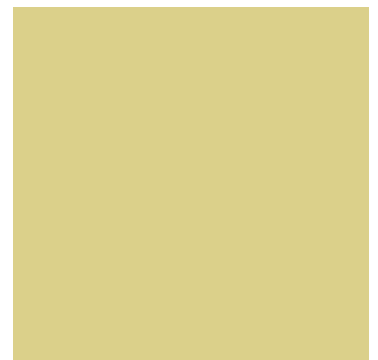


Formerly Mixed Villages in Cyprus: Representations of the Past, Present and Future



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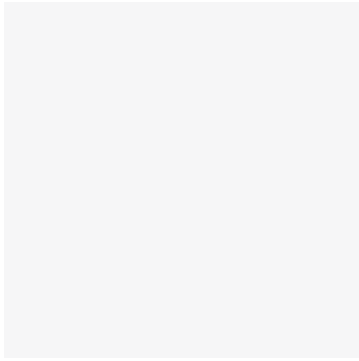
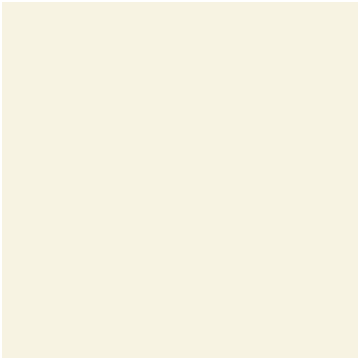
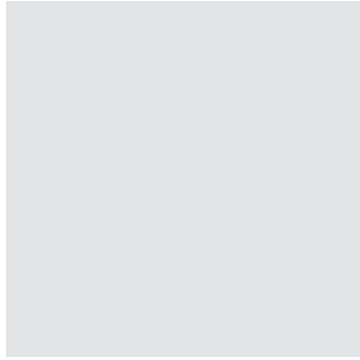
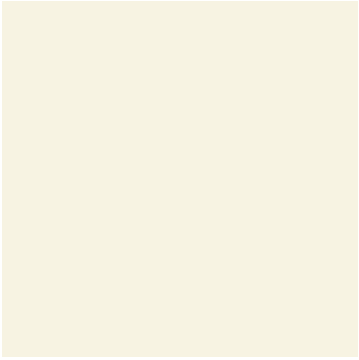
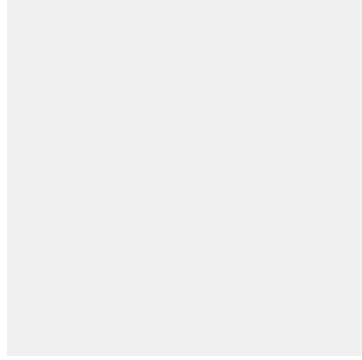
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AHDR is an inter-communal organization whose mission is to contribute to the advancement of historical understanding amongst the public and more specifically amongst children, youth and educators by providing access to learning opportunities for individuals of every ability and every ethnic, religious, cultural and social background, based on the respect for diversity and the dialogue of ideas. In doing so, AHDR recognizes the values of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the UNESCO aims on education, and the Council of Europe's recommendations relevant to history teaching. AHDR activities include research and dissemination of research findings; development of policy recommendations; enrichment of library and archives; organization of teacher training seminars, discussions, conferences; publication of educational materials; organization of on-site visits and walks; development of outreach tools; establishment of synergies between individuals and organizations at a local, European and international level.



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Representations of the past, present and future**



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Responsibility for the findings and views expressed in this publication and for any errors or omissions rests with the authors.

Executive Summary

This report begins with an overview of the history of Cyprus and its mixed villages which outlines the main socio-political and historical events from the Ottoman period until today. The intergroup processes at play in mixed villages are the focus of the next section that draws from social psychological research to make reference to the manner in which social groups are formed, to the factors which lead to intergroup conflict but also to ways in which intergroup conflict can be reduced. Furthermore, the role of contextual and socio-political factors in shaping the memory of the past is examined. The following section presents a broad review of the existing literature on life in the mixed villages of Cyprus making reference to aspects of village life such as intermarriages, education, religion etc. Particular attention is given to research conducted on the mixed village of Pyla which has been subject to the greatest research attention of all the mixed villages of Cyprus. Furthermore, the future of mixed villages is also examined by looking at their inhabitants' views of reconciliation.

The main focus of this research report is, however the findings of a quantitative questionnaire survey conducted in Cyprus with 1887 Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot inhabitants of 97 formerly mixed villages.

The results of this study emphasise vital differences in how the members of the two communities remember their lives together in the villages, how they presently view each other, trust each other or feel threatened by each other and also explore their willingness to live together again in the future. In particular, 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. Moreover, when asked 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. Furthermore, Greek Cypriots reported greater levels of trust towards Turkish Cypriots and were found to hold more positive attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots than vice versa. With regards to their views of the future, Greek Cypriots appeared to be more open to the idea of living together again with Turkish Cypriots than vice versa, either in a unitary state or in mixed neighbourhoods. 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.

A causal pathway was also established through the results which demonstrates empirically 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. Moreover, it was demonstrated that 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.

The significant implications and the practical applications discussed in the concluding section of this report are based precisely on these first pieces of quantitative evidence available on how the people of the two communities in Cyprus remember life together in the mixed villages, how they presently view each other and how they envisage a possible future together.

The importance of studying life in formerly mixed villages in Cyprus

The scant evidence available on formerly mixed villages in Cyprus makes the common everyday life of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in the past difficult to imagine for present day Cypriots who have lived separately for the past 37 years. There is anecdotal evidence that life in mixed villages was characterized by cooperation and trust in which incidences of mutual-aid are recalled to demonstrate that the simple laypeople of the two communities got along just fine. On the other hand, there is anecdotal evidence of incidences of conflict and strife between co-villagers of the two communities. In the official discourses of both communities mixed villages play a symbolic role. In the Greek Cypriot community mixed villages are presented as a prototype of peaceful co-existence while in the Turkish Cypriot community they are presented as proof that co-existence is impossible.

Since no consistent effort has been made up to now to investigate the daily life of a large sample of mixed villages in Cyprus it is difficult to form a sound and informed view of what living together meant in the past or might mean in the future. Consequently, present-day Cypriots across the existing divide, who have learnt to live separately for so many years, often find it difficult to imagine living together again with members of the other community. This lack of knowledge and of information about life together coupled with the 37 year-long propaganda that Cypriots across the divide have been subjected to, often makes the possibility of living together again in the future an uncertain scenario causing for many people some degree of anxiety. Fear of the unknown is characteristic of humans in various contexts, cultures and societies and potentially a destabilising factor. It is thus expected that many Cypriots choose to adhere to the status quo rather than risk the leap into the social and political unknown that possible solutions to the Cyprus problem would represent. At this difficult time in the history of Cyprus it is of vital importance to remind older generations of Cypriots and to inform younger generations of what life together was like for many Cypriots in the past. It is important to bring to light the positive incidences of cooperation between the members of the two communities who once lived together in the villages as it is equally important to unearth the incidences of strife and conflict. In either case, of greater importance is the need to understand the conditions which promoted peaceful co-existence and trust in some villages and the conditions which lead to conflict and strife in others. Providing Cypriots with the opportunity to glance at what life together used to be like may be an important step to help them make more informed choices about a possible life together in the future.

In this research we focused on life in mixed villages during the years 1955 to 1974.¹ This was because this period is the period during which the ethnic conflict escalated and came to an end with the Greek and Turkish interventions resulting in the total territorial division of the island. The next section of this report provides an overview of the socio-political situation in Cyprus placing particular emphasis on this period and, where possible, discusses the effects of this socio-political context on the lives of the inhabitants of mixed villages.

1. Refer to the methodology section of this report for the reasons behind the focus on this particular time period.

The History of Cyprus and its Mixed Villages: An Overview

The history of Cyprus is often depicted through a long succession of different rulers: Assyrian, Persian, Alexander the Great, Ptolemy of Egypt, Roman, Byzantines, Arabs, Crusaders, Lusignans, Venetians.

In 1571 the Venetian rulers of Cyprus were defeated militarily by the Ottomans and Cyprus was conquered and annexed to the Ottoman Empire. The feudal system which had been introduced by the Lusignans was abolished and the land was given to the people to cultivate so that they would be able to pay taxes. Greek Cypriots had welcomed the Ottomans expecting in this way to “*get rid of the detested Latins*” (Hackett, 1901 as cited in Anastasiades, 1979, p.15; see also Eraklides, 2002; Taeuber, 1955). All the Catholic churches were turned into mosques and many Catholic priests were executed by the Ottomans. The Greek Orthodox Church which had been subordinated by the Catholic Church during the Lusignan and Venetian periods was restored and acknowledged as the only Christian Church on the island. Furthermore, the Archbishop was acknowledged as the only spiritual and political leader of the Greek Orthodox population and, as Hackett explains, “*[i]n the process of time... he (the Archbishop) possessed nearly all the executive power*” and had reached the point of having more authority than the pashas (Hackett, 1901, as cited in Anastasiades, 1979, p. 15; see also Eraklides, 2002, p.211).

On the whole the Ottomans were interested in the Christians as a source of revenue. They did little for their subjects as little was expected of them in terms of loyalty or relatedness to the state (Pollis, 1973). In fact, during the nineteenth century Cyprus had become a poor and neglected district of the declining Ottoman Empire (Taeuber, 1955). During the Ottoman rule the communal identities of the people of Cyprus were defined mainly along religious lines and not along national lines. The population was principally distinguished into Muslims and Orthodox and not as Greeks and Turks (Eraklides, 2002; Pollis, 1973).

As Pollis (1973) explains, the word “Greek” began to make its appearance after the Greek Revolution. In 1821 the Greek Revolution against the Ottoman Empire began in mainland Greece and had a certain impact in some sections of the Orthodox population of Cyprus as well. As a result, the Archbishop and all the bishops of Cyprus were hanged nominally for their suspected involvement in revolutionary conspiracies with mainland Greeks, even though evidence exists that suggests that they were opposed to such a revolution (see Pollis, 1973, p.588). In fact, the execution of the local Christian elite needs to be seen in the more complex context of its prolonged competition and conflict for power but also connection and cooperation with Istanbul, with the local Muslim elite and the island's Ottoman government (Michael, 2005). In any case, the Greek nationalist ideology included Cyprus in its claims and a small number of educated Orthodox Christians on the island began to refer to themselves as Greek and began to express interest in union with Greece (Pollis, 1973).

The Turks on the other hand, did not view themselves as Turkish until the beginning of the 20th century primarily to distinguish themselves from the Arab-speaking population of the Ottoman empire, while in Cyprus the “Turks” were unaware of this designation until well into the century (Pollis, p.586). On the whole, during most of the Ottoman period the inhabitants of the island were not divided in terms of their religious affiliations but rather it was the differences between the poor oppressed peasantry (both Muslim and Christian) and the tax collectors and ruling elite (again both Muslim and Christian) which were more prominent (for more information see Pollis, p.585 and Panayiotou's, 2009, analysis of Kyrris's work).

In 1878, Cyprus changed hands when administration was acquired by the British Empire, which entrenched further its presence in the region after the opening of the Suez Canal, and as a consequence of the war between the Russian and the Ottoman Empires. Although Cyprus remained nominally under Ottoman sovereignty, the British secured control of the island. As the Christians of the island via their elite had once welcomed the Ottomans, in a similar manner they welcomed the British in 1878 (Katsiaounis, 1996). The Muslims of the island, however, lost some privileges, mostly status related, bestowed upon them by the millet system which based political representation, law and administration upon

the logic of religious communalism. In effect, the Ottoman Muslim population lost its relatively privileged position while its elite and middle classes lost their direct connection with, and even monopoly of, employment in the administration. As a result, some Muslims left the island and moved to Turkey (see Christodoulou, 1992; as cited in Kliot & Mansfield, 1997). The Greek Orthodox population on the other hand, generally improved its position while the Greek Orthodox elite increased its power in the economy as they benefited from the Christian, although effectively secular, administration of the British. During the First World War the British officially annexed Cyprus to the British Empire where in 1925 Cyprus became a British crown colony. During the British colonial period the Greek Cypriot population had a small proportional increase vis a vis the Turkish Cypriot population. By 1946, Greek Cypriots approximately comprised 80% of the population and Turkish Cypriots 18% (Official Census of Population, 1946).

Muslims had lived alongside Christians for hundreds of years in a number of contexts: in mixed towns, and in mixed villages. 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 (Michell, 1908). When the British arrived they kept the religious distinction of the Ottoman millet system and incorporated it into the political and administrative system they constructed, such as for example the Legislative Assembly (Kitromilides, 1977). In addition to that, the modernisation process on the one hand and the rise of nationalisms on the other in the late 19th and early 20th centuries politicised and nationalised the existing primarily religious communal identities and cemented them. The Linopampakoi had to choose – eventually they were socially forced to enter the Muslim community.

The Census categories of the British period can yield interesting information about the process of constitution, transformation and recognition of ethnic identities of course reflecting, primarily the perceptions of the Colonial administration but also to some extent realities on the ground as well. The first British Censuses in 1881 and 1921, kept the Ottoman logic of the distinction between Muslims and Non-Muslims, in the third Census in 1931 the categories became Greek Orthodox and Muslim–Turk and by 1946 the categories used were those of Greek and Turk. The nationalisation of the Cypriot religious communities did increase the separation tendencies between them as the number of mixed villages dropped steadily during the British period from 346 out of 802 in 1891 to 114 out of 623 in 1960 (Patrick, 1976a).² However incidences of inter-communal violence were very rare until the very end of the British period.

Although nationalism in both communities was steadily growing during the British period as was the anti-colonial movement, inter-communal peace was not disturbed during the 1940s. At the time AKEL, the party at the head of the left wing workers' movement, was leading the initial anti-colonial struggle mainly through mass demonstrations and strikes. In the 1950s though, when the right wing groups took over the lead of the anti-colonial movement in the Greek Cypriot community inter-communal relations worsened and were seriously disrupted with the onset of EOKA's³ armed struggle. By then, the possibility of British withdrawal came within sight and the right-wing Greek and Turkish Cypriot elites started pushing each for their own diametrically opposite goal of *enosis* and *taksim*, that is, union with Greece and double union with Greece and Turkey respectively. In this conflict of interests, the establishment of EOKA, led by Grivas, was instrumental. EOKA's target was not solely the straightforward independence of Cyprus from Britain but rather to impose the more broadly accepted political goal on the British and the Turkish Cypriots, the *enosis* (union) of Cyprus with Greece, within the Greek Cypriot community. As a result, the British began introducing more severe repressive measures against the people of Cyprus imposing curfews, outlawing left wing organisations (in the cold war spirit but also because the left wing organisations were organising mass demonstrations and strikes against the British) and suspending most of the civil liberties that had been gained during the 1940s while the Turkish Cypriot nationalist elite responded by establishing its own armed organisation,

2. See also Taeuber (1955, p.13) for details on the population of mixed villages based on the population census of 1946.

3. Εθνική Οργάνωση Κυπρίων Αγωνιστών (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) was formed in 1955 and led by Grivas until 1959 when it was dissolved after the Zurich agreements.

TMT⁴, to force *taksim* (partition) and balance out EOKA. On an international level, Greece supported EOKA's struggle for *enosis*, the annexation that is of Cyprus by Greece, both directly and indirectly, to some extent officially and to some extent unofficially. On the other hand, Turkey strongly opposed *enosis* (see An, 2004, p.136) and as Turkey was NATO's key regional ally, this created a complex and delicate situation which was not characteristic of other anti-colonial struggles. That year, 1955, was marked by intense trouble not only in Cyprus but also in Istanbul in which organised groups of Turkish extremists destroyed hundreds of Greek stores, looting and vandalising them. These attacks were instigated by an attack on the Turkish consulate in Thessaloniki but also by rumours that EOKA members in Cyprus were supposedly planning to slaughter the Turkish Cypriots (see Drousiotis, 2004, p.31; An, 2004, p.92-93).

Turkey's role in the formation of TMT, the Turkish Cypriot secret paramilitary organisation acting as a counterpart to EOKA, was significant. As Packard (2008) explains, TMT was as nationalistic and anti-communist as EOKA but not anti-British. TMT received backing from the Turkish army and aimed for *taksim* that is, the partition of Cyprus into two parts, one Greek and one Turkish (Attalides, 1979). Tension between the two communities increased and by 1958, the deterioration of inter-communal relations became apparent as both communities were exposed to violence and killings. The Greek Cypriots were proportionally the greatest victims (Packard, p.16) as they were also the main target of the British. In some cases, Turkish Cypriot inhabitants of mixed villages evacuated their homes and so did some Greek Cypriot families (see Kliot & Mansfield, 1997, p.499). During this period, in the spirit of the increasing nationalism, talking in Greek was forbidden to Turkish Cypriots by TMT as was buying from or selling products to Greek Cypriots or being a member of the left wing Greek Cypriot dominated, workers' union (PEO) to which most Turkish Cypriot workers belonged despite the existence of a respective Turkish workers' union since 1944. Anyone caught disobeying these orders was penalised by heavy fines, social stigma and even political violence (Kappler & Petrou, 2010; Kızılyürek, 1999; An, 2004; Drousiotis, 2004).⁵

The EOKA campaign ended in 1959 when Greece and Turkey agreed in Zurich for a form of limited independence for Cyprus. As Kızılyürek explains, the elites of Cyprus who had led their communities to fight for *enosis* and *taksim* were forced for the first time through these agreements to acknowledge the existence of the other community (Kızılyürek, 1999, p.60). In effect, the realisation of *enosis* or *taksim* was precluded.

On August 16, 1960 Cyprus gained its independence from the United Kingdom, after the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities reached an agreement on a constitution. The Treaty of Guarantee gave Britain, Greece and Turkey the right to intervene and Britain retained sovereignty over two military bases. Archbishop Makarios was elected the first president of the independent Republic of Cyprus. However, it was obvious that in the Greek Cypriot community many people saw the Republic as a stepping stone towards *enosis*. Even the president of the Republic continued to talk in public about a future union with Greece, not only in 1964 but as late as in 1971 (see Patrick, 1976a, p.28). The inability of the state in general and the government and elite in particular to promote any sense of a common Cypriot political identity for its citizens led to increasing feelings of fear and threat of the other community (Eraklides, 2002).

From 1962, groups within the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities were secretly preparing and arming their units with the help of nationalist circles in their respective motherlands. The Greek Cypriot paramilitary groups were largely comprised of individuals who had taken part in the EOKA struggle while the Turkish Cypriot groups (Volkan and later TMT) were comprised mainly by people who had served previously in the British army or in the British police (Packard, 2008, p.17). Both groups received reinforcements from Greece and Turkey respectively (see Drousiotis, 2004, p. 44, 52).

In 1963, a constitutional crisis occurred when Makarios put forward a proposal of 13 amendments to the constitution which were opposed by Turkey and by Turkish Cypriots. This crisis signalled the onset of fighting between extremists from both sides which came to its high point during the period between December 1963 and August 1964. The Greek Cypriot leadership attempted to force the Turkish Cypriots into accepting *enosis*

4. Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı (Turkish Resistance Organisation)

5. See also An (2004, p.128-129) for similar prohibitions by Volkan in 1955

through the use of paramilitary, economic and political coercion. In response the Turkish Cypriot leadership focused on promoting *taksim* and union with Turkey by resisting the Greek Cypriots in order to encourage a Turkish military intervention (Patrick, 1976a). The Greek Cypriots accused the Turkish Cypriots of insurrection against the Republic aiming to achieve partition while Turkish Cypriots accused the Greek Cypriots of wanting to renounce the constitution in order to achieve *enosis*. Several strategies were employed by the two communities including political manoeuvres, propaganda, armed force, evacuations of villages and restriction of inter-communal contacts. Shootings, lootings, massacres and hostage-taking were common occurrences. In each community a number of armed gangs refusing to become integrated into the 'official' communal forces were formed which mainly carried out acts of revenge for past atrocities against members of the other community (Patrick, 1976c, p.360-1). As a result, in 1964 a United Nations peacekeeping force was set up on the island.

The official population census of 1960 indicates that in Cyprus there existed about 114 mixed villages. As a result of the rising ethnic strife during the years 1963-64 life in these mixed villages, was drastically altered and characterised by constant fear and unrest. Road blocks were erected around the main Turkish Cypriot villages while throughout the island Turkish Cypriot villagers did not venture out into their fields or into the roads (Patrick, 1976a). On occasion, telephone lines were cut, while in cases where they were not cut, operators of the Cyprus Telecommunications Authority (CYTA) often refused to connect calls coming from Turkish Cypriot villages (see Packard for the description of such an incident, p.75-76; also Patrick, p.111). Packard (2008, p.52-3) describes the situation as he witnessed it in January 1964 in the mixed village of Peristerona where the inhabitants explained that the Greek Cypriot policemen of the village had been replaced by a group of aggressive young Greek Cypriot auxiliaries; these "*bunch of EOKA thugs*", as they were referred to, seemed to be responsible for the shooting of a Turkish Cypriot villager as well as for the arrest and consequent disappearance of two Turkish Cypriot policemen. Since they were the police of the village, the Turkish Cypriots felt that they had no one to protect them or to enforce the law. Further exacerbating the situation, gun shots were frequently heard at night in and around the village. In fear, the Turkish Cypriots of the village living in outlying houses had been moving into the Turkish Cypriot quarter every night only to find their houses looted in the mornings.

As Packard aptly explains,

We had quickly become aware that TMT (and the Turkish army which backed it) was being hugely helped towards its separatist aims by the conduct of some elements of the Greek Cypriot police and by paramilitary extremists. . . (p.131).

During the inter-communal strife TMT leaders openly stated that their efforts were aimed at separating the two communities since according to them, this was necessary in order to protect the Turkish Cypriots. Greek Cypriot policemen and paramilitaries on the other hand were proud to be fighting against the efforts of TMT for separatism as well as for a future union with Greece (see Packard, 2008, p.135).

Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot villagers, however, were caught in the middle as these extremist groups pursued their agendas. Turkish Cypriot villagers saw that their rights were being violated daily: they could not travel around the island safely, they felt unsafe in their own homes, members of their community were disappearing while others were being murdered without the culprits being caught. In addition to all this, they were being subjected to TMT propaganda saying that they were the targets of a genocidal attack (Packard, 2008, p.135) which further exacerbated their fear.

Greek Cypriots, on the other hand, were equally bombarded with propaganda from newspapers as well as government radio and television claiming that Turkish Cypriots, in conjunction with Turkey, were plotting to impede the will of the majority Greek Cypriot community with the ulterior motive of providing Turkey an excuse to invade and impose *taksim* (Patrick, 1976a). Furthermore, due to this propaganda and complete bias in the way the media presented the situation in Cyprus, Greek Cypriots were on the whole, unaware of the killing, hostage-taking and looting that were taking place against the Turkish Cypriots in parts of the island. On the contrary, they were continually being told that the Turkish Cypriots were provocatively revolting against the legal government which was simply trying to maintain law and order (Packard, 2008,

p.16). Consequently, most Greek Cypriots of the time were unable to understand the reasons behind the Turkish Cypriots' complaints and were becoming more and more frightened of the prospect of Turkey intervening (see Packard, 2008).

The propaganda on both sides generated an intense enmity between the members of the two communities and encouraged a number of violent acts across the island. In coffee shops around the island, both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots used exaggerated talk, echoing the extremist language and propaganda used in most of the press of both communities (Packard, 2008). Children in the mixed villages who had once played together, now fought, taunted and threw stones at each other if they met by chance in the streets of their village (Patrick, 1976a).

However, not all the population was polarised nor did all the population blindly follow the extremist groups. Some accounts report that Greek Cypriot villagers were often suspicious and wary of the old EOKA network as it was claimed that they had connections with the criminal underclass (Packard, 2008, p.90). Similarly, not all Turkish Cypriots blindly followed TMT as some accounts report that 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 enjoying themselves in the Greek areas were penalised by heavy fines, imprisonment or even whipping (Demetriou, 1989 as cited in Kakoullis, 2011; see also Patrick, 1976a, p.133; Drousiotis, 2004, p.44; An, 2004, p.136). There are also accounts that report that Turkish Cypriots in mixed villages were not allowed by their leaders to use the postal services of the government as this was considered not only to promote fraternization with the other community but also to be a sign of recognition (Patrick, 1976a, p.112) of the Greek Cypriot run state. Lastly, there is evidence that in some cases in late 1964, local fighter commanders resorted to armed threats, and even to murder, in order to keep Turkish Cypriot refugees from moving into areas controlled by the Cyprus Government (Patrick, 1976b, p.345).

Out of fear of travelling outside their villages many Turkish Cypriots were unable to go to their places of work and consequently Turkish Cypriots in many isolated villages started to run out of money and consequently, out of food. As a result of this fact and of the harassment by and fear of the Greek Cypriot extremists and as a result of the urgings of TMT, many Turkish Cypriots were driven to abandon their homes and move to Turkish Cypriot enclaves which were established in and around the exclusively Turkish Cypriot neighborhoods in cities and towns or other larger Turkish Cypriot villages (see Packard, 2008; Kliot & Mansfield, 1997; Drousiotis, 2004).

Between December 1963 and August 1964 Turkish Cypriots are believed to have abandoned their houses in 72 mixed villages and in 24 wholly Turkish villages while 12 mixed villages were partially or wholly evacuated by their Greek Cypriot inhabitants (Patrick, 1976b, p.340). According to Patrick (1976a) and Packard (2008), Turkish Cypriots from small and secluded villages or from mixed villages in which they were the minority evacuated their villages in groups and moved to the nearest and largest Turkish Cypriot village or to enclaves in the cities and towns which were guarded by Turkish Cypriot fighters. In other mixed villages in which the Turkish Cypriots were the majority, Greek Cypriot armed reinforcements often moved in so that, in the end, the Turkish Cypriots had become the minority and thus also evacuated their villages (Patrick, 1976a). In cases where Turkish Cypriot villagers were reluctant to abandon their villages, there are reports that in order to convince them to do so, they were told by other Turkish Cypriots that the Turkish air force would soon be bombing Cyprus and thus that they had to be concentrated with the other Turkish Cypriots for their own protection (see Packard, 2008, p.68; p.73).

As a result of these large-scale movements, 42 Turkish-controlled enclaves were formed containing almost half the Turkish Cypriot population. These enclaves which took about 3-4% of the island in essence became the territorial base of a wholly Turkish Cypriot administration, the *Provisional Turkish Cypriot Administration*. These contained a total of 115 villages and town quarters (Kliot & Mansfield, 1997). The forces of the Republic of Cyprus and Greek Cypriot civilians were not allowed to enter these areas which were effectively under the control of TMT (Kliot & Mansfield, 1997). On some occasions the Greek Cypriot government even cut the water and electricity supplies⁶ to these Turkish Cypriot areas.

6. In 1964 the supply of water to the 2500 Turkish Cypriots of Ktima in Paphos was cut, an act which was reported to the UN Secretary General by Dr Kuchuk, the Vice President of the Republic of Cyprus. In response, Greek Cypriot authorities stated that this was done because the Turkish Cypriots had refused to pay their water bills (see Kakoullis, 2011, p.11).

As Patrick (1976a) explains, three main geopolitical fields were created: locations under Greek Cypriot control, locations under Turkish Cypriot control and locations of inter-communal confrontation.

As Turkish Cypriots left their homes and villages, Greek Cypriot propaganda claimed that in all cases Turkish Cypriots were evacuating their homes either out of personal choice or after orders and pressure from TMT and their leadership in order to promote their separatist agendas (Packard, 2008; Canefe, 2002). Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, claimed that they were evacuating their villages solely out of fear for their lives or because Greek Cypriots had made their daily lives extremely difficult through harassment and isolation. Greek Cypriots counter-charged that TMT were using propaganda to spread fear within Turkish Cypriot communities, especially in mixed villages, in order to promote separatism and ghettoization (Packard, 2008).

In any case, after the evacuation of Turkish Cypriot homes and properties lootings usually followed especially in mixed villages where the Greek Cypriot villagers had easy access to the abandoned properties.⁷ In some mixed villages the houses of Turkish Cypriots were so thoroughly looted that not only items were stolen but also doors, windows and tiles.⁸ This looting and destruction did not occur in all mixed villages. For example, Packard (2008, p.124) explains that in the mixed villages of Dhenia and Akaki, upon leaving, the Turkish Cypriots had entrusted almost all their wealth to their Greek Cypriot co-villagers (e.g. homes, animals, farming equipment, grain) who had in turn, gone to great lengths to safeguard it. The Greek Cypriot villagers had not only tended the flocks of the Turkish Cypriots but had also taken turns in guarding their properties and equipment from casual theft or looting.

On the whole, during the 1963-64 period, it is estimated that around 20,000-25,000 Turkish Cypriots (one-fourth of the community's entire population at the time) and around 200-300 Greek Cypriots from 6 mixed villages were displaced (Patrick, 1976a). By the end of 1964, the majority of Turkish Cypriots on the south of the cease fire line, either from mixed villages or from wholly Turkish villages, moved to other areas of the island or into the Turkish Cypriot controlled enclaves. As Packard (2008) explains, during the short period between December 1963 and August 1964 the number of mixed villages dramatically dropped from 135 to 45. Furthermore, it is estimated that 350 Turkish Cypriots and 200 Greek Cypriots were killed between December 1963 and August 1964 (Patrick, 1976a).

The inter-communal strife of this period climaxed with the bombing of the Tylliria area by the Turkish airforce which attacked the National Guard⁹ resulting in the death of 55 Greek Cypriots and wounding 125 (Patrick, 1976a). In this manner, Turkey demonstrated that it was indeed prepared to intervene militarily if Greek Cypriots continued their violent offensive against the Turkish Cypriots. At this time a Greek military division arrived secretly on the island, a signal of enhanced Greek involvement in the political scene and the military balance of power. Henceforth, the central government of the Republic of Cyprus made efforts to normalise the situation and to use, not violence but, political pressure and economic sanctions to impose its authority on and reintegrate the Turkish Cypriot community. Sanctions included among others the restriction of movement, the rationing of foodstuffs, fuel and clothing to the enclaves, the cutting of government controlled welfare, salaries and grants (Patrick, 1976a). This was of course partly done out of fear of a Turkish intervention (see Patrick, 1976a, p.21). However, their efforts failed, on the one hand, due to the fact that the Turkish Cypriot leaders were working towards imposing *taksim* and thus did not allow the Turkish Cypriot civilians to return to their original villages (Kliot & Mansfield, 1997; see also Attalides, 1977 as cited in Canefe, 2002, p.13). On the other hand, the work of these Turkish Cypriot leaders was facilitated by the action of the Greek Cypriot nationalists which, in defiance of the decisions made by the Cyprus Government, continued the violence, harassing and occasionally murdering Turkish Cypriots in numerous locations and provoking reprisals, as rumours of course travelled around the island. Therefore, in fear of their lives but also due to the instigations of their leaders and

7. See for example, Packard (2008) on lootings in the mixed village of Skylloura (p.50)

8. See Packard's (2008) account of the situation in Ayios Theodoros (p.101)

9. The National Guard (Εθνική Φρουρά) was comprised of only Greek Cypriots and was formed in mid 1964 with the merging of most Greek Cypriot paramilitary groups.

TMT, Turkish Cypriots on the whole, remained in the Turkish Cypriot enclaves and did not return to their villages. The Kofinou incident in 1967, in which the National Guard attacked a Turkish Cypriot controlled complex of villages, whose armed fighters occasionally disturbed traffic in the Nicosia-Limassol road, resulted in further worsening the tensions. The Greek Cypriot attack resulted in the death of 21 Turkish Cypriots and Turkey threatened again with an military intervention. Eventually the crisis was resolved with the withdrawal of the Greek contingent and of Grivas who had led the attack on Kofinou.

During the years 1967 to 1974, sections of both communities began to focus their efforts on maintaining the independence of the country. The pro-government faction of Greek Cypriots sought negotiations with the Turkish Cypriot leaders who responded positively. Of course, not all Greek Cypriots and not all Turkish Cypriots agreed with these ideas but instead, large numbers of people from each community held onto their aspirations of *enosis* or *taksim* (Patrick, 1976a). Intra-community divisions were therefore characteristic of this period as within each community conflicting political ideas were expressed. This was even more so in the Greek Cypriot community, where those continuing to support *enosis* clashed with those supporting independence. Makarios opted for sustaining and strengthening independence in 1968 as the policy of the “possible” against *enosis* which was the “desirable” but unobtainable while the *enosis* supporters resorted to violence, forming paramilitary groups with the more prominent at this time being the “National Front”. In 1971 Grivas returned illegally to Cyprus and founded the right-wing nationalist paralimetary organisation EOKA B, which was to continue the struggle for *enosis* this time against the Cypriot independent state. EOKA B put bombs to government buildings and assassinated people, further destabilising the political situation which was already tense with unsuccessful attacks on the life of President Makarios such as the one in 1970 and unsuccessful attempts for coups such as the one in 1972, both attributed to the Greek army generals and their Greek Cypriot collaborators (Drousiotis, 2008). Thus, whereas inter-communal conflict reduced to a generally non-violent state, political and armed conflict increased within the Greek Cypriot community.

