to participate please read and sign the form and send it back to the researcher at <stephanie.jacobs@flinders.edu.au>.

**How will I receive feedback?**

Outcomes from the project will be summarised and given to you by the investigator if you would like to see them.

**Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and we hope that you will accept our invitation to be involved.**



*This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project number 6318). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au)*

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## ΔΕΛΤΙΟ ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΩΝ

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**Τίτλος:** Οι σχέσεις Ελληνοκυπρίων και Τουρκοκυπρίων στην Κύπρο στις δεκαετίες 1930 -1950

**Ερευνητές:**

Ms Stephanie Jacobs  
Σχολή Διεθνών Μελετών (School of International Studies)  
Πανεπιστήμιο Flinders  
Τηλ: +61 430248652

**Περιγραφή της μελέτης:**

Αυτή η μελέτη είναι μέρος της εργασίας με τίτλο 'Οι σχέσεις Ελληνοκυπρίων και Τουρκοκυπρίων στην Κύπρο στις δεκαετίες 1930 -1950'. Αυτή η εργασία θα ερευνήσει πως ήταν οι σχέσεις μεταξύ Ελληνοκυπρίων και Τουρκοκυπρίων που ζούσαν σε χωριά της Κύπρου με μικτό πληθυσμό στις δεκαετίες 1930 – 1950. Αυτή η εργασία υποστηρίζεται από τη Σχολή Διεθνών Μελετών του Πανεπιστημίου Flinders.

**Σκοπός της μελέτης:**

Αυτή η εργασία σκοπεύει να ερευνήσει τις σχέσεις που είχαν αναπτυχθεί μεταξύ των Ελληνοκυπρίων και των Τουρκοκυπρίων σε πολλά χωριά της Κύπρου κατά τη διάρκεια των δεκαετιών 1930 – 1950.

Η σπουδαιότητα αυτής της εργασίας, σε γενικές γραμμές, είναι η διατήρηση πρόσφατου παραδείγματος τόπου και χρόνου όπου όχι μόνο υπήρξε θρησκευτική αρμονία αναφορικά με τις σχέσεις Χριστιανών – Μουσουλμάνων, αλλά και εθνοτική αρμονία αναφορικά με τις σχέσεις Ελλήνων και Τούρκων, όπως αυτές βιώθηκαν από τον μικτό πληθυσμό. Αυτή η έρευνα δεν θα καταγράψει μόνο τους κοινωνικούς και πολιτισμικούς λόγους για το πώς αυτό ήταν δυνατό να συμβεί, θα δώσει επίσης και μαθήματα για την διαθρηγσκευτική και διεθνοτική συνύπαρξη.

**Τι θα μου ζητηθεί να κάνω;**

Καλείστε να παραβρεθείτε σε μια συνέντευξη πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο με φοιτητή της ιστορίας ο οποίος θα σας ρωτήσει μερικές ερωτήσεις για τη ζωή σας όταν μεγαλώνετε σε χωριό με μικτό πληθυσμό στην Κύπρο. Η συνέντευξη θα κρατήσει περίπου 90 λεπτά. Η συνέντευξη θα μαγνητοφωνηθεί με τη χρήση ψηφιακού μαγνητοφώνου για να βοηθήσει στην αναζήτηση αποτελεσμάτων. Αφού μαγνητοφωνηθεί, η συνέντευξη θα μεταγραφεί (δακτυλογραφηθεί) και θα αποθηκευτεί σε φάκελο ηλεκτρονικού υπολογιστή και τότε θα

καταστραφεί όταν τα αποτελέσματα ολοκληρωθούν. Αυτό είναι εθελοντικό. Αν συγκατατίθεστε, μέρη της συνέντευξης θα μαγνητοσκοπηθούν, αυτό είναι επιλογή σας.

**Τι όφελος θα έχω από την συμμετοχή μου στη μελέτη;**

Το να μοιραστείτε τις εμπειρίες σας θα βελτιώσει την κατανόηση των σχέσεων μεταξύ των Ελληνοκυπρίων και των Τουρκοκυπρίων στην Κύπρο πριν τις πολιτικές αναταραχές, και θα ρίξει φως στο πώς ήταν η καθημερινή ζωή στα χωριά με μικτό πληθυσμό.

**Θα είμαι αναγνωρίσιμος με τη συμμετοχή μου σε αυτή τη μελέτη;**

Δεν χρειαζόμαστε το όνομά σας και θα είστε ανώνυμος. Αφού δακτυλογραφηθεί η συνέντευξη και αποθηκευτεί ως φάκελος, ο φάκελος με τη φωνή θα καταστραφεί. Οποιαδήποτε αναγνωριστικά στοιχεία θα αφαιρεθούν και ο δακτυλογραφημένος φάκελος θα αποθηκευτεί σε ηλεκτρονικό υπολογιστή με προστασία κωδικού που μόνο η συντονίστρια (Ms Stephanie Jacobs) θα έχει πρόσβαση σε αυτό.

**Υπάρχουν κίνδυνοι ή δυσφορίες αν συμμετάσχω;**

Η ερευνήτρια προβλέπει λίγους κινδύνους από τη συμμετοχή σας σε αυτή τη μελέτη. Αν έχετε τυχόν ανησυχίες σχετικά με πιθανούς ή πραγματικούς κινδύνους ή δυσφορίες, σας παρακαλούμε εγείρετέ τις στην ερευνήτρια.

**Αν νιώσετε συναισθηματική δυσφορία και χρειάζεστε απενημέρωση**

Αν η συνέντευξη σας έκανε να θυμηθείτε γεγονότα που σας στενοχωρούν, και χρειάζεστε ψυχολογική στήριξη μετά τη συνέντευξη, σας παρακαλούμε επικοινωνήστε, δωρεάν:

Στην Αυστραλία: καλέστε τη Γραμμή Κρίσης των Σαμαρειτών (Samaritans Crisis Line) στο: 13 52 47, ή την Γραμμή Ζωής (Lifeline) στο 13 11 14.

Στην Κύπρο: καλέστε τους Σαμαρείτες της Κύπρου στο: 8000 7773.

**Πώς συμφωνώ να συμμετάσχω;**

Η συμμετοχή είναι εθελοντική. Μπορείτε να απαντήσετε 'ουδέν σχόλιο' ή να αρνηθείτε να απαντήσετε οποιεσδήποτε ερωτήσεις και είστε ελεύθεροι να αποσυρθείτε από την ομάδα εστίασης οποιαδήποτε ώρα χωρίς επηρεασμό ή επιπτώσεις. Έντυπο συγκατάθεσης συνοδεύει αυτό το δελτίο πληροφοριών. Αν συμφωνείτε να συμμετάσχετε σας παρακαλούμε διαβάστε και υπογράψτε το έντυπο και επιστρέψτε το σε μένα στο <stephanie.jacobs@flinders.edu.au>.

