

**‘Staged Nostalgia’:
Negotiating Identity through Encounters with
the Landscapes of Conflict in Cyprus**

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I hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is an ethnography of modern day Greek Cypriot society and the struggle to establish identity and belonging through encounters with the landscape. It contributes to the anthropological literature on Cyprus and on wider literature on heritage, tourism and borders. The historical conflict that has left Cyprus divided for 44 years becomes the basis for an identity crisis which is then fuelled by internal conflicts based on perceptual dichotomies and divisions. Collectiveness is achieved through socializing mechanisms and recitals such as the proposed 'staged nostalgia' which involves the public and collective performance of patriotism, mourning, victimization and nostalgia. This public and private distinction and the performance of 'staged nostalgia' resonates throughout the thesis as encounters with the landscape shape perceptions of identity. Chapter Two introduces Greek Cypriot identities as 'products of conflict', covering the historical, social and politico-economic context of the suggested identity crisis. Then, four chapters approach the questions through a focus on the physical landscape and interactions with it during fieldwork. First, the contested border becomes the edge upon which identity negotiations take place. The division of the physical landscape reflects the social divisions and as the border becomes penetrable new perceptions and challenges are formed. Then, interactions with the physical landscape of loss and decay challenge notions of temporality and monumentalization. The heritage landscape becomes a space of further contestation as multiple narratives compete for legitimization. Internationalist and nationalist heritage regimes attempt to establish narratives of heritage as top-down impositions onto the landscape. At the same time, local voices and memories are lost in time and selective histories are passed on. Parallel to this, tourism spaces become opportunities for public display and consumption of the contested 'self' where contradicting notions such as 'modernity' and 'tradition' compete. While individuals express their struggle to conceptualize their personal relationship with identity, 'staged nostalgia' takes over in the public sphere to display a very particular socio-political existence

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AHDP	Association for Historical Dialogue and Research
AKEL	Progressive Party of Working People
CAC	Cyprus Agrotourism Company under CTO
CMP	Committee on Missing Persons
CTO	Cyprus Tourism Organization
DISI	Democratic Rally
EOKA	National Organization of Cypriot Struggle/Fighters
EU	European Union
EUC	European High Commission in Cyprus
OBZ	Occupy Buffer Zone
TCC	Technical Committee on Crossings
TCCH	Technical Committee for Cultural Heritage
TIKA	Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency
UN	United Nations
UNDP-PFF	United Nations Development Programme- Partnership for Peace
UNFICYP	United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus

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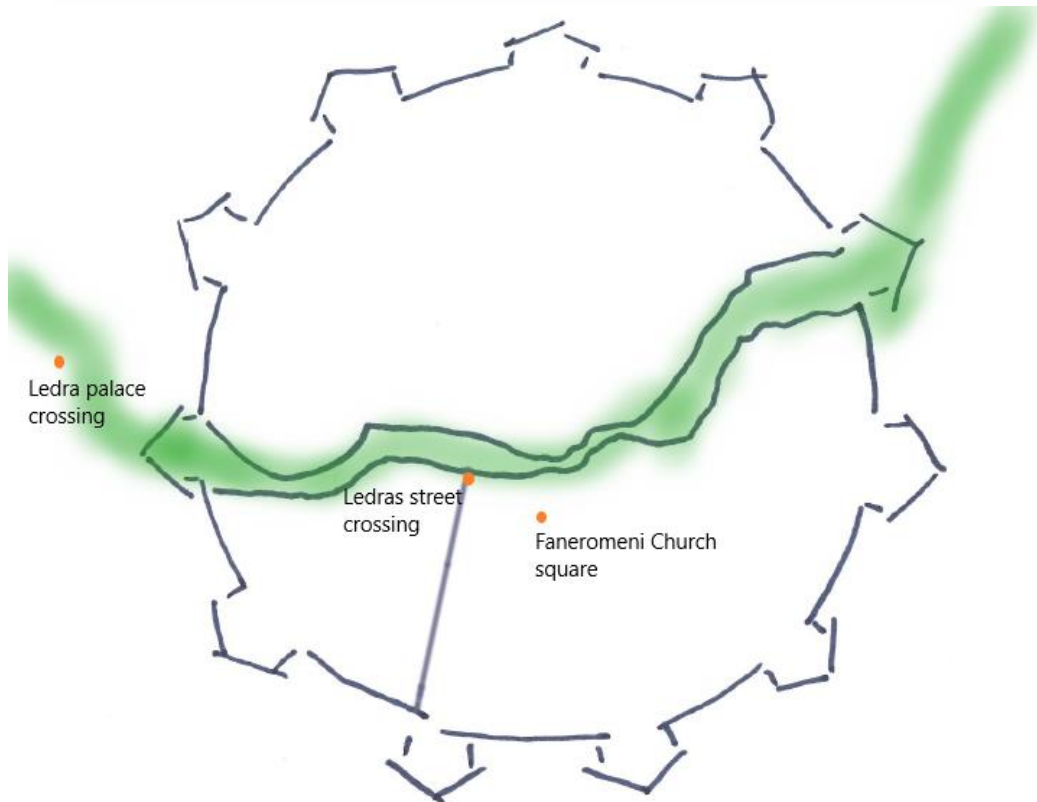


Figure 1: Top: Satellite picture of the old town of Nicosia as circled by 17th century Venetian walls; Bottom: outline of the walls and the Green Line as it cuts through, dividing the city. Indicates key points mentioned within the thesis for reference.