As a result of the growing inter-communal strife, by 1970 the number of mixed villages was reduced from 346 in 1891 to 48 (see Table 1 below). This decline in the number of mixed villages was of course gradual but obviously intensified between 1960 and 1970. A gradual decline was observed in the 40 years between 1891 and 1931 as we have already mentioned previously due to urbanisation (see Asmussen, 1996) and immigration of Turkish Cypriots to Turkey. In the following 30 years, between 1931 and 1960, the number of mixed villages was further reduced to less than half, mainly due to urbanisation but also inter-communal frictions as the mid and late 1950s were also a time of violence. By 1970, the number of mixed villages was reduced by one half with mixed villages comprising only 10% of the total number of villages on the island. In these remaining mixed villages, Patrick (1976a) explains that the relations between the members of the two communities were not actually mixed by 1970 and onwards, most of these originally mixed villages had been divided into distinct ethnic quarters with little social or economic contact between them. In fact, relations between the ethnic quarters of most mixed villages were characterised by “outright hostility” (Patrick, 1976a, p.8).

Table 1. Ethnic Population Segregation from 1891 to 1970 (adapted from Patrick, 1976a)

| Year | Mixed Villages | GC Villages | TC Villages | Total Villages | % Mixed | % GC | % TC |
|------|----------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|---------|------|------|
| 1891 | 346 | 342 | 114 | 802 | 43 | 43 | 14 |
| 1931 | 252 | 358 | 84 | 694 | 36 | 52 | 12 |
| 1960 | 114 | 392 | 117 | 623 | 18 | 63 | 19 |
| 1970 | 48 | 444 | 11 | 503 | 10 | 88 | 2 |

GC., Greek Cypriot; TC., Turkish Cypriot.

By 1971, 2000 Turkish Cypriot refugees had returned to 19 mixed villages and to 5 Turkish Cypriot villages while 57 formerly mixed villages had become inhabited solely by Greek Cypriots (Patrick, 1976a).

In 1974, with the conflict within the Greek Cypriot community escalating, a coup was staged against the Republic's president Archbishop Makarios, by the Greek Junta, using the National Guard which was under its control and assisted by the right wing extremist group EOKA B in Cyprus. Nominally the aim was to bring about *enosis*. Following the Greek coup, Turkey intervened and the majority of Greek Cypriots living in the northern part of Cyprus (about 160000 in number) were displaced in the south. This population was not only homeless but on the whole without any personal possessions as they had assumed that their move would be temporary. The Turkish army with 30000 troops forced the partition between the north and the south of the island extending the Nicosia "Green Line", a ceasefire line drawn up by UN forces in 1965, both to the east and to the west. By 1975, all Turkish Cypriots living in the south of the island moved to the north in the 37% of the land occupied by the Turkish military while most of the remaining Greek Cypriots in the north moved to south. Within the land controlled by the Turkish military were also 162 Greek Cypriot and mixed villages. The military action of the Turkish army resulted in thousands of Greek Cypriots being killed and more than 1000 reported missing. Furthermore, some 1500 Turks and Turkish Cypriots were also killed while about 270¹⁰ Turkish Cypriots were reported missing (Attalides, 1979).

The population movements of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots as a result of the Turkish intervention/invasion in 1974 were different and were experienced differently. Greek Cypriots left most of their possessions behind and rushed in fear as the Turkish army advanced. Most ended up homeless and in makeshift accommodation in the outskirts of cities in the south until refugee blocks were built in the following years. Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, had a more orderly movement, many with UN guarded convoys and were placed in empty Greek Cypriot houses in the north. Greek Cypriots assured by their leadership, conceptualised their movement as temporary expecting to return when the situation would be calmer. Turkish Cypriots on the other hand, were assured by their leadership that this was a new beginning, in the newly acquired "Turkish land" of north Cyprus.

Communication as well as travel between the northern and southern parts of Cyprus was completely restricted preventing Greek Cypriots from crossing into the northern part of Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots from crossing into the southern part of the island. The two communities became geographically segregated and have remained segregated for the past 37 years. Of the 48 mixed villages which existed in 1970, only 2 have remained mixed until present. These two villages, Pyla and Potamia, have been able to remain mixed due to the fact that the former is located inside the "Green Line" while the latter is situated near the "Green Line" thus permitting access to people from both communities.

In 1983 Turkish Cypriot leadership established a breakaway state in the northern part of Cyprus, named the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' (TRNC), internationally recognised only by Turkey.

On the 23rd April 2003, the then Turkish Cypriot leader Mr. Rauf Raif Denktaş, after suggestions by the then newly elected government in Turkey, announced the partial lifting of travel restrictions that have been in place since 1974.¹¹ For the first time in 29 years, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots were allowed, under certain preconditions, to cross to the other side of the Green Line, visit their properties and meet old acquaintances. One year later, in April 2004 Greek Cypriots rejected a UN sponsored plan (known as the Annan Plan) to reunite Cyprus under a federal state by 76% whilst Turkish Cypriots accepted it with 65% of population.¹² Renewed efforts to resolve the Cyprus issue are on-going.

10. Information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus website, www.cmp-cyprus.org/

11. Certain areas, like the city of Varoshia for example, are still closed to the public.

12. For a discussion of the path towards, and the results of, the referendum see Pericleous (2007); Bahceli (2004) and Coufoudakis (2004).

The Shaping of Groups and Intergroup Conflict

Group memberships are an important aspect of human nature. Being a member of one group and not of another serves an important goal: it defines who we are. Our sense of identity is thus strongly interlinked with our various group memberships. Often the level of inclusiveness at which people identify themselves with is significant in influencing the level of prejudice they show towards other groups. Social identities also take their content from social representations which equip and furnish identities (Psaltis & Duveen, 2006). In Cyprus, each community acquired its own social representations which evolved, to a large degree, through each community's manipulation of education (Papadakis, 2008; Psaltis, in press). Exalting the greatness of Hellenism or the supremacy of the Turkish nation, as was often done through the educational system for decades probably formed representations of the nation that affected the formation of identity. Thus sections of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities internalised a sense of collective self that incorporates a strong element of Greekness and Turkishness in their national identification, often at the expense of their Cypriotness and commonalities with members of the other community. Still, different positions of national identification with structural similarities can be identified in each of the two communities. Whilst more helleno/turko centric views are expected to be related with more negative feelings, less contact and distrust for members of the other community, more Cypriocentric views also exist which are expected to be related with more and better quality contact with members of the other community along with better feelings towards members of the other community, and more trust.

Social identities however, in addition to defining who we are as a person, have important implications for intergroup behaviour since people often base their own personal self-esteem on their group's esteem and thus strive to promote their group's status. If the group's status is seen as incompatible with another group's esteem, then of course this motivates group members to compete with the members of the other group for success, a process which may promote prejudice and intergroup conflict (e.g. Tajfel & Turner, 1979; 1986).

One factor which seems to be related to intergroup conflict and prejudice throughout the social psychological literature, but also throughout the literature from various other disciplines, relates to the nature of the goals that the groups in conflict set. Group goals are sometimes incompatible whereby what one group is aiming for is at the expense of the other group's aims. However, at other times group goals may be concordant, whereby the success of one group's goal is not at the expense of the other groups' success and further, the two groups may even need each other's input to obtain mutual success. Incompatible goals usually lead to intergroup conflict as groups compete to supersede each other whereas concordant goals have been found to reduce intergroup conflict and prejudice (Sherif, 1966). Often the strength of identification with a national group relates with the feelings of realistic threats (zero sum perceptions in relation to the well being of the group, power or financial status) and symbolic threats (sense of threat of the worldviews, ideas and identity from an outgroup). According to the well known theory of Stephan and Stephan (1996) the stronger one identifies with one's group, the greater the chance that one would feel such feelings of threat. Such feelings of threat in turn produce prejudice and distrust for the outgroup.

Since social identities are constituted by social representations, people with equal ease often find themselves competing or even fighting with members of out-groups. This is particularly relevant to the case of mixed villages in Cyprus as in mixed villages two community-groups were interacting together daily. According to the aforementioned hypotheses, if the members of the two communities in a particular village had to work together to achieve a mutually beneficial goal then probably the relationships between them would have been more peaceful. If however, the conditions were such that the members of the two communities in the village felt they had to compete between them for resources or for power then their relationship would have probably been characterized by clashes and competition. Unavoidably, the goals and interests of the inhabitants of mixed villages were affected by asymmetries in the village. Asymmetries in size or status have been found in social psychological experiments to have reliable effects on discrimination between groups (e.g. Blanz, Mummenday & Otten, 1995; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987). In most mixed villages there were asymmetries between the two communities in terms of population, where one community was in the majority and the other in the minority (see Taeuber, 1955 for more details), as well as in terms of power and wealth, where one community may have

had control of the water or may have had greater ownership of land. It is obvious that such asymmetries can easily lead to competition and conflict if they are made salient.

Of course, individual people and villages do not exist in a vacuum. Vested interests usually go well beyond the village dynamics into area and community dynamics of competition and co-operation. Therefore, in the mixed villages of Cyprus the vested interests and goals of the villages would have also been influenced by the vested interests of their larger communities. The struggle for *enosis* or *taksim* between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities during the period 1963-1964 affected the relations between the inhabitants of many mixed villages either directly through incidents of violence or indirectly through the fear of violence (Patrick, 1976; Packard, 2008). Furthermore, village asymmetries conflicted or aligned with the greater societal asymmetry of Turkish Cypriots being in the minority and having less power generally in Cyprus and in this respect it is worth exploring whether particular village asymmetries relate in any way with the quality of inter-communal relationships. At an even more general level of analysis, another power asymmetry existed in the greater geo-political region, with Turkey being considerably more powerful than both the Greek Cypriot community and Greece put together. All these factors combined had a role in shaping the intergroup relations of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in the mixed villages of Cyprus.

Some of the most well-known experiments in social psychology supporting the importance of structural factors of interdependence or competition of goals between groups are the experiments undertaken by Muzafer Sherif (1966). Sherif conducted a series of classic studies in the context of a boys' summer camp through which he aptly demonstrated the ease with which people fall into groups, support their groups and compete with out-groups for the success of their own group.

Primarily, Sherif selected a group of 22 to 24 boys around 12 years old and split them into 2 groups. Initially, the children engaged in various activities in their own groups at the camping site at a distance from each other and unaware of each other's existence. After a few days, the two teams were informed of each other's presence and a series of intergroup contests were announced. The winning team of these contests would receive a cup and each member of the successful team would receive a new pen-knife. The losers would receive nothing. In this way, while the two groups were initially independent of each other, suddenly a clear incompatible goal was introduced to the children who made them interdependent. Of course this was a type of negative interdependence where one group would win at the other group's expense. The behaviour of the children changed dramatically as soon as this contest was announced. While they had initially existed peacefully with each other they suddenly turned into two hostile groups in conflict, at instances even physically attacking each other. Having so easily created fierce intergroup competition, the researchers then attempted to reduce the conflict they had created. In doing so, they introduced a series of superordinate goals for the groups. In other words, they tried to create concordant goals which both groups desired but which were unattainable by one group on its own. Instead of competing with each other, the groups now had to cooperate to achieve a common goal. After a series of such scenarios the researchers observed that the children became much less aggressive towards members of the other group. Sherif's (1966) experiments signalled the onset of numerous studies in the field which on the whole supported his findings (e.g. Brown, Condor, Matthews, Wade & Williams, 1986; Struch & Schwartz, 1989). Other experimenters, further investigated the factors which promote discrimination and have found that introducing group status and group size differences play an important part in the expression of discrimination (e.g. Gonzalez & Brown, 2006; Otten, Mummenday & Blanz, 1996).

Such experiments have direct implications to real life situations and their results are relevant not only to life in mixed villages in Cyprus but also to mixed intergroup situations in other countries in the world. Competition between groups over incompatible goals can easily turn peaceful communities into communities in conflict.

The Reduction of Intergroup Conflict: Intergroup Contact Theory

Research on intergroup conflict has attempted to explore ways of reducing the conflict between groups. One way, as demonstrated through the Sherif (1966) experiments described earlier, is bringing members of conflicting groups in contact to work for common superordinate goals. That is concordant goals which the groups in conflict have to cooperate to achieve and which benefit both groups. As subsequent research has confirmed, in such circumstances formerly antagonistic intergroup relationships may turn to peaceful or mutually tolerating relationships (see Brown, 1988).

Numerous international studies with individuals from groups in conflict demonstrate that contact between people from conflicting groups results in the reduction of prejudice and the promotion of trust (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). The original intergroup contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) proposes that positive, cooperative contacts between individuals from opposing groups, supported by laws and custom, can decrease prejudice and improve inter-group relations. If these conditions are met, contact is deemed to facilitate a better understanding of the out-group (Pettigrew, 1998), an enhanced ability to take the perspective of the out-group and a reduced sense of threat by the out-group. A most recent meta-analysis of more than 500 studies based on the contact hypothesis around the world (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) showed that indeed this is the case and that moreover, the conditions set down by Allport (1954) in the original contact hypothesis can be considered as optimising the benefits of prejudice reduction and not as necessary conditions for the reduction of prejudice.

One of the practical questions associated with the application of contact theory is how to reduce prejudice not only among the individuals who are brought into contact but also to generalize prejudice reduction to the group as a whole. Another question is how inter-group contact effectively reduces bias, given that individuals usually adhere to the stereotypes they have of others even despite observations of counter-stereotypic out-group behaviours (Gaertner et al., 1999).

One option to decrease bias is to de-categorize members of the two groups by placing them in situations where they conceive themselves as separate individuals rather than members of particular groups. Decreasing the attractiveness of former in-group membership helps in the end to reduce bias. However, the question remains of how to reduce bias without depriving the individuals of their group membership. The development of dual identities can reduce prejudice between two opposing groups by constructing a new identity that allows members of both groups to preserve their allegiance with their original ingroups, maintaining the distinctions between their groups but also to espouse a salient common ingroup identity. An example relevant to Cyprus would be the promotion of the common Cypriot identity which encompasses both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot identities and allows for the preservation of the distinctions between the two subgroup identities. The assumption is that social categorization does indeed create bias, but the type of bias it creates is primarily favourable towards the in-group rather than anti-out-group orientation (Gaertner et al., 1999). This approach however, involves a caveat: the capacity to reduce bias by developing super-ordinate identity was examined only among groups that had not been engaged in severe inter-group conflicts (Gaertner et al., 1999).

A piece of research built on these findings about superordinate identities and examined whether dual identities can reduce bias in the case of relations between Afro-Americans and whites (Nier & Gaertner, 2001). The study observed how people from two groups related to each other when having to cooperate for a common goal. It concluded that members of one group developed a more positive attitude towards the members of the outgroup with whom they shared a superordinate identity, than even towards members of their own group who had been involved in the task.

This type of study though still falls short of explaining how a superordinate identity can be extended to members of an out-group that had not been directly involved in the contact experiments. Another trend in research responds to this challenge by focusing on informing participants that ingroup members, as opposed to outgroup members, endorse the superordinate identity (Gomez, Dovidio, Huici, Gaertner, Cuadrado, 2008).

This research direction results from previous observations that outgroup expressions of common identity are received with suspicion and distrust by participants, unlike the ingroup expressions of superordinate identity (Gomez et al., 2008). It argues that whereas outgroup's expressions of common identity are usually received by participants with suspicion in cases where the information that ingroup members endorse the common identity is missing, the outgroup's manifestations of common identity are responded to positively if they correspond to ingroup members' feelings of common identity (Gomez et al., 2008).

On the whole, social psychological research on intergroup relations has identified various ways of reducing conflict and prejudice between groups and promoting trust (see Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000). Nevertheless, the shortcomings of the experiments are the difficulty to extrapolate the effects of small group interaction to the level of an entire community, or the results of a controlled research to un-controlled situations such as those in conflict zones in which numerous other socio-political and contextual factors are at play. Moreover, the results of the studies in ethnic or racial prejudice that were conducted on sample groups from a particular country might not be applicable to all groups in conflict.

Inter-group Conflict and Contextual Factors

Socio-political and other contextual factors unavoidably influence intergroup relations in real life situations thus making reconciliation more complex and more difficult to bring about than in social psychology experiments. Finding a solution to conflicts might depend on adapting the results from social psychology according to on-site conditions.

The quantity and quality of contact are vulnerable to the representations of the importance of contact as related to political ideologies and representations of the past and future of the Cyprus issue, as demonstrated by Psaltis (in press) through a large scale questionnaire survey conducted in Cyprus among Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. In particular, Psaltis explains that the media and the educational system play a major role in leading sociogenetic change either towards trust or distrust. In Cyprus, Psaltis' findings suggest, 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 (Psaltis, in press). 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 (Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis, 1993).

A study by Djordje Stefanovic of the electoral success of the Serbian nationalist party even after the demise of its leader, argued that the resurgence of the right depended on the widespread feeling of "ethnic threat" and of economic vulnerability among the voters. In Eastern Europe the extreme nationalist discourse capitalized on the loss of state integrity. When members of the majority group in the country are in a minority locally, which involves increased competition with the outgroup over resources and the fear of secession, they are likely to espouse a defensive attitude towards the outgroup and are likely to endorse the discourse of the far right. To counter the appeal of the nationalist discourse, Stefanovic proposed that the state should abandon an economic liberal approach, which failed to address the social security of the economically vulnerable Serbian population, and develop its welfare programs. In this fashion, economically vulnerable groups, especially from areas where they fear competition from the outgroup, would lack the incentive to espouse the nationalist discourse (Stefanovic, 2007).

A research study conducted on a German probability sample from a German district with a population of 180,000 studied whether members of the majority group develop a positive perspective about minority groups by living in the same quarters with them. The study showed that differences in perception depend not only on the geographical location of the minority and majority groups, but also on the size of the groups that are interacting (Wagner, Christ, Pettigrew, Stellmacher, Wolf, 2006). The conclusion of the study was that an increase in the percentage of ethnic minority members presents the majority with more opportunities for intergroup contact and thus reduces the majority's prejudice. However, the positive perceptions and the reduction of prejudice seemed to depend also on the size of the two groups. As the article explained, other pieces of research (e.g. Wagner & van Dick, 2001, as cited in Wagner et al., 2006, p.381) had not come to the same conclusions but rather had demonstrated that an increase in the percentage of ethnic minorities was associated with an increase in majority prejudice. The article suggested that the difference in results between studies may be due to a difference in the size of the geographical unit from which the samples were drawn. More specifically, the suggestion was that the percentage of ethnic minorities in larger geographical units such as national states, usually draws the attention of politicians and becomes a topic of political debates emphasising economic and political threats. Therefore, the beneficial effects of contact for majority members in larger geographical units are limited by the intervention of political parties and their propaganda. On the contrary, it seems that in small geographical units (such as a district with a population of 180,000 or a school) where the percentages of minority members do not draw the negative attention of political parties, contact of the majority members with the minority leads to a reduction in prejudice. Western European political parties that invest their efforts in halting immigration use the argument that a higher influx of immigrants will translate into inter-ethnic tensions with the majority. These strategies to reach larger groups of potential voters

which focus on the argument that more numerous minority groups will threaten stability can thus explain why larger sections of the majority have a less positive attitude towards minority groups.

This research about the perception of minorities by the majority brings out the political as a significant factor that shapes group interactions and mutual perceptions, as well as inter-group conflict and peace. However, the political should not be defined restrictively as either relating to the form or action of the state apparatus or to competition for the control or occupation of state structures. The political, understood as referring to coercive or noncoercive mechanisms for organizing and regulating social interaction, defines relationships in local units of social organization, aside from the state. The local, in the shape of villages or regions, means the smallest unit of social organization that is capable of mobilizing and regulating collective action, through coercive or non-coercive means. Thus, the local does not mean the smallest level of political representation as regulated by the state, but a different type of collective unit that functions according to specific, local dynamics and interacts with other social units in various ways (Karatsioli, 2010).

An anthropological study that Barbara Karatsioli carried in two villages in Cyprus which were and still are presently mixed, Potamia and Pyla, builds upon this understanding of the political to explain that peace and conflict function at the local level differently than at the state level or as thought of by international organizations. Karatsioli examined how villagers from Pyla and Potamia engaged in the ethnic strife between the 1950s and 1970s and also whether they carried out acts of violence against their co-villagers or whether they carried out such acts solely in the surrounding villages or region. She also examined the nature of the relations between Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot co-villagers after the end of the hostilities, and if they were organized on an inter-individual or inter-communal basis.

Karatsioli explains that in Pyla the communities always maintained a degree of segregation and that tensions have been alleviated through a system of strict reciprocity and negotiation. This system also functioned during the ethnic strife when villagers perpetrated delocalized violence, that is, violence in villages other than their own and on individuals other than their co-villagers. Even nowadays, this system is used to regulate the relations within the village where the communities still display symbols pertaining to their larger national communities and tensions occasionally do resurface. The system of strict reciprocity has controlled the dynamics of conflict which have always been present and has maintained a seeming peace in the village. As Karatsioli explains, the apparent peace in Pyla is in fact conflict in disguise which was and still is suppressed at the level of the village but has been manifested on occasion outside the village. Pyla thus represents an interesting case of complex political action: the inhabitants showed their support for their larger national communities through symbolic action, they took part in regional conflict but at the same time they acted in ways that aimed to maintain an apparent peacefulness in their immediate locality, their village.¹³

In Potamia on the other hand, the relations were always dealt with in an inter-personal rather than inter-communal way. The village was not characterised by segregation but rather public spaces were shared by both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots while mixed marriages were not rare. Even though initially, in 1958, inter-communal violence was only committed outside the village, by 1963, the violence was localized and perpetrated in the village by villagers against each other. Moreover, the inhabitants of neighbouring villages joined in to reinforce their larger community members while the villagers of Potamia reciprocated by taking part in inter-communal events in other villages – the violence was thus performed on a regional level. These acts of violence were not only based on national opposition but also became a means of settling interpersonal disputes. As opposed to Pyla, in Potamia villagers engaged in violence locally and interpersonally where neighbours and friends turned into enemies. Whereas in Pyla the villagers tried to preserve the peacefulness in their village by directing their enmity outside their village, in Potamia violence was intense and expanded throughout the region. However, as opposed to the case of Pyla, since the 1990s the inhabitants of Potamia, following the example of a neighbouring village, have participated in rapprochement efforts between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. Even though initially reluctant, the other villages in the region soon joined in the rapprochement efforts. It seems therefore, that in the case of Potamia the escalation of conflict and peace took place to the same degree and through the same local networks

13. For more information on Pyla and on Karatsioli's (2010) research refer to pp.43-46.

– in the same way that the inhabitants of Potamia and of the neighbouring villages answered the ‘appeal of the nation’ as a region and engaged in violence, they also responded to and became involved in peace building and reconciliation efforts (Karatsioli, 2010). As Karatsioli explains, these two cases show that national and international actors aiming to build long lasting peace must pay attention to the local configurations of the political and not only to the organization of the higher scales of political organization, such as the state.

In the following section we will review the existing evidence on formerly mixed villages in Cyprus.

What we know about life in mixed villages in the past

Very little research has been undertaken on mixed villages in Cyprus and most of the research that has been undertaken has followed an ethnographic anthropological methodology. Thus, the information that is available on mixed villages comes from case studies of a handful of mixed villages. Although these qualitative studies are on the whole very interesting and provide a depth of insight into life in the mixed villages studied, a limitation of these studies is, of course, that their findings cannot be generalized to life in other mixed villages. Despite an extensive literature search, the authors of this report have been unable to identify any quantitative research studies looking at life in formerly mixed villages in Cyprus in general. The other existing source of information on mixed villages comes from the work of a number of authors who have written about villages in Cyprus in general or about bi-communal relations in general and who, consequently, briefly refer to mixed villages as well. Collecting information from such general sources we will attempt to outline various aspects of daily life in these formerly mixed villages in Cyprus. After that, we will continue with reviewing the existing qualitative pieces of research relevant to mixed villages in Cyprus in particular.

Administration

Evidence relating to the administration of mixed villages exists from the Ottoman times and, as the British continued the system of the Ottoman administrative system up to 1945, identifying the administration of mixed villages is a relatively straightforward matter.

In principle, throughout this period, each community in the mixed villages had its own council consisting of a Mukhtar (headman) and 4 Azas (elders) who were appointed by district commissioners: mixed villages were administered by a 'Joint Council' of the village consisting of 2 Mukhtars and 8 Azas. In general, issues were discussed and decided within both the communities separately before being placed on the agenda of the Joint Council (Asmussen, 1996). As Asmussen (1996) notes, this system did not benefit inter-communal cooperation but on the contrary was counter-productive and promoted segregation.

After 1945 it was decided that an electoral system be introduced and that in these Joint Councils the casting vote would be that of the Mukhtar of the majority population of the village. In mixed villages in which Greek Cypriots were the majority that meant that the Greek Cypriot Mukhtar had the casting vote even though the Turkish Cypriot Mukhtar may have disagreed and vice versa. This system had the potential to create confusion because in practical terms the local government administrators had two bosses who were often at odds, one being an official of the state and the other a communal representative (Patrick, 1976d, p.441).

Along the same lines, from 1960 onwards, the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus stated that in mixed villages there would be 1 Mukhtar and 4 Azas from each community which would form the Village Commission. These Mukhtars would then be responsible to the central government's Ministry of the Interior (Patrick, 1976a). Nevertheless the tension and the mutual inter-communal suspicion that was dominant in the the last few years of the British administration and the uncertainty of the transition to a Republic put the question of whether the municipalities would be unified or separate at the heart of the evolving conflict and under negotiation (Markides, 2001). In effect, the events of 1963-64 essentially destroyed the administrative system that had existed up to this point.

In mixed villages which were under the control of the Republic of Cyprus Government, the Turkish Cypriot Mukhtars, after the events of 1963-64, refused to take an oath of allegiance to the Republic. Furthermore, most Turkish Cypriots living in these villages refused to recognise the de jure existence of the Cyprus Government. The government in return, refused to recognise the de jure authority of these mukhtars: the Turkish Cypriot representatives were not allowed to participate in the village board or commission or in the municipal councils. The Cyprus Government also dissociated itself from social welfare responsibilities towards the Turkish Cypriot inhabitants whilst, at the same time, the Greek Cypriot

members of the Commissions of mixed villages who had by then gained complete charge of these authorities imposed taxes and fees on the Turkish Cypriot quarters for public utilities (Patrick, 1976a, p.82).

A different system of administration was operating in the villages under Turkish Cypriot control. The leadership at the level of the village or its quarter in the case of mixed villages, as well as at the level of the district and of the community as a whole, was assumed by fighters, forming a civil-military synthesis. In mixed villages the acknowledged leader of the quarter would in most cases be either the Mukhtar or the Fighter commander. However, in many cases one man filled both appointments of mukhtar and of Fighter commander (Patrick, 1976a). Communication with the Greek Cypriot quarter of the village was minimal. In many Greek Cypriot villages and quarters there was a similar process whereby armed men, officially or semi-officially assumed the security control and in tense periods organised the male population into a system of rotating guard posting.

Nevertheless, despite the ethnic segregation, in many mixed villages, due to the fact that the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot co-villagers had lived together for many years and had developed friendships, they soon found ways of cooperating in a spirit of "live and let live" (Patrick, 1976d, p. 465). As Patrick explains, a Greek Cypriot police sergeant of a mixed village may have come to an understanding with the Turkish Cypriot mukhtar to allow him to drive unarmed through the main road of the Turkish Cypriot quarter at a specific time every day so that he can report to his superiors that he had the Turkish Cypriot quarter was under his control. The Turkish Cypriot mukhtar on the other hand was also able to report to his superiors that he had the control of the Turkish Cypriot quarter and that the Greek Cypriot police was not allowed to freely enter and patrol the area. In cases such as these, peace was maintained in the village and the superiors from both communities were satisfied that they had control of the village.

The cooperative movement

From its start the cooperative movement in Cyprus was bi-communal. The first attempt to create a co-operative was made in 1883 in Famagusta by Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot landowners under the supervision of the British District Commissioner (see Asmussen, 1996). The first larger step in the development of the co-operative movement is considered to be the foundation of the Bank of Lefkoniko in 1909, which was later converted to the Co-operative Credit Society of Lefkoniko in 1914. After several years of inactivity, the foundation of the Agricultural Bank followed in 1925 as well as the establishment of the Central Co-operative Bank in 1938. Even though the Agricultural Bank was not able to fulfil the need of farmers for credit, its establishment was very successful in encouraging the founding of co-operative companies in numerous villages around the island which did offer credit to farmers. The rapid growth in the establishment of co-operatives after the founding of the Agricultural Bank is evident from Table 2 below.

Table 2. Number of registered co-operatives from 1924 to 1935 (adapted from Agkastiniotis, 1965, p.59)

| YEAR | NUMBER OF REGISTERED CO-OPERATIVES |
|------|------------------------------------|
| 1924 | 28 |
| 1925 | 29 |
| 1930 | 326 |
| 1935 | 339 |

These Co-operative Companies offered numerous and various services to their members: they accepted various types of deposits, they offered various types of short-term loans such as for farming or family related purposes, they provided the farmers with chemical fertilizers as well as other types of agricultural items and some also took on the selling of the farmers' products. However, this system was not considered efficient especially as the needs of farmers grew. Therefore, the founding of new companies entitled Co-operative Trusts was promoted. These Co-operative Trusts were much more specific as to the services they offered (thus, for example, some provided deposit facilities, some provided chemical fertilisers, others marketed agricultural products, and so on) and their members had to contribute to the budget.

Unfortunately, the system used by the Agricultural Bank was inefficient and by the late 1930s led to the closing of over 150 co-operative credit companies and Trusts while the remaining were unable to fully function. In an effort to rescue the co-operative movement and organise it on a more solid basis, the British Colonial Administration established the Department of Cooperation in 1936 and the Central Co-operative Bank in 1938 comprised of numerous co-operative companies which were economically viable. Most of these were credit and debit companies as well as some supermarkets but beyond finance and consumer cooperative societies, it also included cooperative societies, involved in storing and trading agricultural products and also some societies involved in production itself – farming and petty manufacturing. The supermarkets, unlike in other countries, were mainly based in villages and not in towns. The first such supermarket was founded in the village of Agkastina and, during a long drought between the years 1931-1933, began giving its members credit in kind, in the form of various foodstuffs such as flour, rice, beans, instead of loans in cash or chemical fertilizers. The company took orders from its members as to what foodstuffs they required, it bought the products from other markets and provided them to its members mainly on credit. The example of Agkastina was rapidly copied and numerous others supermarkets were founded, as Table 3 shows.

Table 3. Number of supermarkets and their members (adapted from Agkastiniotis, 1965, p.101).

| | 1945 | 1952 | 1962 |
|--------------------------------------|------|-------|-------|
| Number of supermarkets | 18 | 152 | 308 |
| Number of supermarket members | 3600 | 27820 | 58600 |

Up until 1959 the co-operative movement was bi-communal and both Turkish and Greek Cypriots were eligible to be members of the Central Co-operative Bank. Greek Cypriot co-operatives were audited by Greek Cypriot auditors while the Turkish Cypriot co-operatives were audited by Turkish Cypriot auditors, however, all the supervisory and audit personnel were under a common administration and a general director. The community that each co-operative was considered to belong to was determined by the language in which the records were kept. In mixed villages secretaries were appointed from the majority community of the village and thus the language in which records were kept was that of the majority community. Precise details as to the nature and development of co-operatives in mixed villages are difficult to obtain, however, according to the Annual Report of the Department of Co-operative Development for the year 1958 (from Asmussen, 1996), it is known that the number of co-operatives in mixed villages in 1958 was around 80 and also that at the time there was a tendency to form separate societies due to inter-communal troubles in a number of areas. The Annual Report of the Department of Co-operative Development also shows that voices were heard within the Turkish Cypriot community at this time calling for the creation of Turkish Cypriot cooperatives separate from Greek Cypriot ones.