**Πώς θα λάβω σχόλια;**

Τα αποτελέσματα της εργασίας σε περίληψη θα σας δοθούν από την ερευνήτρια αν θέλετε να τα δείτε.

**Ευχαριστώ για το χρόνο που διαθέσατε να διαβάσετε αυτό το δελτίο πληροφοριών και ελπίζω να δεχτείτε την πρόσκληση μας για συμμετοχή σας.**

*Αυτή η ερευνητική εργασία έχει εγκριθεί από το την Επιτροπή Δεοντολογίας Έρευνας Κοινωνικής και Συμπεριφοράς του Πανεπιστήμιο Flinders (Project number 6318). Για περισσότερες πληροφορίες σχετικά με την δεοντολογική έγκριση της εργασίας μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με τον Εκτελεστικό Αρμόδιο της Επιτροπής στο τηλέφωνο 8201 3116, ή στο φαξ 8201 2035 ή στο email [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au)*

**Ms Stephanie Jacobs**  
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Australia  
Tel: +61 430 248 652  
  
stephanie.jacobs@flinders.edu.au  
CRICOS Provider No. 00114A

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## BİLGİLENDİRME NOTU

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**Başlık:** 1930-1950 yılları Kıbrıs'ta Kıbrıslı Rumlar ve Türkler arasındaki ilişkiler

**Araştırmacılar:**

Stephanie Jacobs  
Uluslararası Çalışmalar Okulu  
Flinders Üniversitesi  
Telefon: +61 430248652

**Çalışmanın tanımı:**

Bu çalışma '1930-1950 yılları Kıbrıs'ta Kıbrıslı Rumlar ve Türkler arasındaki ilişkiler' adlı projenin bir parçasıdır. Bu proje 1930-1950 yıllarında Kıbrıs köylerinde birlikte yaşamış olan Rumlar ve Türklerin ilişkilerini araştırmaktadır. Bu proje Flinders Üniversitesi Uluslararası Çalışmalar Okulu tarafından desteklenmektedir.

**Çalışmanın amacı:**

Bu proje 1930-1950 yıllarında Kıbrıs'ta Rumlar ve Türker'in birlikte yaşamış olduğu bazı köylerdeki Rum ve Türk ilişkilerinin incelenmesini amaçlamaktadır.

Geniş anlamda bu projenin önemi, sadece Hristiyan ve Müslüman ilişkileri açısından dinsel harmoniden ziyade, aynı zamanda yaşanmış olan Rum ve Türk ilişkileri açısından ırksal harmoninin de bir arada olmuş olduğu yakın bir zaman diliminin ve yerin muhafaza edilmesidir. Bu proje, böyle bir olayın neden ve nasıl olduğuna dair sosyal ve kültürel gerekçelerin ele alınmasından öte aynı zamanda dinler ve ırkların birlikte yaşamasına dair derslerin öğrenilmesini de sağlayacaktır.

**Bana sorulacak olan sorular nedir?**

Kıbrıs'ta Rum ve Türklerin olduğu karma bir köyde büyümüş olduğunuz hayatınızla yönelik, bir tarih öğrencisi tarafından bir takım soruların sorulacağı bir görüşmeye davet edildiniz. Görüşme yaklaşık 90 dakika sürecektir. Görüşme, sonuçlarının incelenmesine yardımcı olmak üzere dijital bir ses kayıt cihazıyla kaydedilecektir. Görüşmenin sesli kaydı, yazılı olarak da kaydedildikten sonra bilgisayara kaydedilecek, sonuçları kesinleştikten sonra ise imha edilecektir. Sizin rızanıza bağlı olarak, görüşmenin belirli kısımlarının video kaydı yapılabilir, bu da sizin tercihinize bağlıdır.

**Bu çalışmaya katılmanın bana yararı ne olacak?**

Sizin tecrübelerinizi paylaşmak, Kıbrıs'ta Kıbrıslı Rum ve Türklerin sivil çatışmalar öncesindeki ilişkilerinin kavranmasını geliştirecek ve Rumların ve Türklerin yaşadığı köylerdeki günlük hayatın nasıl olduğuna ışık tutacaktır.

**Bu çalışmaya katılarak kimliğim açığa vurulacak mı?**

Bu çalışmada adınız bizim için gerekmemekte olup, kimliğiniz gizli tutulacaktır. Yaptığımız mülakat yazılı olarak kaydedildikten sonra, yaptığımız sesli dosya kaydı imha edilecektir. Açığa vurulmanıza yol açabilecek her bir bilgi çıkartılacak ve yazılı kaydedilen dosya sadece koordinatörün (Bayan Stephanie Jacobs) erişebileceği parola korumalı bilgisayarda tutulacaktır. Yorumlarınız doğrudan sizinle bağlantılı olmayacaktır. Kendinizi açığa vurmaya tercih ediyorsanız ve/veya mülakatın video kaydının yapılmasına izin veriyorsanız, bu da sizin seçiminizdir.

**Katılmıma ilişkin herhangi bir risk veya rahatsızlık var mı?**

Araştırmacı sizin bu çalışmaya katılmanıza dair sadece birkaç riskin oluşabileceğini tahmin etmektedir. Tahmin edilen bu riskleri veya oluşacak risk veya rahatsızlıkları araştırmacıya belirtiniz.

**Duygusal rahatsızlık hissetmeniz ve bilgilendirmeye ihtiyaç duymanız halinde**

Mülakat sizi üzecek bir takım olayları hatırlatırsa ve mülakattan sonra bazı psikolojik bilgilendirme gereği duyarsanız, ücretsiz olarak aşağıdaki numaraları arayabilirsiniz:

Avustralya: Samaritans Crisis (Kriz) Hattı 13 52 47; veya Lifeline (Yaşam Hattı) 13 11 14.

Kıbrıs: Cyprus Samaritans 8000 7773.

**Çalışmaya katılmayı nasıl kabul ederim?**

Katılım gönüllüdür. "Yorum yok" şeklinde cevap verebilir veya herhangi bir soruya cevap vermeyi reddedilirsiniz ve herhangi bir etki ve sonuç doğmayacak şekilde araştırma odak grubundan çekilmekte özgürsünüzdür. İzin formu bu bilgilendirme formu ile birlikte yer almaktadır. Katılmayı kabul ederseniz lütfen okuduktan sonra formu imzalayarak <stephanie.jacobs@flinders.edu.au> adresinden bana iletiniz.

**Nasıl geribildirim (fidbek) alacağım?**

Projeye dair sonuçları görmek istiyorsanız, projeden doğacak sonuçlar özetlenerek araştırmacı tarafından size verilecektir.