Figure 2: Approximate map of Cyprus indicating the Green Line as a strip of land cutting across the island, key geological features and the the remaining British bases (in purple). The map indicates the cities in black and other places of interest within this research in orange.

1 INTRODUCTION

As I look outside the airplane window I can see almost the entirety of the island. Only its very edge is lost somewhere between the earth's curvature and the mist. Through my years of back and forth, I have never had this good a view out of the plane window; restrictions of flights originating from Cyprus over Turkey had meant that the pilots had to take the long way round the island. I wonder what has changed. From my comfortable seat I can see the island laid down like a map, a map that I have studied so many times, in schools, on road-trips, in research. I can see the coast, locate the beaches of my youth, but at the same time I can also see the mountains, their highest peak, Olympus identified through what looks like an enormous golf ball- it is really an antenna. In the distance I can see Nicosia, I could drop a pin on my parents' house, on the streets I discovered doing research and the unseen border I crossed for the first time. A few kilometres closer and the Green Line would be visible, as a brown line of destruction cutting through the city¹. But from here, Cyprus looks homogenous and peaceful, a 'golden-green leaf thrown in the sea'², as the song goes.

1.1 THESIS OVERVIEW AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The landscape that inspired this research was laid down in front of me on the day I was to leave Cyprus. Its physicality, its symbolism, its social life and conflicts all encompassed in that single image of a tiny island at my feet. In its streets, the many aspects of its formation

¹ Figure 1

² Chrisoprasino Fyllo (Μπιθικώτσης 1998)

revealed a space of contestation. The question stands within all of this, how are identities negotiated? What is it that holds some groups together while it tears other groups apart? These two questions turn to the landscape for answers observing identities as products of conflict. A historical overview of the war and division of the island in 1974 establishes the source of the physical and symbolic conflict in the past. But it is not merely the historical war and division that establish the landscapes of Cyprus as one of conflict. The social landscape reveals the powers that compete in the public and private spheres, including the colonial, postcolonial and neo-colonial influences and their incorporation by Cypriots as modernity and Europeanization. These then activate perceptual dichotomies of old and young, East and West, Greek and Turkish, modern and traditional, self and other that lie at the core of identity politics. This framework is established through its incorporation into ethnographic analyses of Greek Cypriot social spaces.

The thesis questions have emerged from the ethnographic study of Cyprus as a need to confront the many dichotomies that shape the landscape and its dynamic relationship to identity. How does physical and symbolic conflict shape perceptions and displays of identity? How is the representation of personal and collective identities negotiated in such spaces? How is the landscape shaped by the negotiations with identity, and how does it in turn shape it? What are the power dynamics which shape essentialised and lived identities and where do these negotiations take place? What spaces of liminality are created in the binary discourse of conflict and how are those, in turn, appropriated as part of identity?

The term 'identity' is used throughout this thesis to encompass expressions of belonging to the world, to places and to groups. To achieve this, embracing its complexity becomes an epistemological mechanism; its exploration *is* its making. The nature of identity as an intangible and dynamic artefact of various influences encompasses collective and personal expressions of the 'self'. The thesis initially establishes an identity crisis in Greek Cypriot society based on historical and social conflicts, proposing that this is mediated internally through 'staged nostalgia'; a collective performance of identity that also becomes an analytical tool throughout the thesis.

The concept of 'staged nostalgia' is conceived as a result of ethnographic analysis within the landscapes of conflict. The concept is elaborated in this first chapter and resonates throughout the thesis in conversation with the ethnography that has produced it. As a form of discourse and as a social practice, 'staged nostalgia' is seen as the negotiation between the various conflicts in Greek Cypriot society and as the method of conciliation of a communal identity. In this display, internal conflicts are meant to be put aside to face a common 'enemy' that threatens their sense of belonging. The 'enemy' is embodied in

various personifications; as Turkey, as modernity, as time, while the past becomes a space of hope.

The chapters emerge out of the various interactions with the landscape that have presented themselves as interlinked under the idea of 'staged nostalgia'. The key spaces observed as vital to this process are the social space, the divided landscape and border, the spaces of ruination and abandonment, and spaces where heritage and tourism narratives compete for legitimization. With the political and social divisions imposed onto these landscapes, a conflict is identified among the dualisms that polarize understandings of self and other, tradition and modernity, Cyprus and the West etc.

1.2 CYPRUS THROUGH THE LITERATURE

This research project makes a contribution to the literature of Cyprus using long-term ethnographic methodologies to revisit existing theories and concepts. It also poses new observations deriving from the analysis of the fieldwork and the use of recent publications. The identification of 'staged nostalgia' forms the backbone of the project, as a proposition based on evidence, of a social mechanism and practice. Using existing theoretical frameworks, the thesis explores the possibilities of their application on the case of Cyprus and opportunities for their expansion. Each chapter includes its own literature review to examine the specific theories that the chapter brings out, but a general overview here will contextualise this research within the anthropology of Cyprus and place the research questions within existing work.