In 1959, after the inter-communal violence of 1958, Turkish Cypriots left the Central Co-operative Bank and formed their own separate bank which functioned totally independently. After that, in each mixed village separate co-operatives were formed, one for each community. The following table (Table 4) presents the number of Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot and mixed co-operatives which were members of the Central Co-operative Bank as well as the number of personnel by community at the time of the dissolution of the Bank in the second half of 1959.

Table 4. Number of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot cooperative members of the Central Co-operative Bank and personnel (adapted from Agkastiniotis, 1965, p.223)

| | Greek Cypriot | Turkish Cypriot | In Mixed Villages |
|---|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Co-operatives members of the Central Co-operative Bank | 469 | 115 | 13 |
| Personnel of the Central Co-operative Bank | 17 | 10 | – |

The large decline in the number of co-operatives in mixed villages as compared to the respective value just a year before in 1958 (n=80) is apparent from this table. This may be taken to suggest that before the onset of the inter-communal troubles, the number of mixed co-operatives was even larger than that reported in 1958 when inter-communal strife had already begun, however, evidence to support this claim is not currently available.

Religion and Religious Celebrations

In almost all villages in Cyprus there was either a mosque, a church or both. There were both churches and mosques in mixed villages with a substantial presence of both communities. Catholic Churches existed also in the four Maronite villages of the island in addition to the Catholic and Armenian churches found in the cities. In some cases, village mosques did not have the typical minaret, mainly due to the cost of building such minarets, but instead had a staircase which lead up to the roof of the mosque and was used by the imam to call the Muslims for prayer.

On the whole, few Turkish Cypriots strictly followed Islamic law. In fact, few Turkish Cypriots followed the Islamic prohibition of wine-drinking while there are accounts of Turkish Cypriots cultivating vines for a living or of Turkish Cypriot farmers keeping and selling pigs (see Beckingham, 1957). Furthermore, and especially by the 1950s, Turkish Cypriot women had mostly stopped wearing the Muslim veil but instead wore scarves over their heads, as did Greek Cypriot village women, which was the fashion of the time. Similarly, by the 1950s, men mostly mainly dressed in the same way, regardless of their communal identity and Turkish Cypriot men had on the most part stopped wearing the traditional fez.

Beckingham (1957) reports that in Cyprus, as in many eastern Mediterranean areas where Christianity and Islam were practised in the same or adjacent villages, these faiths were not perceived as mutually exclusive systems of belief but, rather, as two ways of conciliating supernatural forces. Indeed, anecdotal accounts exist of Turkish Cypriots visiting the monastery of Apostle Andreas in the Carpas Peninsula to pray and Greek Cypriots praying at the shrine of the forty (Kirkklar, Agioi Saranta) at Tymbou. If for example, a particular saint was renowned among the Christians for having abilities in curing a particular illness, it was not uncommon for Muslims to request the aid of the saint for their own family members. In either case the Christians or Muslims did not convert to the others' religion but rather were, on Beckingham's account, *"simply testing the efficacy of another means of getting a good harvest or curing an illness"* (Beckingham, p.173). In other cases, the motives for taking part in the religious celebrations of the other community were based on purely social or even economic reasons. A celebration for the name day of a saint in a village which hosted a church dedicated to that particular saint was often a large event in which people from neighbouring villages attended as well as merchants from around the island. It was very common for Muslims living in these or neighbouring villages to attend these celebrations, which usually only occurred once a year in each village, either to sell their products at the festivities, to buy products themselves or simply to socialize. These festivities were also a means for the younger generation to see and to be seen by members of the opposite gender. In any case, a number of British travellers to the island in the nineteenth century were surprised by the status which Muslims and Christians granted each other's places of worship and by the extent to which ostensibly religious holidays were intermixed (see Pollis, 1973). This is also supported by Kiziliurek with respect to Potamia, his home village until the early 1960s, where religious identities were *"quite elastic"*, essentially permitting people to enter the church or mosque with ease (Kiziliurek, 2009, p.4; see also Eraklides, 2002, p.202). It was also commonplace for Turkish Cypriots to visit Greek Cypriots during the larger Christian holidays of Christmas and Easter as well as for Greek Cypriots to visit Turkish Cypriots in their homes during the Muslim holidays of Bayram and Ramadan (Dionysiou, 2009).

In addition to the participation in the other community's celebrations, anecdotal evidence exists of participation in each other's weddings, baptisms or circumcisions. It was usual practise in some mixed villages for the Christian family who was having a wedding to place a large candle outside the village mosque as an indication of their open invitation to all Muslims of the village to attend the wedding celebrations (Dionysiou, 2009). Furthermore, it was also known that some Muslims were best-men at the weddings of some Christians, practices that would probably have been most commonplace in mixed villages. On the whole, weddings in Cyprus were, and still are, very large especially in villages where the guest list usually includes all the people of the village.

Intermarriages

As Asmussen (1996) has argued, we can infer that intermarriages or love affairs between members of the two communities did take place from the cautionary references to them in folk songs in which they were often presented as unavoidably ending in disaster. One may also conclude that they are likely to have been more common in mixed villages rather than in mono-communal villages.

One such case is the relationship of a couple in the formerly mixed village of Eftakomi in Famagusta which is narrated through a folk song. In this song a married Greek Cypriot woman fell in love with a Turkish Cypriot man from her village and had an affair with him. Her husband eventually caught them together and stabbed the Turkish Cypriot man to death and seriously injured his wife before fleeing to Greece to avoid arrest (Georgiades, 2001). A similar case is recorded, albeit in court records rather than folk songs, of the kidnapping of a Christian girl by a Muslim co-villager of hers in the formerly mixed village of Komi Kebir in 1881 in which the kidnapper was convicted (Georgiades, 2001, p. 210).

On the basis of oral history interviews, Loizos suggests that intermarriages did occur before 1950 but that they were exceptional rather than a norm (Loizos, 1967 as cited in Asmussen, 1996). Moreover, as Asmussen argues, we can infer that intermarriage did occur from the circulation of pamphlets against a Muslim who married a Christian woman by TMT (see Asmussen, 1996, p. 104). It is safe to assume, therefore, that in villages where Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots lived, worked, laughed and cried together, young people must have on occasion fallen in love with members of the other community. Kiziliurek (2009) explains that in the case of the mixed village of Potamia mixed marriages were actually commonplace and that people from the two communities did not hesitate to intermarry and live together, an argument supported by Karatsioli (2010). In addition, Packard (2008, p. 139) argues that it was traditional in mixed villages such as Potamia, particularly in the Ottoman period, for Turkish Cypriot men to have a Greek Cypriot girl as their first love. When intermarriages did occur, Packard argues, it was considered normal for the sons to take the religion of their father and for the daughters to follow the religion of their mother, and consequently, to refer to themselves as Turkish and Greek respectively: as a result, Packard argues, there were cases where families had both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot members, a claim supported by Kiziliurek in the case of his own family (Packard, 2008; Kızılyürek 2009). These accounts are further supported from legal accounts on the issue of mixed marriages in Cyprus where it is suggested that mixed marriages between Muslims and Christians in Cyprus no doubt existed (Aimilianides, 1938, as cited in Pollis 1973) and also by linguistic evidence; as Pollis (1973) argues, the prevalence of names of Turkish derivation among contemporary Greek Cypriots lends credence to the view that the two communities did mix. In addition, evidence from the 18th century indicates that *“the Mahometan men very often marry with the Christian women, and deep the fasts with their wives. Many of them are thought to be not averse to Christianity”* (Pococke, 1743, as cited in Beckingham, 1957, p. 173).

Over time, as the division between the two communities began to strengthen, intermarriages became less frequent. As Beckingham noted in 1957 in *“Cyprus intermarriage has now become rare but it has not always been so”* (p.173). Today mixed marriages do rarely occur but are on the whole, kept secret by the couple, their relatives and their offspring, in fear of the social stigma that may ensue (see Uludağ, 2005).

Village names

As Beckingham argued, in his 1957 anthropological account, it *“is often impossible to distinguish Turkish from Greek villages in Cyprus merely by their names”* (p.166). As Beckingham notes, in 1957 it was not uncommon for villages inhabited solely by Turkish Cypriots to have names of Greek origin (see also Eraklides, 2002, p. 202) even though these names were sometimes adapted to the Turkish phonology (e.g. Psilatos in the Famagusta area was modified to Ipsillat) and vice versa (e.g. Bogaz was modified to Bogazi). In other cases however, a Greek word would be given to a Turkish village such as for example Kokkina or Avgolida. What is, perhaps, even more surprising is the fact that some wholly or almost wholly Turkish villages were named after Christian saints such as Ayios Epiphanius in Nicosia and Ayios Efstathios or Stavrokonnou in Paphos.¹⁴ By 1958 however, due to the growing nationalism, the Turkish Cypriot leadership began intense efforts to change the Greek names of these villages into Turkish (Kappler & Petrou, 2010).

The lack of strict distinction in the language used to define village as well as area names suggests that the two communities intermingled with each other and felt safe in borrowing words and even words with religious meanings from each other. Nevertheless the dominance of nationalism in both communities and the post 1974 division led to sustained official campaigns of name changing and removing the influence of the Other through processes of Turkification and Hellenisation. This was pronounced in the Turkish Cypriot community and in the northern side of the divide in Cyprus (Baysal, 2010). In particular, systematic efforts of village name changing were carried out by the Turkish Cypriots mainly in 1958 but also in some cases after the division of the island in 1974. In the southern side of the existing divide there was an attempt to remove the Turkish sounding phonology of Cypriot place names (but also the Greek Cypriot versus the mainland Greek phonology) in an attempt for “standardisation” (or even hellenisation) during the nationalist peak in the 1990s but this attempt was only partially successful.

14. For more such references see Beckingham (1957), p.166

Housing Distribution

The extent to which Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot housing within mixed villages was integrated or segregated varied from case to case. In some villages, such as Peristerona, the houses of the members of the two communities were located together in a mixed manner and in other cases, such as Aphanía, the houses of members of the two communities were entirely segregated into distinct Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot sections of villages, or *mahallas*.¹⁵ In the case of Aphanía the two districts were divided by a main road which ran through the village, in effect cutting it into two sections (see Beyli, 2010).

The distribution and patterns of the houses in the villages must have had implications on the quality and quantity of contact between the members of the two communities and consequently on the levels of prejudice and trust. It is likely that a mixed pattern of houses would have provided the villagers with greater opportunities for contact as they lived side by side. Indeed from a report conducted for Association for Historical Dialogue and Research by Zehra Beyli (2010) on the mixed village of Peristerona, it is mentioned that villagers had frequent daily contact in the village as the allocation of houses was mixed. Each community had their own coffee shops but due to the mixed pattern of housing the coffee shops were situated on opposite sides of the same road so men of the two communities usually greeted and talked to each other.

On the contrary, the segregation of a village into two distinct parts may have prevented the villagers from having daily contacts and may have exacerbated and reinforced difference. Beyli (2010) suggests that the obvious separation of houses in Aphanía played an important role in limiting opportunities for everyday contact between Greek and Turkish Cypriot villagers: indeed, Beyli's interviewees considered that the separation of their houses caused intergroup contact in the village to be limited and often problematic.

Cakal's study of Pyla, a village which still is presently mixed and in which the ratio of Greek to Turkish Cypriots is 2 to 1, investigated the effect of housing patterns, among other variables, on prejudice and anxiety (Cakal, 2007). In Pyla housing patterns are not segregated but are mixed. Using quantitative questionnaire data on Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in Pyla, Cakal found that living in a mixed neighbourhood and having high quality relationships with the outgroup neighbours was related to reduced anxiety and reduced subtle prejudice (Cakal, 2007).

Psaltis and Hewstone's study of Pyla (Psaltis & Hewstone, 2008) explored the relationship between the housing patterns and prejudice and attempted to answer questions such as how a Greek Cypriot feels living in a neighborhood of mainly Turkish Cypriot houses and how a Turkish Cypriot feels to live in a neighborhood of mainly Greek Cypriot houses. Psaltis and Hewstone, found that, Turkish Cypriots in this situation were more likely to be prejudiced against Greek Cypriots than Turkish Cypriots who lived in Turkish Cypriot housing areas and, on the contrary that Greek Cypriots in the more 'surrounded' setting were likely to be less prejudiced compared to Greek Cypriots who lived in Greek Cypriot areas. Further analyses revealed that the mediating mechanism between density and prejudice is inter-group salience. Intergroup salience has been defined as an individual's awareness of group memberships and respective group differences in an intergroup encounter (Harwood, Raman & Hewstone 2006), that is, how aware one is that he/she belongs to a different group than other people around him/her. So whereas for Greek Cypriots this situation decreases intergroup salience, in the case of Turkish Cypriots the same situation increases intergroup salience that in turn is related to increased prejudice. It seems therefore, that when Turkish Cypriots in the village of Pyla, who are on the whole in the minority in the village, find themselves again in the minority in a neighbourhood where Greek Cypriots are the majority, they find this more threatening perhaps because, as the researchers suggested, they are more afraid of being assimilated. On the contrary, when the Greek Cypriots of Pyla, who are in the majority in the village in general, find themselves in the minority in a neighbourhood where Turkish Cypriots are the majority, they do not see this as threatening but rather allow for the beneficial effects of contact to develop and to promote friendships and trust.

15. For a visualisation of possible housing patterns in mixed villages, refer to the results section of this report on page 69.

Language

During the medieval period and largely due to the island's distance and consequently its isolation from mainland Greece, the language in Cyprus, had developed into a distinct Cypriot dialect, mainly based on the Greek language. 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. The Turkish language has been the most important non-Greek influence on the Greek Cypriot dialect, as it currently stands, although words with French, Italian and Arabic roots can be found. Turkish has had less influence on the Cypriot dialect than Greek probably because the majority of the population on the island has traditionally been Greek Orthodox but also perhaps, as Beckingham (1957) proposes, because of the dominance of Greeks in commercial life which was almost absolute at the end of the Ottoman period.

By the nineteenth century, the language spoken in Cyprus bore little resemblance to the language spoken in Greece and specifically Cypriot grammars and dictionaries began to be published at the time as well as pieces of literature in the dialect (see Ksioutas, 1937 as cited in Pollis, 1973, p.587). During the nineteenth century this Cypriot language was the common and particular language of the people of Cyprus whether Muslim, Christian, Armenian or Maronite. Due to the fact that Greek Cypriots were the majority population on the island many Turkish Cypriots spoke and still do speak this Cypriot dialect with its Greek base in addition to the Turkish Cypriot dialect whereas it is much less common for Greek Cypriots to speak the Turkish Cypriot dialect.

The Turkish Cypriot dialect is also quite different from the Turkish language spoken in Turkey. It has of course been affected by Greek and it does borrow words and phrases from the Greek language. During the Ottoman period Turkish was actually considered to be of a higher status than the Greek Cypriot dialect due to the higher social position of the Ottomans on the island (Kappler & Petrou, 2010). This however, changed with the British administration after 1878. Due to the fact that English was the new language used by the higher status people in the administration but also due to the fact that the economic power of the Greek Cypriots of the island grew, the Turkish language began to lose status (Kappler & Petrou, 2010). More Turkish Cypriots had to learn the language of the majority community so that they could work, trade, sell or buy, that is in order to develop social and economic relations with the members of the majority group. The Greek Cypriot dialect thus became the main language spoken on the island while English was mainly limited to the elite and the administration.

In many villages the main public language spoken was usually the Greek Cypriot dialect even though in cases where the majority was Turkish Cypriot, or when the village was wholly Turkish Cypriot, of course the inhabitants mainly used the Turkish Cypriot dialect. On the whole however, the Greek Cypriot dialect was more commonplace as that was the language spoken by the majority of the island's inhabitants. The Population Census of 1960 reported that 38% of all Turkish Cypriots spoke Greek while only 1% of Greek Cypriots spoke Turkish.

Furthermore, there are reports of Turkish Cypriot villages in which the daily language spoken was the Greek Cypriot dialect, despite the fact that no Greek Cypriots lived in the village. Such villages include, for example, Lapithiou, Platanisso, Ayios Simeon and Galinoporni (Beckingham, 1957, p. 170). According to Kappler and Petrou (2010, p.6), a small percentage of Turkish Cypriots in the Paphos area as well as Louroudjina and Tylliria spoke Cypriot Greek as their mother language (5.4% of the total Turkish Cypriot population in 1881 and 1.3% in 1946). By contrast, based on the 1946 census, it seems that 0.32% of Greek Orthodox spoke Turkish as their mother-language (Patrick, 1976a, p.13).¹⁶

The fact that a significant number of Turkish Cypriots spoke Cypriot Greek infuriated the Turkish Cypriot nationalists who in the high point of their political and military power within the community in 1958 began the campaign "Civilians speak Turkish!" (Vatandaş Türkçe konuş!) harassing and imposing fines on any Turkish Cypriots caught speaking Cypriot Greek. At the same time lessons on the Turkish language were given to all

16. It should be noted that the aforementioned figures taken from the censuses were produced officially during an era of growing nationalism and thus may be an underestimation of reality on the ground.

members of Turkish Cypriot communities who could not speak or write in Turkish (Kappler & Petrou, 2010, p.7). From 1964 onwards the teaching of Greek or Turkish as a second language was discouraged (Patrick, 1976a, p.13) even though the Constitution recognised both Greek and Turkish as the official languages of the Republic of Cyprus.

As bilingualism was discouraged, the use of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot dialects began to be discouraged and repressed through education in both communities which encouraged the use of mainland Greek and mainland Turkish. As an effect, the distinctiveness and richness of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot dialects were irrevocably affected.

Education

Mapping education and schooling in mixed villages is not difficult as the system of education in mixed villages followed the system used in the whole of the island. While it is true that Turkish Cypriot students sometimes studied in Greek Cypriot schools in mixed villages and that also some Greek Cypriot students were reported to learn Turkish in the afternoons in Turkish Cypriot schools, this was rather the exception to the rule of a largely segregated educational system. Due to the fact that education in Cyprus has played and still continues to play an important part in the shaping of identities and in the promotion of nationalism we will dedicate a longer section to it. Since the Ottoman times education had been intertwined with religion as the education of the members of each community was controlled by their respective religious leaders even though the Orthodox Church's control of education during the Ottoman period was quite restricted.

During the Ottoman period and particularly in the period 1571 and 1754, formal education was of little importance and attendance in educational institutions was minimal. During this time most of the population of the island was uneducated and the limited instruction that did occur was delivered by Orthodox priests and monks or by Muslim imams or by literate lay people (Maratheftis, 1992; Patrick, 1976a). By the end of the Ottoman rule in 1878 there were 76 Christian elementary schools and 64 Muslim elementary schools on the whole of the island. However, state aid and state recognition of education were confined to the Muslim population. The Christian schools which were permitted to function were supported entirely by voluntary contributions (Weir, 1952, p.23). This situation is aptly described by Canon Newham in 1902 after arriving on the island:

"The Moslems who form but one-fourth of the total population, had been annually granted a sum three and a half times as great as was given to the Christian schools. It was obviously desirable to remedy this. . ." (as cited in Weir, p.72).

At the beginning of British rule, the Christian and Muslim religious authorities continued to administer schools as they had done during the Ottoman period with the difference that the British administration also funded the Greek elementary schools. Details of the numbers of children enrolled in elementary education during early British rule are indicated in [Table 5](#) below.

Table 5. Number of children enrolled in elementary education during early British rule (adapted from Newham, 1902, in Anastasiades, 1979, p.25).

| Year | Total number of children aged between 5 and 15 | Percentage of Christian children attending school | Percentage of Muslim children attending school | Total percentage of children attending school |
|------|--|---|--|---|
| 1881 | 45952 | 14 | 16 | 15 |
| 1891 | 50500 | 28 | 28 | 28 |
| 1901 | 54776 | 37 | 39 | 38 |

One of the first actions of the British to improve the education system was the appointment of Village Committees tasked to co-operate with the government in matters of education. Each Village Committee was elected annually by the tax-paying inhabitants of each village and given a number of powers including the power to “*appoint or dismiss the teacher, to fix his or her salary*” (Newham, 1902, as cited in Weir, 1952, p.25). Schools were to be established in a community in which eight or more children presented themselves for enrolment although at times neighbouring villages would be grouped together to form one combined school (as per the Elementary Education Law of 1933; see Anastasiades, 1975, p.70). In mixed villages two separate schools operated, one for the Greek Cypriots which was staffed by Greek or Greek Cypriot teachers and one for the Turkish Cypriots which was staffed by Turkish or Turkish Cypriot teachers (Pollis, 1973; Taeuber, 1955). In addition, two separate Boards of Education were formed, one for each community whose members were elected by each community. Both Boards had religious leaders as members and were chosen every two years (see Anastasiades, 1975; p 23-27).

Under this system, Greek Cypriot children went to schools which were under the control of the Greek Orthodox Church as well as the Greek Cypriot Board of Education. The curriculum in these schools was nationalist in nature and Greek Language, Greek History and Orthodox Religion were core subjects (see Maratheftis & Koutselini, 2000). The Orthodox Religion curriculum included catechism, prayers, religious poems, the history of the Old and New Testaments and the geography of the Holy Land. The school programme in Greek schools was a “*copy of the programme in Greece*” (Weir, 1952, p.121). The textbooks used were chosen by the Ministry of Education in Greece and were written by Greek authors in Greece (Weir, 1952). Even though some Greek Cypriot teachers were willing to write their own school books, these had to first be approved not by the Educational Council of Cyprus but by the Committee in Athens appointed by the Greek state, to review books (Weir, 1952, p.115). Moreover, through a law in 1892 Greek Cypriot teachers had to be graduates of secondary school but also members of the Greek Orthodox Church while according to the Regulations prepared by the Greek Cypriot Board of Education in 1898 a teacher could be dismissed on the grounds of teaching the pupils against the doctrines of the Orthodox Church (see Anastasiades, 1975, p.34).

Turkish Cypriot children on the other hand, attended schools which were under the control of Evkaf¹⁷ and the Turkish Cypriot Educational Board and were taught subjects that aimed to strengthen their Turkish national identity. The curriculum of Turkish schools was on the whole copied from the curriculum of schools in Turkey. In particular, Turkish Cypriot elementary children were taught among others the reading and chanting of the Koran, repetition of the religious code Ilmihal, the Turkish Language, Ottoman history and geography and, in the higher classes of some schools, some Arabic and Persian (Newham, 1902, as cited in Anastasiades, 1975, p.31; Weir, 1952, p.72). As reported by Talbot and Cape in 1913:

“It is only a few years ago that boys in Moslem schools were wholly occupied in learning the Koran by heart and in studying the rules of conduct set forth in the ‘Ilmi-jal’ or religious code. Religious instruction still takes up a large proportion of the school hours, but secular teaching, somewhat restricted it is true, has now obtained a permanent place in the time-table” (cited in Weir, 1952, p.35).

Similarly to the practice in the Greek community, teachers in the Turkish schools had to be members of the Islamic religion (Luke & Jardine, 1920, as cited in Weir, p.73). Furthermore, the Ottoman and then the Turkish state supported schools economically on occasion. Specifically, there are reports that in 1904, 13 Muslim schools in Cyprus did not receive any grants from the government and were funded, instead, by grants from Istanbul and by local mosques (Anastasiades, p.40). In either case though, in the judgment of the Department of Education, curricula in both the Greek and Turkish schools “*took little account of the special conditions of Cyprus and were overcrowded with unimportant and theoretical details*” (Report of the Department of Education for the School Year 1934-35, as cited in Weir, p.35).

Under this system Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot children in mixed villages who lived side by side and played together in the afternoons, went to different schools and were taught subjects with completely different emphasis which built on two completely different national identities.

17. A Turkish religious foundation administering property, funds and lands belonging to mosques, cemeteries, Muslim schools and other establishments.

Education in mixed villages thus was separate as it was generally in Cyprus. 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. As Kiziliurek (2009) explains, 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 (see also Pollis, 1973).

Further exacerbating the situation was the fact that the books used in the two educational systems were taken from each respective “motherland” and did not focus at all on the particular setting of Cyprus. Instead during school hours, Greek Cypriot children were subjected to an education identical to that of mainland Greek children while Turkish Cypriot children were educated similarly to Turkish children. However, even though the curriculum of the Turkish Cypriot elementary schools was for many years the same as that of the schools in Turkey, after the revolution of Atatürk in Turkey the changes in the Turkish Cypriot elementary schools were slow and lagged behind those in Turkey (Anastasiades, 1975;1979). Of course, after school hours, the children returned to their neighbourhoods which were often mixed and not mono-communal.

This system of education began to create allegiances in the Cypriots to their respective motherlands and strong voices started to be heard within the Greek Cypriot community, and particularly supported by the Greek Orthodox Church, for the *enosis* of Cyprus with Greece (see Eraklides, 2002). In Greek Cypriot classrooms there were open expressions of nationalism. This on-growing nationalism and resentment of anything British of course displeased the British rulers. As Maratheftis (1992) indicates, both the Greek Orthodox Church and the British attempted to use education to promote their own political agendas and to enforce these on the teachers. The dispute between the two agencies affected the curricula, teacher training, the rules of the schools and generally all aspects of Cypriot education.

Between the years 1923 and 1959 a shift occurred in the handling of education by the British rulers of the island, motivated by the primary aims of controlling the influence of the Church and limiting Greek nationalism (Persianis, 1978). In particular, the British took four main steps towards centralization: 1) text-books were prescribed by the government, 2) members of the Boards of Education and town committees were appointed by the Government, 3) education funds were to be controlled by the government and 4) the Boards of Education were to become advisory (Weir, 1952). Moreover, the teaching of Greek history was removed from the curriculum, the Greek national anthem was prohibited as was the use of the Greek flag in schools. The English language was introduced in the higher classes of elementary schools and British imperial narratives and perspectives were emphasised. Thus the change of attitude of the British in Cyprus who had originally allowed or even supported Greek nationalism in Cyprus in the late 19th and early 20th Century became evident in the late 1920s and early 1930s when Greek nationalism openly taught in the Greek Cypriot schools appeared to be growing out of hand.

With a law in 1929, the British signalled a change in the administration of schools whereby teachers were to become government employees:

“Under the law of 1929. . . the school teachers were brought under the direct control of the Government for appointment, promotion, dismissal and all disciplinary purposes and their salaries paid by Government. . .” (Report of the Department of Education for the School Year 1934-35 as cited in Weir, p.28).

This change stirred strong disaffection in the Greek Cypriot community. As Anastasiades explains (1975, p.50), the Boards of Education had come under the influence of politicians and since teachers were appointed by the Boards they were completely dependent on politicians for their career advancements and thus had to serve the political purposes of their supervisors. For politicians who were settled in the towns and had little access to villages, the teachers were very valuable as they were indispensable political agents in the villages.

Nationalistic purposes were also at stake. The struggle between the Orthodox Church and the British for control of education is particularly evident in a memorandum sent to the British Governor by the Locum Tenens (temporary Head of the Church):

“... for us religion and education are inseparable, forming as they do one and the same thing. . . The purpose of the Government in doing this was to choke the eternal and unchangeable national longing of the people to be politically united with their free brothers. This law is the sword of Damocles over the heads of the school committees, over the secondary schools. . . Therefore, this systematic effort of the Government to change the Greek Cypriots into Englishmen is more worthy of blame” (Weir, 1952, pp.99-104).

Of particular concern to the Greek Cypriots of the time was the attempt to make all teachers public servants. Teachers who were in favour of becoming public servants were seen as traitors, choosing their own financial welfare over their nation. As characteristically explained by a prominent Greek of the time to the British, cited by Weir:

“Teachers in our hands are a weapon difficult to fight against, and we do not want to hand them over to the government” (Talbot & Cape, 1913, in Weir, p.28).

On the other hand, in the Turkish Cypriot community there was no particular expression of opposition to the passing of this law from the religious or political leaders (Anastasiades, 1975; 1979; Weir, 1952).

In effect, after 1933, the British offered the two educational systems a unified leadership and a common curriculum. The Report of the Department of Education for the School Year 1934-35, (as cited in Weir, 1952) indicates the main changes brought about:

“a) for the first time all pupils, whether taught in Greek or Turkish, will follow the same lessons in all subjects but their own language and religions; b) that history and geography, taught in parallel courses, are no longer dominated by Greece and Turkey but proceed outwards from Cyprus, through the Near East and the Mediterranean area, to the rest of the world. . .” (p.36).

Furthermore, in 1937 they formed a common Teachers' Training College where Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot teachers did co-exist but were in fact separate. Even though the British were aware that Greek and Turkish nationalisms could become dangerous for them, they were more wary of a potentially Cypriot nationalism that could have formed a unified Cypriot front against the Colonial power as Palmer's 1936 secret report to London points out (An, 2005). It is certainly not a coincidence that throughout the 1930s and despite the conflict over education, 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, as the anti-communist post 1946 Cold War climate assumed the Soviet leaning AKEL to be a bigger threat.

After 1960, with the declaration of the Republic of Cyprus, the Constitution of the new Republic, provided for the establishment of two separate Communal Chambers – one for each community. As soon as the two Boards of Education took over from the British Government, the one curriculum for elementary education was replaced by two, one for each community with each one cultivating loyalties to either Greece or Turkey (Pollis, 1973; Anastasiades, 1979). These two Boards were elected separately by the two communities and their aims were the enhancement of the cultural and religious heritage of each community separately and not the aims of common government. In particular, Maratheftis (1992) explains that the Greek Communal Chamber aimed on the one hand to eliminate any remainders of British imperialism (it even removed the English Language from elementary schools) but also to structure education according to mainland Greek education. In 1963, after bi-communal strife intensified in many parts of Cyprus, Turkish Cypriot Members of the House of Representatives left their seats in the House and other Turkish Cypriot officials in the government left their posts. The Turkish Communal Chamber continued to function independently of the government. The Greek Communal Chamber on the other hand, dissolved and its place was taken by the Ministry of Education in 1965 which has been basically responsible for Greek Cypriot education since.

Investigating the Past through the Subjectivity of Present Memory

Before 1974, life in mixed villages was scantily discussed with most pieces of literature on Cyprus simply registering the number of inhabitants of mixed villages on the island (for example, see Patrick, 1976a). As we have already seen in the previous section most information on life in mixed villages has to be collected or inferred through articles or books on life in Cyprus in general. However, after the events in 1974, with the largest wave of population displacement, some research was conducted which focused on interviews with individuals from mixed villages looking into issues such as the relocation of the refugees and the construction of diaspora identities. Nevertheless, given the fact that the two communities were segregated and most villages have now become ethnically homogeneous, interviewing people about the relations between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots in the mixed villages or generally in Cyprus before the unrest, obviously taps on the individuals' memory about these relations. In fact, inevitably any attempt to restructure life in mixed villages is done through the lens of memory.

The literature that records and discusses the memory of displaced and non-displaced Greek and Turkish Cypriots aims to understand the dialogic relation between individual memory and official narrative and whether the individual memory contributes to the perpetuation of hegemonic discourses (Bryant, 2008). Some authors interpret their interviewees' references about Turkish and Greek co-villagers to explain the pervasiveness of the national discourses and to suggest that despite memories of co-habitation, individuals might accept the status quo of ethnic segregation or show ambivalence towards the 'others'.

Rebecca Bryant interpreted the autobiographical writings of two women, one Greek Cypriot and one Turkish Cypriot from the mixed town of Lapithos, to show that the hegemony of the discourse of separation and nationalism does not rely solely upon the strength of the official propaganda. Subaltern voices, such as those of two women in a male-dominated culture, filter their own memories of the past through the hegemonic nationalist discourse and long to return to an idealized homeland that is nationalized (Bryant, 2008). This subtle connection between their subjectivity and the official discourse seems to secure the mechanism for the perpetuation of the discourse and acceptance without dispute. Bryant makes the case that neither of the two women emphasizes the bi-communal character of the town in their memories. The Turkish Cypriot woman recalled the trauma of fleeing the town with no possessions but not the contacts with the Greek Cypriots of her town which was otherwise divided in a Turkish and Greek section. On the other hand, she entertained fond memories of the enclave community which she saw as a united community of Turkish Cypriots and of equals who helped each other, as opposed to the post-1974 Turkish Cypriot community where status differences or the arrival of settlers and immigrants caused distress. Similarly, the Greek Cypriot woman in Bryant's research recalled her town and the other Greek Cypriots in the town but not the Turkish Cypriots living there despite the fact that wealthy Turkish Cypriot families were living within proximity of her house. The community that she most longed for was a Greek Cypriot community. The object of her nostalgia was the home and the possessions in which she invested through hard work, items which have been enjoyed ever since the conflict by the Turks (Bryant, 2008).