**Zaman ayırıp bu bilgilendirme notunu okuduğunuz için teşekkür ederiz. Umarım çalışmaya katılmayı kabul edersiniz.**

*Bu proje Flinders Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Davranışsal Araştırmalar Etik Komitesi tarafından onaylanmıştır (Project number 6318). Projenin etiksel onayı ile ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak için Komite Sekreteri ile 8201 5962 numaralı telefon, 8201 2035 numaralı faks veya e-posta ile [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au) adresi aracılığıyla irtibat kurabilirsiniz.*



**CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH  
(by interview)**

**Greek and Turkish Cypriot relations in Cyprus during the 1930s-1950s**

I ..... being over the age of 18 years hereby consent to participate as requested in the Flinders University postgraduate study for the research project on Greek and Turkish Cypriot relations in Cyprus during the 1930s-1950s.

1. I have read the letter of introduction and information sheet provided for participation in the research project "Greek and Turkish Cypriot relations in Cyprus during the 1930s-1950s".
2. Details of procedures and any risks have been explained to my satisfaction.
3. I agree to audio/video recording of my information and participation.
4. I am aware that I should retain a copy of the Information Sheet and Consent Form for future reference.
5. I consent/do not consent to my true identity being used in the research.
6. I have had the opportunity to discuss taking part in this research with a family member or friend.

**Participant's signature.....Date.....**

I certify that I have explained the study to the volunteer and consider that she/he understands what is involved and freely consents to participation.

**Researcher's name.....**

**Researcher's signature.....Date.....**

*NB: Two signed copies should be obtained. The copy retained by the researcher may then be used for authorisation of Items 8 and 9, as appropriate.*



*This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project number 6318). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au)*



**ΕΝΤΥΠΟ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΗΣ ΓΙΑ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ ΣΕ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ  
(με συνέντευξη)**

**Σχέσεις μεταξύ Ελληνοκυπρίων και Τουρκοκυπρίων στην Κύπρο στις  
δεκαετίες 1930 – 1950**

Εγώ..... ηλικίας άνω των 18 ετών με το παρόν συγκατατίθεμαι να συμμετάσχω ως ζητείται στην μεταπτυχιακή μελέτη για την ερευνητική εργασία του Πανεπιστημίου Flinders στις σχέσεις Ελληνοκυπρίων και Τουρκοκυπρίων στην Κύπρο στις δεκαετίες 1930 – 1950.

1. Διάβασα την επιστολή εισαγωγής και το δελτίο πληροφοριών που παρέχεται για τη συμμετοχή στην ερευνητική εργασία «Σχέσεις Ελληνοκυπρίων και Τουρκοκυπρίων στην Κύπρο στις δεκαετίες 1930 – 1950».
2. Λεπτομέρειες των διαδικασιών και τυχόν κίνδυνοι μου έχουν εξηγηθεί ικανοποιητικά.
3. Συμφωνώ στην οπτικοακουστική καταγραφή των πληροφοριών μου και της συμμετοχής μου.
4. Γνωρίζω ότι πρέπει να κρατήσω αντίγραφο του Δελτίου Πληροφοριών και του Εντύπου Συγκατάθεσης για μελλοντική αναφορά.
5. Συγκατατίθεμαι/δεν συγκατατίθεμαι να χρησιμοποιηθεί η πραγματική μου ταυτότητα στην έρευνα.
6. Είχα την ευκαιρία να συζητήσω τη συμμετοχή μου σε αυτή την έρευνα με μέλος της οικογένειας ή φίλο.

**Υπογραφή συμμετέχοντα ..... Ημερομηνία.....**

Πιστοποιώ ότι εξήγησα τη μελέτη στον εθελοντή και θεωρώ ότι αυτός/αυτή κατανοεί το τι εμπιρεύει και συγκατατίθεται στη συμμετοχή ελεύθερα.

**Όνομα ερευνητή .....**

**Υπογραφή ερευνητή..... Ημερομηνία.....**

*Σημείωση: Δυο υπογεγραμμένα αντίγραφα πρέπει να παρθούν. Το αντίγραφο που παίρνεται από τον ερευνητή μπορεί τότε να χρησιμοποιηθεί για εξουσιοδότηση των άρθρων 8 και 9, αρμοδίως.*

*Αυτή η ερευνητική εργασία έχει εγκριθεί από το την Επιτροπή Δεοντολογίας Έρευνας Κοινωνικής και Συμπεριφοράς του Πανεπιστημίου Flinders (Project number 6318). Για περισσότερες πληροφορίες σχετικά με την δεοντολογική έγκριση της εργασίας μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με τον Εκτελεστικό Αρμόδιο της Επιτροπής στο τηλέφωνο 8201 3116, ή στο φαξ 8201 2035 ή στο email [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au)*



**ARAŞTIRMAYA KATILMA İZİN FORMU**  
(mülakatla)

**1930-1950 yılları arasında Kıbrıs'taki Rum-Türk ilişkileri**

Ben .....18 yaşın üzerinde bir birey olarak, Flinders Üniversitesi Lisansüstü Öğreniminin 1930-1950 yılları arasında Kıbrıs'ta Rum-Türk ilişkilerini konu alan araştırma projesine katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

1. Mektubun giriş bölümünü ve "1930-1950 yılları arasında Kıbrıs'taki Rum-Türk ilişkilerini konu alan araştırma projesine" katılıma ilişkin sağlanan bilgi notunu okudum.
2. Prosedürlerle ilgili detaylar ile riskler tatmin edici şekilde anlatıldı.
3. Vereceğim bilgilere ve katılıma ilişkin sesli/görsel video kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum.
4. Geleceğe yönelik referans için, Bilgi Notu ile İzin Formunun bir kopyasını elimde buldurmam gerektiğinin farkındayım.
5. Gerçek kimliğimin araştırmada kullanılmasını izin veriyorum/vermiyorum.
6. Bu araştırmaya katılıma ilişkin bir aile bireyiyle veya bir arkadaşımın görüşme fırsatım oldu.

**Katılımcının imzası.....Tarih.....**

Çalışmayı gönüllü katılımcıya açıkladığımı ve katılımcının araştırmanın içeriğini anladığını göz önünde bulundurduğumu ve özgür iradesiyle katılıma rızası olduğunu onaylıyorum.

**Araştırmacının adı.....**

**Araştırmacının imzası.....Tarih.....**

*NB: İmzalı iki nüshanın tedariki gereklidir. Araştırmacı tarafından elde edilen nüsha, daha sonra 8 ve 9. maddelerin yetkilendirilmesi açısından kullanılabilir.*

*Bu proje Flinders Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Davranışsal Araştırmalar Etik Komitesi tarafından onaylanmıştır (Project number 6318). Projenin etiksel onayı ile ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak için Komite Sekreteri ile 8201 5962 numaralı telefon, 8201 2035 numaralı faks veya e-posta ile [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au) adresi aracılığıyla irtibat kurabilirsiniz.*



## PARTICIPANT PHOTOGRAPH RELEASE FORM

Greek and Turkish Cypriot relations in Cyprus during the 1930s-1950s

I .....

agree to the photographs I have taken for the *research study 'PROJECT TITLE'* (as requested in the Participant Information Sheet) to be used for:

[please circle whichever applies]

researcher's background analysis only / not for display	agree/don't agree
display in thesis materials	agree/don't agree
display in academic articles and presentations	agree/don't agree

1. I have read the information provided in the Participant Information Sheet.
2. Details of procedures and any risks have been explained to my satisfaction.
3. I am aware that I should retain a copy of the Information Sheet and Participant Photograph Release Form for future reference.
4. I understand that:
  - All photographs will be de-identified using computer editing software
  - Photographs will be numbered not labelled to maintain anonymity.