In early anthropological studies of the Mediterranean and of Cyprus in particular, Peristiany (1976, 1965) investigates cultural similarities in Greek, Bedouin, and peasant societies in Cyprus among others, on issues of 'honour' and 'family structure'. Anthropologists have, in the past, observed the Mediterranean as somewhat of a whole; as an area of geographical and cultural homogeneity. Mediterraneanists were soon confronted by the writings of Davis (1977) and Boissevain (1979) who considered the similarities in Mediterranean cultures but saw them as distinct, especially distinguishing between the north and south. Gilmore (1987) is apprehensive about considering the Mediterranean as a geographical area at all—the Mediterranean by definition referring to the sea basin. If one is to consider the countries that the sea touches as 'Mediterranean', he observes, the term would exclude Portugal, traditionally considered as such. The tendency to observe distinct societies as part of a group culture on the basis of rudimentary similarities, has been outdated, partially because of distinct cultural difference and partly because of the effects of globalization and

multiculturalism (Goddard, 1996; Kockel et al., 2015). Selwyn (2000) argues that even those similarities in the traditional way of life between Mediterranean cultures have been lost in the movement and modernization of today's world, coining the term '*De-Mediterraneanisation*'. In the spirit of looking for parallels, however, and considering the relations of the two nations as will be seen throughout this thesis, one may consider some of the ethnographic work done in Greece; Herzfeld (1991, 1987) on heritage and monumental time in Crete, and on the relationship between anthropology and the Greek nation, coining later the term 'cultural intimacy' which resonates throughout this thesis; Papataxiarchis and Loizos (1991) and Scott (1995, 2003) dealing with gender and kinship relations; Just (2000) writing on a rural island community; Theodossopoulos (2013) discussing Greek concepts of the environment and Greek-Turkish relations; Molokotos-Liederman (2003) and Tsoukalas (1999) on the Greek identity crisis.

Cyprus has featured largely in the political and economic sciences particularly since its division in 1974, the historical context of which will be covered in Chapter Two (Aktar et al., 2010; Argyrou, 2017a; Attalides, 1979). It has also featured extensively in tourism literature (Anastasiadou, 2006; Andronicou, 1986; Ioannides, 1992; Sharpley, 2001). Peristiany (1976) traces the origins of anthropological fieldwork in Cyprus as emerging in the early 70s. Remaining some of the best known ethnographic pieces on Cyprus is the work of Peter Loizos (2009a, 2009b, 2008), who documented the events before, during and after the war, and the effect it had on the villagers of Argaki. Most recently, Welz (2017) has considered the relationship between heritage and Europeanization, observing the resulting products as economic resources. Bryant's (2010) *The Past in Pieces* aimed to record the political and social changes after the war considering present life and identity in the 'New Cyprus' of post-war economic growth and cultural divisions. Dikomitis (2012) and Papadakis (2005) contribute with ethnographies on the effects of the war and the relationship between the two divided communities. Collaborations such as Papadakis et al's (2006) edited volume *Divided Cyprus: Modernity History and an Island in Conflict* and Bryant and Papadakis (2012) *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict* investigate socio-political and socioeconomic issues deriving from the conflict and present today. Contributors to these volumes, feature throughout this thesis.

Key figures in the anthropology in Cyprus, Loizos (2009a, 2009b, 2008) Papadakis (2006, 2005, 1993), Bryant (2012, 2010, 2008, 2006, 2004), Welz (2017, 1999), Argyrou (2017, 2013, 2005, 2005), Navaro-Yashin (2012, 2010, 2009, 2003), Peristianis (2006, 2012), Dikomitis (2012, 2005), Scott (2012, 2002, 2003), Hatay (2015, 2009), Demetriou (2017, 2008, 2007) have done individual and collaborative work, concerning themselves with the

effects of the most recent war; the division, displacement, loss of people and place, and the divisive cultures since. In terms of representation, it is evident that the Greek Cypriot community features to a greater extent within anthropological work on Cyprus. However, notably, Navaro-Yashin writes extensively about the Turkish Cypriot community's relationship to the landscape and Hatay has concerned himself with cultural heritage under the conditions of conflict, through his own work as well as through collaborations with Papadakis (2012), Constantinou (2010) and Bryant (2008). Bryant (2010), Dikomitis (2012) and Papadakis (2005) have done ethnographic work with both communities as a way of understanding the social effects of the conflict. The larger representation of the Greek Cypriot community may be attributed to a number of issues: the larger percentage of the population (80%)(Ioannides and Apostolopoulos, 1999) resulting not only in a larger number of persons influenced by the division, but also in more self-representation in anthropology. This could in turn be attributed to a number of things: the restrictions to researchers coming from an unrecognised state with closed borders up to 2003; the culture of British education in the Greek Cypriot community; Turkish Cypriots tend to study in Turkish universities. However, as Bryant (2004) has shown, the internalization of suffering and victimization has been done differently through the years in the two communities. Dikomitis (2012) encounters this difference at the border crossings, where willingness to cross indicates a very different relationship to the losses of the past by each community. This need to deal with the past, memory, loss and trauma so deeply engrained in Greek Cypriot culture therefore might explain the extensive preoccupation with the subject by and of Greek Cypriots.