Yiannis Papadakis examines the way in which individual memory is dialogic and dialectic, mediating between individual actors, political groups and national ideologies. Unlike Bryant, Papadakis emphasizes how the dialogic character of memory makes memory and broader discourses prone to change in time as well as how different models of the nation and nationalism can be espoused concurrently in a community. In an article about Greek Cypriot narratives of history and nationalism as a contested process, Papadakis analysed how Greek Cypriot supporters of left and right wing parties interpreted the ethnic strife between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots and the conflict between the political right and left from the 1950s until 1974. Papadakis noticed that in retracing the past, the interviewees juxtaposed personal experiences from that period, with interpretations that their political parties gave about that period and the chronology of events that the national history introduced. At the same time, individual accounts of the past, such as those of the interviewees, were evoked in the official national narratives or in political associations' narratives to illustrate particular interpretations of the past (Papadakis, 1998). Like in the case of other nations, what unites Greek Cypriots in a community is the exclusion of specific memories and individuals over the inclusion of others, and the tacit intention of considering the past with the implicit general disclaimer that *"it is not our fault"* (Papadakis, 1998, pp.156-158).

The arguments of Bryant and Papadakis that individual memories are in a dialogic relation with the official narratives and that they may perpetuate the hegemony of official narratives are indeed convincing. However, it would also be relevant to explain how and why individuals choose to forget events or deeds that are not worthy of blame by themselves but that the official narrative incriminates or disqualifies such as for example, a mixed marriage or incidences of helping the other in day to day chores. There are reports of relatives of Greek and Turkish Cypriots who married individuals from the other group, thus having to religiously convert and change surnames, that have reacted negatively to discussions about these individuals' pasts (Uludag, 2005). Moreover, 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 (Loizos, 2008). 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. Loizos' explanation is that the Greek Cypriot national narrative after 1974, as well as EOKA B, the perpetrators of the massacres, sought to "keep forgotten" the massacres of Turkish Cypriots that took place before and during 1974. This imposed silence about the massacres conducted by Greek Cypriots also started to affect the memory of those who had opposed the massacres at the time, Loizos argues, because such massacres had been portrayed as "unthinkable" (Loizos, 2008, p.25). In these cases, the "subalterns" were conscious of the restrictions implied by the official narrative. Therefore, even though through their recollections they may have been in a position to challenge official narratives and thus to contribute to the reshaping of the national history, in the end, they may have decided not to disclose memories that could irrevocably upset the national history. After all the ideological and political hegemony of nationalism in both communities, both at the level of society and more so at the level of the state(s) is still present and not sufficiently challenged even today.

Refugee status is another factor that the writings about memory suggest may influence an individual's memory of the other and their willingness to live together again (Canefe, 2002). The conditions in which a refugee was forced to take refuge inform their willingness to 'return'. In the case of the Turkish Cypriots, the persecutions of the 1950s-1960s and the flight to the enclaves appear to have doomed any hope of return to their villages and reinforced the belief that departure of 1974 was definitive. 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" (Canefe, 2002).

By contrast, research suggests that Greek Cypriot refugees tend to hold fast to an aspiration to return to their homes that are sometimes in mixed villages. As Roger Zetter explains, the myth of the return of all Greek Cypriot refugees, who were faced with a break between their past and their future, involves the idealization of the past before dislocation and the memory of collective loss (Zetter, 1998). 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. Moreover, individuals can also entertain some aspects of the myth while adapting to the condition of refugee (Zetter, 1998). The role of Greek Cypriot hegemonic nationalist discourse, affirming the past Greek Cypriot connection and demanding an unrestricted future right to the northern part of Cyprus is crucial in understanding the perpetuation of the refugee return aspiration rhetoric even almost four decades after their forced displacement in the course of the 1974 conflict.

Existing Research on Formerly Mixed Villages: Remembering the other

How did these different experiences of dislocation and these differing expectations of return influence Greek and Turkish Cypriots' perception of the other and, in the case of the refugees from mixed-villages, of co-villager others? A small number of mainly anthropological research studies, conducted after 1974 on the inhabitants of mixed villages and their perceptions of their former co-villagers from the other community, allow us to address these questions.

One of the most in-depth pieces of research on the inhabitants of a formerly mixed village was undertaken by the anthropologist Peter Loizos in Argaki. In this mixed village the Turkish Cypriot population had been the majority in the 19th century, but with the arrival of Greek Cypriots who worked as wage-labourers and who finally purchased most of the land, the demographic balance shifted. During the ethnic strife of the 1950s many of the Turkish Cypriots in the village left for the enclaves but some remained in the village and became a minority (Loizos, 1981). However, its members did not completely leave the village during the ethnic strife that occurred before 1974 (Loizos, 1981). Greek Cypriot villagers who had espoused nationalist views and adhered to EOKA insulted their Turkish Cypriot co-villagers on a number of occasions and undertook an unsuccessful arson attack on their coffee-shop. However, the rest of the Greek Cypriot village population appeased the tensions between the EOKA sympathizers and the Turkish Cypriots and AKEL sympathizers to preserve the rhythms of local life and the traditional alliances (Loizos, 1981).

During the times of ethnic conflict, the Greek Cypriots of the village sought to protect the Turkish Cypriots remaining in Argaki. At the same time, they entertained the opinion that the Turkish Cypriots' demographic decline and relative poverty was explained by their laziness and backwardness. After they themselves fled the village in 1974, the Greek Cypriots of Argaki had negative evaluations about the Turks in general, calling them "barbarians". Some of them reverted to compassion towards the Turkish Cypriots they encountered during their flight and who were leaving their houses to move to the north (Loizos, 1981, p.144). Others showed hostility towards the Turkish Cypriots into whose houses they moved, claiming they had lost their houses to these Turkish Cypriots' relatives (Loizos, 1981, p.46). During this period, the Turkish Cypriots were not interviewed for fear of not making them the target of retaliation from EOKA members (Loizos, 1981, p.42).

In his latest monograph about the Greek Cypriots displaced from the formerly mixed village Argaki in 1974, Peter Loizos records a few villagers' memories about their post-displacement encounters with Turkish Cypriots from other villages some of whom were also refugees. A refugee Greek Cypriot woman remembered that once they arrived in Polemidia, her daughter mentioned the peaceful life they could have with the few Turkish Cypriots who were left in the village (Loizos, 2008, p.37). Paul Sant Cassia also mentions how Argaki Greek Cypriot refugee women in Stroumbi, Paphos, remembered having worked alongside a Turkish Cypriot woman in Stroumbi who deplored the in-fighting and who eventually left the village to move in the Turkish Cypriot community in the North (Sant Cassia, 2005, as cited in Loizos, 2008).

The memories that Turkish Cypriots from the same village of Argaki have about their co-existence with the Greek Cypriot villagers are varied. Some recalled moments when the Greek Cypriot villagers helped them pass through EOKA checkpoints, hired them as workers in the fields or sheltered them during the persecutions. Others recall the moments when their relatives went missing, even though they might have been safe, and express their reluctance to live among Greeks again (Loizos, 2008). Greek Cypriots who were displaced from Argaki remember downplaying the rising ethnic tensions and defending their Turkish Cypriot co-villagers on occasions, as well as Turkish Cypriots saving their lives or helping them (Loizos, 2008, p.73).

Complementing Loizos' research in Argaki, Eral Akarturk (2008), focused more on the Turkish Cypriots from Argaki who Loizos did not have such easy access to due to ethnic strife. Akarturk explores the perceptions and feelings of the Turkish Cypriot inhabitants of Argaki towards their Greek Cypriot co-villagers. Enquiring about everyday life in the village, Akarturk found that Turkish Cypriots of Argaki maintained fond memories of life together with their Greek Cypriot co-villagers. Close friendships were mentioned in the context of everyday life activities, such as working together

and baking bread together but also in the context of action in support of each other in life threatening situations which could never be forgotten. In fact, the research suggests, the majority of Argaki's Turkish Cypriots seem to have had close Greek Cypriot friends in the village.

From the interviews however, it is also evident that the Turkish Cypriots of Argaki did often feel under threat during the times of inter-communal strife and, in particular, under threat from EOKA members. This fear was so intense that it even drove some of the Turkish Cypriots away from the village in 1960. It seems that the fear of inter-communal troubles which were taking place in the island in general transferred to life in the village as well. However, it was clear that on the whole, their fear was mainly of EOKA members from other villages and not of their co-villagers. On the contrary, they often felt that their co-villagers helped to maintain their security. Particular emphasis was placed on the role of left-wing Greek Cypriots in Argaki who protected them from EOKA members and from Greek soldiers and always tried to make them feel safe.

However, the relations between the members of the two communities in the village are not always recalled as being completely peaceful. On the contrary, even though the Turkish Cypriots being interviewed did not express any major hostility towards or fear of the other community in the village, there were instances where it was obvious that the villagers were not always able to shut out the effects of the general inter-communal strife that was going on in the rest of the island. Characteristic is the example of a Greek Cypriot who owned a water pump but refused to give water to a Turkish Cypriot co-villager of his. As a result his plants dried out and died.

Another study examined the perceptions that Greek Cypriots from the former mixed village of Aphanía held about their Turkish Cypriot co-villagers (Cabrera, 2009). Aphanía was a mixed village where the two ethnic groups' neighbourhoods were strictly segregated. When interviewed with respect to the period preceding the conflict of 1974, some of the villagers recalled times of peaceful co-habitation where they attended each other's major celebrations or frequented the coffee-shop together. On the other hand, others mentioned that Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots did not intermarry and that no long-lasting friendships were established. Moreover, during the ethnic tensions from the 1955-1959 period, the contacts between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots were said to have had diminished even more, for fear of retaliation from the ethnic militias that disapproved of inter-ethnic associations. It is in relation to this period that some of the respondents started to refer to the Turkish Cypriots as "*barbaric people*" (Cabrera, p.8). In their recollections of the months leading to the events of 1974, the villagers concur that the Greek Cypriot nationalist militia controlled everything but also that the villagers had begun to think of each other as enemies. Although they were not certain, the respondents also considered it possible that Turkish Cypriots from the village may have been involved in incidents of violence against Greek Cypriots (rapes, disappearances, murders) during 1974. Only one Greek Cypriot interviewee acknowledged the vexations and discrimination that the Greek Cypriots of the village had inflicted in the past against the Turkish Cypriots and felt that they themselves may have been partly responsible for sowing the seeds of the Turkish Cypriot violence. Some respondents still expressed anxiety and feelings of betrayal over the events in 1974. No contact with members of the Turkish Cypriot community had taken place between 1974 and 2003 but, after the opening of the checkpoints, some of the Greek Cypriots of Aphanía visited the village and met some of their former Turkish Cypriot co-villagers with whom they continued to have cordial relations. Other Greek Cypriots however, did not visit the village as they still expressed resentment of perceived betrayal by the Turkish Cypriot villagers and expressed their reluctance to live in a mixed village again (Cabrera, 2009). In a qualitative research study of Aphanía conducted by the AHDR, Zehra Beyli interviewed Turkish Cypriots in the village on issues related to their perceptions of their Greek Cypriot co-villagers and life in the village at different time periods. Beyli found that social interaction between the two communities had tended to be professional rather than social in nature: most of the interviewees mentioned that they had no Greek Cypriot neighbours or friends, but they did have commercial relations with the Greek Cypriots. This type of contact was mainly between the men of the two communities and as women were not active in the public sphere they had had almost no contact with Greek Cypriots. During the times of inter-communal troubles between the years 1963-64, the situation in the village became more tense, with villagers becoming fearful of their lives, especially at night. Their fear was such that they had resorted to guarding the Turkish Cypriot district of the village and refusing to allow any Greek Cypriots to pass. Since the social relations between the members of the two communities in the village were not developed, support on an interpersonal level was limited. This is characteristically demonstrated from an incident where a Greek Cypriot shop owner refused to sell milk to a Turkish Cypriot who needed it for his new-born son. This increasing fear and suspicion had inevitably also led to a decrease in commercial relations in the village. However, political affiliations seemed

to play a positive role in the relationships of the two communities: the accounts suggest that left wing Greek Cypriots cooperated with the Turkish Cypriots of the village and that they protected each other in times of need.

In addition to the research in Aphanía, the AHDR also conducted a similar qualitative research study in the formerly mixed village of Peristerona. The interviews conducted with Greek Cypriots still living in Peristerona and Turkish Cypriot refugees from Peristerona, suggest striking differences between village life in Aphanía and Peristerona. The population of Peristerona was estimated somewhere between 700 – 750 Greek Cypriots to 350 – 500 Turkish Cypriots. Peristerona was one of the richest villages in its locality at that time. Its main source of wealth was the river that passed through the village and contributed to the agricultural development as well as other trading activities. Each community had its own coffee shop, restaurants and other businesses but according to the descriptions of the interviewees both communities made use of these facilities. In terms of the distribution of wealth, the Turkish Cypriot community seems to have had the advantage as Turkish Cypriots possessed the most valuable land and owned the agriculture machinery in the village. However, administrative power was distributed equally: the village had two muhktars, each responsible for the matters of their respective community, and one police station where both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot policemen were stationed after 1960. In addition, there was a watering committee that controlled the usage of the river, which was also comprised by members of both communities.

Both the interview based studies of Peristerona conducted for the AHDR by Zehra Beyli (2010) and Giorgos Philippou (2010) agree that the relations between members of the two communities were peaceful during the British administration. According to the researchers, social interaction between the two communities occurred at three levels: professional, cultural and social. At the professional level, the villagers worked together in farms and there was cooperation in the fields in a context where Turkish Cypriots were usually the employers and Greek Cypriots the employees. At the cultural level, the descriptions about contact were quite vivid: occasions such as engagements, weddings, religious holidays or other cultural rituals, provided opportunities for interaction between the two communities. At the social level, the interviews clearly suggested that people in the village had close personal relations across the community divide. As the studies mentioned above would lead us to expect, interpersonal relations were more frequent between men, who seemed to be more active at the public sphere, whereas women mainly stayed indoors, worked in the fields and looked after the children.

The presence of EOKA was also strong in the memories of the Turkish Cypriots of Peristerona, who, despite the fact that they did not seem to distrust the Greek Cypriots in their village, did seem to have been quite afraid of strangers who would come to their village. In effect, on the whole Turkish Cypriots of Peristerona report having good relations with the Greek Cypriots of their village up until 1963 when their lives were transformed. During the period 1963-64, there were references of violent incidents in the village as well as several references to the systematic harassment of Turkish Cypriots which led to their mass flight and to the looting of their properties by their Greek Cypriot co-villagers. The Turkish Cypriots remember the time with great sorrow and as one of constant fear. During that time, neighbours and old friends stopped greeting each other in the street, the presence of strangers in the village was more pronounced, rifle shots were often heard during the night and animals were frequently stolen. After leaving their village for security reasons, many Turkish Cypriots returned years later (around 1968-69) to find that their properties had been looted and destroyed and nothing was the same after that. It is interesting to note that throughout the interviews with the Greek Cypriot villagers, emphasis is placed on the role of external agents and not on the lootings and the climate of fear, as is the case in the Turkish Cypriot interviews. Blame is attributed to the British, TMT, EOKA, and also the Greek Cypriot authorities who all are characterised as the agents who promoted inter-communal violence among the people of Cyprus. Indeed, one Greek Cypriot interviewee stated that people from outside the village were trying to pressure the Greek Cypriots of Peristerona to organize the killing of Turkish Cypriots in the village and that they did not succeed because the Greek Cypriots refused to take the inter-communal strife to that extreme. As the same interviewee notes:

“... we are very happy for that [for refusing]... because if we had [proceeded with the killings], our entire community would be guilty today” (Philippou, 2010, p.12).

A village persisting in staying mixed: The case of Pyla

Pyla is one of the two remaining mixed villages in Cyprus (in addition to Potamia). It is located in the UN buffer zone, a fact that enabled Greek and Turkish Cypriot rapprochement activists to use the village as a place to meet prior to 2003 when there was no other place on the island where contact between the people of two communities was permitted. The unique status of Pyla made it the subject of research attention over the years attempting to examine how Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots co-exist in this remaining mixed-village (e.g. see Constantinou & Papadakis, 2001; Cakal, 2007). Since it is the most researched mixed village in Cyprus we will devote this section to reviewing the available evidence on Pyla.

The village of Pyla is a setting in which inter-ethnic relations can be observed and in which the ways in which these relations reflect and appropriate conflicts between Turkish and Greek national symbols, ideologies and political discourses (Constantinou & Papadakis, 2001). Solving local daily issues can bring about insurmountable opposition from either side, unwilling to work together on specific projects because to do so would risk the accusation by their own political organizations of acknowledging the legitimacy of the other community's political organizations (Constantinou & Papadakis, 2001).

Papadakis (1997; 2009) was one of the first anthropologists to focus his research on Pyla as he conducted his research from September 1994 to September 1995. The bicomunal tensions in the village were evident to the researcher and are aptly described by a villager who mentioned that living in Pyla is like standing on a barrel full of gun powder. As Papadakis explains, in Pyla, small and minor incidents can easily be blown out of proportion and turned into national issues not so much by the villagers themselves but rather by the media and the authorities on both sides of the existing divide. According to the media, Pyla was a place where compromises should not be permitted and where not even a slice of land should be lost as it was considered a site of continuing ethnic conflict. The villagers on the other hand disliked the media on both sides of the divide as the media often betrayed them either as spies of the other side or as illegal smugglers.

Papadakis (1997; 2009) also enquired about the maintenance of peace in the village during the times of intense inter-communal conflict on the island. It seems that the villagers protected their own co-villagers of the other community in two instances: one in 1963-64 where Turkish Cypriots extremists from other parts of the island were prevented from attacking the Greek Cypriots of the village by the Turkish Cypriots of Pyla and another one in 1974 when Greek Cypriot extremists from other parts of the island wanted to attack the Turkish Cypriots of the village and were prevented by the right wing Greek Cypriots of Pyla. In both cases it was explained that the villagers protected their co-villagers from the other community in part because they also wanted to protect themselves from acts of revenge in the village.

It seems therefore, that the villagers of Pyla in both communities worked towards maintaining stability in their village for largely instrumental reasons. The research does not suggest that relations in the village between the members of the two communities were themselves excellent and, on the contrary, national symbols and ideologies were particularly evident in everyday life in the village. For example, the Greek Cypriot coffeeshop was openly decorated with a flag of Greece on the outside as well as with smaller little Greek flags inside running across the ceiling and with pictures of the Greek revolution against the Turks in 1821 and the inscription: *"The capital of Hellenism is not Athens but Constantinople"* (Papadakis, 2009, p.317). Therefore, it is evident that no effort was made to suppress the broader political nationalist antagonism existing between the two communities. Furthermore, it was rare for villagers to visit each others' coffeeshops and villagers generally kept to their own communities. As one villager explained, this was done largely for practical reasons and in order to maintain peace. In the coffee-shops people mainly spoke about politics and wanted to openly express their views and if people from the other community were present in the coffee-shops such conversations would undoubtedly have led to argument and perhaps to conflict. Therefore, it seems that it was, as it were, tacitly agreed by both communities that the two communities would keep a certain distance from each other. In a rare case mentioned where a Turkish Cypriot did frequently visit the Greek Cypriot coffeeshop mainly because of a gambling addiction and perhaps of a slight mental disability and he was

suspected by Greek Cypriots as being a spy pretending to have a gambling problem and a disability so that he could frequent the coffee-shop and listen-in to the discussions (Papadakis, 2009, p.326). Moreover, the villagers had also themselves committed inter-communal crimes in the past which were well-known in the village by both communities such as for example, the massacre of a bus full of Turkish Cypriots from other parts of Cyprus that Greek Cypriots from Pyla had taken part in. However, neither community spoke about the incident openly, because as they explained no benefit will come from digging up the past and talking about such events all the time. So it seems that even though Pyla villagers worked towards protecting their co-villagers and maintaining peace in their own village, they did not hesitate to take part in violent inter-communal atrocities outside their village.

However, even though the villagers kept a safe distance from each other, they did cooperate in commercial enterprises. As Papadakis explains, up until the early 1990s Pyla was well-known throughout the Greek Cypriot community as the village where one could go to buy cheap alcohol, cigarettes, clothes and fresh fish (1997, 2009, see also Constantinou & Papadakis, 2001). Being in the buffer zone, Pyla had become a shopping mall, despite the embargo, in which Turkish Cypriots could sell their products to Greek Cypriots who were often drawn to the village to benefit from the low prices. The villagers of Pyla quickly found a way to cooperate for mutual benefit: in effect, the Greek Cypriots mainly controlled the restaurants while the Turkish Cypriots maintained the stores. The villagers appear to have constantly come up with different strategies in order to maintain the balance and keep everyone happy: for example, Greek Cypriots often bought the fish for their restaurants from Turkish Cypriots and also sometimes employed Turkish Cypriots as waiters in their restaurants. This had practical applications as a Turkish Cypriot waiter was particularly useful when there were fights between groups of Turkish Cypriot clients in the restaurant: in such a case, intervention by the Greek Cypriot owner would probably have made matters worse. In other cases where a group of Turkish Cypriot and a group of Greek Cypriot customers had a fight between them, the Turkish Cypriot waiter would calm down the customers of his community while the owner would handle the Greek Cypriot customers.

Huseyin Cakal conducted a research study of Pyla from a social psychological point of view (Cakal, 2007). Cakal's research aimed to investigate the relationships between mixed neighbourhood contact, intergroup friendships and ethnic prejudice. Using quantitative data from a questionnaire, Cakal found that contact resulting from interethnic friendships had a stronger negative correlation with prejudice than contact resulting from living in a mixed neighbourhood. Furthermore, Cakal complemented his quantitative results with qualitative data derived from structured interviews and observations. Through the interviews, Cakal found striking differences between Greek and Turkish Cypriots' perceptions of the Cyprus problem: the majority of the Greek Cypriots interviewed considered "the Cyprus problem to have been a result of the Turkish invasion" in 1974 while the majority of Turkish Cypriots considered it "to be mainly an ethnic problem". When asked about the relationships between the two communities in the village in the past, participants from both communities agreed that relations were comfortable and normal before 1960 and that the deterioration of their relations reached its peak during the years 1963-1974. Turkish Cypriot participants though, considered that relations started to become very tense after 1955 while Greek Cypriots perceived the inter-communal relations to have had become tense during the years 1960 and 1963. During the clashes in 1974 through the accounts of the villagers, Cakal found that even though they described the period as very tense, both Greek and Turkish Cypriot villagers placed emphasis on the positive nature of interpersonal relationships between members of the two communities during the difficult times. The villagers' constant efforts to preserve the stability of Pyla was apparent in the fact that during the interviews the villagers avoided talking about the things that were most likely to inflame passions within the community and outside the community. Furthermore, even though inter-ethnic contacts existed in the mixed neighbourhoods, they tended to be individual and based on economic activities and not to transform into "everyday engagement" and more personal relations or to extend to the level of the community (Cakal, 2007). The formal opening of the check point in the village in 2003¹⁸, was found to have influenced the relations within the community negatively. On the whole, the results show that both communities in the village did work towards the

18. Before 2003 it was only possible for Turkish Cypriots to cross for a few hours into the southern part of the divide nominally to visit the Turkish Cypriots of Pyla. In many cases though it was actually to meet with Greek Cypriots. In either case, they were usually watched by secret police from both sides.

preservation of stability in the village which, according to the researcher, helped the social life of the village withstand the effects of exogenous shocks, such as check-point demonstrations (e.g. during “*women walk home*” and the 1996 Derynia demonstrations) and even large scale armed conflicts in other parts of the island in 1974.

Psaltis and Hewstone (2008) also conducted social psychological research in Pyla. The researchers used a questionnaire survey with a representative sample from both communities in order to investigate similarities and differences between the members of the two communities in the village on numerous variables related to intergroup relations. Psaltis and Hewstone’s report that Greek Cypriot villagers in Pyla had a more positive picture of Turkish Cypriots than vice versa in terms of trust for ordinary people, forgiveness, perspective taking and positive feelings towards the outgroup. However, Turkish Cypriots reported having more contact with the other community than Greek Cypriots and having more cross-group friendships. On the other hand, a significantly greater number of Greek Cypriots in the village reported experiencing contact of higher quality (positive, in cooperative spirit, based on mutual respect) with the other community than did Turkish Cypriots. These findings relating to contact can be explained by the fact that Turkish Cypriots in Pyla work in the southern part of Cyprus and thus have more opportunities for contact with members of the Greek Cypriot community than vice versa. Therefore, it seems that even though Turkish Cypriots in Pyla do have more opportunities for contact with members of the other community, according to the findings of this research the contact they do have is perhaps for professional reasons and not of such high quality. This was also in accordance with the fact that the attitude that Turkish Cypriots of Pyla held towards Greek Cypriots was not very positive.

With respect to friendships in the village it was found that the level of cross-group friendships was very high, since 61.3% of Greek Cypriots reported having at least one Turkish Cypriot friend while 86.6% of Turkish Cypriots reported having at least one Greek Cypriot friend. An interesting difference though was found between the two communities on disclosure, where Greek Cypriots were found less likely to self-disclose to Turkish Cypriots regarding personal issues than vice versa. An incongruence in the views of the members of the two communities was also observed with respect to the balance of power in the village. Specifically, the majority of Turkish Cypriots thought that Greek Cypriots had more political power in the village, whereas the majority of Greek Cypriots thought that Turkish Cypriots had more power in the village. Moreover, the majority of Turkish Cypriots felt that they made more of an effort to co-operate and come into contact with Greek Cypriots, whereas the majority of Greek Cypriots feel that they make an equal amount of effort to come into contact and co-operate as Turkish Cypriots.

On the whole, Psaltis and Hewstone (2008) argue that compared to research they have conducted on the larger population of Cyprus, intergroup relations in Pyla are better on many key measures. However, the findings also suggest that this is not an effect secured just by the fact of living together. In effect, it seems that in situations such as that of Pyla, where the numerical asymmetry of the village is in favour of Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots perceive more realistic threats and intergroup salience¹⁹ and also fear assimilation more than Greek Cypriots, a perception which reduces the potentially positive effects which may have resulted from contact with members of the outgroup in a mixed village.

Barbara Karatsioli (2010) conducted an anthropological research study in which she compared the two remaining mixed villages of the island, Pyla and Potamia. With regards to Pyla, Karatsioli explains that the interactions between the members of the two communities have always had a “*bi-communal flavour reinforced by a mechanism of strict reciprocity*” (p.43). According to the researcher, in Pyla villagers have always kept and still do keep separate coffee-shops, separate places of worship, separate mayors and councils and since 1974, they have displayed the the Greek and the Turkish flags. Karatsioli agrees with Papadakis that their cooperation seems to be limited to commercial activity. As Karatsioli explains, in this climate emphasizing the clear differences between the two communities, tensions do often rise for example, about the use of flags in public spaces or during celebrations by one of the two communities. However, in order to preserve peace when such tensions arise they are dealt with through a negotiation system based on strict reciprocity, a system that seems to have maintained the apparent peace in the

19. Intergroup salience is an individual’s awareness of group memberships and respective group differences in an intergroup encounter (Harwood, Raman & Hewstone 2006)

village over the years. The villagers have never allowed violence inside the village and have always prevented attacks in the village. They even managed to prevent violent outbreaks at times when inter-communal conflict was ravaging the whole island in 1963-64. However, it is obvious to Karatsioli that this apparent peace in Pyla is in fact a *"conflict in disguise"*. Even though the villagers in Pyla have managed to avoid open conflict in the village, they did take part, in 1963-64, in bi-communally related violence outside the village. Moreover, their actions were no secret as they had spoken openly in the village about murders, rapes and other acts that they had committed. This led to growing inter-communal hatred and tension in the village but, again, this anger and hatred was directed outside the village through acts of violent revenge elsewhere in order to maintain the peace in their own village. Nowadays, even though villagers openly display symbols of their larger national communities which do create tensions, the villagers manage to balance out the tensions for the sake of stability in their village. It is interesting to note that even though numerous rapprochement activists frequented Pyla and asked the villagers to participate in their activities, asking them to share their experiences of peaceful coexistence, the villagers have rarely accepted the invitation to take part in such events.

From the Present to the Future: Former inhabitants of mixed villages and reconciliation

A small number of studies based on interviews with individuals from formerly mixed-villages have been conducted, aiming to understand if and how the memory of inter-communal life can be a building block for reconciliation and the kinds of institutional and ideological obstacles that still keep these individuals apart.

The opening of the checkpoints between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities in 2003 and the subsequent visits and contacts between the two sides captured wide-spread attention. For a number of reasons, scholars and reconciliation activists endeavoured to record how displaced people felt when visiting their former homes or how they reacted when encountering old acquaintances or unfamiliar faces in their home villages:

- Firstly, such studies aimed to record the extent to which and the ways in which these encounters and visits made the displaced individuals re-consider their memories about their deserted homes, their identities, the significance of their return, their present and their future.
- Secondly, it was felt that surveying the ways in which displaced and non-displaced travellers to the other side interacted with old acquaintances and the “other” could inform future strategies to actively create conditions for contact between the two communities.

Some of the Greek Cypriot villagers of Argaki, who were displaced in 1974 travelled back to visit the village while some of their Turkish Cypriot co-villagers travelled to the Greek Cypriot community. The encounters were friendly and emotional, with presents and news being exchanged and objects left in safe-keeping being returned. As Peter Loizos observed, returning to their homes and villages after so many years, individuals came to terms with the idea that they had permanently lost the homes to which they had once believed they would return to live in again in the future and also had come to realize that their memories of their homes and villages may have been idealized. At the same time however, these cordial visits were often followed by critical comments about the Turkish Cypriots’ ineptitude in maintaining the fields and houses, their indifference (interpreted as disrespect) in maintaining the Christian churches and graves or their destruction of these sites. Sometimes these visits were followed by pledges not to visit Argaki again or an apologetic stance by others about keeping in touch with Turkish Cypriots they had recently met (Loizos, 2008). In other cases, Turkish Cypriots from Argaki travelled to the south to meet old or ailing Greek Cypriot former neighbours and to show their gratitude for help they had once received from them (Loizos, 2008). Loizos explained the ambiguity of the Greek Cypriots’ reactions after the meetings. On the one hand, they reacted with joy at seeing old acquaintances and receiving returned objects that had belonged to them, feeling that pieces of their past were being recovered. On the other hand, the joy they felt was coupled with an immediate feeling that the loss they had endured was permanent and that their future return to their village was improbable. Reactions to the encounter thus depended on how the individuals came to terms with their loss and to what degree they had persisted in adhering to the myth of return.

Reconciliation in the present and the future was also touched upon by the research conducted by AHDR in the formerly mixed villages of Peristerona and Aphanía in which the researchers attempted to reflect on the beliefs and attitudes, the fears and concerns of the participants regarding the solution of the Cypriot problem and the fate of the two communities.

The Turkish Cypriots of Peristerona, revisited their village in 2003 and recounted seeing their old neighbours and crying with them in lament for the life that they had lost. Greek Cypriots from Peristerona also on occasion visited their Turkish Cypriot co-villagers in the north. A bi-communal festival was organized in the village so as to bring together again the members of the two communities. Greek Cypriot villagers seemed to express nostalgia for the time that they spent with their Turkish Cypriot co-villagers in the past and some expressed their discontent with the fact that many Greek Cypriot refugees from other villages had now moved in to Peristerona so that the original inhabitants are outnumbered. Turkish Cypriot interviewees however, were reluctant to state their desire to move back to the village in the future. As one Turkish Cypriot woman stated: *“the village does not mean anything to me anymore”* (Beyli, 2010, p.12). Others expressed the view that it is perhaps now *“too late”* to reach a solution as *“you cannot trust Greek Cypriots now. You could trust them before EOKA but now it is too late”* (Beyli, 2010, p.14). Some of the

Turkish Cypriots of Peristerona choose not to break the link with their past contacts and continued to visit their former village. For others, however, revisiting their old memories and seeing that there was nothing left from the old days seems to have been too painful. The troubled years seemed to have increased their fear of the other community and to prevent them wanting to go back: they did not think about their old lives and accepted their current addresses as permanent. Social interaction between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots of Peristerona still continues today but it is limited to a small number of people who visit the village while most of the contacts are lost due to the death of old villagers.