Participant's signature.....

Date.....

I certify that I have explained how photographs will be used to the volunteer and consider that she understands what is involved and freely consents to participation.

Researcher's name.....

Researcher's signature.....

Date.....



*This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project number 6318). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au)*

## ΕΝΤΥΠΟ ΑΠΟΔΕΣΜΕΥΣΗΣ ΦΩΤΟΓΡΑΦΙΑΣ

Οι σχέσεις Ελληνοκυπρίων και Τουρκοκυπρίων στην Κύπρο στις δεκαετίες 1930 - 1950

Εγώ ο/η.....

συμφωνώ οι φωτογραφίες που πήρα για την ερευνητική μελέτη 'ΤΙΤΛΟΣ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ (όπως απαιτείται στο Δελτίο Πληροφοριών) να χρησιμοποιηθούν για: [παρακαλούμε βάλτε κύκλο σε όποιο ισχύει]

την διεξοδική ανάλυση του ερευνητή μόνο / όχι για έκθεση συμφωνών/διαφωνών	
έκθεση σε υλικό της διατριβής	συμφωνών/διαφωνών
έκθεση σε ακαδημαϊκά άρθρα και παρουσιάσεις	συμφωνών/διαφωνών

1. Διάβασα τις πληροφορίες που παρέχονται στο Δελτίο Πληροφοριών Συμμετεχόντων.
2. Οι λεπτομέρειες διαδικασίας και οι κίνδυνοι μου εξηγήθηκαν ικανοποιητικά
3. Γνωρίζω ότι πρέπει αν κρατήσω αντίγραφο του Δελτίου Πληροφοριών και του Εντύπου Αποδέσμευσης Φωτογραφίας για μελλοντική αναφορά.
4. Κατανοώ ότι:
  - Όλες οι φωτογραφίες δεν θα αναγνωρίζονται μετά από χρήση λογισμικού ηλεκτρονικών υπολογιστών.
  - Οι φωτογραφίες θα αριθμηθούν δεν θα φέρουν ετικέτες για να διατηρηθεί η ανωνυμία.

Υπογραφή συμμετέχοντα.....

Ημερομηνία.....

Πιστοποιώ ότι εξήγησα στον εθελοντή για το πως θα χρησιμοποιηθούν οι φωτογραφίες και θεωρώ ότι κατανοεί το τι εμπεριέχει και συγκατατίθεται να συμμετάσχει ελεύθερα.

Όνομα ερευνητή.....

Υπογραφή ερευνητή.....

Ημερομηνία.....



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## KATILMCI FOTOĞRAFLARININ YAYIMLANMASI

1930-1950 yılları Kıbrıs'ta Kıbrıslı Rumlar ve Kıbrıslı Türkler arasındaki ilişkiler

Ben .....

'PROJE BAŞLIĞI' de kullanılmak üzere araştırma çalışması için çekmiş olduğum fotoğrafları (Katılımcı Bilgilendirme Formunda talep edildiği gibi) aşağıdaki sebep/ler doğrultusunda kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum.

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1. Katılımcı Bilgilendirme Notundaki bilgileri okudum.
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4. Aşağıdaki hususları anlıyorum
  - Bütün fotoğraflar bilgisayar yazılımı yoluyla tanımsızlaştırılacaktır.
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Katılımcının imzası .....

Tarih .....

Gönüllü katılımcıya, fotoğrafların nasıl kullanılacağını açıkladığımı onaylıyor ve katılımcının bu sürecin neleri içerdiğini ve kendi rızasıyla katılımı olacağını anladığını göz önünde bulunduruyorum.

Araştırmacının adı.....

Araştırmacının imzası.....

Tarih.....



Bu proje Flinders Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Davranışsal Araştırmalar Etik Komitesi tarafından onaylanmıştır (Project number 6318). Projenin etiksel onayı ile ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak için Komite Sekreteri ile 8201 5962 numaralı telefon, 8201 2035 numaralı faks veya e-posta ile [human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au](mailto:human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au) adresi aracılığıyla irtibat kurabilirsiniz.

**Interview questions for those in Cyprus and Australia:**

What is your name?	
What is your date of birth?	
Where were you born? Which village/town/city?	
Where do you live now? Which village/town/city?	
Can you tell me of some vivid memories from your childhood?	
What languages were spoken during your childhood?	<input type="checkbox"/> Greek <input type="checkbox"/> Turkish <input type="checkbox"/> English
Was your village a mixed village?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
What ethno-religious groups were in your village?	<input type="checkbox"/> Greek-Cyp <input type="checkbox"/> Turkish-Cyp <input type="checkbox"/> Other
Which group was in the majority?	<input type="checkbox"/> Greek-Cyp <input type="checkbox"/> Turkish-Cyp
What is your religion?	<input type="checkbox"/> Muslim <input type="checkbox"/> Christian
If Muslim, were any of your family members linopampakoi?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
What memories do you have of religious events?	
Did you attend the religious events of the 'other' group?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Was there a church in the village?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No

Was there a mosque in the village?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
Did you ever visit (the 'other') church / mosque?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
Why?		
What experiences of events do you recall of the 'other' ethno-religious group?		
How many years of school did you have?		
What was your school like? Was it religious-based or mixed?	<input type="checkbox"/> Greek	<input type="checkbox"/> Turkish <input type="checkbox"/> Mixed
Was there a communal cemetery, for both groups?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No; separate cemeteries
What was your primary identity then?	<input type="checkbox"/> Christian <input type="checkbox"/> Muslim <input type="checkbox"/> Greek	<input type="checkbox"/> Turkish <input type="checkbox"/> Cypriot <input type="checkbox"/> Other
What is your primary identity now?		
Has your identity changed throughout the years?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
What significant events shifted your identity?		
What was your attitude towards the 'other' group?		
What do you think was their attitude towards your group?		
Were you aware of friendships between people from the different groups?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
Were you aware of any inter-marriages that took place between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
Were you aware of any times when there were koumbaroi from the 'other' group?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes G for T wedding <input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes T for G wedding

Were you aware of any village women who were milk mothers or <i>süt anne</i> ?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Did women feed babies of the 'other' group?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes G → T baby <input type="checkbox"/> No; only G → G <input type="checkbox"/> Yes T → G baby <input type="checkbox"/> No; only T → T
What was your occupation in Cyprus? What was your working life like?	
What was the working life of the village in general? Did both groups enjoy similar work?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
What do you recall of WWII?	
Do you remember any men from your village going off to the war?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
What was life like after WWII?	
Was there a time when you became aware of conflict between the two groups?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Did you encounter ethnic tension yourself in your childhood?	in the 1950s? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No in the 1960s? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
After <input type="checkbox"/> 1963 <input type="checkbox"/> 1974, did you keep your home?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
After <input type="checkbox"/> 1963 <input type="checkbox"/> 1974, did you maintain links with any old friends of the 'other' group?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
What migration took place for both ethno-religious groups after these events?	
Have you crossed the border since 2003?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Before the war, what was your dream for your village?	
Is there anything else you would like to mention?	