Within the context of research in Cyprus, issues of modernity and Europeanism have been central (Argyrou, 2017a, 2013, 2005; Philippou, 2012, 2009, 2007, 2005), while heritage and tourism have been used on numerous occasions as spaces to investigate these larger concepts (Eftychiou, 2013a; Lenz, 2011; Welz, 2017a, 1999). Argyrou critically assesses the meaning of modernity through the case of Cyprus: '*An anthropology of Cyprus could very well be the anthropological study of the West itself from the perspective of a dominated and marginalized culture*' (2006:214). Argyrou (2017, 2013; Harris, 2006) has written extensively on the relationship with Europe through its colonial history and European succession as a 'marginal' European community. His *Tradition and Modernity in the Mediterranean: the Wedding as a Symbolic Struggle* (Argyrou, 2005) has been a major influence within this research through his observation of '*symbolic domination*' of '*Europe*', '*the West*' and '*modernity*', which he refers to interchangeably. Argyrou (2005) discusses the drastic modernization that has taken place in Cyprus over the last generations, and the symbolic reflection of this fact on wedding ceremonies in particular. This is used to understand the

detached association that the younger generations of Cypriots have kept with tradition, especially at times of economic security. This process is identified throughout this thesis as a generational gap that has resulted from differing influences and exposures and the return to tradition as a modern preoccupation. Welz's (2017, 1999) work considers Cypriot heritage as a 'European product', drawing on her extensive ethnographic work to investigate the influence of Europe in the narratives of Cyprus. Contributors to aforementioned volumes observe the culture of modernization that has emerged following the division and that led to European succession in 2004. Further writings and influences from anthropologists of Cyprus including Bakshi (2017, 2012), Chatzipanagiotidou (2018, 2016, 2012), Eftychiou (2013; Eftychiou and Philippou, 2010) who offer fresh insight to the discussion through alternative paths such as architecture, diasporic communities and tourism.

Cyprus has featured extensively in the tourism literature though less so in anthropological literature on tourism (Altinay and Bowen, 2017; Andronikou, 1993; Apostolakis, 2003; Clerides and Pashourtidou, 2007; Ioannides, 1992). Sharpley's (2002) paper *Rural Tourism and the Challenge of Tourism Diversification: the case of Cyprus* records efforts by national institutions to expand the product in an attempt to achieve sustainability of rural life and the complications that are encountered. Sharpley (2004) then discusses the construction of 'paradise' in a case study of Cyprus, and analyses the negative effects that the notorious club-scene has left on the reputation of the country as a tourist destination. Stylianou-Lambert et al. (2016) observe the reconstruction and presentation of heritage in museums, touching upon issues such as identity and authenticity in the context of politics and tourism in Cyprus. Scott's (2012) observation of tourism as a possible peace-building measure in Cyprus reflects the possibilities of tourism and the narratives of the international organizations. Tourism in a place of conflict offers insight as to the matter of contested identity representation and politico-economic factors that shape identity. Papadakis' (2006) *Aphrodite Delights* considers the use of narrative within the tourism context as a negotiation with identity. This thesis employs literature on tourism to understand issues of representation which are essential to processes of identity-making. As a large influence as to the understanding of human-place relations, tourism literature and theory has shaped the thesis questions and the ethnographic approach to them to a large extent. While this project cannot claim to be a project on tourism in Cyprus, in each chapter observations are made as to this relationship, and Chapter Six focuses on the subject of tourism to approach issues of narrative and representation.

1.3 IDENTITY AND LANDSCAPE

The emergence of the term 'identity' through psychological research in the 1960s has been adopted throughout the social sciences to encompass a somewhat etic concept that has created difficulties in its exact definition (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). Brubaker and Cooper (2000) have critiqued the use of the term and its conceptualization as a limitation; they consider it as an example of the use of language to essentialize. As both '*a category of practice and a category of analysis*' (2000:4), they believe it has been used as a tool of organizing individuals into groups much as other normalized and contested categories. The selection of the term 'identity' here is not in disagreement with its limitations but in recognition of the need of a concept to encompass perceptions of self and belonging. It is thus employed along the lines of Tilley's (2006) writing, in a non-essentialist manner, to encompass concepts that language lacks the ability to integrate. Tilley incorporates the work of Barbara Bender and social theorists to conceive a fluid meaning for identity that is as impossible to define as it is for a single person to identify themselves.

'Identity is transient, a reflection on where you are now, a fleeting moment in a biography of the self or the group, only partially connected to where you might have come from, and where you might be going' (2006:9)

This thesis thus does not pose identity as a form of categorization but rather as an analysis of expressions that evade exact definition. The limitations of language are recognised as such, as to put any experience into written form will always take away some of its essence. To be able to write and represent, however, certain terminologies such as 'identity' are necessary to express the ambiguous; it is a term open for interpretation. Bauman (2001) suggests instead the use of 'identification' to express its 'always incomplete' nature. It must be noted here that the use of the term 'identity' (in Greek ταυτότητα- 'taftotita') was not once used throughout the collection of data so as not to imply a particular representation or articulation. It has been selected as a mode of analysis that refuses to entail any connection to essentialism but remains open and intangible, much as the expressions it entails.