All of the Greek Cypriot interviewees from Aphanía visited their village soon after the opening of the checkpoints in 2003. Individual experiences of going back were, of course, various but a common theme that emerged in most of the interviews was disappointment and sadness with the status quo. As Cabrera (2009) explains, individual reactions seem to have been influenced by what they expected to find as opposed to what they actually did find. Some of them talked about their houses in the village being destroyed, while others were frustrated about the number of Turkish settlers living in the north, occupying their houses and building on their land. The Turkish Cypriot villagers on the other hand, mention seeing one or two Greek Cypriot cars in the village and state that the level of contact was good. However, as one Turkish Cypriot villager explained:

“The Greek Cypriots were guests in our houses and guests are always welcomed” but “living together with them is impossible after what we have been through” (Beyli, 2010, p.21-22).

None of the Greek Cypriot interviewees from Aphanía participated in bi-communal rapprochement activities organized in Cyprus while most of them visited the northern part of the island only 3-4 times. It is worth noting though that one female Greek Cypriot participant reported going to Aphanía on a regular basis to visit the Turkish Cypriots in the village. Her experience going back and the nature of her contact with Turkish Cypriots were both very positive. As Cabrera explains, the emphasis in her story was not only on the quantity but also in the quality of the contacts. She was actively involved in fixing a church in her region and seems to have had full support from the Turkish Cypriots in doing so. She also recalled the wedding of one of her cousins where many Turkish Cypriots were invited and had the opportunity to enjoy the celebration together with Greek Cypriots. One male participant visited Aphanía and other areas in the north three days after the opening, together with his children and his father. Although his father was quite upset at having to show his passport in order to cross the green line, he was happily surprised that Turkish Cypriots from Aphanía remembered him and gave him a warm welcome. Another male participant was reluctant to visit the north at first but was convinced by a neighbour who wanted to see his own village and house. He was disappointed when he saw that the house where he used to live was in a very bad state. He reports accidentally meeting a Turkish Cypriot who knew his father and who invited him to go to the local coffee shop. He declined the invitation as the coffee shop was, before 1974, owned by an uncle of his who is still missing.

When asked about the possibility of a solution to the Cyprus problem, most Greek Cypriot respondents seemed reluctant to commit to a definite response. It was clear, however, that a satisfactory and fair solution in the near future seemed unlikely to them. One participant emphatically opposed the unification of the island and said that even with a solution, he would never go back to his old village. Another participant from Aphanía, not as adamant in her views, said that she would be afraid to move back to the village and that since Greek Cypriots did not trust Turkish Cypriots, they could no longer live together. She was unable to forgive Turkish Cypriots for *“allowing Turks to kill Christians”* (Cabrera, 2009, p.15), and she believed that even though the current situation is not ideal, it is far better than a federation. Only one Greek Cypriot female participant openly discussed her hopes for a federated state in which both ethnic communities would be represented and live in peace.

When Turkish Cypriot interviewees from Aphanía were asked if they would live together with the Greek Cypriots again they gave a negative answer (Beyli, 2010). They explained that security was the most important thing for them and that the current status quo maintained their security. In fact, most of the Turkish Cypriot participants admitted that they were happy with the current status quo and that they wanted the future *“to stay like this”* as this was the best possible solution to the Cyprus problem. Most of them did not believe in federation or any other kind of settlement. They did not believe that Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots could live together anymore which showed the increased

distrust between the two communities. It seems that for these individuals past positive personal contacts with the members of the other community had lost importance over time while the negative events that had disrupted intergroup contact dominated their memories (Beyli, 2010) and shaped their thinking about the possibility and the desirability of living together again in the future.

In this section of the report the existing literature related to life in the formerly mixed villages in Cyprus was reviewed. The role of memory in investigating the past was explored and the few pieces of existing research on formerly mixed villages in Cyprus were described. The future of mixed villages was also examined by looking at their inhabitants views of reconciliation. On the whole it was apparent that little research attention has been paid to mixed villages in Cyprus with most research being qualitative.

The ensuing sections of the report will focus on the findings of a quantitative questionnaire survey conducted in Cyprus with almost 1900 Greek and Turkish Cypriot inhabitants of about 100 formerly mixed villages. It was apparent from the preceding literature review that no known research has up to now attempted to investigate life in the mixed villages of Cyprus in a quantitative manner. The following piece of research therefore, will attempt to fill this gap in research.

| Methodology

The questionnaire that was constructed is aimed not in the extraction of 'objective information' about past life in the village but in the exploration of the perceptions of the inhabitants of formerly mixed villages, of life in the villages and how these relate with present perceptions about the other community and relations with the other community as well as ideal views of future inter-communal life in Cyprus.

In particular, the research which follows examines the representations of past, present and future held by inhabitants of formerly mixed villages in Cyprus. It outlines their perceptions of daily life in formerly mixed villages in Cyprus but also taps on present day representations of history held by former inhabitants as well as their perceptions and attitudes of members of the other community, touching on issues relevant to intergroup relations such as trust, anxiety and threats. Moreover, prospects of the future such as perceptions of the prospects of a solution to the Cyprus problem and of the property issue are also investigated in order to explore the complex relationships between the past, the present and the future in an effort to better understand the wishes of this particular and sensitive section of the population that has experience of life in mixed villages as well as to explore by what social-psychological factors these views are being influenced.

The data set on which this study is based, was generated through a quantitative questionnaire survey. The research questionnaire instrument was designed by the two authors, the AHDR Research Director and the AHDR-MIDE Research Director with the assistance of independent Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot researchers employed to contribute to instrument design during the early stages of the questionnaire's development.

Once the questionnaire instrument had been designed, it was translated from English, in which it was originally developed, into Greek and Turkish and then back-translated into English to ensure that the translations were accurate. Data collection was assigned to two private research agencies, one Greek Cypriot (Noverna) and one Turkish Cypriot (Kadem). Initially, the two research agencies pilot tested the questionnaire with 10 Greek Cypriot and 10 Turkish Cypriot inhabitants of formerly mixed villages. After all necessary adjustments were made to the questionnaire based on the results of the pilot test, the main data collection was conducted. The research questionnaire was comprised of 173 items in total and took approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour to complete.

A representative sample of people was drawn from the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities who had lived in formerly mixed villages presently located on both sides of the existing divide in Cyprus. Since sections of the questionnaire specifically enquired about participants' experiences during the years 1955-1959, 1963-1964 and 1974 only people who had lived in the mixed villages between the years 1955 to 1974 were interviewed. Emphasis was placed on this period in particular because inter-communal strife developed and reached its highpoint during these years. Investigating life in mixed villages during earlier time periods would have undoubtedly been interesting but this was avoided due to the difficulty that would have been encountered in locating participants in good enough health to be interviewed. In any case, the period investigated, in the late modern era in historical terms, and during the peak of the ethnic conflict was bound to be more useful for the purposes of picking up the threads in the present and making some projections for the future, compared to a study of the traditional or the early modern era.

The initial target number of interviews for each village was determined using a randomly stratified sampling procedure whereby starting points were selected on the basis of the population density of 1960 of the various villages (as indicated by the 1960 population census). The number of interviews per village which this selection procedure yielded was used to define loose quotas that would enable a sample which was broadly representative of the universe of the target audience which are living today, since from 1960 a percentage of each village population has deceased. In total participants were drawn from 97 formerly mixed villages, a list of which is presented in Appendix 1.

Respondents were selected via two main methods depending on whether they were still residing in their village or not. Greek Cypriot participants who were still residing in villages currently located in the south of the existing divide and Turkish Cypriot participants who were still residing in villages currently located in the north of the existing divide, were recruited through a combination of random selection of households and random selection on central locations such as village coffee shops or cultural clubs.

Locating Greek Cypriot participants whose formerly mixed villages were currently located in the north of the existing divide and Turkish Cypriot participants whose formerly mixed villages were currently located in the south of the existing divide was more difficult and complicated. In these cases, respondents were selected via purposive sampling using a combination of methods. Visits were made to a wide number of refugee compounds (settlements) where displaced persons reside. Moreover, information regarding the re-location of refugees to specific villages was used in order to locate participants. It should be noted, that the majority of Turkish Cypriot displaced respondents were located through these methods as Turkish Cypriot refugees from the same village were usually re-located all together in another village in the north. This however, was not the case with Greek Cypriot refugees who were re-located in a scattered manner, usually in different locations from their former co-villagers. Therefore, Greek Cypriot respondents were also contacted via community leaders, centres or organizations which former Greek Cypriot inhabitants of villages located in the north of the existing divide currently operate in the south. Lastly, snowballing and referral techniques²⁰ were used with each interviewed respondent providing a maximum of 2 more contact names.

All interviews were conducted face-to-face either at the respondent's home or at a central location such as village coffeeshops or cultural clubs.

Each interviewer participating in the survey was trained on the questionnaire in classroom sessions by a fieldwork manager and by local supervisors in each of the regions and had completed two test interviews prior to the main data collection. During the course of fieldwork, quality checks were implemented by the research agencies whereby a sub-sample of the questionnaires were back-checked via telephonic or face-to-face call-backs in order to confirm that the interview was conducted with the listed respondent and that the questionnaire was completed correctly and truthfully, following checks on a number of key questions and demographics.

A total of 1005 interviews were conducted with Greek Cypriots. The Greek Cypriot sample was comprised of 55% males and 45% females with a mean age of 68 years.

A total of 882 interviews were conducted with Turkish Cypriots. The Turkish Cypriot sample was comprised of 55% males and 45% females with a mean age of 61 years.

20. Snowballing and referrals are non-probability sampling techniques where existing participants recruit or refer future participants for the research from among their acquaintances.

Life in Mixed Villages: The Past

Participants were asked several questions related to their daily life in the mixed villages before 1974. In this section we will explore participants' responses to these items related to the past.

One of the first issues we explored related to life in the past was the pattern of housing in the villages. We asked participants to indicate the pattern of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot houses in their village by choosing one of the patterns of houses indicated in [Figure 1](#).

From the results, as indicated in [Figure 1](#), it was found that 32.1% of participants stated that the pattern of houses in their village resembled Pattern 1 in which the two communities lived in a completely scattered manner in the village. Fewer participants, 18.9%, believed that the pattern of houses in their village resembled Pattern 2 while only 16.3% of participants, selected Pattern 3. Furthermore, 32.6% of participants selected Pattern 4, which showed the two communities living in completely separate quarters in the village.

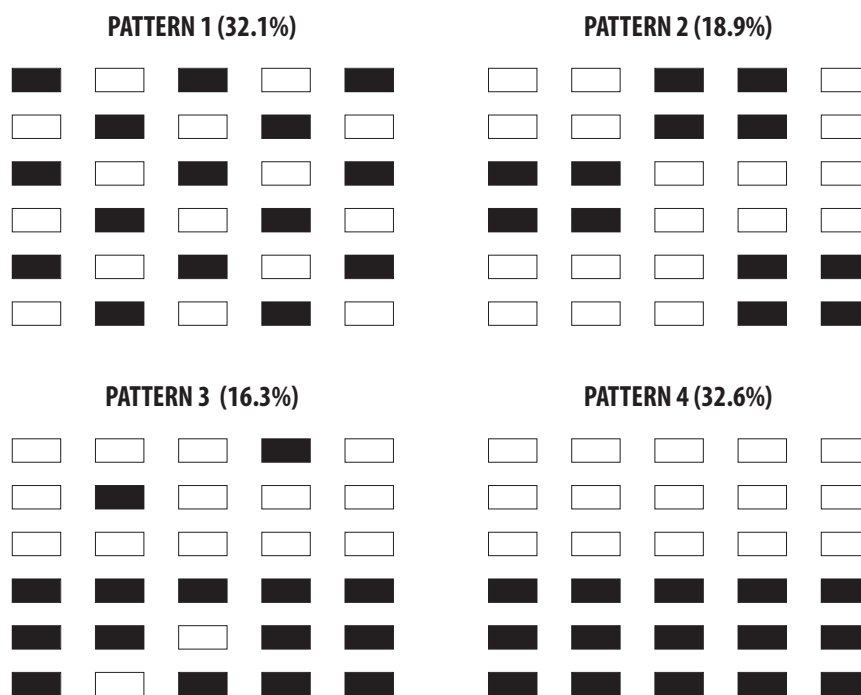


Figure 1. Pattern of houses shown to participants to indicate which pattern resembled the housing pattern in their mixed village.

The next items enquired about the distribution of economic power in the villages. Specifically, it asked participants to indicate which community had greater economic power in the village. As can be seen from Figure 2, most Greek Cypriots (58.4%) and most Turkish Cypriots (44.5%) agreed that the Greek Cypriot community definitely had greater economic power in the village. However, a large difference in the responses of the participants is seen at the option 'Definitely Turkish Cypriots' where 15.5% of Turkish Cypriots agreed with this option while only 5% of Greek Cypriots agreed that Turkish Cypriots in their village had greater economic power.

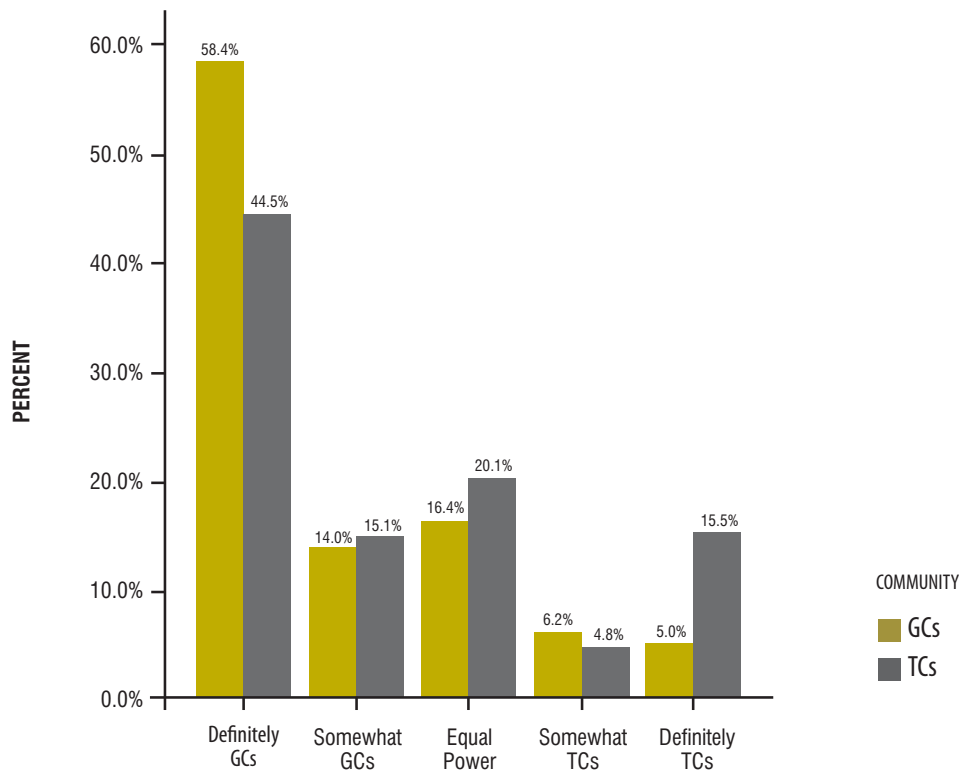


Figure 2. Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants' responses to the item "Who had greater economic power in the village?"

In the next set of items we explored social relations between the members of the two communities. When asking participants how many of their close friends were out-group members²¹ (irrespective of whether they lived in the village or not), more than half of the Turkish Cypriots of our sample (60.1%) stated that none of their close friends were Greek Cypriots while 29.3% of Turkish Cypriots stated that a few of their close friends were Greek Cypriots. On the contrary, more than half of the Greek Cypriots of our sample (56.3%) stated that a few of their close friends were Turkish Cypriots while 30.9% of Greek Cypriots stated that they had no close Turkish Cypriot friends. A clear difference in the extent of cross-group friendships was therefore reported between the two communities with Greek Cypriots reporting more friendships compared to Turkish Cypriots (see Figure 3).

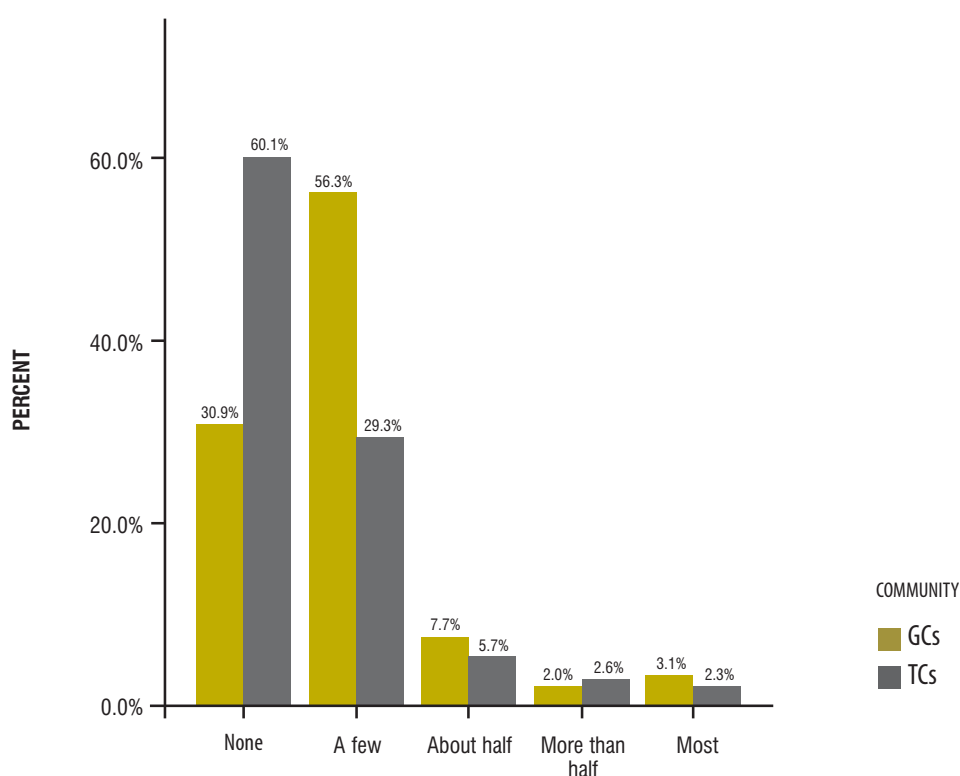


Figure 3. Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants' responses to the item "How many of your close friends were out-group members?"

21. The original questionnaire items made reference to either "Turkish Cypriot" or "Greek Cypriot" wherever "out-group members" is mentioned. Specifically, the questionnaire items presented to Greek Cypriot participants made reference to "Turkish Cypriots" while the questionnaire items presented to Turkish Cypriot participants made reference to "Greek Cypriots" wherever "out-group members" is mentioned in the text or in tables and figures.

Participants were also asked whether Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots had been best-men or best-women at weddings of members of the other community. While the majority of Turkish Cypriots (73.1%) stated that this had never been the case, Greek Cypriots stated that this had been the case more often with only 39.7% stating that this was never the case (see Figure 4).

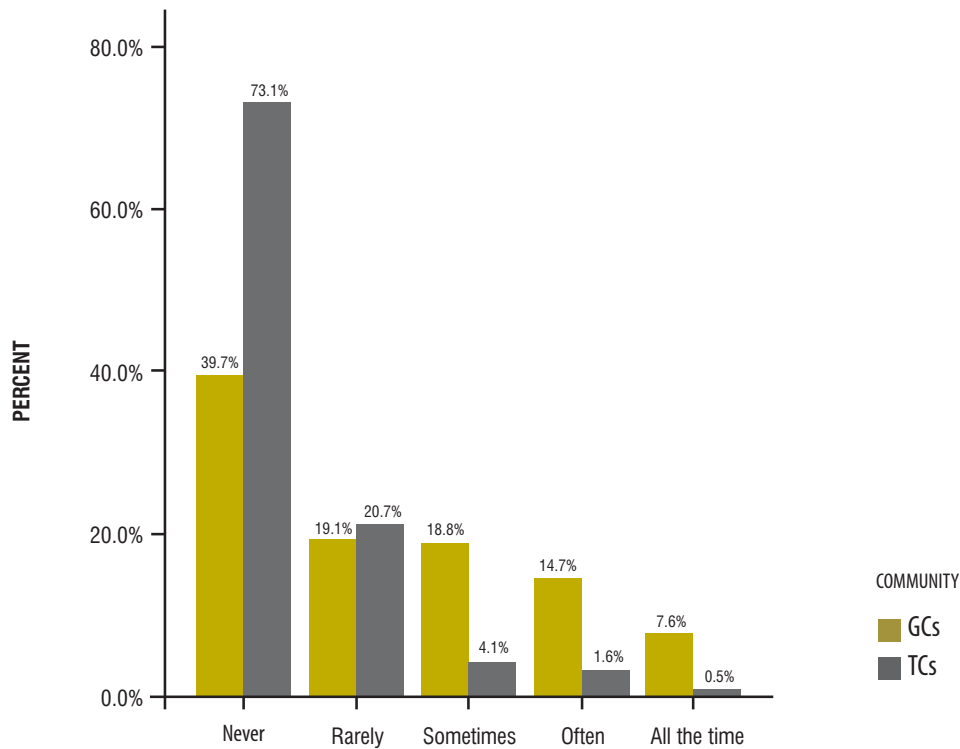


Figure 4. Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants' responses to the item "Were there GCs or TCs who were best-men / women in weddings of members of the other community?"

Participants were also asked whether there had been any mixed marriages between members of the two communities. The majority of Greek Cypriots (83.4%) stated that mixed marriages never took place while 62.9% of Turkish Cypriots also stated that mixed marriages never took place, however, 31.7% of Turkish Cypriots and 12.1% of Greek Cypriots stated that these mixed marriages did happen but rarely (see Figure 5). The difference between the two communities on this item is noteworthy because it goes in the opposite direction that the one found for the contact measures.

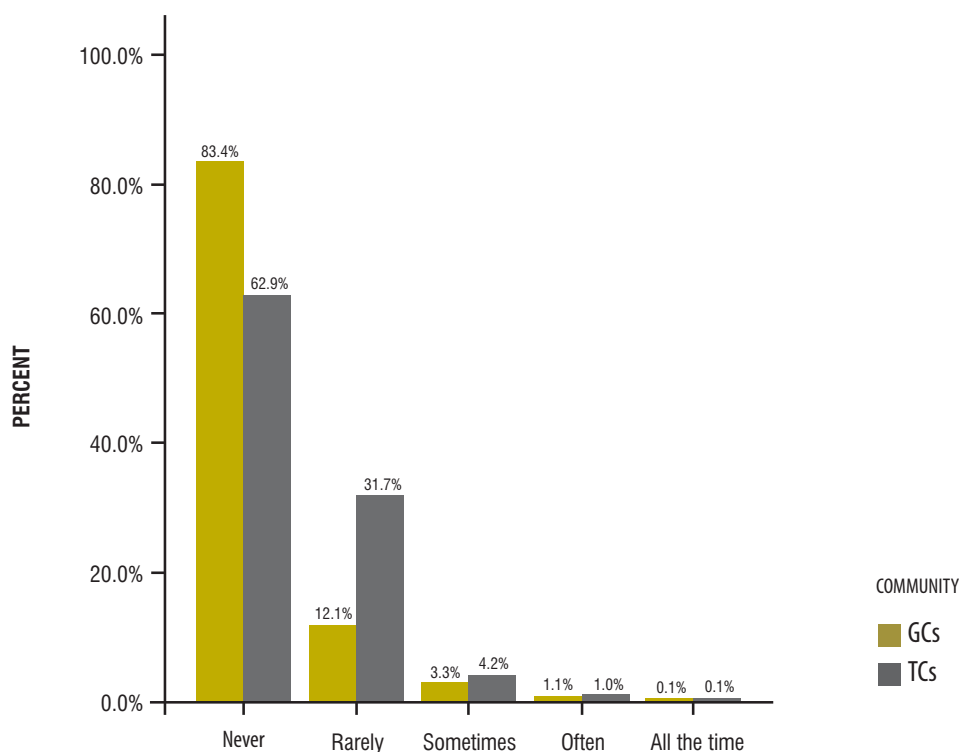


Figure 5. Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants' responses to the item "Were there any mixed marriages between members of the two communities?"

The next set of questions asked participants to state how often they personally socialized with members of the other community. Participants' responses to these items are presented in Table 6. The first of these questions asked participants how often they greeted people from the other community. It is remarkable that while 68.9% of Greek Cypriots state that they used to greet Turkish Cypriots very often, only 8.6% of Turkish Cypriots gave the same answer. On the contrary, 31.3% of Turkish Cypriots stated that they never used to greet Greek Cypriots while only 3.2% of Greek Cypriots stated that they never used to greet Turkish Cypriots. A similar picture arises from participants' responses to the question of how often they used to chat to people from the other community. Again the majority of Greek Cypriots state that they very often chatted to members of the other community while only 6.7% of Turkish Cypriots stated that they very often chatted with Greek Cypriots. In fact, 32.5% of Turkish Cypriots stated that they never chatted to Greek Cypriots while only 4.6% of Greek Cypriots stated that they never chatted to Turkish Cypriots.

Table 6. Percentages of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants' responses to items regarding the frequency of their socializing with members of the out-group in their villages

| | | NEVER | RARELY | OCCA- SIONALLY | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN | MEAN |
|---|----|-------|--------|-------------------|--------|---------------|------|
| In your village, how often did you greet people who were out-group members (e.g., when you saw them in the street)? | GC | 3.2% | 4.2% | 4.8% | 18.8% | 68.9 % | 4.46 |
| | TC | 31.3% | 23.7% | 19.7% | 16.1% | 8.6% | 2.47 |
| How often did you chat to people who were out-group members in your village? | GC | 4.6% | 4.2% | 5.1% | 19.5% | 66.1% | 4.39 |
| | TC | 32.5% | 25.1% | 21.2% | 13.8 % | 6.7% | 2.37 |
| How often did you do something social together with your out-group member co-villagers (e.g. weddings, parties, going out, name days, funerals)? | GC | 12.9% | 10.5% | 22.0% | 22.5% | 30.8% | 3.48 |
| | TC | 52.0% | 20.7% | 14.9 % | 8.0% | 4.0% | 1.91 |
| How often did you visit out-group members' shops in the village? | GC | 52.6% | 9.4% | 10.4% | 12.4% | 10.6% | 2.15 |
| | TC | 38.7% | 27.7% | 19.4% | 9.2% | 4.8% | 2.13 |
| How often did you visit out-group members' coffee shops in the village? | GC | 54.3% | 8.8% | 9.7% | 10.3% | 13.6% | 2.17 |
| | TC | 61.7% | 16.1% | 11.5% | 6,6% | 3.5% | 1.73 |

Note: The original questionnaire items presented to Greek Cypriot participants made reference to "Turkish Cypriots" while the questionnaire items presented to Turkish Cypriot participants made reference to "Greek Cypriots" wherever "out-group members" is mentioned in the above table.

The next item asked participants to indicate how often they did something social with out-group members from their village, such as going out, going to parties, to name days, weddings or even funerals. Again, a large difference is observed in the responses of the two communities. Whereas 52% of Turkish Cypriots stated that they never did anything social with their Greek Cypriot co-villagers 53.3% of Greek Cypriots stated that they often and very often did something social with their Turkish Cypriot co-villagers.

Moreover, participants were asked how often they used to visit shops and coffee shops in the village which belonged to out-group members. From participants' responses to these two items it is clear that the majority of people in mixed villages report that they either rarely visited or never visited shops (62% of Greek Cypriots and 66.4% of Turkish Cypriots) or coffee shops (63.1% of Greek Cypriots and 77.7% of Turkish Cypriots) which belonged to members of the other community but instead must have frequented establishments owned by members of their own communities. However, there was a substantial minority of people in both communities who reported that they did visit establishments owned by out-group members either occasionally, often or very often (33.5% of Greek Cypriots and 27.5% of Turkish Cypriots).

Participants were also asked to rate the quality of their contacts with out-group members in the past. As with previous questions, large differences can be observed in the responses of the members of the two communities. As can be seen from Table 7, the majority of Greek Cypriots (78.8%) stated that they found the contact they had with Turkish Cypriots before 1974 to have been pleasant to a large degree and very pleasant. On the contrary, a very small minority of Turkish Cypriots gave the same answer (only 14.7%). A similar pattern of responses can be seen on the next item which asked participants to state whether they found the contact to have been in a cooperative spirit. Again, the majority of Greek Cypriots (77.8%) found the contact to have been greatly and very much in a cooperative spirit while a minority of Turkish Cypriots agreed with the same positions (14%). Lastly, the same pattern is once again observed in the item asking whether they found the contact positive as the majority of Greek Cypriots (80.9%) stated that they found the contact to have been pleasant to a large degree and very much positive while the minority of Turkish Cypriots (13.6%) agreed with the same positions.

Table 7. Percentages of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants' responses to the items asking "When you met with out-group members before 1974 to what degree did you find the contact...?"

| | | Not at all | A little | Neither a little nor greatly | Greatly | Very much |
|--------------------------------|----|------------|----------|------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| Pleasant | GC | 4.1% | 5.9% | 10.3% | 32.0% | 46.8% |
| | TC | 29.4% | 25.5% | 29.0% | 10.1% | 4.6% |
| In a cooperative spirit | GC | 5.9% | 5.3% | 9.9% | 31.9% | 45.9% |
| | TC | 34.8% | 23.6% | 25.9% | 10.5% | 3.5% |
| Positive | GC | 4.0% | 5.7% | 8.1% | 36.2% | 44.7% |
| | TC | 29.3% | 25.7% | 29.8% | 10.1% | 3.5% |

Furthermore, participants were asked about the degrees of segregation across several aspects of village life. In particular, participants were asked whether there was in the village:

- a separate GC and a TC grocery store
- a separate GC and a TC co-operative
- a separate GC and a TC coffee shop
- a separate GC and a TC football team
- a separate GC and a TC bus
- a separate GC and a TC farmers' association
- a separate GC and TC mill
- a separate GC and TC trade union
- a separate GC and TC muhktar

Based on the participants' mean responses to the above 9 items, a segregation index was constructed. This segregation index was constructed by calculating the mean number of items mentioned above that the participants in each community recalled as being segregated, provided such an item was applicable in the particular village. Striking differences are observed from the results in the manner in which Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots recall the degree of segregation in these mixed villages. Whereas Greek Cypriots had a mean score of 0.33 on the segregation index, Turkish Cypriots had a mean score of 0.75 on the same index with 1 representing the maximum degree of segregation. Looking at the frequencies of the participants' mean responses, it can be further observed that the majority of Turkish Cypriots seem to recall a very large degree of segregation in their villages as about 58% had a mean score of 1 thus reporting the maximum degree of segregation. Greek Cypriots on the other hand, remember a much lower degree of segregation as only about 4% had a mean of 1.

Participants were also asked to state how many Turkish Cypriots in the village had been members of TMT or Volkan. Most of the Greek Cypriot participants (63.9%) believed that only a few Turkish Cypriots had been members of TMT or Volkan while instead over half of Turkish Cypriots (52.8%) stated that most or all Turkish Cypriots had indeed been members of TMT or Volkan (see Figure 6).

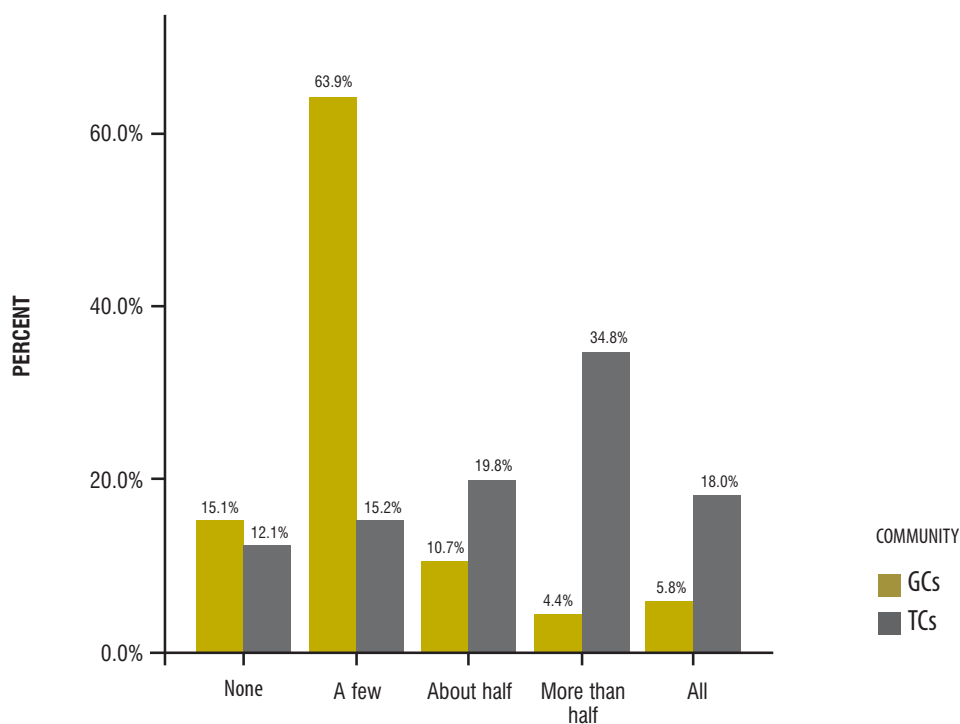


Figure 6. Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants' responses to the item "How many TCs in the village were members of TMT or Volkan?"