**Additional interview questions for those in Australia:**







When did you migrate to Australia?	
How old were you when you left Cyprus and arrived in Australia?	
With whom did you migrate?	
Why did you migrate?	
Did you speak English when you arrived?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
How did that impact on your integration into Australian society?	
Which town/city did you first settle in when you arrived in Australia?	
Who did you live with when you arrived?	<input type="checkbox"/> Family <input type="checkbox"/> Friends <input type="checkbox"/> Hostel
Where do you live now?	
What did you do for work in Australia?	
How did you interact with other Greek and Turkish Cypriots when you first arrived in Australia?	
Is there a strong community of Cypriots where you live?	
How did you interact with mainland Greeks/Turks when you first arrived in Australia?	
Did you maintain a strong Cypriot identity whilst living in Australia?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Was there ever any tension between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots?	
How are the relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots today?	
Did the conflicts of the 1960s and the invasion in 1974 impact the ways in which the two groups interacted?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No






Have you returned to Cyprus since migrating to Australia?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes → When?	
What were your impressions of Cyprus upon your visit?	
<input type="checkbox"/> No → Why not?	
Do you miss Cyprus?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Do you feel Australian?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Do you feel a sense of belonging in Australia?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
Is there anything else you would like to mention?	









## Appendix 2: Details of all interviewees



Australian interviewees						
Name	Year of birth / Migrated to Australia	Gender / Designation	Home village	Interviewed/ currently resides in	In Chapt:	Photo
Ali Mehmet / Alex Mihail	1928 1949	Male Turkish Cypriot	Lythrangomi	3 Jun 2014 Adelaide	2 3 5 6	
Andreas Botsaris	1940 1975	Male Greek Cypriot	Pyrogi	1 May 2015 Adelaide	2 3 4 6	No photograph
Andreas Karaolikas	1924 1961	Male Greek Cypriot	Kythrea	3 Jan 2015 Darwin	2 4 6 8	 Andreas with his wife and children
Androula Christofi	1954 1976	Female Greek Cypriot	Famagusta	30 Nov 2014 Melbourne	6 7	
Anna Dimosthenous	1931 1978	Female Greek Cypriot	Kato Pyrgos	30 Nov 2014 Melbourne	2	 Anna (right) with her husband
Antigone (alias)	1941 1988	Female Greek Cypriot	Morphou	25 Apr 2014 Perth	2 3 4 5 6 8	No photograph
Antonis Pitrakkou	1926 1948	Male Greek Cypriot	Nicosia town / Rizokarpasso	1 May 2015 Adelaide	2 3 4 6	






Australian interviewees (continued)						
Name	Year of birth / Migrated to Australia	Gender / Designation	Home village	Interviewed/ currently resides in	In Chapt:	Photo
Aziz Aziz	1930 1951	Male Turkish Cypriot	Agios Nikolaos	4 Oct 2017 Melbourne	6	 Aziz (right) with the author
Father Charalambos Stratos	1931 1963	Male Greek Cypriot	Alaminos	2 May 2015 Adelaide	2 3 4 5 6 7	 Father Charalambos with his wife
Çetin Ali	1949 1971	Male Turkish Cypriot	Marona	12 July 2017 Melbourne	3 5	 Çetin (right) with Münüfe (left) and the author
Costas Jacobs	1925 1947	Male Greek Cypriot	Agia Irini	30 Nov 2013 Melbourne	Preface 2 3 4 5 6	
Dimos Savva	1936 1974	Male Greek Cypriot	Loutros	1 Dec 2014 Melbourne	2 4 6 8	 Dimos with his wife and children
Eftihia Kyriacou	1936 1977	Female Greek Cypriot	Alaminos	19 Nov 2015 Melbourne	3	No photograph
Galatia (Julie) Mitzikis	1939 1956	Female Greek Cypriot	Polis Chrysochous	3 May 2015 Wollongong	2 3 6	 Galatia (right) with her niece

Australian interviewees (continued)						
Name	Year of birth / Migrated to Australia	Gender / Designation	Home village	Interviewed/ currently resides in	In Chapt:	Photo
Georgia Fitrikkos	1958 1983	Female Greek Cypriot	Petra	3 Jan 2015 Darwin	2 4 6 7	No photograph
Hakki Süleyman	1951 1970	Male Turkish Cypriot	Larnaca town	6 May 2017 Melbourne	3 5 6	 Savvas (left) with Hakki
İbrahim Ahmed	1935 1958	Male Turkish Cypriot	Kivisil	4 Oct 2017 Melbourne	3 6	No photograph
İlkay Yusuf	1946 1978	Male Turkish Cypriot	Lefka	3 Aug 2014 Sydney	2 3 5 6 7	 İlkay (left) with İlmiye
İlmiye Yusuf	1955 1978	Female Turkish Cypriot	Lefka	3 Aug 2014 Sydney	6 7 Concl.	 İlmiye (right) with İlkay
İoannis Milides	1959 1976	Male Greek Cypriot	Kato Zodhia	19 Mar 2017 Melbourne	3 4 7	
Münüfe Ali	1951 1971	Female Turkish Cypriot	Kaleburnu (Galinoporni)	12 Jul 2017 Melbourne	3 5 6	 Münüfe (left) with Çetin (right) and the author


Australian interviewees (continued)						
Name	Year of birth / Migrated to Australia	Gender / Designation	Home village	Interviewed/ currently resides in	In Chapt:	Photo
Myrofora Demetriou	1937 1955	Female Greek Cypriot	Komi-Kebir	9 Aug 2014 Melbourne	3 4 6	
Nafiya Katim	1929 1952	Female Turkish Cypriot	Lemba	15 Oct 2014 Sydney	2 3 4 6 7 8	 Nafiya (left) with Nevzat
Nearchos Haridemos	1941 1970	Male Greek Cypriot	Kritou Tera	27 Apr 2015 Canberra	3 5 6 7	 Nearchos (left) with a relative
Nevzat Katim	1927 1954	Male Turkish Cypriot	Lemba	15 Oct 2014 Sydney	2 3 4 6 7	 Nevzat (right) with Nafiya
Olga Jacobs	1930 1950	Female Greek Cypriot	Polis Chrysochous	30 Nov 2013 Melbourne	4 6	
Panayiota Zacharia	1926 1948	Female Greek Cypriot	Agios Elias	3 Apr 2014 Adelaide	2 3 6 8	No photograph
Savvas (Sam) David	1939 1958	Male Greek Cypriot	Pegeia	6 May 2017 Melbourne	3 4 5 6	 Savvas (left) with Hakki