Tilley (2006) considers identity as a 'modern' concern, then challenged by the very mobility of modernity. Considering '*space-time compression*' (Harvey, 1991) and '*non-places*' (Auge, 2009a) of the time which Auge (2009) has referred to as '*supermodernity*', the inherent relationship between place and identity is confronted. This brings about a 'nostalgia' for places that understand the past as a time where the disconnection with places was not a concern. This concept of nostalgia for the past is incorporated later as part of the theoretical

observation of identity display in Cypriots coined as 'staged nostalgia'. In the meantime, Bender's (Bender, 2002, 1993; Bender and Winer, 2000) interdisciplinary work on landscapes understand human agency and the affective power of places as a continuous process of identity-making. Where ideas of identity are located, places become artifacts of personal, social and national identity. This can be seen in heritage sites, for example, where the past and future are negotiated onto the physical and social landscapes. This is particularly important in contested places (Bender and Winer, 2000) where identities compete for validation through their connection with the place. At the same time, borders become symbolic sites for the negotiations of these contested identities where embodied experience and memory (Macdonald, 2013) compete with the official and political impositions of identity.

Identity here is concerned with expressions of self and belonging. The fluidity and malleability of such expressions of 'self' are encompassed as part of the analysis on how these are invented, reproduced, depicted and performed. Internal and external influences are seen as the exploration of the multifaceted concept of identity as an abstract compilation of the various elements that form collective and individual selves. Macdonald (1993) establishes that '*identity formation is oppositional and (socially and historically) situational rather than essential*' (Jaffe, 1996). In *Inside European Identities* (1993) she concerns herself with identities both as the subject of research as well as considering the process of reflecting on the researchers' own identity. Most importantly, she, as well as the contributors to the volume, see the study of identity as '*the study of its social representations and the tangible and intangible effects of those representations on daily life and experience*' (Jaffe, 1996). The study of identity is thus the study of how individuals and groups live within them.

Macdonald writes on the European identity complex (Macdonald, 1993) as well as the European memory complex (Macdonald, 2013) considering '*European identity*' within the context of its soft borders. The possibility of a common identity bringing Europeans together was more successful in some places than others but is currently endangered by emerging neo-nationalist ideologies (Eger and Valdez, 2015). As attempts to conceive European identities are overshadowed today by neo-nationalistic discourses, the divisive content of such debates become reminiscent of the project of national identity in Cyprus. The construction of the Cypriot nation, much like the construction of 'Europe' has attempted to create a common identity on common geographical grounds. While the European project moves towards promoting 'common' ideological commonness, this is perceived as an attempt at colonialism or neo-colonialism (Schuerch, 2017). Some of these ideologies are disseminated through various routes such as that of heritage-making, for example. The

crisis of European identity has been extensively studied and linked to dichotomies between East and West, Tradition and Modernity and so on, which this thesis approaches at various stages.

Wells et al. (2014) observe the definition of Cypriot identity as '*ridden with complex issues and difficult challenges*' (2014:2). This encompasses much of the complexity of approaching the subject of identity, where each approach opens up a new set of questions. The identity problem of Cyprus is at the same time historical and contemporary, spanning through time and social landscape as a tangled string of identity elements. Was the definition of 'identity' a possibility, the definition of 'Cypriot identity' would remain out of its bounds as abstract and personal. Karayanni (2006) observes this complexity as it particularly relates to ethnicity and sexuality, through a fascinating piece on 'dance'. The use of the body to understand and express identity is considered in Chapter Three where encounters with the borders become constructions of identity. The observation of the complex landscape of many sources of identity is described extensively by the contributors of Cypriot anthropology. For Karayianni '*Cyprus forms a crossroad where ethnic, sexual, gender, and race politics are complex, interwoven, and endlessly negotiated.*' (Karayanni, 2006:252). To this, notably, Bryant (2004) and Papadakis (2003) add 'national' identity politics, Argyrou (2005) and Welz (2017) investigate 'modern' and 'European', while all of them overlap. When referring to identities, therefore, the breadth of possible focuses is extensive, but to encompass a single perception of 'identity' as a sense of self and belonging to landscapes, illuminates the priorities and values of individuals.

The socio-political effects of the 'Cyprus Problem' have been extensively written on (Attalides, 1979; Bender and Winer, 2000; Bryant and Papadakis, 2012a) and the identity struggle that Cypriots find themselves in has mainly been translated as an issue of ethnicity and nationality. Cypriot identities, as dynamic and multi-faceted conceptualizations, are a product of various levels of conflict rooted in societal dichotomies as well as the political and social division. The examination in Chapter Two of the social landscape demonstrates this struggle for establishing a Cypriot identity and the conflicts created in these attempts. The very definition of the community as 'Greek Cypriot', comes with its consequences, this very label is interrogated as to its meaning and effect. The 'crisis' referred to throughout this research is a project of understanding identity by Cypriots themselves, involving a recognition of the dichotomies present in the social spaces and the conflicts that exist with opposing or differing ideologies. The 'crisis' of identity is the recognition of its nature as constructed, malleable and limiting, that particularly the younger generations are expressing.

Fisher (2001) observes the Cyprus Problem as an identity-based conflict, basing the statement on the existence of two separate ethnic communities. This is a simplification of the more complex issues that have defined the two ethnic groups, as seen in Chapter Two. While the idea of the identity-based conflict is unhelpful in its lack of definition of identity as a multifaceted artifact, the dichotomy of Greek and Turkish ethnicities is indeed the basis of much of the problem. The two communities' links to their 'motherlands'³ since the division go beyond the perception of ethnic 'brotherhood' and well into sociocultural perceptions of self. The concerns of a Greek national identity (Molokotos-Liederman, 2003; Tsoukalas, 1999) based on religious values and the European construction of Hellenism resonate within the Greek Cypriot community, as an extension of Greek culture. Greekness, Turkishness and Cypriotness are interrogated throughout the thesis as examples of identity's inability to encompass a whole, and its tendency to form dichotomies of 'self' and 'other'.