In the same vein, participants were also asked how many of the Greek Cypriots in their village had been members of EOKA . While 74% of Greek Cypriots stated that only a few Greek Cypriots had been members of EOKA, 34.2% of Turkish Cypriots felt that most of the Greek Cypriots in their villages had been members of EOKA . Noteworthy is also the fact that 19.2 % of Turkish Cypriots felt that all their Greek Cypriot co-villagers had been members of EOKA while only 2.8% of Greek Cypriots gave this answer (see Figure 7).

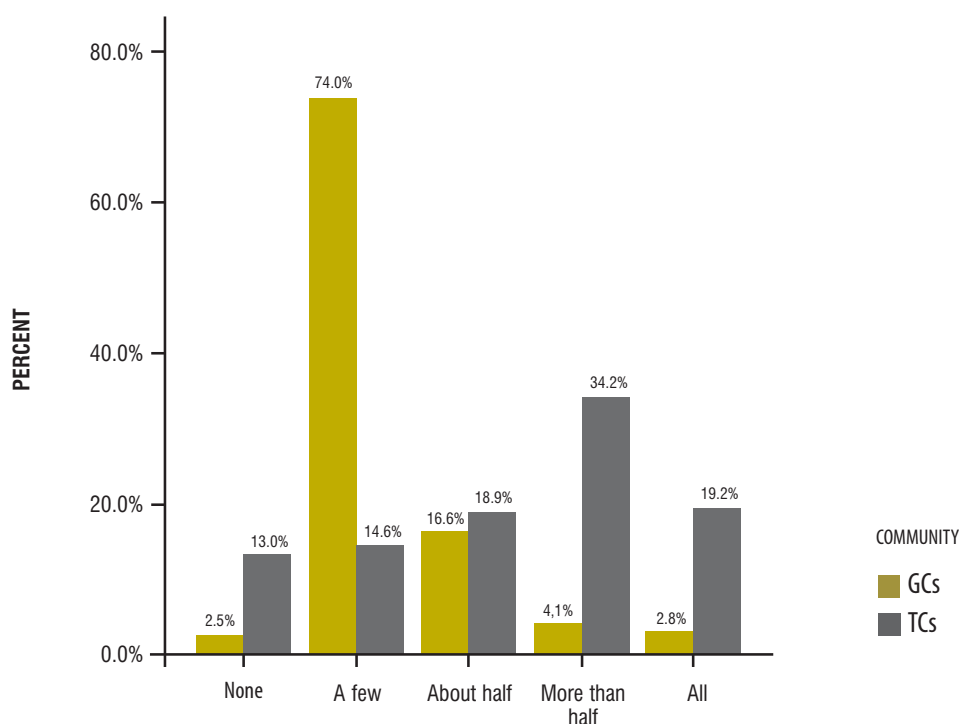


Figure 7. Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants' responses to the item "How many GCs in the village were members of EOKA?"

From these two questions, it is apparent that Turkish Cypriots overestimate the prevalence of extremism in their villages, both extremism by members of their own community and extremism by Greek Cypriots. On the contrary, it seems that Greek Cypriots have a more reserved view of both Turkish Cypriot extremism and Greek Cypriot extremism.

In addition, participants were also asked whether they themselves were members of either TMT, Volkan or EOKA. The majority of our respondents stated that they were not members of these groups. More precisely, 84.8% of Greek Cypriots and 72.9% of Turkish Cypriots stated that they were not members of these groups while 12.6% of Greek Cypriots and 21.3% of Turkish Cypriots stated that they were in fact members of either TMT, Volkan or EOKA (see Table 8).

Table 8. Percentage of Greek Cypriots who stated that they were members of EOKA and Turkish Cypriots who stated that they were members of TMT or Volkan.

| | YES | NO |
|-----------|-------|-------|
| GC | 12.6% | 84.8% |
| TC | 21.3% | 72.9% |

Participants were also asked about any potential suffering they may have endured either directly or indirectly as a result of the 1955-59, 1963-64 or 1974 events. As can be seen from Table 9, the largest difference between the two communities on the first question about personal injury (defined!) was with respect to the events of 1974 where 14.5% of Turkish Cypriots reported that they had been injured due to these while the respective percentage of Greek Cypriots was only 4%. On the whole, 25% of Turkish Cypriots in our sample reported having been injured during these three time periods as compared to only 5.2% of Greek Cypriots.

Participants were also asked whether they had been captured by members of the other community. Large differences were noted between the two communities: 8.4% of Turkish Cypriots reported having been captured during the years 1963-64 and 21.5% during 1974; the percentages of Greek Cypriots reporting having been captured throughout the three periods were much lower (0.3% in 1963-64 and 3% in 1974).

Participants were also asked about any indirect suffering that they may have endured, that is, suffering that members of their family or close friends may have endured. In both communities, a large percentage of participants stated that a member of their family or a close friend went missing or was killed as a result of the events in 1974. Specifically, almost 37% of Turkish Cypriots and 41% of Greek Cypriots responded positively to this question. This was the only percentage which was larger in the Greek Cypriot community than in the Turkish Cypriot community. Also noteworthy is the fact the 16% of Turkish Cypriots stated that a member of their family or a close friend went missing or was killed as a result of the events in 1963-64 while only 3% of Greek Cypriots responded in the same manner. Exactly the same pattern can be observed from the results of the next question which asked participants whether a member of their family or a close friend in their community had lost a member of his or her family or a close friend. Again, as in the previous question, very high percentages were reported with respect to 1974 where 36% of Greek Cypriots and 41% of Turkish Cypriots responded positively. Furthermore, a significant percentage of Turkish Cypriots (almost 21%) also responded positively to this last question with respect to the 1963-64 events.

Table 9. Percentages of participants in each community who stated that they suffered during the periods 1955-56, 1963-64 and 1974

| | | 1955-59 | 1963-64 | 1974 |
|--|----|---------|---------|-------|
| I was injured due to these events | GC | 0.4% | 0.7% | 4.1% |
| | TC | 3.3% | 7.5% | 14.5% |
| I was captured by members of the other community | GC | 1.0% | 0.3% | 3.0% |
| | TC | 1.7% | 8.4% | 21.5% |
| A member of my family or a close friend has been missing or killed | GC | 2.3% | 3.3% | 41.0% |
| | TC | 4.1% | 16.3% | 36.8% |
| A member of my family or a close friend in my community lost a member of his/her family's or a close friend | GC | 1.0% | 2.9% | 36.3% |
| | TC | 3.6% | 20.5% | 41.3% |

It is apparent, therefore, on the whole, that members of both communities report having suffered from the events of 1974 but in addition, that Turkish Cypriots report having suffered from the events of 1963-64 as well, the only exceptions to these patterns being the cases of personal injury and personal captivity by members of the other community. In these two cases, whereas the percentages of reported occurrences were very low in the Greek Cypriot community in all three time periods, in the Turkish Cypriot community relatively higher percentages were reported for the 1974 period.

Viewing the other Community: The Present

The questions asked which related to the present were different from the items discussed above which enquired about specific aspects of past life in the village. In order to enquire about the current views of participants we attempted to capture their feelings of trust, anxiety, threat, their representations of history, their attitudes, their identity, and a number of other issues. Because these issues refer to participants' perceptions and representations, they cannot be captured through the use of single items but, rather, in order for them to be more accurately conceptualised, in most cases the use of multiple items was required.

In order to analyse and effectively interpret the survey data in a reliable manner, it was necessary to construct scales from the several items which the questionnaire encompassed. Items in the questionnaire which relate to the same notions were grouped together to form a scale so that analyses were not based on single items but on a set of items which all aimed to measure the same underlying concept. In this way analyses become more reliable as they are based on several measures rather than on a single item measure.

For example, in trying to capture participants' feelings of trust towards members of the other community, we asked participants to indicate their agreement or disagreement on 3 different items. We asked them, for example, to indicate their agreement or disagreement on the following:

1. I just do not trust people of the other community
2. I trust people of the other community when they say that they love Cyprus
3. I trust ordinary people of the other community when they say they want peace

Those, scoring high on questions 2 and 3 but low on question 1 would be respondents who found that they do trust members of the other community while respondents scoring low on questions 2 and 3 but high on question 1 would be people exhibiting a low level of trust towards members of the other community.

Thus instead of analyzing the respondents' answers to each of these items we grouped them together, taking the mean of the score on items 2 and 3 and the reversed score of item 1 to form a scale which we labeled "Trust". A low score on this scale would indicate low trust of the members of the other community while a high score would indicate high feelings of trust towards members of the other community.

However, in order to construct reliable scales, it was necessary to first run a factor analysis and then reliability analyses (Cronbach's α) to ensure that the items in the scales which we aimed to construct were indeed addressing the same underlying concept.²² A Cronbach's α level above 0.60 is usually taken to indicate an acceptable level of internal reliability and above 0.70 as an indicator of good reliability, with 1.00 being the highest level of internal reliability. The factor analyses and reliability analyses permitted the construction of 14 scales based on the items of the questionnaire which showed high levels of internal consistency. On the whole, most items were measured on 5-point Likert scales, where 1 represented *Absolutely Disagree* and 5 represented *Absolutely Agree*, unless otherwise stated. These scales are presented in Table 10 (pp. 64-66) and will be described below before exploring further analyses.

The first scale constructed, *Quantity of Contact*, refers to the quantity of present day contact between the members of the two communities. The next two scales reflect the degree of national identification of the participants, whereby the scale, *Cypriot ID*, reflects Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots alignment with the superordinate Cypriot identity, whereas the scale *Subgroup ID*, reflects their alignment with their respective communities' identity, that is, either the Greek Cypriot or the Turkish Cypriot identity. The next scale which explores the participants' identity,

22. For more details see Jose M. Cortina (1993). What is Coefficient Alpha? An examination of Theory and Applications. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 78(1), 98-104.

the *Turko/Helleno-centrism* scale, expressed the participants' identity alignment with their respective "motherland", that is, with either Greece or Turkey.²³

As explained in the previous example, the Trust scale refers to the trust felt towards the members of the other community. Furthermore, the scale *Intergroup Anxiety* encompasses the degree of anxiety participants would feel if, at a particular occasion, they were the only member of their community interacting with a group of out-group members. The scale Realistic Threat refers to the threat participants may feel that the members of the other community will out-power them. *Symbolic Threat* on the other hand, refers to the threat that participants may feel that the members of the other community will challenge their values and identity while the scale *Group Esteem Threat* refers to the threat that out-group members may pose to the in-group's esteem.

The next scale constructed, *Criticise Turkey and foreign powers for Cyprus problem*, expressed the participants' emphasis on and criticism of the role of Turkey and of foreign powers in creating the Cyprus issue. As such, this scale expresses adherence to the official Greek Cypriot narrative in the high scores, and adherence to the official Turkish Cypriot narrative in the low scores. The next scale summarises participants' attitude towards the *Opening of the Checkpoints* between the north and south of the existing divide. *Attitude towards the out-group* is comprised of a single item which required participants to state their feelings towards members of the out-group on a scale resembling a thermometer ranging from 0 to 100 degrees.²⁴ This scale was recoded so as to range from 1 to 10 where 10 represents the most positive feelings or attitudes towards the out-group.

The next set of scales, *Village Contact*, *Quality of Past Contact* and *Past Cross Group Friendships* do not refer to the present perceptions of the other community but rather to life in the villages in the past. However, these two scales were constructed and added to this section using items which we described previously (in the section Life in Mixed Villages: The Past on p.52 previously) in order to explore differences between the two communities on these items as scales. *Village Contact*, refers to the quantity of their past contact in the village while *Quality of Past Contact*, refers, not to the quantity of contact but instead, to the quality of the contact that members of the two communities had between them before 1974. The scale *Past Cross Group Friendships* refers to the number of close friends that participants had from the other community as well as to the quality of those friendships.

23. Items from Kyriakos Pachoulides (2007). *The National Identity of Greek Cypriots: A genetic social psychological approach* (PhD dissertation, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences).

24. Items from Geoffrey Haddock, Mark Zanna, and Victoria M. Esses (1993). Assessing the structure of prejudicial attitudes: The case of attitudes toward homosexuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 65, 1105-1118. In the original article the scales referred to other social groups. In the case of this research the items were adapted to refer to attitudes towards the social groups that we were interested in measuring.

Table 10. Questionnaire items and Cronbach's α levels of the scales constructed²⁵

| Scale | Items | GC alpha | TC alpha |
|---|---|----------|----------|
| Quantity of Contact (6 items) | <i>How much contact do you actually have with members of the other community under the following conditions (not just seeing them but actually talking to them)?</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When you go shopping • At work • In bi-communal meetings • In the neighbourhood where you live • in the South • in the North | .79 | .90 |
| Cypriot ID (3 items) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In general, I'm happy to be a Cypriot • I feel good about being a Cypriot • I am proud to be a Cypriot | .96 | .99 |
| Subgroup ID (3 items) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In general, I'm happy to be a GC/TC • I feel good about being a GC/TC • I am proud to be a GC/TC | .98 | .96 |
| Helleno/ Turko-centrism (4 items) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I am characterized by the Turkish/Greek cultural origin • Cyprus is historically a Turkish place • Islam/Orthodoxy is an indispensable part of our national self • I consider Turkey/Greece as the Motherland | .77 | .79 |
| Trust (3 items) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I just do NOT trust people of the other community (Reversed) • I trust people of the other community when they say that they love Cyprus • I trust ordinary people of the other community when they say they want peace | .84 | .77 |
| Intergroup Anxiety (6 items) | If at a particular occasion you were the only member of your community and you were interacting with a group of out-group members, TCs/GCs, (e.g., talking with them, working on a project with them) to what degree would you feel the following in this occasion? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anxious • Nervous • Awkward • Safe (Reversed) • Comfortable (Reversed) • Suspicious | .95 | .87 |
| Realistic Threat (4 items) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The more power out-group members gain in this country, the more difficult it is for in-group members • Allowing out-group members to decide on political issues means that in-group members have less of a say in how this country is run • I worry that out-group members will claim more and more from us in the future • More good jobs for out-group members mean fewer good jobs for in-group members | .83 | .89 |

25. A Cronbach's α level above 0.60 is usually taken to indicate an acceptable level of internal reliability and above 0.70 as an indicator of good reliability, with 1.00 being the highest level of internal reliability. For more details see Jose M. Cortina (1993).

| Scale | Items | GC alpha | TC alpha |
|---|---|-------------|-------------|
| Symbolic Threat (2 items) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots in Cyprus have very different values Out-group members are beginning to project their identity in a way that I find threatening | .65 | .67 |
| Group Esteem Threat (4 items) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Out-group members have no respect for in-group members Out-group members regard themselves as superior to in-group members Out-group members think positively about in-group members (reversed) Out-group members think they are better than in-group members | .88 | .74 |
| Blame Turkey and Foreigners (7 items) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The British colonial policy of divide and rule led to the first seeds of hostility between the communities present in Cyprus The Turkish Cypriots were holding the side of the British and were making a stand against the Greek-Cypriots In 1974 Turkey invaded Cyprus to achieve partition of the island The establishment in the north of the 'TRNC' impeded the solution of the Cyprus problem The Cyprus problem is one created by the application of NATO plots in Cypriot issues The Cyprus issue is a matter of the interventionist policies of Turkey in Cyprus TMT arose from the need of Turkish Cypriots to protect themselves (reversed) | .67 | .67 |
| Checkpoints Opening (3 items) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> With the opening of checkpoints better relations could develop between the two communities in Cyprus The opening of checkpoints brought the solution to the Cyprus problem closer The opening of checkpoints is the first step in evaluating whether Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots can live peacefully | .81 | .67 |
| Attitude towards out-group (single item) | <p>The following questions concern your feelings towards different groups in general. Please rate each group on a thermometer that runs from zero (0) to one hundred (100) degrees.</p> <p>How do you feel towards for out-group members in general?</p> <p>0 10° 20° 30° 40° 50° 60° 70° 80° 90° 100°</p> <p><i>Very cold or negative</i> <i>Very hot or positive</i></p> | single item | single item |
| Village Contact (6 items) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How often did you chat to out-group members at work? In your village, how often did you greet out-group members (e.g., when you saw them in the street)? How often did you chat to out-group members in your village? How often did you do something social together with your co-villagers of the other community (e.g. weddings, parties, going out, name days, funerals)? | .74 | .91 |

| Scale | Items | GC alpha | TC alpha |
|--|--|----------|----------|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How often did you visit shops in the village which belonged to out-group members? • How often did you visit coffee shops in the village which belonged to out-group members? | | |
| Quality of Past Contact (4 items) | <p><i>When you met with members of the other community before 1974, to what degree did you find the contact:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pleasant • In cooperative spirit • Positive • Based on mutual respect | .96 | .93 |
| Past Cross Group Friendships (3 items) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How many of your close friends were members of the other community? • If you had close friends from the other community, how often did you visit them in their home? • If you had close friends from the other community, how often did they visit you in your home? | .75 | .85 |

Note: The original questionnaire items presented to Greek Cypriot participants made reference to “Turkish Cypriots” while the questionnaire items presented to Turkish Cypriot participants made reference to “Greek Cypriots” wherever “out-group members” is mentioned in the above table.

The Present: Exploring similarities and differences between the two communities

After constructing of the scales, we now proceed to explore similarities and differences between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot inhabitants of formerly mixed villages. In order to compare the responses of Greek Cypriot participants with the responses of Turkish Cypriot participants on each of the 14 scales constructed, we conducted independent samples t-tests. Independent samples t-tests are statistical tests which indicate whether the differences between the mean responses of two groups of participants, in our case between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, are statistically significant. The results of the independent samples t-tests on each of the 14 scales constructed are presented on Table 11.

Table 11 indicates the significance level of each independent samples t-test conducted for each scale as well as the mean response, or score, of each community on each scale. The mean score is calculated by adding together the responses of all the participants of a community on the items which make up each scale and then dividing the sum with the total number of participants. Since most of our scales range from 1 to 5, where 1 represents *Absolutely Disagree* and 5 represents *Absolutely Agree*, then a mean score below 3, which would be the mid-point, indicates disagreement with the position of the particular scale while a score above 3 represents agreement with the scale’s positions.

If the responses of the two groups are similar then the independent samples t-test will indicate that the difference between the two groups is non-significant (indicated by n.s.). If however, the responses of the two groups are very different from each other, where for example one group strongly agrees with a certain position while the other group seems to disagree with that position, then the independent samples t-test will indicate that the difference is statistically significant (a p. value lower than 0.05 is considered to indicate a significant difference).

As can be seen from Table 11, the independent samples t-test on the first scale *Quantity of Contact*, Turkish Cypriots report that they presently have more contact with Greek Cypriots than Greek Cypriots report having with Turkish Cypriots. However, it should be noted that the amount of contact either group reports having with members of their out-group is quite low.

Table 11. Independent samples t-tests between Greek and Turkish Cypriots

| Scale | Community | Mean | Standard Deviation | Significance level |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Quantity Contact | Greek Cypriot | 1.61 | .77 | p < 0.001 |
| | Turkish Cypriot | 1.82 | .91 | |
| Cypriot ID | Greek Cypriot | 4.65 | .54 | p < 0.001 |
| | Turkish Cypriot | 4.13 | 1.34 | |
| Subgroup ID | Greek Cypriot | 4.57 | .67 | p < 0.05 |
| | Turkish Cypriot | 4.64 | .78 | |
| Helleno/ Turko-centrism | Greek Cypriot | 4.32 | .68 | p < 0.001 |
| | Turkish Cypriot | 4.11 | .84 | |
| Trust | Greek Cypriot | 3.33 | 1.11 | p < 0.001 |
| | Turkish Cypriot | 2.16 | 1.17 | |
| Intergroup Anxiety | Greek Cypriot | 2.89 | 1.30 | p < 0.001 |
| | Turkish Cypriot | 3.44 | 1.07 | |
| Realistic Threat | Greek Cypriot | 4.06 | .81 | p < 0.007 |
| | Turkish Cypriot | 3.95 | .95 | |
| Symbolic Threat | Greek Cypriot | 3.54 | .99 | p < 0.001 |
| | Turkish Cypriot | 3.94 | .95 | |
| Group Esteem Threat | Greek Cypriot | 2.91 | .98 | p < 0.001 |
| | Turkish Cypriot | 3.77 | .91 | |
| Blame Turkey and Foreigners | Greek Cypriot | 4.35 | .53 | p < 0.001 |
| | Turkish Cypriot | 3.10 | .71 | |
| Checkpoints Opening | Greek Cypriot | 2.97 | 1.07 | p < 0.001 |
| | Turkish Cypriot | 3.16 | 1.06 | |
| Attitude Towards the Out-group | Greek Cypriot | 6.45 | 5.10 | p < 0.001 |
| | Turkish Cypriot | 2.05 | 2.80 | |
| Village Contact | Greek Cypriot | 3.36 | .97 | p < 0.001 |
| | Turkish Cypriot | 2.10 | 1.01 | |
| Quality of Past Contact | Greek Cypriot | 4.12 | 1.02 | p < 0.001 |
| | Turkish Cypriot | 2.33 | 1.03 | |
| Past Cross Group Friendships | Greek Cypriot | 2.37 | 1.21 | p < 0.001 |
| | Turkish Cypriot | 1.55 | .87 | |

Another interesting difference appears with regards to how Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots express their identity. In particular, it can be seen from Table 11 that Greek Cypriots adhere more to the Cypriot identity than Turkish Cypriots while Turkish Cypriots adhere more to their subgroup identity, that is the Turkish Cypriot identity, than Greek Cypriots adhere to their own subgroup identity of Greek Cypriots. This is probably due to the fact that the communal identity of “Kıbrıslı Türk” in the Turkish Cypriot community is an identity that is widely used across the ideological spectrum²⁶ contrary to the corresponding *Ellinokıprıos* that is less often used by Greek Cypriots as it is often juxtaposed to Cypriot. The identity Cypriot, is more often used by Greek Cypriots to imply, however, only the Greek Cypriot community. Another difference between the members of the two communities appears with respect to their identity alignment with their respective motherlands, that is, either Greece or Turkey. It can be observed from Table 11, that Greek Cypriot participants expressed more Helleno-centrism than Turkish Cypriot participants expressed Turko-centrism, even though both communities scored above the mid-point of this scale thus clearly expressing their alignment with their respective motherlands.

Going on to the next set of scales, it can be observed from the *Trust* scale that Greek Cypriot participants seem to trust members of the Turkish Cypriot community more than Turkish Cypriot participants trust Greek Cypriots. However, it should be noted that the trust expressed by both groups is quite low level, especially in the Turkish Cypriot sample where the trust is below the mid-point of 3. In congruence with the results on Trust, are the participants’ responses to the scales *Intergroup Anxiety*, *Symbolic Threat* and *Group Esteem Threat*. Greek Cypriots reported less intergroup anxiety, less symbolic threat and less group esteem threat than Turkish Cypriots. The results regarding the scale *Realistic Threat* were different. In this case, it can be observed that Greek Cypriots reported feeling higher levels of realistic threat compared to Turkish Cypriots. Even though the difference in *Realistic Threat* between the two communities was not very large, it was however significant indicating that Greek Cypriots are worried not so much about their group’s esteem nor about symbolic threats but more about realistic threats related to issues such as the loss of political power or less availability of good jobs.

The next scale refers to the representations of history held by participants. As expected, Greek Cypriots agreed more with the scale *Blame Turkey and Foreign Powers* than Turkish Cypriots. A difference was also found with respect to the scale *Checkpoints Opening* whereby Turkish Cypriots felt more positively about the opening of the checkpoints between the two sides of the existing divide than Greek Cypriots. A large difference was found on the single item regarding participants’ attitude towards members of their out-group. In particular, Greek Cypriots were found to hold a relatively positive attitude towards Turkish Cypriots scoring above the mid-point of 5 on this scale which runs from 1 to 10. Turkish Cypriots on the other hand, were found to hold quite a negative attitude towards Greek Cypriots scoring well below the mid-point of 5.

A similar pattern can be seen from the mean values of the scale *Village Contact and Quality of Past Contact*, whereby Greek Cypriots report having had much more contact with their Turkish Cypriot co-villagers in the past as well as contact of better quality than Turkish Cypriots report having had with their Greek Cypriot co-villagers which was already reported earlier. Therefore, an asymmetry is found in the way daily life in mixed villages is recollected by Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Taking into account that Greek Cypriots on the whole represented the majority of the inhabitants of Cyprus, it would have been expected for Turkish Cypriots to have had more contact with Greek Cypriots in the past than the other way round. However, the asymmetry here rather reflects a bias in the recollection of the members of the two communities. By the fact that Greek Cypriots also remembered the quality of this past contact to have been much better than Turkish Cypriots remember it to be indicates that perhaps, Greek Cypriots have a more positive recollection of past contact with their Turkish Cypriots co-villagers than vice versa. This difference in the recollected quality of past contact in the villages is very large, as Turkish Cypriots rated the quality of contact well below the mid-point of the scale, indicating that they consider the contact to have been of a negative quality, while Greek Cypriot rated it well over the mid-point indicating that they consider it to have been positive. Exactly the same pattern appeared with respect to the scale *Past Cross Group Friendships* as Greek Cypriots scored significantly higher on this scale than Turkish Cypriots thus reporting that they had more quality friendships with Turkish Cypriots in their villages than Turkish Cypriots report having with Greek Cypriots.

26. See Charis Psaltis (in press)

Living Together Again? Possible Futures

In addition to the questions related to past life in mixed villages and the questions related to the present perceptions and representations of the inhabitants of formerly mixed villages, participants were also asked about their views of the future of the Cyprus issue and its possible solution.

One of the first questions asked to participants regarding the future, related to possible scenarios of living together again in the future in mixed neighbourhoods. Specifically, participants were presented with 5 cards (see Figure 8 below) each of which showed 15 homes. Participants were asked to indicate which of the following scenarios they would feel more comfortable living in, in case of a solution to the Cyprus problem.

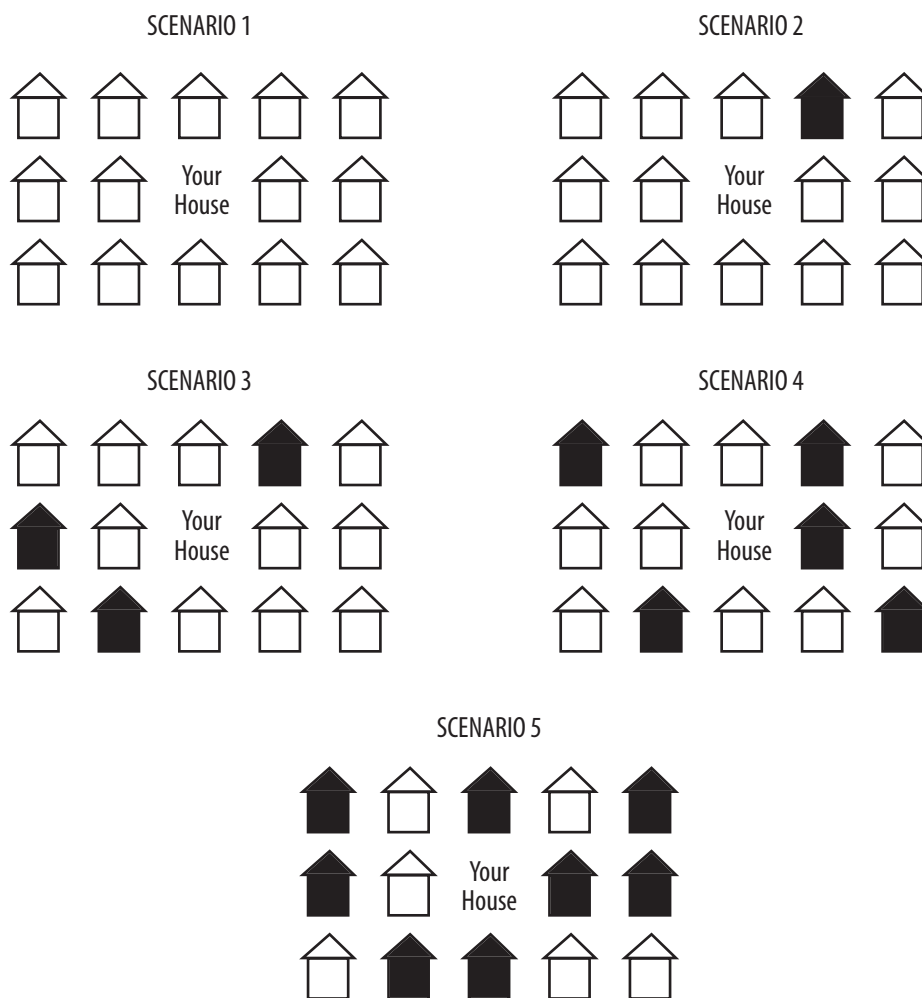


Figure 8. Diagram of housing pattern scenarios given to participants

In Scenario 1 presented a neighborhood comprised of all in-group members' houses (14 houses) while Scenario 2 presented a neighborhood comprised of mostly all (13) in-group houses and 1 out-group house. In Scenario 3 the neighborhood presented was comprised of mostly (11) in-group houses and 3 out-group houses while in Scenario 4 the neighborhood was comprised of some (9) in-group houses and 5 out-group houses. Lastly, Scenario 5 presented a neighborhood comprised of a few (6) in-group houses and 8 out-group houses.

From Table 12, which presents participants' frequencies of responses to each scenario, it can be seen that the majority of Turkish Cypriots, 77.2%, selected Scenario 1. Only a small minority of Turkish Cypriots selected the other scenarios. Greek Cypriots on the other hand showed a larger distribution on the 5 scenarios presented. Even though the largest percentage of Greek Cypriot participants also selected Scenario 1 (45.8%), this percentage was much lower than that in the Turkish Cypriot community. Almost a quarter of the Greek Cypriot sample selected Scenario 3 (23.5%) while 18.3% selected Scenario 4. Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants' responses were similar with respect to Scenario 5 which was only selected by a small minority of each community. It is obvious therefore, that Turkish Cypriots on the whole, would feel very uncomfortable living together again with Greek Cypriots in the future. Greek Cypriots on the other hand, do show a tendency towards life together again as a substantial percentage reported that they would feel comfortable in a neighborhood comprised of mostly (11) in-group houses but with a few (3) out-group houses (Scenario 3) as well as in a neighborhood comprised of some (9) in-group houses and 5 out-group houses (Scenario 4).

Table 12. Percentages of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots who selected each of the 5 scenarios

| | GC | TC |
|-------------------|-------|-------|
| Scenario 1 | 45.8% | 77.2% |
| Scenario 2 | 6.9% | 7.6% |
| Scenario 3 | 23.5% | 4.3% |
| Scenario 4 | 18.3% | 5.4% |
| Scenario 5 | 5.4% | 5.4% |

Furthermore, participants were also asked a second question about the scenarios. Specifically, they were asked to indicate which other scenarios they would find acceptable living in apart from the scenario which they would prefer living in. Participants' responses to this second question are presented in Table 13. From Table 13, it can be seen that even though a large percentage of Turkish Cypriots find Scenario 1 acceptable (as that was the scenario they also selected in the previous question), it is interesting to note that 22.2% of Turkish Cypriots find Scenario 1 unacceptable. Further, it can be seen that 23% of Turkish Cypriots find Scenario 2 acceptable to live in and 11% find Scenario 3 acceptable to live in. Of course, the large majority of Turkish Cypriots find any scenario other than Scenario 1, unacceptable. The picture is also interesting with respect to the responses of Greek Cypriots. It can be seen that the majority of Greek Cypriots find Scenarios 1, 2, 3 and 4 acceptable but it is also worth noting that a substantial percentage of Greek Cypriots finds Scenario 5 acceptable. In fact 32.8% of Greek Cypriots find Scenario 5 acceptable which presents a neighborhood comprised of a few (6) in-group houses and 8 out-group houses. On the contrary, only 3.1 % of Turkish Cypriots gave the same answer.