Australian interviewees (continued)


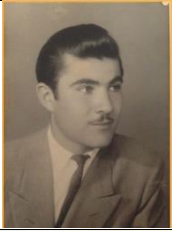





Name	Year of birth / Migrated to Australia	Gender / Designation	Home village	Interviewed/ currently resides in	In Chapt:	Photo
Sermen Erdoğan	1952 1971	Male Turkish Cypriot	Nicosia town / Polis Chrysochous	4 Oct 2017 Melbourne	2 5 6	 <p>Sermen (left) with the author</p>
Spyridon (alias)	1940 1988	Male Greek Cypriot	Morphou	25 Apr 2014 Perth	6	No photograph
Themistoclis Kyriacou	1926 1951	Male Greek Cypriot	Koilanemos	1 Dec 2014 Melbourne	2 3 4 6 8	No photograph
Varnavas Varnava	1931 1952	Male Greek Cypriot	Frenaros	30 Nov 2014 & 15 Dec 2018 Melbourne	4 5	 <p>Varnavas (centre) with his parents</p>







Cyprus interviewees						
Name	Year of birth	Gender / Designation	Home village	Interviewed / currently resides in	In Chapt:	Photo
Alkan Doctoroğlu	1948	Male Turkish Cypriot	Silikou	2 Jul 2015 Morphou (Güzelyurt)	4 5 7 8	 Alkan (right) with the author
Anastasia Mavrontoniou	1947	Female Greek Cypriot	Polis Chrysochous	13 Jul 2015 Polis Chrysochous	2 4 5	
<i>Father</i> Andreas Argyrithis	1927	Male Greek Cypriot	Polis Chrysochous	17 Jun 2015 Polis Chrysochous	3 4 5	
Andreas Savvas	1933	Male Greek Cypriot	Agia Irini	17 Jun 2015 Polis Chrysochous	Preface 3 8	
Artam Onkaya	1944	Male Turkish Cypriot	Polis Chrysochous	13 Jul 2015 Morphou (Güzelyurt)	3 4 5 7 8	 Artam (right) with the author
Charalambos Pavlou	1934	Male Greek Cypriot	Alaminos	27 May 2015 Alaminos	2 7 8	 Charalambos (left) with his wife (centre) and the author
Christodoulos Vasilliou	1929	Male Greek Cypriot	Polis Chrysochous	17 Jun 2015 Polis Chrysochous	4 7 8	







Cyprus interviewees (continued)						
Name	Year of birth	Gender / Designation	Home village	Interviewed / currently resides in	In Chapt:	Photo
Despina Aristodritou	1944	Female Greek Cypriot	Alaminos	2 Jun 2015 Alaminos	3 5	 Despina (right) with Panayiotis (left) and the author
Eleni Georgiou	1935	Female Greek Cypriot	Polis Chrysochous	9 Jun 2015 Polis Chrysochous	3 4 5 7 8	
Eleni Neokli	1945	Female Greek Cypriot	Alaminos	27 May 2015 Alaminos	2 5 6	 Eleni (left) with the author
Emir Salih	1933	Male Turkish Cypriot	Souskiou	2 Jul 2015 Morphou (Güzelyurt)	2 3 4 5 7	 Emir (right) with the author
Erol Akcan	1951	Male Turkish Cypriot	Choulou	24 Jul 2015 Agia Irini (Akdeniz)	Preface 2 3 4 5 7	
Ertherul Polili	1947	Male Turkish Cypriot	Polis Chrysochous	13 Jul 2015 Morphou (Güzelyurt)	3 7 8	 Ertherul (right) with the author
Feriha Bingöllü	1934	Female Turkish Cypriot	Agia Irini	1 June 2015 Agia Irini (Akdeniz)	2 3 4 5 7 8	

Cyprus interviewees (continued)						
Name	Year of birth	Gender / Designation	Home village	Interviewed / currently resides in	In Chapt:	Photo
Giorgios Koumi	1948	Male Greek Cypriot	Alaminos	9 Jun 2015 Alaminos	2 3 4	 George with his wife
Gülten Özkıraç	1935	Female Turkish Cypriot	Polis Chrysochous	24 Jul 2015 Morphou (Güzelyurt)	7 8	 Gülten (right) with the author
Hürsiye Arap	1936	Female Turkish Cypriot	Agia Irini	25 May 2015 Agia Irini (Akdeniz)	3 4 7	 Hürsiye (centre) with her daughter <u>Senel</u> (left) and the author
Hüseyin Hoca Arap	1956	Male Turkish Cypriot	Agia Irini	18 Jun 2015 Agia Irini (Akdeniz)	5	
Hüseyin Guneralp	1939	Male Turkish Cypriot	Agia Irini	25 May 2015 Agia Irini (Akdeniz)	2 3 4 7 8	 Hüseyin (centre) with his wife (right) and the author
İbrahim Cemal	1948	Male Turkish Cypriot	Agia Irini	1 June 2015 Agia Irini (Akdeniz)	2 3 4 5 8	 İbrahim (right) with the author



Cyprus interviewees (continued)						
Name	Year of birth	Gender / Designation	Home village	Interviewed / currently resides in	In Chapt:	Photo
İbrahim Uysal	1945	Male Turkish Cypriot	Agia Irini	13 Jun 2015 Morphou (Güzelyurt)	2 3 4 8	
Iordanis Savvides	1936	Male Greek Cypriot	Agia Irini	19 Jun 2014 Lefkosia (Nicosia South)	Preface 2 3 4 7 8	
Irini Giatkou	1938	Female Greek Cypriot	Agia Irini	15 Jul 2015 Episkopi	7 8	 Irini (right) with Kostas (left) and the author
Kaiti Skoubri	1950	Female Greek Cypriot	Agia Irini	17 Jul 2015 Lefkosia (Nicosia South)	2 3 4 5 8	 Kaiti (centre) with Iordanis and the author
Kostas Giatkou	1938	Male Greek Cypriot	Agia irini	15 Jul 2015 Episkopi	7 8	 Kostas (left) with Irini (right) and the author
Kyriacou Kyriacou	1944	Female Greek Cypriot	Alaminos	2 Jun 2015 Alaminos	2 8	
Maria Simeou	1929	Female Greek Cypriot	Agia Irini	7 June 2015 Polis Chrysochous	2 3 4 8	