The idea of an overarching national identity that encompasses and represents many other identities, such as ethnic and religious, for example, is particularly problematic in the case of multi-communal nations. The '*imagined community*' of a nation (Anderson, 2016) requires work from all sides in the creation of a collective identity. However, the historical influences that have introduced and established the notion of a Cypriot national identity are also cause for the instability that this identity relies on. The post-colonial attempt at self-governance established the idea of a Cypriot nation uniting the two ethnic groups under a single status. The intrinsic problem remains in the definition of a collective identity and whether that relies on ethnic, cultural, religious or national values. The introduction of national values in Cyprus contradicted with that of ethnic pride accompanied by distinct religious and cultural practices. It is therefore impossible to refer to identity in Cyprus as a singular and uniting conceptualization of a collective self, as it was never given the time to be established. Greek Cypriots negotiate these multiple identities to conceive a collectiveness that is stabilized through 'staged nostalgia'. The use of the term 'identity' therefore, considers the expression of perceptions of collectiveness, belonging and becoming by Cypriots themselves, and a negotiation with internal and external expectations of these perceptions. It refers to the social and political concerns of a group that shares the same physical and symbolic landscape. The evasive term identity is therefore a useful analytical tool that allows for the conceptualization of a collective self as shared by individuals known as Greek Cypriots. In full awareness of the fluidity and hybridity of these identities and their perceptions, the flexibility of the term's use outnumbers the tensions.

³ A contested term, as seen in the Glossary (B Azgin et al., 2018).

To return to Tilley and Bender's observations of landscapes as the space where identities are negotiated, the de-territorialization of modernity (Appadurai, 1996; Bauman, 2001, 2000) becomes central. Rapport and Dawson (1998) also consider modernity as a space where people become 'migrants of identity', reflected in much of the research done on tourism (MacCannell, 2013; Minca and Oakes, 2006; Rojek and Urry, 1997; Sheller and Urry, 2004). This is particularly relevant in contemporary studies of refugees (Bender and Winer, 2000; Malkki, 1995) and particularly those done in Cyprus where forced displacement and the extensive period of liminality as refugees has resulted in contradicting identity expressions within the 'self' (Bryant, 2010; Dikomitis, 2012a; Loizos, 1981). Additionally global processes of post-colonialism and economic, ideological, cultural influences have major effects on particularly younger generations who explore and express identity in much different ways than older generations (Argyrou, 2017a; Friedman, 1994; Wilson, 1992).

1.4 THESIS OVERVIEW

The chapters are placed here within the wider theoretical background while including much of their literature review internally as part of their structure. This serves as a map of the thesis but also a map of the thought process upon which the chapters are based in relation to the thesis questions. The conceptualization of a Western hegemony active on the island has driven much of the anthropology of Cyprus. The conceptualization of how individuals become subjects echoes discussions on Westernization and Europeanization through colonial, postcolonial and neo-colonial processes. This framework considers how individuals become subjects to identities, particularly in the context of Cyprus (Argyrou, 2005). Power relations feature throughout the thesis as impositions onto the physical and socioeconomic landscape. Borders, heritage practices and tourist narratives are all composed out of the '*symbolic violence*' that Argyrou identifies. This shapes the conceptualization of Cyprus as a space of physical and social conflict. 'Staged nostalgia' proposed later in this introduction, is the conceptualization of how the community responds to the conflicts and dominance, identified within each chapter as a community building mechanism which becomes part of the identity negotiations.

The overarching theme of tourism runs through the thesis as a backbone that allows observations to be made on two levels. Firstly, tourism studies are employed as a way of seeing; the interaction of humans and places in tourist spaces reveal much about the relationship and the formation of identity and belonging. This conceptual use of tourism as a negotiation with the landscape allows for the discussion of refrains such as authenticity,

representation and embodiment within the themes of each chapter. Secondly, tourism as an ethnographic space itself is a protagonist in Chapter Six but also features throughout as border crossing becomes reminiscent of tourist practices, spaces of heritage become polished tourist spaces, and dark history and destruction become dark tourism spaces. As a major industry in Cyprus, tourism is present in daily life, at times visible and at others invisible- as a parallel to reality- as will be seen in Chapter Six. While tourism is not the main theme of the thesis, it becomes relevant to consider the literature as a mode of understanding certain behaviours and connections.

Chapter Two establishes conflicts as the result of many competing historical and contemporary forces that result in an identity crisis. The symbolic landscapes of conflict are established and contextualised to understand how Cypriots are creating and perceiving their identities within this. The literature on the history of the Cyprus conflict is extensive and contested, and the interpretation of the historical narrative is unavoidably situated. The effects of colonialism and post-colonialism as roots of the conflict become comparable to the neo-colonialism that Europeanization and tourism introduce in later chapters. The 'Cyprus Problem' as it is known in international politics, is seen as one of the main sources of inter- and intra- communal conflict. Cypriot voices elaborate on the daily experience of conflict as the discussion becomes an analysis of the divided and divisive social space. The identity perceptions of Cypriots and the dichotomies deriving from the spaces of conflict form a base on which the following chapters emerge. Modernity's presence resonates throughout the thesis as an influence introducing, for example, a generational gap as a further layer of conflict. The investigation into the formation of collective and individual identities makes the thesis important as an examination of modernity.