Table 13. Percentages of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots who found each of the 5 scenarios “acceptable” and “unacceptable”

| | | Acceptable | Unacceptable |
|-------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|
| Scenario 1 | GC | 97% | 3% |
| | TC | 77.8% | 22.2% |
| Scenario 2 | GC | 85.9% | 14.1% |
| | TC | 23% | 77% |
| Scenario 3 | GC | 77.5% | 22.5% |
| | TC | 11% | 89% |
| Scenario 4 | GC | 59% | 41% |
| | TC | 5.1% | 94.9% |
| Scenario 5 | GC | 32.8% | 67.2% |
| | TC | 3.1% | 96.9% |

Moreover, participants were asked to indicate the degree to which they would accept a number of possible solutions to the property issue. Specifically, participants were asked to rate their degree of acceptance of mostly resolving the property issue on the basis of:

- a) compensation,
- b) exchange,
- c) return, and
- d) a combination of all the above.

Figure 9, presents participants' responses to the first of these items, that is, to the solution of the property issue on the basis of compensation. From Figure 10, it can be seen that around 29% of Greek Cypriot and about 17% of Turkish Cypriot participants stated that they absolutely disagree with this solution to the property issue. Moreover, approximately 20% of both communities stated that they neither agree nor disagree with this solution. An interesting difference between the two communities can be seen on the right end of the scale, as almost 27% of Turkish Cypriots stated that they absolutely agree with this solution where the respective percentage in the Greek Cypriot community was only 9%. Therefore, it seems that a substantial percentage of Turkish Cypriots feel that they absolutely agree with this solution while, on the contrary, an equally substantial percentage of Greek Cypriots absolutely disagree with this option.

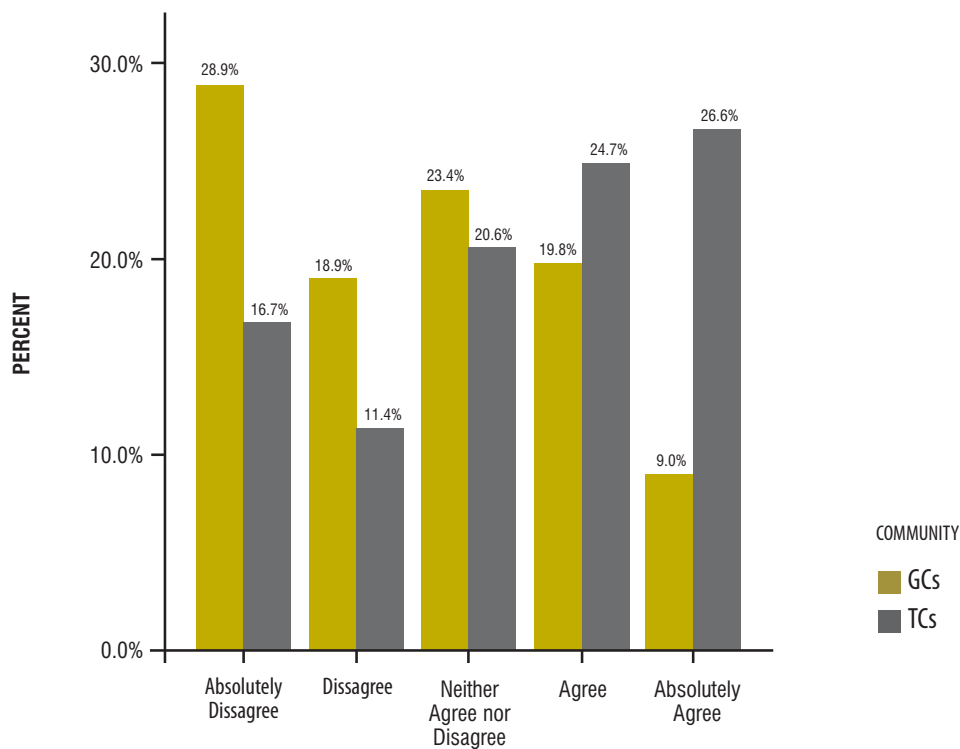


Figure 9. Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants' responses to compensation being the main resolution of the property issue.

A similar pattern of results can be seen from the data resulting from the second question on accepting exchange as a possible solution to the property issue. As it can be seen from Figure 10, about 28% of Greek Cypriot participants stated that they absolutely disagreed with this option as did about 23% of Turkish Cypriots. However, whereas almost 20% of Turkish Cypriots absolutely agreed with this option, only 8% of Greek Cypriots felt that they absolutely agreed with exchange being a possible solution to the property issue. Furthermore, an equal percentage of members of both communities stated that they neither agreed nor disagreed with this possibility.

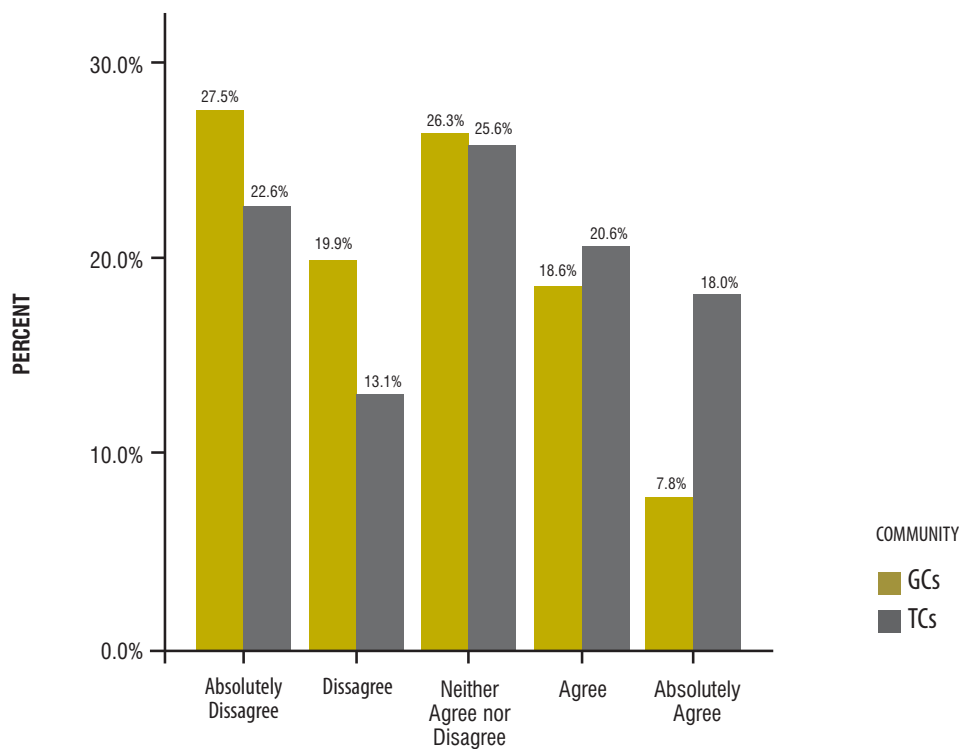


Figure 10. Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants' responses to exchange being the main resolution of the property issue.

Large differences between the opinions of the members of the two communities can be seen with respect to the third related question. Specifically, as can be seen from Figure 11, almost 40% of Turkish Cypriots absolutely disagreed with return being a possible solution to the property issue while the respective percentage in the Greek Cypriot community was only 2%. Moreover, over 60% of Greek Cypriots stated that they absolutely agree with this possible solution to the property issue whereas the respective percentage in the Turkish Cypriot community was only 9%. Furthermore, 23% of Turkish Cypriots and 7% of Greek Cypriots did not have a clear stance towards this issue and thus responded with neither agree nor disagree.

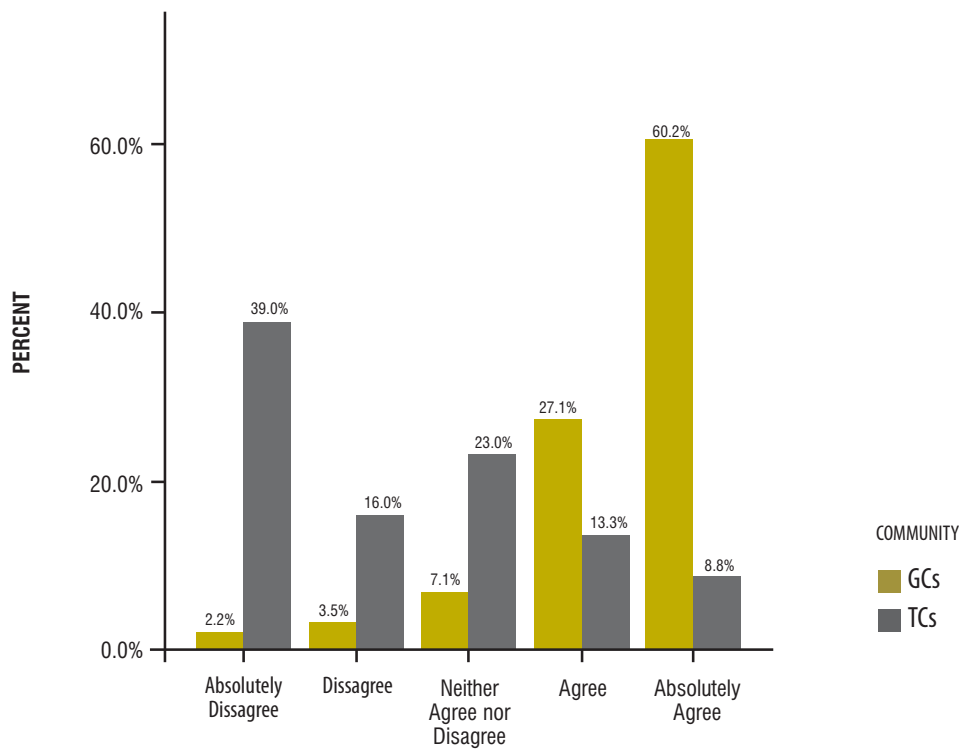


Figure 11. Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants' responses to compensation being the main resolution of the property issue.

With respect to the last question asking participants if they would accept a combination of compensation, exchange and return as a solution to the property issue participants in both communities followed a similar pattern whereby about 25% of both communities stated that they absolutely disagree while the remaining majority of participants were approximately equally dispersed across the options: “absolutely agree”, “agree” and “neither agree nor disagree”. A substantially smaller percentage in both communities (below 10%) stated that they disagree with this combination being a solution to the property issue (see Figure 12).

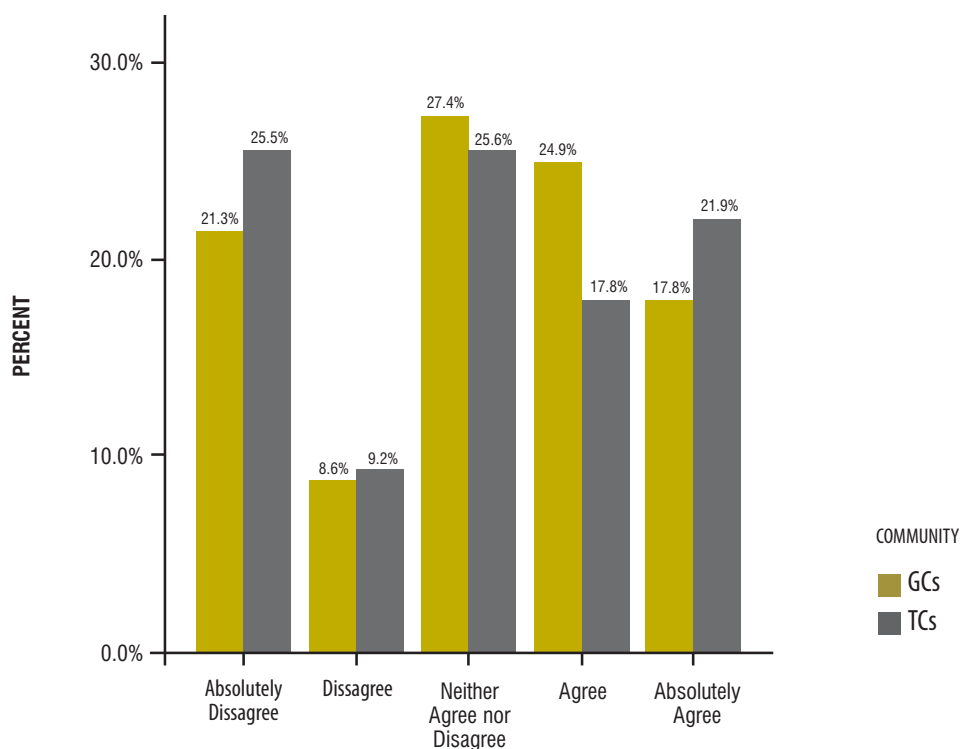


Figure 12. Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants’ responses to a combination of compensation, exchange and return being the resolution of the property issue.

In addition to the above set of questions on the possible solutions to the property issue, another set of questions asked participants to indicate their positions on possible types of solution to the Cyprus issue (see Table 14). Primarily participants were asked to give their opinion on the possible unification with their respective motherlands as a possible solution to the Cyprus issue. Specifically, Turkish Cypriots were asked to give their opinion on the unification of ‘TRNC’ with Turkey as a possible solution while Greek Cypriots were asked to give their opinion on the unification of the Republic of Cyprus with Greece as a possible solution. Even though about 60% of Greek Cypriots found this solution completely unacceptable, 21.5% of Greek Cypriots found this to be a very satisfactory solution. Turkish Cypriots on the other hand, were divided between the three options.

Going on to bi-zonal bi-communal federation, a large difference can be noted between the two communities whereby 46% of Turkish Cypriots found this a very satisfactory solution as opposed to only 18% of Greek Cypriots. Even larger differences can be observed with respect to the solution of a unitary state. In this question, 70% of Greek Cypriots responded that they would find this solution very satisfactory but 64% of Turkish Cypriots stated that they would find this solution as completely unacceptable. A similar difference was found on the question related to a two

state solution to the Cyprus issue. In this case, almost 85% of Greek Cypriots stated that they would find this solution completely unacceptable whereas over 60% of Turkish Cypriots stated that they would find it a very satisfactory solution. Lastly, differences can be seen on the question which presents preserving the status quo as a possible solution to the Cyprus issue. In this question, the majority of Greek Cypriots (81%) find this completely unacceptable whereas the Turkish Cypriots of our sample were divided between the three options.

On the whole, it seems that the majority of Greek Cypriots find the unification of the Republic of Cyprus with Greece, a two-state solution and the status quo as completely unacceptable and strongly support the option of a unitary state. The majority of Turkish Cypriots on the other, hand find the possibility of a unitary state as completely unacceptable and strongly support a two state solution. Bi-communal, Bi-zonal federation is essentially the only solution that can be acceptable by majorities in BOTH communities as very satisfactory or as a compromise with figures as large as 59.5% for Greek Cypriots and 69.7% for Turkish Cypriots.

Table 14. Frequencies of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot participants' responses to possible solutions to the Cyprus issue.

| | | Completely unacceptable | Accept as a compromise | Very satisfactory solution |
|--|----|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Unification of the TRNC with Turkey / Unification of the Republic of Cyprus with Greece | GC | 59% | 19.4% | 21.5% |
| | TC | 40% | 22.3% | 37.7% |
| Bi-zonal bi-communal federation | GC | 40.5% | 41.3% | 18.2% |
| | TC | 30.3% | 23.6% | 46.1% |
| Unitary state | GC | 10.2% | 20.3% | 69.4% |
| | TC | 63.6% | 23.1% | 13.3% |
| Two state solution | GC | 84.7% | 11.4% | 3.9% |
| | TC | 12.9% | 25.8% | 61.3% |
| As now/ Keep status quo | GC | 81.2% | 14.7% | 4.1% |
| | TC | 27.4% | 39.9% | 32.7% |

Relating the Past, the Present and the Future

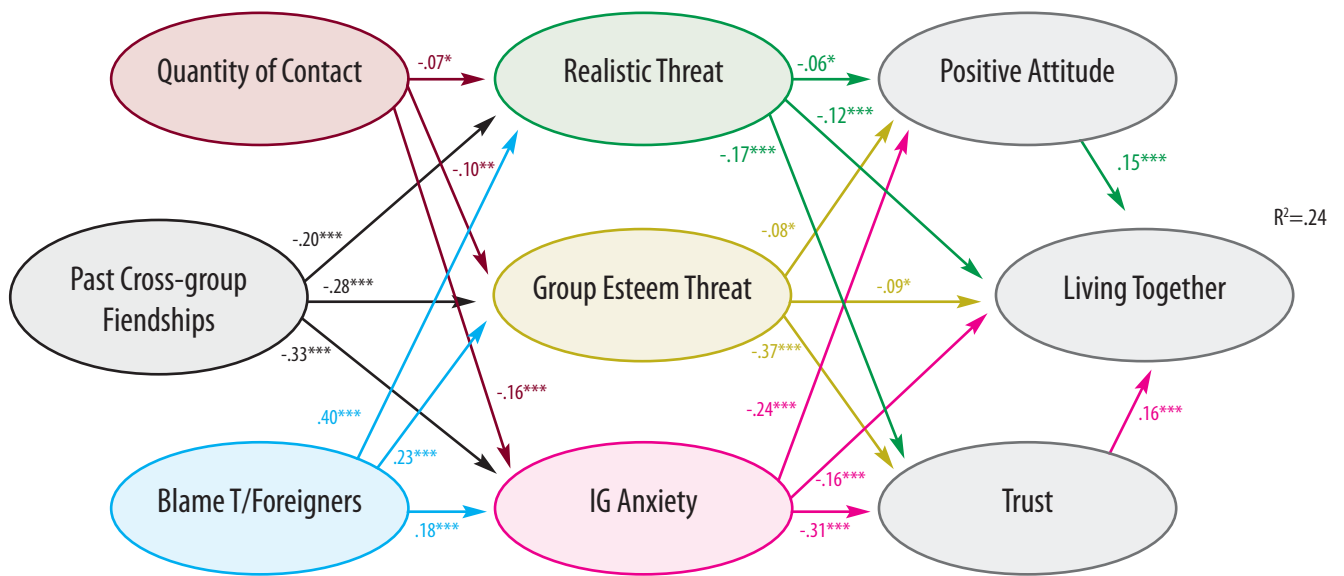
In addition to the analyses which were conducted on the past, the present and the future of mixed villages in Cyprus, an attempt was made to investigate whether, and in what manner, the past experiences of former inhabitants of mixed villages related with their present views of the members of the other community. Moreover, it was attempted to establish whether their past experiences and their present views are related in any way with their desire to live together again in the future. In effect, through the subsequent analyses, it was attempted to establish a pathway between the past, the present and the future. To explore the first question all relevant variables introduced were correlated. The Table in Appendix II presents these correlations for both communities. What comes out of studying the Table is that the more people report having contact with members of the other community today the more contact they are likely to report having in the past (as well as more friendships) and also that that contact was of better quality. In addition to that, all these contact variables (both past and present) directly relate with reduced threats and prejudice and increased levels of trust as would be expected from the social psychological literature reviewed earlier.

The identity questions relate differently with the threat, prejudice and trust variables in each community. In the Turkish Cypriot community identification with the superordinate category of Cypriot seems to carry the significance of being inclusive of Greek Cypriots, thus relating with a better view of Greek Cypriots. However, in the Greek Cypriot community it almost equates with identification with the communal identity of being Greek Cypriot and as such, it does not systematically relate with a better view of Turkish Cypriots. In other words, in the Greek Cypriot community, as it was also shown in other studies, identification with the Cypriot identity often takes a symbolic content that equals with being Greek Cypriot based on a projection of the ingroup as the prototype for the superordinate category (see Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber & Waldzus, 2003). Therefore, Hellenocentrism and Turkocentrism are very closely linked with threats, trust and prejudice in the expected direction. This is in congruence with the review of the significance of nationalism in the Cypriot context.

In order to answer the second question to establish a pathway from past to present and future, an alternative strategy was followed. We tested a model using Structural Equation Modelling (SEM)²⁷ by using selected scales and items which were described in earlier sections of this report. The SEM analyses were conducted separately for each community. The results from the Greek Cypriot community are presented in Figure 14. A description and discussion of the respective results from the Turkish Cypriot community will follow.

The overall model for the two communities produces an acceptable fit ($\chi^2=202,20$, $df=18$, $CFI=0.96$, $RMSEA=0.074$, $FMIN=0.10$) to the data and explains a substantial percentage of the wish to live together with members of the other community but there are also moderation effects of the community. In the Greek Cypriot community the scale *Quantity of Contact* was related to *Realistic Threat*, *Group Esteem Threat* and *Intergroup Anxiety*. This is indicated by the lines in red. Above these red lines, the negative values also in red indicate that the relationships between *Quantity of Contact* with *Realistic Threat*, *Group Esteem Threat* and *Intergroup Anxiety* are negative. This means that an increase in Greek Cypriots' contact with members of the other community leads to a reduction in realistic threat, group esteem threat and intergroup anxiety as arising from the other community. A similar pattern arises with respect to *Past Cross-Group Friendships*. As can be seen from the black lines and the negative values in black, the more cross-group friendships participants had in the past the less realistic threat, the less group esteem threat and the less intergroup anxiety they feel as arising from the other community. The role of participants' representations of history was also examined using the scale *Blame Turkey and Foreigners* for the Cyprus problem. A different pattern is seen with respect to the relationship of this scale with the scales of *Realistic Threat*, *Group Esteem Threat* and *Intergroup Anxiety*, as the values above the lines in blue are not negative in this case but positive. In effect, what this means is that the more a Greek Cypriot abides by the official Greek Cypriot narrative of solely blaming Turkey and foreigners for the Cyprus problem the more realistic threat, group esteem threat and intergroup anxiety he/she feels. Stated in other words, questioning the official narrative of their community reduces feelings of threat and anxiety in Greek Cypriots.

27. Structural Equation Modelling is a multivariate analysis technique used for testing and estimating complex relations between variables.



* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Note 1: The symbols * in the figure demonstrate the level of significance of the relationship whereby * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Note 2: Positive numbers in the figure represent positive relationships between the variables whereas negative numbers in the figure represent negative relationships between the variables.

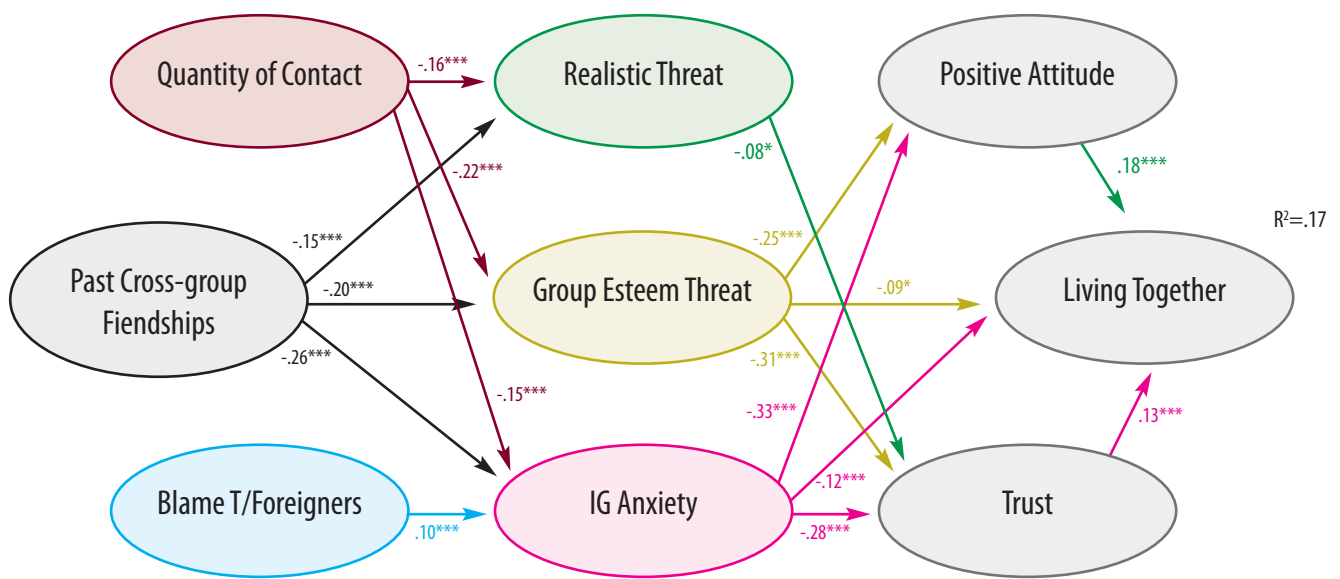
Figure 13. Structural Equation Model demonstrating the relationships between variables of the Past, Present and Future in the Greek Cypriot sample.

Furthermore, as can be seen from Figure 13, *Realistic Threat*, *Group Esteem Threat* and *Intergroup Anxiety* in turn are related to another three variables: *Positive Attitude towards the out-group*, *Living Together*²⁸ in the future and *Trust*. As is indicated from the negative values in orange, brown and green, the less realistic threat, group esteem threat or intergroup anxiety Greek Cypriots feel, the more positive their attitudes are towards Turkish Cypriots, the more they desire to live together with them in the future and the more they trust them.

In effect, what the SEM analyses of the Greek Cypriot community show is that having more contact with Turkish Cypriots, having more Turkish Cypriot friends in the past and placing less blame on Turkey and foreigners for the Cyprus problem, leads to lower levels of threat and anxiety which in turn allows Greek Cypriots to feel more positively towards Turkish Cypriots, to trust them more and to want to live with them again in the future.

Let us now turn to see the respective results in the Turkish Cypriot community. From Figure 15, it can be seen that on the whole, the pattern of results in the Turkish Cypriot community is similar to that observed in the Greek Cypriot community.

28. Living Together is a single item constructed using the 5 choices of scenarios presented to participants regarding their willingness to live again in the future in mixed neighbourhoods. These scenarios are described in detail on pages 69-71.



* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Note 1: The symbols * in the figure demonstrate the level of significance of the relationship whereby * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Note 2: Positive numbers in the figure represent positive relationships between the variables whereas negative numbers in the figure represent negative relationships between the variables.

Figure 14. Structural Equation Model demonstrating the relationships between variables of the Past, Present and Future in the Turkish Cypriot sample

As observed previously in the case of the Greek Cypriot community, in the respective SEM of the Turkish Cypriot community, the scale *Quantity of Contact* is related to *Realistic Threat*, *Group Esteem Threat* and *Intergroup Anxiety*. As indicated by the lines and negative values in red, the more contact Turkish Cypriots presently have with members of the other community, the less realistic threat, the less group esteem threat and the less intergroup anxiety they feel as arising from the other community. A similar pattern arises with respect to *Past Cross-Group Friendships*. As can be seen from the black lines and the negative values in black, the more cross-group friendships Turkish Cypriots had in the past, the less realistic threat, the less group esteem threat and the less intergroup anxiety they feel as arising from the Greek Cypriot community. A different pattern from that observed in the Greek Cypriot community is however, seen with respect to the Turkish Cypriot participants' representations of history. As demonstrated in the model presented in Figure 14, blaming Turkey and foreigners for the Cyprus problem is not related in any way with *Realistic Threat* or *Group Esteem Threat*. It is only related to *Intergroup Anxiety* in a positive manner, as indicated by the positive value in blue. Therefore, this tells us that the more Turkish Cypriots blame Turkey and foreigners for the Cyprus problem, the more intergroup anxiety they feel towards Greek Cypriots. On the whole it would seem that the representation concerning the roots of the Cyprus problem does not weigh too much in the model and seems largely unrelated to their wish to live together or feelings of *Realistic* or *Group Esteem Threat*. One might argue that for this particular population of Turkish Cypriots who used to live in mixed villages, variables more directly relating to their first hand experience with Greek Cypriots (contact, friendships) have more weight compared to adherence to or critique of official narratives, contrary to the case of Greek Cypriots where both sets of variables had equal weight in the model.

In addition, similarly to the SEM of the Greek Cypriot community described previously, with the exception of *Realistic Threat*, *Group Esteem Threat* and *Intergroup Anxiety*, in turn are related to Positive Attitude towards the out-group, *Living Together* in the future and *Trust* (see Figure 15). The reduced weight of realistic threat in the Turkish Cypriot model is also noteworthy. The reason for this might be again that *Realistic Threat* is a variable measured with items that refer to a more abstract evaluation of the existence of zero-sum thinking, which are not based on the direct experience of living together while some of the items are also future oriented.

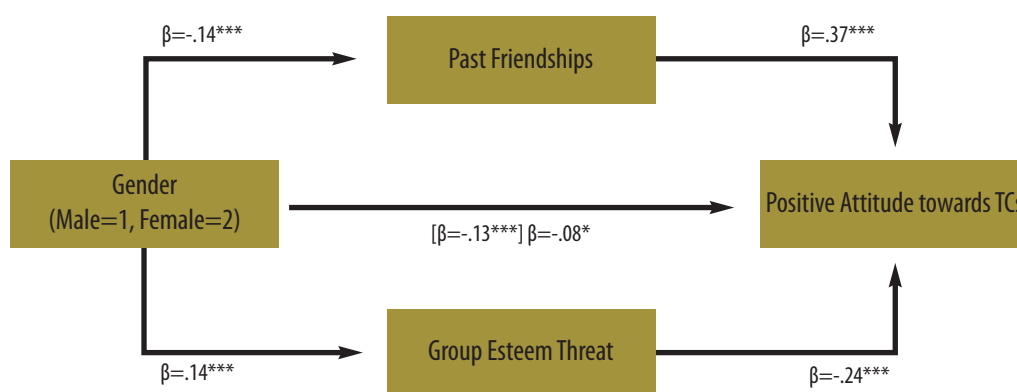
As indicated from the negative values in green, the less realistic threat Turkish Cypriots feel the more positive attitudes they have and the more they trust Greek Cypriots. *Realistic Threat* however, does not seem to be directly related to *Living Together* in the future nor with positive attitudes. Instead it seems that the effect of *Realistic Threat* on *Living Together* is effected only through *Trust*. In other words, a reduction in realistic threats may only lead to an increase in the desire to live together with Greek Cypriots again in the future, if *Trust* towards Greek Cypriots is primarily increased.

Group Esteem Threat similarly influences *Trust* and *Positive Attitudes* directly, where the less group esteem threat Turkish Cypriots feel the more they trust Greek Cypriots and the more positive attitudes they hold towards Greek Cypriots. Contrary to *Realistic Threat*, *Group Esteem Threat* is not related to *Living Together*, neither directly nor indirectly.

Lastly, *Intergroup Anxiety* in the Turkish Cypriot sample behaves in the same manner as in the Greek Cypriot sample described earlier. The less intergroup anxiety Turkish Cypriots feel, the more they trust Greek Cypriots, the more positive attitudes they hold towards Greek Cypriots and the more they are willing to live together again with Greek Cypriots in the future.

In addition to the SEM analyses carried out in the data of the two communities, further analyses were conducted investigating the effect of gender on *Past Cross-Group Friendships*, *Group Esteem Threat* and *Positive Attitudes* towards the out-group.

The effects of gender on *Past Cross-Group Friendships*, *Group Esteem Threat* and *Positive Attitudes* in the Greek Cypriot community are presented in Figure 15. As can be seen from Figure 15, Greek Cypriot women were found to hold less positive attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots than Greek Cypriot men. An explanation as to why Greek Cypriot women are more prejudiced than men is offered in part by the mediating effect of past cross-group friendships and group esteem threat. In fact, it seems that Greek Cypriot women had fewer friendships with Turkish Cypriots in the past than Greek Cypriot men and also that Greek Cypriot women feel more group esteem threat than Greek Cypriot men. This greater group esteem threat that Greek Cypriot women feel in addition to the fewer number of past cross-group friendships they maintained, lead to them holding less positive attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots as compared to Greek Cypriot men.

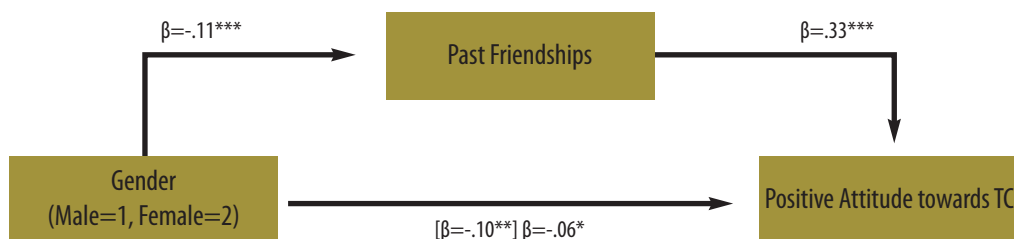


Note 1: The symbols * in the figure demonstrate the level of significance of the relationship whereby * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Note 2: Positive numbers in the figure represent positive relationships between the variables whereas negative numbers in the figure represent negative relationships between the variables.