Cyprus interviewees (continued)						
Name	Year of birth	Gender / Designation	Home village	Interviewed / currently resides in	In Chapt:	Photo
Mustafa Tolga	1949	Male Turkish Cypriot	Alaminos	9 Jul 2015 Lefkoşa (Nicosia North)	2 3 4 7 8	 Mustafa (left) with his wife (right) and the author
Naile Tasbel	1947	Female Turkish Cypriot	Alaminos	9 Jul 2015 Lefkoşa (Nicosia North)	2 3 7 8	 Naile with her husband
Nevsal Polili	1927	Female Turkish Cypriot	Polis Chrysochous	24 Jul 2015 Lefke	2 5 8 Concl.	No photograph
Nikos Stefanides	1942	Male Greek Cypriot	Polis Chrysochous	18 Jun 2015 Lefkosia (Nicosia South)	2 5 7	
Niyazi Düzgün	1949	Male Turkish Cypriot	Polis Chrysochous	13 Jun 2015 Morphou (Güzelyurt)	2 3 4 8	
Özcan Huseyin	1955	Male Turkish Cypriot	Polis Chrysochous	13 July 2015 Morphou (Güzelyurt) (resides in Sweden)	2 5 7	 Özcan (left) with the author
Panayiotis Aristodritou	1944	Male Greek Cypriot	Alaminos	2 Jun 2015 Alaminos	3 4 5	 Panayiotis (left) with Despina (right) and the author

Cyprus interviewees (continued)						
Name	Year of birth	Gender / Designation	Home village	Interviewed / currently resides in	In Chapt:	Photo
Paraskivou Tamamouna	1936	Female Greek Cypriot	Prothromi	14 Jul 2015 Prothromi	2 4 5 7 8	 Paraskivou with her husband Andreas
Ramadan Gilanliogullari	1964	Male Turkish Cypriot	Kato Polemidia	13 Jul 2015 Morphou (Güzelyurt)	2 3 5 8	 Ramadan (right) with the author
Sadiye Özersay	1949	Female Turkish Cypriot	Alaminos	9 Jul 2015 Lefkoşa (Nicosia North)	2 3 4 5 7	 Sadiye (right) with the author
Serpil Uysal	1949	Female Turkish Cypriot	Agia Irini	24 Jul 2015 Morphou (Güzelyurt)	3 5 7 8	 Serpil (right) with Ülgü (left) and the author
Tayfun Tüccar	1959	Male Turkish Cypriot	Agia Irini	18 Jun 2015 Lefkoşa (Nicosia North)	3 7 8	 Tayfun (right) with his son Arda (left) and the author
Ülgü Mavigözlü	1948	Female Turkish Cypriot	Agia Irini	24 Jul 2015 Morphou (Güzelyurt)	3 5 7 8	 Ülgü (left) with Serpil (right) and the author

### Appendix 3: Christian sanctuaries frequented by Muslims

Hasluck describes sixteen Christian sanctuaries frequented by Muslims:<sup>12</sup>

- Notre Dame du Plomb in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina;
- St Michael's church in Syki, Greece;
- St Michael's church in Tepejik (Tepecik), Turkey;
- St Photine church in Smyrna (Izmir), Turkey;
- Virgin of Sumela church in Trebizond (Trabzon), Turkey;
- Church of the Assumption in Adrianople (Edirne), Turkey;
- Church of the Annunciation in Tenos (Tinos), Greece;
- St George's church in Cairo, Egypt;
- Church of Angora (Ankara), Turkey;
- St John the Baptist church in Caesarea (Kayseri), Turkey;
- S. Chrysostom, Bezirieh (Pontus), Turkey;
- Monastery of Armasha, near Ismid (Izmit), Turkey;
- St Anthony of Padua church in Chios, Greece;
- The Church of Philadelphia (Alaşehir), Turkey;
- St Naum church of Okhrida (Ohrid), Macedonia; and
- The Chapel at Adalia (Antalya), Turkey.

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<sup>12</sup> Hasluck & Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the sultans*, x-xi.

## Appendix 4: Muslim sanctuaries frequented by Christians

Hasluck describes fifteen Muslim sanctuaries frequented by Christians: <sup>13</sup>

- Imam Baghevi, Konia (Konya), Turkey;
- Esef Dai, Thyatira (Akhisar), Turkey;
- Mosque of Eyyub, Constantinople (Istanbul), Turkey;
- Tekke of Haji Bektash, Kirshehr (Kirşehir), Turkey;
- Mevlevi tekke, Konia (Konya), Turkey;
- Tekke of Shems-ed-din, Konia (Konya), Turkey;
- S. Arab (Saint Therapon), Larnaka (Larnaca), Cyprus;
- 'Tomb of S. Theodore', Arapli (near Benderegli), Turkey;
- Tekke of Akyazili Baba, Obrochishte, Bulgaria;
- Tekke Keui, Uskub (Skopje), Macedonia;
- Turbali Tekke, Rini (Rinisi), Macedonia;
- Sersem Ali Tekke, Kalkandelen (Tetovo), Macedonia;
- Shamaspur Tekke, Alaja (AlacaHöyük), Turkey;
- Mejid Tash (holy stone) at Changri (Çankırı), Turkey; and
- Pambuk Baba, Osmanjik (Osmançık) Turkey.

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<sup>13</sup> Hasluck & Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the sultans*, xi.

## Appendix 5: Greek Cypriot Community Organisations in Australia

Year	Organisation	Place
1914	Greek Community <sup>14</sup>	Home Hill, Queensland
1929	Cyprus Brotherhood Evagoras <sup>7</sup>	Sydney, NSW
1929	Cyprus Community Club NSW <sup>15</sup>	Stanmore, NSW
1932	Cypriot Brotherhood Zenon <sup>7</sup>	Melbourne, Victoria
1932	Cyprus Community of Melbourne <sup>16</sup>	Melbourne, Victoria
1948	Cyprus Community of South Australia Inc. <sup>17</sup>	Adelaide, South Australia
1950	Cyprian Brotherhood Troodos <sup>18</sup>	Melbourne, Victoria
1952	Cyprus Community of Northern Territory Inc. <sup>19</sup>	Darwin, Northern Territory
1955	Cyprus Greek Orthodox Community of West Sunshine <sup>20</sup>	Melbourne, Victoria
1957	Cyprian Community of Wollongong <sup>21</sup>	Wollongong, NSW
1961	Cyprian Community of Melbourne and Victoria <sup>22</sup>	Melbourne, Victoria
1970	Federation of the Cyprus Communities of Australia and New Zealand <sup>23</sup>	Unknown
1974	Cyprus Community of Western Australia <sup>24</sup>	Perth, Western Australia
From 1974	Justice for Cyprus Organising Committee (SEKA) <sup>25</sup>	Almost all states and territories
1978	Pan-Australian Justice for Cyprus Organising Committee <sup>26</sup>	Sydney, New South Wales
1979	Community of Cypriots of Northern Suburbs of Melbourne <sup>27</sup>	Melbourne, Victoria
1979	Cypriot Youth of Brisbane, formed under the Cypriot Community Association of QLD Inc. <sup>28</sup>	Brisbane, Queensland
2002	NEPOMAK Australia & New Zealand ( <b>Neolaia Pankosmia Omospondia Apodhimon Kyprian</b> ) <sup>29</sup>	Melbourne, Victoria
2005	Cyprus Community of Canberra & ACT <sup>30</sup>	Canberra, ACT

14 Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia*, 44.