The existence of a contested border becomes a large part of the conceptualization of place-based identities. The basis of the discussion is rooted in classic sociological literature on boundaries where the human social need for classification (Durkheim and Mauss, 2009a) must be interrogated as to the spaces of anomaly that it creates (Douglas, 2002; Turner, 1974a). Douglas (2002) offers insight as to the relationship between different classifications that might provide explanations for the creation of 'self' and 'other' in opposition. Douglas considers purity and pollution to be at the basis of such binaries. This resonates within this research where the 'other', very often the Turkish Cypriot community, or for the older generations 'modernity', are seen as impure, dangerous and dirty. One of the major projects of ethnic socialization over the years has been to establish this concept of difference, thus justifying and contesting the division. Van Gennep's (1961) work and Turner's adoption of it (1974) proposes the existence of spaces of 'liminality'. The concept provides a useful basis

for the theoretical explorations of outliers, such as the borderlands, or the marginalized groups that find space amongst the destruction and abandonment. Liminality also becomes useful when considering the current political state of the Turkish Cypriot community, as Navaro-Yashin explores extensively (2003, 2006, 2007, 2010). Navaro-Yashin records some of the issues that come with the complex status of northern Cyprus, such as dealing with legal paperwork, defining ethnicity, living in conflict, and the process of redefining place. As concerns liminality, the space between conflict and resolution that all Cypriots find themselves in today is certainly one of liminality, a sense of 'peaceful conflict'.

In Chapter Three, the border as the contested manifestation of division, and the borderland as its physical landscape, are perceived as a physical and symbolic edge against which identity is formed. In this observation, the physical landscape becomes a major influence in the formation of identity. Encounters with the border reveal how identities are susceptible to physical landscapes that shape the binaries of 'self' and 'other'. The contested border has been internalised as an edge of a collective self within society. The border is an edge, an impenetrable/penetrable barrier and a liminal space where politics are at play. Importantly, it is also the edge of Europe and the West, and Cypriots try to balance themselves on the margins. Friction with the landscape of division through the use of the body is seen as a mechanism and a display of the negotiation that takes place. Occasions of crossing the border become contested, as seen through participant observation and interviews with crossers and non-crossers. Border crossing becomes a politicized act that challenges notions of place, nation and ownership. The body is used as a mechanism for the exploration of these expressions through examples of pilgrimages and paradoxical experiences of border-crossing. As the expression of traditional acts of internal mobility is interrupted and challenged, the ability to form identities based on tradition and physical landscape becomes challenged.

Discourse and power become major influences in the following chapters where heritage and tourism are identified as spaces where identities are shaped, displayed and consumed. Wertz (2015) identifies that '*heritage management and tourism marketing in many instances coincide and overlap, but also just as often are at odds with each other*'. This encompasses the parallels between of both industries and processes, as well as the differences between them. This overlap in the analysis of narrative production and political economies is identified as part of the identity crisis. As ultimate expressions of the relationship between identity and landscape, tourism and heritage provide the space for the interrogation of the thesis questions. The sociocultural and economic aspects of both heritage and tourism create

spaces of production and consumption where power relations are at play. Each chapter introduces the literature as a theoretical background to the questions presented.

In Chapter Four 'normative' heritage processes are interrogated as a threat to living cultural and natural forms. Heritage is a means of protecting selective pasts and memory in a physical form while eliminating spaces of liminality seen as dirty and dangerous. In a journey with a group of urban explorers, various types of engagement with the physicality of conflict and abandonment are understood as processes of identity making. Decay creates new spaces of cultural life where identities are negotiated at street level, and threatened by normative heritage practices. The processes of restoration are an intervention to the natural life of buildings and a threat to the natural and cultural life forms that exist within them. The 'Western' concept of monumentalization interrupts and endangers impulsive needs to understand and cope with decay and loss at street level. The investigation of these spaces explores the other side of 'Western' heritage processes, through humanist and post-humanist perspectives, possible through an observation of decay as a natural process of change. These spaces of decay affect how Cypriots relate to the physical landscape, shaping their sense of belonging and identity, in positive and negative ways. Life in the old town has developed alongside the abandonment creating liminal spaces where radical productions of identity take place. Urban regeneration contradicts the organic development of urban lives, resulting in marginalization, resistance and activism.

In Chapter Five heritage is established as a single interpretation of history and memory, thus becoming a link to the past that informs identities. An ethnographic case study of the heritage process reveals a clash between the many interpreters of heritage and local perceptions. Normative practices are shaped by 'Western' notions of past preservation for posterity and achieved through the economic power of international organizations. These narratives imposed onto the landscape are seen as a neo-colonial attempt, often contradicting local sentiment as to the spaces they represent. This contradiction is attributed to the varying values and ethics of the relevant groups as well as the power relations within the heritage and political spaces. Internationalist and nationalist heritage regimes compete to establish particular narratives while local voices are lost in the process. The ethnographic evidence indicates the conflict and power relations that exist in the establishment of these narratives as a hegemony of the West. The concept of 'Staged nostalgia' is revisited to understand the process of heritage as a social mechanism that involves the necessary 'staging' of the past. In a contested landscape, authorship is power and competing causes establish conflicting identity narratives.