Figure 15. The Mediation of Past Friendships and Group Esteem Threat on the Effect of Gender on Attitudes in the Greek Cypriot sample.

A picture of partial mediation also arises from the data in the Turkish Cypriot sample along the same lines as in the Greek Cypriot community but without the mediation effect of *Group Esteem Threat*. As can be seen from Figure 16, Turkish Cypriot women report having less cross-group friendships in the past than Turkish Cypriot men. As in the case of Greek Cypriot women, the smaller number of past cross-group friendships they maintained relates to holding less positive attitudes towards Greek Cypriots as compared to Turkish Cypriot men.



Note 1: The symbols * in the figure demonstrate the level of significance of the relationship whereby * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Note 2: Positive numbers in the figure represent positive relationships between the variables whereas negative numbers in the figure represent negative relationships between the variables.

Figure 16. The Mediation of Past Friendships on the Effect of Gender on Attitudes in the Turkish Cypriot sample.

To sum up, the results of this research have brought to light interesting differences between the ways Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots remember life in mixed villages. Specifically, Greek Cypriots seem to remember having more social contacts with Turkish Cypriots and more positive contacts with Turkish Cypriots than vice versa in a number of occasions. For example, Greek Cypriots report having a larger number of close friends from the other community as well as greeting and chatting to people from the other community more often. Moreover, Greek Cypriots perceived their contacts with Turkish Cypriots to have been very pleasant, positive and in a cooperative spirit to a much larger degree than Turkish Cypriots perceived their own contacts with Greek Cypriots. It is not surprising that Turkish Cypriots scored much higher than Greek Cypriots on the segregation index thus demonstrating that they perceived their life in the mixed villages as segregated from the Greek Cypriot community.

With regards to participants' present perceptions and attitudes a more complex picture came to light whereby Turkish Cypriots scored higher on intergroup anxiety, symbolic threat and group esteem threat while Greek Cypriots scored higher on realistic threat and helleno-centrism. In congruence with their perceptions of past life in the villages, Greek Cypriots stated that they trust Turkish Cypriots more than their Turkish Cypriot co-villagers stated that they trust Greek Cypriots. Furthermore, Greek Cypriots reported holding more positive attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots than vice versa.

Moreover, from the results concerning the future it is apparent that Greek Cypriots were more open to the idea of living together again in mixed neighbourhoods with Turkish Cypriots than vice versa. In the same spirit, a large majority of Greek Cypriots found the solution of a unitary state very satisfactory while the majority of Turkish Cypriots found this solution to be completely unacceptable. On the other hand, a significant majority of Turkish Cypriots found a two-state solution to the Cyprus problem very satisfactory while a large majority of Greek Cypriots found this type of solution completely unacceptable.

Findings of crucial importance are also the results which connect the past, the present and the future thus demonstrating that present perceptions and attitudes are intrinsically linked to past experiences and inevitably influence attitudes related to the future.

| Conclusion

The first part of this report, focused on the literature relevant to mixed villages in Cyprus. An overview was given of the recent history of Cyprus and its mixed villages as shaped by relevant socio-political events. Drawing from social psychological research, intergroup processes were outlined making reference to the factors which lead to intergroup conflict but also to ways in which intergroup conflict can be reduced. The role of contextual and socio-political factors in shaping intergroup relations was examined as well as their role in shaping memory of the past. In addition to a broad review of the existing literature on life in mixed villages in Cyprus looking at various aspects such as housing patterns, language or mixed marriages, attention was specifically given to the research conducted on the mixed village of Pyla which has been subject to the greatest research attention of all formerly mixed villages in Cyprus.

The main purpose of this research report was however, the presentation of the findings of a quantitative questionnaire survey conducted with almost 1900 Greek and Turkish Cypriot inhabitants of about 100 formerly mixed villages. The results of this research not only give a general picture of daily life in these villages as it is remembered by their inhabitants but also look at their former inhabitants' present perceptions of members of the other community as well as their views of the future. The results make reference to the differences in the manner in which the members of the two communities remember their life together in the villages, how they presently view each other, trust each other or feel threatened by each other and also explore their willingness to live together again in the future under various conditions.

Since no such research has ever been undertaken before in Cyprus, the implications arising from the results of this research are significant as they provide some of the first quantitative evidence about how people of the two communities remember life in the mixed villages of Cyprus. The results of this research in relation to past life in the villages unearth vital differences between the ways Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots remember life together. Whereas Greek Cypriots remember life with Turkish Cypriots as more positive, co-operative and pleasant, Turkish Cypriots remember life as more negative and less pleasant with less social contacts between the two communities. Moreover, differences were observed in various other issues such as the occurrences of mixed marriages, the power balances and even memberships in EOKA and TMT. Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots therefore, seem to remember their life together very differently.

Reaching a clear and precise view of life in the mixed villages of Cyprus is a difficult task especially 37 years later. Due to the high corrigibility of memory and due to the fact that memory is constantly revised in the light of the present, empirical facts about past actuality can never be established, with anything other than a low degree of certainty, by the use of self-reported research methods alone. However, the focus of this research was not fixated on the objective mapping of life in mixed villages. On the contrary, the importance of this research resides in the way the results vividly present the subjectivity in which life in mixed villages is remembered. In effect, through the differences in the memories of the people of the two communities that they present, these results raise the important question of why Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots remember their life together in such different manners?

The answer to this question is not straight forward. The high corrigibility of memory is certainly one factor at play but it cannot be the only factor considering the striking differences in what the members of each community choose to remember. Through the literature review section of this report great emphasis was placed on the role of socio-political contextual factors in shaping memory²⁹ and intergroup relations³⁰. Throughout these 37 years the people of both communities have been subjected to national discourses as well as the discourses of political parties across the divide which have probably moulded their memories one way or the other (see Papadakis, 1998; Bryant 2008; Loizos, 2008). The Turkish Cypriot nationalism changed its discourse in the 1950s from demands for relative autonomy to demands of total autonomy and ethno-religious homogeneity (see Canefe, 2000). Therefore, national narratives in the Turkish Cypriot side allow no room for the idea of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots living together again. This is supported by the argument that in the past Turkish Cypriots suffered while living together with Greek Cypriots

29. Refer to the section "*Investigating the Past through the Subjectivity of Present Memory*" on page 38.

30. Refer to the section "*Intergroup Conflict and Contextual Factors*" on page 21.

so segregation from the Greek Cypriots is thus presented as the optimum choice.³¹ On the contrary, in the Greek Cypriot side national narratives have actively promoted the idealisation of the past and of the old life in the villages and have encouraged the adherence to a conviction of return to what once was (see Zetter, 1998). This idealisation of the past and of past life in villages which is now lost, in the case of the inhabitants of mixed villages must encompass to a certain degree the idealisation of life together with Turkish Cypriots since the declared aim of the Greek Cypriot side is not segregation but the reunification of the island.³²

However, another factor which one cannot ignore in discussing the differences in the perceptions of the past by Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots are the different socio-politically related experiences that each community was subjected to, not after 1974 but before the unrest, while the two communities were still living together. As examined in the literature review³³, the Turkish Cypriot community being a numerically minority community on the island was subjected from the mid 1950s to violence, fear and intimidation, the highpoint of which was reached in 1963-64. Even though there were numerous instances in which Turkish Cypriots lived together in harmony with Greek Cypriots, there were unfortunate instances, especially during the years 1963-64, in which Turkish Cypriots were subjected to constant fear, intimidation and violence.³⁴ Greek Cypriots, on the other hand, being numerically the majority community on the island, were subjected to violence throughout these years but to a much lesser extent than Turkish Cypriots. Therefore, on the whole the experiences of Greek Cypriots before the armed conflict of 1974, while living together with Turkish Cypriots in the mixed villages were not characterised by long-lasting violence, intimidation and fear. The highpoint of Greek Cypriot suffering was the events in 1974.³⁵ However, there were 30,000 Turkish soldiers involved allowing blame to be placed on Turkey rather than on Turkish Cypriot villagers even when crimes had been committed by Turkish Cypriot paramilitaries. Thus whereas violence against Greek Cypriots was mainly and primarily carried out by an agent external to Cyprus (Turkish military), the violence against Turkish Cypriots was to a large degree carried out by Greek Cypriot paramilitaries.

In addition to the results relating to the past life in the mixed villages, participants' present perceptions of the other community were also explored through this report in order to investigate the existence of possible differences in the way one community views the other. Through the relevant results section, it appeared that Turkish Cypriots scored higher on intergroup anxiety, symbolic threat and group esteem threat while Greek Cypriots scored higher on realistic threat. Moreover, in congruence with their perceptions of past life in the villages, Greek Cypriots reported greater levels of trust towards Turkish Cypriots and were found to hold more positive attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots than vice versa. It seems that being a minority group on the island, Turkish Cypriots feel more anxious, nervous and awkward in the presence of Greek Cypriots, they feel threatened by the way Greek Cypriots are projecting their identity and they feel that Greek Cypriots disrespect them, think negatively about them and consider them as inferior. Greek Cypriots on the other hand, being the majority community on the island and having control of the Republic which is internationally recognised and a member of the European Union do not feel disrespected by Turkish Cypriots, they do not feel that Turkish Cypriots consider them inferior nor do they worry about the way Turkish Cypriots are projecting their identity. Greek Cypriots do however, seem to be threatened of a future in which Turkish Cypriots may be allowed to decide on political issues leaving Greek Cypriots with less control on how the country is run and by a future in which Turkish Cypriots will be claiming more and more from them. Precisely because Greek Cypriots have had control over the Republic of Cyprus without the involvement of Turkish Cypriots, the idea of losing part of that control is perhaps what is encompassed in the realistic threats felt by the Greek Cypriot participants of the research.

31. This is reflected in the results section of this report which demonstrated that the majority of Turkish Cypriot participants considered a two-state solution to the Cyprus problem as very satisfactory (see p. 76)

32. As above, this is reflected in the results section of this report which demonstrated that the majority of Greek Cypriot participants considered a unitary state solution to the Cyprus problem as very satisfactory (see p. 76)

33. Refer to the section "*The History of Cyprus and its Mixed Villages: An Historical Overview*" on page 9.

34. This is reflected in the results section of this report whereby Turkish Cypriots report having suffered more on all items, both directly and indirectly, than Greek Cypriots during the years 1955-59 and during the years 1963-64 (see p. 61).

35. As above, this is reflected in the results section of this report on page 61.

Of vital importance were also the research results related to the way in which the former inhabitants of mixed villages perceive the future. It was apparent from the results that Greek Cypriots are more open to the idea of living together again with Turkish Cypriots in mixed neighbourhoods. While about 42% of Greek Cypriots state that they would feel comfortable living in a neighbourhood with a substantial presence of Turkish Cypriots, the respective percentage of Turkish Cypriots who state that they would feel comfortable living in a neighbourhood with a substantial presence of Greek Cypriots is just under 10%. What is also noteworthy is the fact that about 33% of the Greek Cypriots of our sample stated that they would find it acceptable to live in neighbourhoods in which Turkish Cypriots would be in the majority while the respective percentage in the Turkish Cypriot community was only 3%.

Furthermore, Greek Cypriots were more open to the idea of a unitary state as a solution to the Cyprus problem while on the other hand, a significant majority of Turkish Cypriots found a two-state solution to the Cyprus problem as very satisfactory. These results of course, are in congruence with the results on how Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots represent their past lives in the mixed villages. In any case, a vital finding is the fact that bi-communal, bi-zonal federation is essentially the only solution to the Cyprus problem that is accepted by the majorities in both communities as either very satisfactory or as a compromise with figures as large as 59.5% in the Greek Cypriot community and 69.7% in the Turkish Cypriot community.

Moreover, the causal pathway running from contact, friendships and representations of history to threats and further, to attitudes, trust and the desire to live together in the future presented through the results of this research is of great theoretical importance. The causal relationships demonstrate empirically 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. These results are vital as they indicate the crucial importance of cross-group friendships and contacts. In fact, they demonstrate that through the active promotion of quality contact between the members of the two communities as well as the encouragement of friendships, feelings of threat and anxiety can be reduced and can be replaced by trust and positive attitudes. Thus these results have fundamental practical applications in the case of present-day Cyprus where unfortunately the opportunities for contact between the members of the two communities are still limited despite the partial lifting of travel restrictions. Unfortunately, even today the majority of people from both communities do not have regular contact with members of the other community let alone opportunities to create friendships. At an official level there have been no systematic efforts to promote quality contact between the people of the two communities. An exception to this rule were the efforts of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Cyprus which encouraged the cooperation and even the exchange of visits between students and educators of the two communities. However, these initiatives were openly disapproved of and even forbidden by the Greek Cypriot elementary teachers' union (POED) through a circular to primary school teachers. Their reluctance, as the reluctance of the general Greek Cypriot population, stems from issues surrounding recognition of the Turkish Cypriot administration as well as from fear of stigmatisation by colleagues and society. Apart from these reasons though, another factor for the lack of daily contact simply emanates from the long separation of the two communities. As a result of the long separation, the daily lives of people have been constructed and sustained as completely separate (people tend to go to the shops, coffee shops, restaurants or beaches that are familiar to them) which makes the practical breaking of this pattern of segregation difficult. Furthermore, the causal pathway demonstrated through the results of this research also highlighted the significance of the representations of history, revealing that national narratives play vital roles in shaping feelings of threat and anxiety as well as in determining Cypriots' willingness to live together with members of the other community again in the future. These results again point to the need for more contact between the members of the two communities as the contrasting interpretations of the history of Cyprus presented through the official narratives of the two sides have remained isolated for all these years from inter-communal dialogue and challenge. The results of this research undoubtedly provide a clear insight into the manner in which Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots from formerly mixed villages perceive their past lives together, how they perceive each other in the present and how they perceive their future. This information however, is not exhaustive and there is certainly room for more research in the field. The attempt of this research was not to map the actual life in the mixed villages of Cyprus but rather to explore the representations of the past, present and future held by the inhabitants of these formerly mixed villages. Therefore, numerous questions related to the actual daily life of people in these mixed villages have still to be answered. However, untangling facts from memories is a difficult task which demands reliance on

numerous different sources. Future research may attempt to compare the data from this research with other sources of information such as newspaper articles, pieces of literature or even state records in order to reach a more holistic view of the past in the mixed villages of Cyprus. Even though it was attempted through the literature review section of this research report to bring together as much information on mixed villages as possible, there is certainly more room for such efforts. Therefore, using the results of this research as a stepping stone, future research in the field may attempt to overcome the corrigibility of memory and its constant revisions in the present through the use of multiple sources of data. Qualitative methods such as long unstructured or semi-structured and repeated interviews, local village and area case studies, oral history and ethnographic research could test further the tentative conclusions of this quantitative study as well as deepen and enrich its insights.

Another direction for future research arises from the limited space available for the presentation of the results here. In particular, this study focused on the mixed villages of Cyprus as a whole and did not take into account possible similarities that may have existed between villages of the same region or area in Cyprus and did not examine the role of structural characteristics of the village in relation to the other variables explored in this report. Multilevel analysis of the data could have explored the role that structural characteristics of villages (power distribution, diversity) play in promoting or hindering the development of positive relationships between members of the two communities in the village. In fact, it would have been interesting to have analysed participants' responses not only by community and village but also with regards to the area or region in which their villages were situated. Neighbouring villages in general often cooperated between them while members of a certain community often had close relations with each other even if they lived in neighbouring villages. At times of inter-communal strife, conflict in one village often instigated conflict and acts of revenge upon the other community in neighbouring villages (see Packard, 2008; Psaltis, Lytras, Pachoullides, Philipou & Beyli, 2011) thus creating tension in the whole area. It would be interesting for future research to consider each mixed village in the region in which it was situated to explore the manner one village influenced the other either in the direction of inter-communal conflict or in the direction of cooperation and trust. The study of mixed villages in Cyprus presents a tangled knot in which numerous factors including memory, intergroup and ethnic relations, politics and propaganda are tightly intertwined. Despite the difficulties however, studying the mixed villages of Cyprus is a necessity considering that these villages were the last examples of co-habitation in Cyprus. The little attention that has been given to the mixed villages of Cyprus makes it difficult for present day Cypriots to remember that there was a time when Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots lived together in villages for decades. Life in the mixed villages of Cyprus was certainly not always peaceful and unearthing the positive incidences of cooperation between the members of the two communities is equally important to unearthing the incidences of conflict. In either case, knowledge of the past is a sound starting point to understanding the present and formulating the future.

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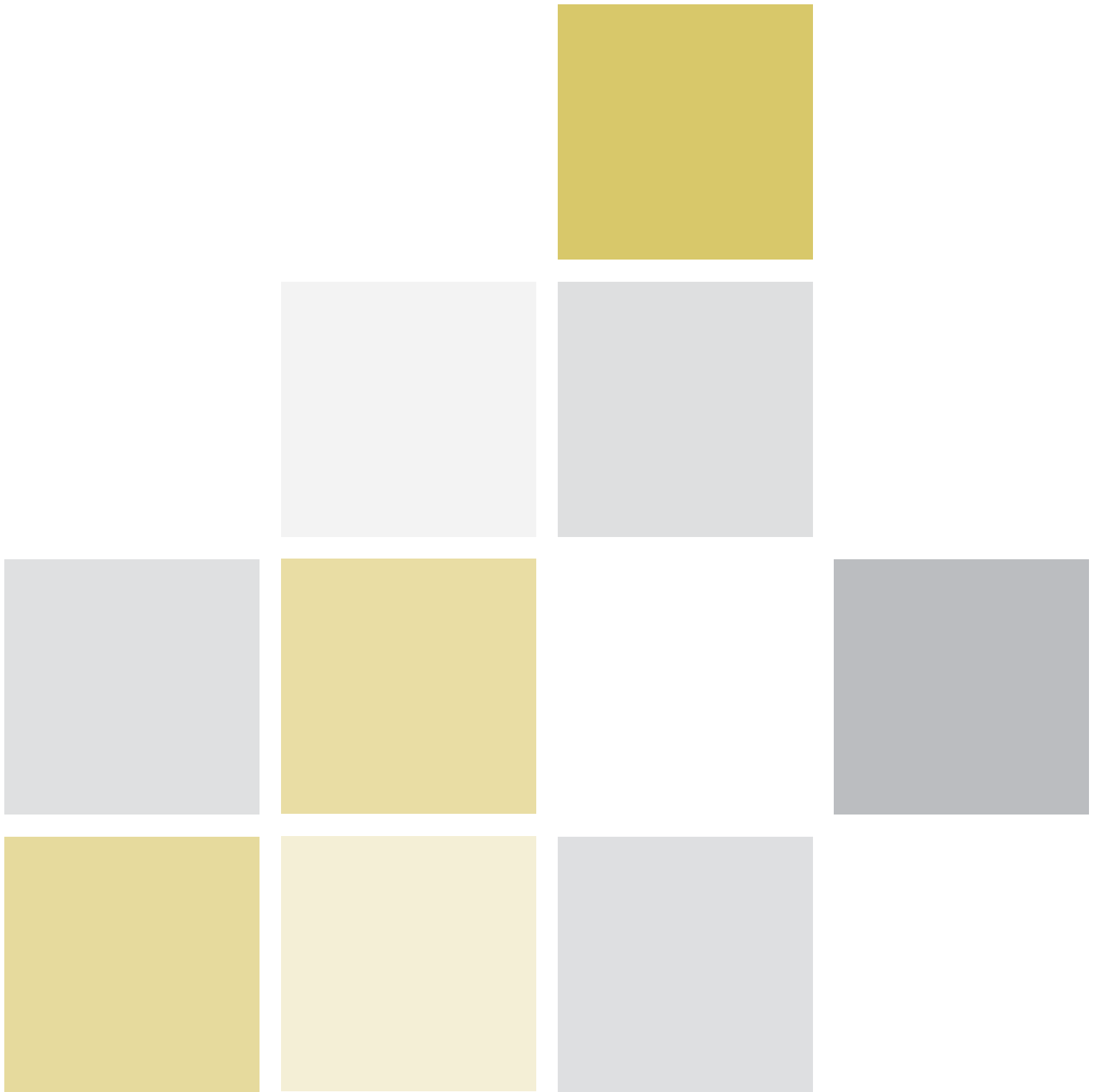
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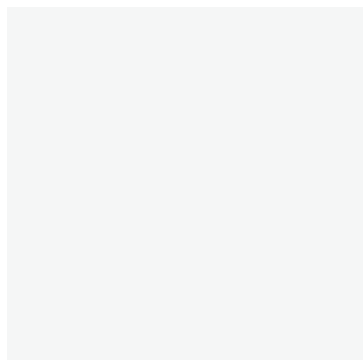
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APPENDICES



APPENDIX I

| | NAME IN ENGLISH | NAME IN GREEK | NAME IN TURKISH | DISTRICT |
|-----|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | Aphania | Αφάνεια | Gaziköy | Famagusta |
| 2. | Akaki | Ακάκι | Akaça | Nicosia |
| 3. | Akoursos | Ακουρός | Akarsu | Paphos |
| 4. | Alethriko | Αλεθρικό | Aletirke | Larnaka |
| 5. | Alaminos | Αλαμινός | Aleminyo | Larnaka |
| 6. | Ambelikou | Αμπελικού | Bağlıköy | Nicosia |
| 7. | Anaphotia | Αναφωτίδα | Akkor | Larnaka |
| 8. | Anglisidhes | Αγγλισίδες | Aksu | Larnaka |
| 9. | Anoyira | Ανώγυρα | Taşlıca | Limassol |
| 10. | Argaki | Αργάκι | Argaca | Nicosia |
| 11. | Aredhiou | Αρεδιού | Aretyu | Nicosia |
| 12. | Arnadhi | Αρναδί | Kuzucuk | Famagusta |
| 13. | Arsos | Άρσος | Arçoz | Larnaka |
| 14. | Asomatos | Ασώματος | Gözügüzel | Limassol |
| 15. | Asproyia | Ασπρογιά | Aktepe | Paphos |
| 16. | Ayios Andronikos | Άγιος Ανδρόνικος | Yeşilköy | Famagusta (Karpas peninsula) |
| 17. | Ayia Anna | Αγία Άννα | Akhisar | Larnaka |
| 18. | Ayia Erini | Αγία Ειρήνη | Akdeniz | Kerynia |
| 19. | Ayios Ermolaos | Άγιος Ερμόλαος | Ayirmola | Kerynia |
| 20. | Ayios Yeoryios | Άγιος Γεώργιος | Ayyorgi | Kerynia |
| 21. | Ayios Yeoryios Lefkas | Άγιος Γεώργιος Λεύκας | Madenliköy | Nicosia |
| 22. | Ayios Sozomenos | Άγιος Σωζόμενος | Arpalık | Nicosia |
| 23. | Ayios Theodoros | Άγιος Θεόδωρος | Boğaziçi | Larnaka |
| 24. | Ayia Varvara | Αγία Βαρβάρα | Engindere | Paphos |
| 25. | Ayios Vassilios | Άγιος Βασίλειος | Ayvasil | Nicosia |
| 26. | Dhali | Δάλι | Dali | Nicosia |
| 27. | Dhenia | Δένεια | Denya | Nicosia |
| 28. | Dhioros | Διόριος | Yorgoz | Kyrenia |
| 29. | Dhromolaxia | Δρομολαξιά | Mormenekşe | Larnaka |
| 30. | Episkopi | Επισκοπή | Yalova | Limassol |

| | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|----------------|---------------|-----------|
| 31. | Ephtakomi | Επτακώμη | Eftakomi | Famagusta |
| 32. | Galataria | Γαλαταριά | Yoğurtçular | Paphos |
| 33. | Gouphe | Γούφες | Çamlıca | Famagusta |
| 34. | Khoulou | Χούλου | Hulu | Paphos |
| 35. | Kalavassos | Καλαβασός | Kalavason | Larnaka |
| 36. | Kalokhorio / Vouda | Καλό Χωριό | Vuda | Larnaka |
| 37. | Karavostassi | Καραβοστάσι | Gemikonağı | Nicosia |
| 38. | Kato Dheftera | Κάτω Δευτερά | Aşağı Deftera | Nicosia |
| 39. | Kato Polemidhia | Κάτω Πολεμίδια | Aşağı Binatlı | Limassol |
| 40. | Kazaphani | Καζάφани | Ozanköy | Kyrenia |
| 41. | Kilani | Κοιλάνι | Ceylan | Limassol |
| 42. | Kilanemos | Κοιλάνεμος | Kilanemo | Famagusta |
| 43. | Klepini | Κλεπίνη | Arapköy | Kyrenia |
| 44. | Kolossi | Κολόσσι | Yunus | Limassol |
| 45. | Komi Kebir | Κώμι Κεπήρ | Büyük Konuk | Famagusta |
| 46. | Korakou | Κοράκου | Koraku | Nicosia |
| 47. | Kouklia | Κούκλια | Sakarya | Paphos |
| 48. | Kritou Terra | Κρήτου Τέρρα | Giritutera | Paphos |
| 49. | Lapathos | Λάπαθος | Boğaziçi | Famagusta |
| 50. | Lapithos | Λάπηθος | Lapta | Kerynia |
| 51. | Lefka | Λεύκα | Lefke | Nicosia |
| 52. | Limnitis | Λιμνίτης | Yeşilirmak | Nicosia |
| 53. | Lythrangomi | Λυθράγκωμη | Boltaşlı | Famagusta |
| 54. | Malia | Μαλιά | Bağlarbaşı | Limassol |
| 55. | Mansoura | Μανσοούρα | Mansur | Nicosia |
| 56. | Mari | Μαρί | Tatlısu | Larnaka |
| 57. | Maronas | Μάρωνας | Uluçam | Paphos |
| 58. | Maroni | Μαρώνι | Maroni | Larnaka |
| 59. | Mathiatis | Μαθιάτης | Matyat | Nicosia |
| 60. | Meneou | Μενεού | Menevi | Larnaka |
| 61. | Monarga | Μοναργά | Deregeçit | Famagusta |

| | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| 62. | Moniatis | Μονιάτης | Elmalı | Limassol |
| 63. | Morphou | Μόρφου | Omorfo | Nicosia |
| 64. | Neokhorio | Νέο Χωριό | Minareliköy | Nicosia |
| 65. | Orounda | Ορούντα | Orounda | Nicosia |
| 66. | Palekithro | Παλαίκυθρο | Balikesir | Nicosia |
| 67. | Pano Archimandrita | Πάνω Αρχιμανδρίτα | Yukarı Arhimandrida | Paphos |
| 68. | Pano Arodhes | Πάνω Αρόδες | Kalkanlı | Paphos |
| 69. | Pano Flasou | Πάνω Φλάσου | Yukarı Flasou | Nicosia |
| 70. | Pano Lefkara | Πάνω Λεύκαρα | Yukarı Lefkara | Larnaka |
| 71. | Paramali | Παραμάλι | Çayönü | Limassol |
| 72. | Petra Soleas | Πέτρα | Dereli | Nicosia |
| 73. | Pendakomo | Πεντάκωμο | Beşevler | Limassol |
| 74. | Peristerona | Περιστερόνα | Peristerona | Nicosia |
| 75. | Peristeronari | Περιστερονάρι | Narlıköy | Nicosia |
| 76. | Perivolia | Περβόλια | Bahçalar | Larnaka |
| 77. | Pissouri | Πισσούρι | Pisuri | Limassol |
| 78. | Polis Chrysohous | Πόλη Χρυσοχούς | Poli | Paphos |
| 79. | Potamia | Ποταμιά | Dereliköy | Nicosia |
| 80. | Prastio - Evdhimou | Πρασιό – Αυδήμου | Çeliktaş, | Limassol |
| 81. | Prodromi | Προδρόμι | Karşıyaka | Paphos |
| 82. | Pyrga | Πυργά | Çamlıbel | Larnaka |
| 83. | Pyroi | Πυροϊ | Gaziler | Nicosia |
| 84. | Silikou | Σιλίκου | Silifke | Limassol |
| 85. | Skylloura | Σκυλλούρα | Yılmazköy | Nicosia |
| 86. | Syngrassi | Σύγκραση | Sınırustü | Famagusta |
| 87. | Timi | Τίμη | Ovalık | Paphos |
| 88. | Tokhni | Τόχνη | Taşkent | Larnaka |
| 89. | Trakhonas | Τράχωνας | Kızılbaş | Nicosia |
| 90. | Trachoni | Τραχώνι | Kayakale | Limassol |
| 91. | Tremetousha | Τρεμετουσιά | Tremeşe | Larnaka |
| 92. | Vasilia | Βασιλεία | Vasilya | Kerynia |

| | | | | |
|-----|------------|------------|----------|-----------|
| 93. | Vatyli | Βατυλή | Vadili | Famagusta |
| 94. | Vitsadha | Βιτσάδα | Pınarlı | Famagusta |
| 95. | Yenagra | Γενάγρα | Nergisli | Famagusta |
| 96. | Yeroskipou | Γεροσκήπου | Yeroşibu | Paphos |
| 97. | Zygi | Ζύγι | Terazi | Larnaka |

APPENDIX II

| TC\GC | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
|---------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1 Quantity of Contact | 1 | .071* | .059 | -.116** | .220** | -.252** | -.154** | -.186** | -.188** | -.090** | .146** | .082** | .298** | .092** | .247** |
| 2 Cypriot ID | .176** | 1 | .599** | .364** | .017 | .013 | .229** | .003 | -.009 | .321** | -.086** | .006 | .099** | .110** | .075* |
| 3 Subgroup ID | -.021 | .254** | 1 | .536** | -.016 | .050 | .237** | .096** | .035 | .318** | -.033 | .013 | .108** | .074* | .060 |
| 4 Helleno/Turko-centrism | -.168** | -.042 | .250** | 1 | -.164** | .257** | .367** | .293** | .254** | .290** | -.159** | -.060 | -.011 | -.014 | -.040 |
| 5 Trust | .282** | .162** | -.090** | -.474** | 1 | -.588** | -.477** | -.540** | -.629** | -.109** | .462** | .334** | .358** | .373** | .318** |
| 6 Intergroup Anxiety | -.224** | -.055 | .115** | .387** | -.504** | 1 | .419** | .494** | .568** | .170** | -.414** | -.309** | -.305** | -.227** | -.356** |
| 7 Realistic Threat | -.221** | -.104** | .242** | .441** | -.393** | .405** | 1 | .589** | .478** | .393** | -.349** | -.204** | -.181** | -.202** | -.192** |
| 8 Symbolic Threat | -.215** | -.198** | .158** | .499** | -.407** | .464** | .643** | 1 | .643** | .223** | -.385** | -.173** | -.258** | -.271** | -.262** |
| 9 Group Esteem Threat | -.304** | -.223** | .190** | .510** | -.527** | .577** | .644** | .692** | 1 | .219** | -.446** | -.245** | -.256** | -.245** | -.290** |
| 10 Blame Turkey and Foreigners | .251** | .279** | .020 | -.011 | .092** | .061 | -.052 | -.009 | -.030 | 1 | -.163** | -.056 | .062 | .111** | .057 |
| 11 Checkpoints Opening | .172** | -.031 | .081* | -.057 | .091** | -.263** | -.023 | -.115** | -.127** | .101** | 1 | .201** | .174** | .189** | .182** |
| 12 Attitude Towards Outgroup | .312** | .166** | -.017 | -.327** | .446** | -.484** | -.281** | -.339** | -.444** | .013 | .269** | 1 | .223** | .215** | .187** |
| 13 Village Contact | .292** | .119** | .063 | -.120** | .207** | -.201** | .003 | -.121** | -.089** | -.042 | .058 | .217** | 1 | .563** | .528** |
| 14 Quality of past Contact | .294** | -.009 | .095** | -.028 | .125** | -.262** | .086* | -.031 | -.045 | -.052 | .228** | .247** | .467** | 1 | .478** |
| 15 Past Cross-Group Friendships | .382** | .119** | -.057 | -.247** | .326** | -.306** | -.208** | -.245** | -.275** | .084* | .124** | .338** | .546** | .421** | 1 |

Note 1: The symbols * in the table demonstrate the level of significance of the relationship whereby *p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

Note 2: The numbers over the diagonal represent the Greek Cypriot community and the numbers under the diagonal represent the Turkish Cypriot community.

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