15 Cyprus Community Club NSW, *home page*, viewed 26 April 2018, <<http://www.cypruscommunityclub.com.au>>.

16 Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria, *Cyprus Community of Melbourne*, viewed 7 January 2020, <[https://www.greekcommunity.com.au/gocmv\\_public/index.php/en/eventlist/venueevents/53-cyprus-community-of-melbourne](https://www.greekcommunity.com.au/gocmv_public/index.php/en/eventlist/venueevents/53-cyprus-community-of-melbourne)>.

17 Facebook 2019, *Cyprus Community of South Australia*, viewed 27 April 2018, <<https://www.facebook.com/CyprusCommunitySA/>>.

18 Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia*, 44; formed by dissenting members of Cypriot Brotherhood Zenon.

19 NT Government 2019, *Multicultural Community Profiles: Greek Cypriot*, viewed 27 April 2018, <<https://nt.gov.au/community/multicultural-communities/community-profiles/greek-cypriot>>.

20 Facebook 2020, *Apostolos Andreas Cyprus Orthodox Community West Sunshine*, viewed 7 January 2020, <<https://www.facebook.com/standrewscyprusorthodoxchurchcommunitywestsunshine>>.

21 Facebook 2019, *Cyprian Community of Wollongong*, viewed 27 April 2018, <<https://www.facebook.com/CyprusWollongong/>>.

22 Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia*, 44; formed after independence of Cyprus by merger of Cypriot Brotherhood Zenon and Cypriot Brotherhood Troodos.

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## Appendix 6: Turkish Cypriot Community Organisations in Australia

Year	Organisation	Place
1953	Northern Cyprus Turkish Association of NSW Inc <sup>31</sup>	Sydney, New South Wales
1956	Cyprus Turkish Association <sup>32</sup>	Melbourne, Victoria
1956	North Cyprus Turkish Community of Victoria / Cyprus Turkish Islamic Society of Victoria (now known as the Sunshine Mosque) <sup>33,34</sup>	Melbourne, Victoria
1976	Cyprus Turkish Islamic Society <sup>35</sup>	Sunshine, Melbourne, Victoria
1986	Australian Turkish Cypriot Cultural and Welfare Association <sup>36</sup>	Melbourne, Victoria
2006	Australian North Cyprus Friendship Association <sup>37</sup>	Sydney, New South Wales
2007	The Association of Turkish Cypriots Abroad <sup>38</sup>	Melbourne, Victoria

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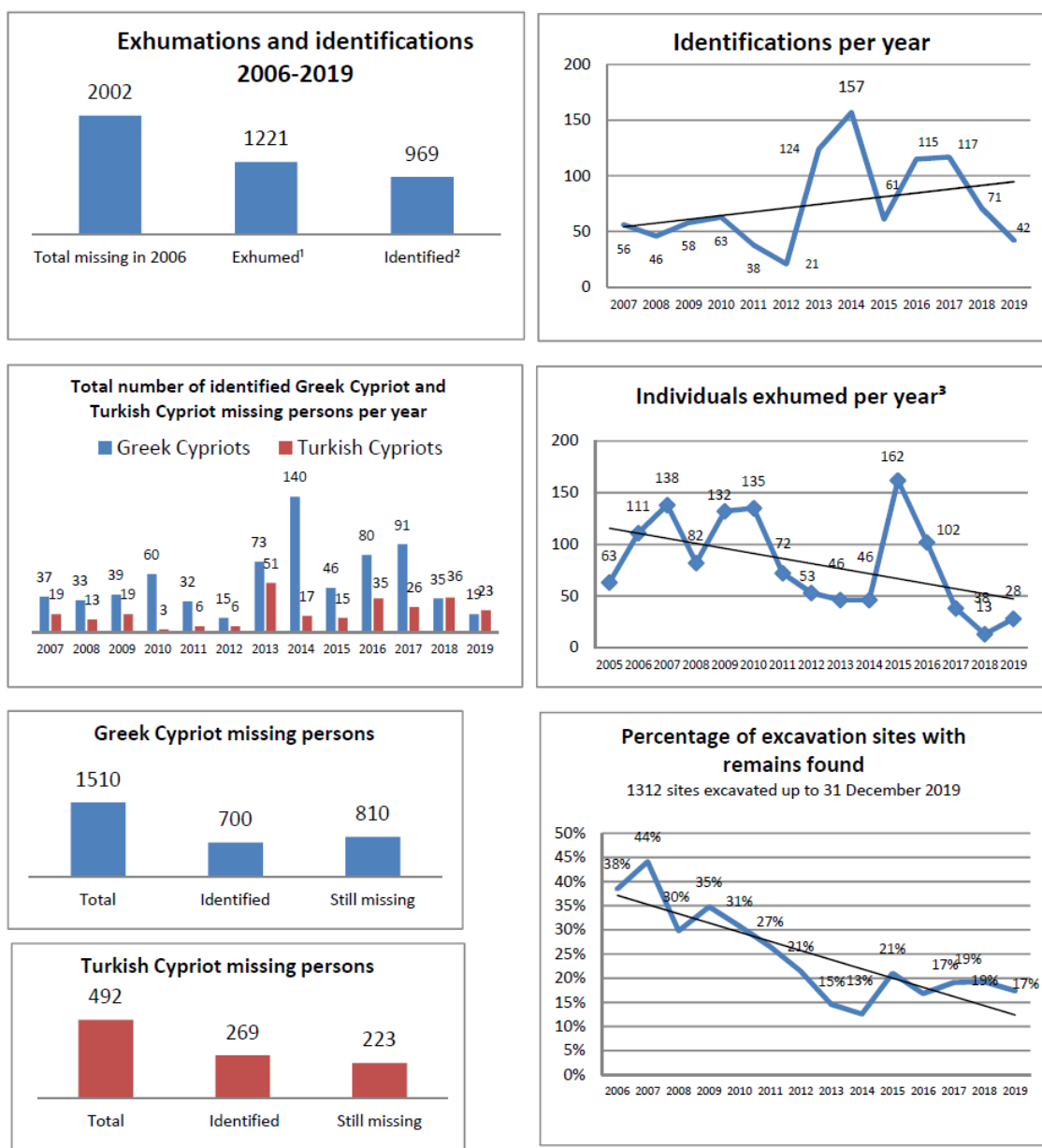
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## Figures and Statistics of Missing Persons

up to 31 December 2019



<sup>1</sup> This figure may change as a result of anthropological, genetic and archaeological analysis.

<sup>2</sup> This figure does not include 170 individuals who were identified by the CMP but are not on the official list of missing persons.

<sup>3</sup> The figure for 2005 includes excavations and exhumations performed by the Turkish Cypriots prior to the current project. Remains recovered from these exhumations were handed over to the CMP in 2006.



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