In Chapter Six, the creation of a tourist destination is observed as parallel to the creation of the nation. The mythology and selective history involved in nation-making is commodified for tourist consumption, through the use of 'banal' (Billig, 1995) artifacts such as the symbol of Aphrodite. In Cyprus, tourist narratives compete over contested landscapes and histories. This process often considered as self-representation is really another hierarchical process of selection and (re)presentation. Resulting tourist narratives are politicized as each jurisdiction attempts to justify its existence for mainstream audiences. Issues that arise such as claim of ownership of the land and historical establishment to the nation can be contested in a place of conflict. Links to history and culture through tradition and *philoxenia* establish claims to the land through tourist narratives. The ethnographic case study of an Agrotourist hotel reveals the spaces where modernity and tradition become entangled in the name of tourism. The processes of touristifying rural life and tradition is cyclically incorporated as part of identity. As a result of the friction with a recognizably tourist narrative, Cypriot identity is (re)shaped. Authenticity becomes illusive in these spaces where the past and present, tradition and modernity, performance and reality all become entangled. 'Staged nostalgia' is the origin of expectations of authenticity in a collective nostalgic perception of staged pasts. Materials published to market Cyprus as a destination reveal the symbolic landscape in which they are produced. The motivated narratives rely on selective histories and heritage practices which establish the island historically as well as politically and culturally Greek.

1.5 'STAGED NOSTALGIA'

The literal and symbolic landscapes of conflict in Cyprus produce a dispersed Greek Cypriot community that struggles to find common identity but maintains unity through the expression of nostalgias. The cultural trauma (Alexander et al., 2004a) as well as the preoccupation with the past (Bryant and Papadakis, 2012b) that unites the community, sources the material for the creation of a common nostalgia. This nostalgia holds the community together under the pressures of the 'enemy', in its many manifestations, with a promise of a stable future based on an idyllic perception of a peaceful past. The casual and official expression of this is what I refer to as 'staged nostalgia'; a cultivated emotional attachment to the past as a form of legitimizing a common Cypriot identity that generates a community out of the products of conflict. 'Staged nostalgia' considers the discursive uses of nostalgia, loss and trauma as a community building mechanism.

The proposed concept understands the collective expectations and socializations of a society in turmoil. The thesis then explores various negotiations with the landscape that reveal the inability of 'staged nostalgia' to maintain a monolithic understanding of collective identity. While the ability of 'stage nostalgia' to create collectivity is strong at an institutional level, the essentialization of identity is resisted at ground level by individuals and groups who continue to challenge it. The following chapters delve into spaces where 'staged nostalgia' persists as a public narrative, such as the contested border and heritage and tourism spaces, and interrogates the small conflicts that attempt to break away from its rigid discourse. The concept of 'staged nostalgia' therefore offers a background to the understanding of why identity negotiations in Greek Cypriot society are contested and yet prevalent, particularly by the younger generations. The concept is a result of ethnographic analysis where it became apparent that the abstractness of and constant negotiation with identity must be understood at various levels synchronously.

Nostalgia etymologically refers to a pain for return to a home. The abstractness of 'home' refers to a previous state of better life, and to individuals or places in the near or distant past. The pain, in this sense, does not refer to a necessarily negative emotion (Sedikides et al., 2008) but a yearning or melancholy that also has the power to evoke and manipulate memory (Seremetakis, 1996a). It is a productive pain in which individuals and groups can thrive featuring the self (or the collective self) as the protagonist (Sedikides et al., 2008). It is this self which is perceived here as the centre of the production, and a pain of loss of a strong connection with places.

In Cyprus, nostalgia manifests itself in many ways, often to do with the thirst for '*epistrofi*' (return) to lost lands and to a '*peaceful past*'. Loizos (2008) distinguishes between the 'Present-Present', and the 'Past-Present' to indicate the perceptual difference in observing the present through the eyes of the past, where refugees see the 'now' as 'wrong' (2008:71). As an articulation of an emotional relationship to the past, the land and each other, nostalgia offers a space for Cypriots to surpass the daily conflicts and find a common enemy in time. With memory's fragile nature and history's controversial one, nostalgia becomes the common ground on which every Greek Cypriot may participate within the bounds of the official story. The concept of a 'staged nostalgia' then, refers to the yearning for a 'staged' past, a selected and polished version of history, but also to the performance of the pain for internal and external audiences; for internal ones as a community building and identity making device and for external as a means of legitimizing the community and its identity.

Papadakis et al. (2006) write that in the management of memory in Cyprus, nostalgia '*became a patriotic duty*', particularly for those displaced by the war. In parallel, Scott (2002)

observes through her work in the Canbulat museum and in relation to Papadakis' (1994) work, how sacrifice is a source of national pride on either side of the Green Line. This elucidates the use of nostalgia throughout the symbolic landscape of Cyprus through displays of suffering and victimization. This is explored through the ethnographic data in Chapter Three, where post-war Greek Cypriots revisit their school-time memories of the Green Line. The use of imagery and narratives of victimization to cultivate the inherited pain of the war in children is part of the socialisation process as will be seen in Chapter Two. Further to the purposes of victimization which serve as justification as well as patriotic socialization, a traditional performance of grief is perceived as a cultural trait deriving from Greek Orthodox displays of mourning, influenced from ancient Greek traditions (Mystakidou et al., 2005). The duty of performing nostalgia creates a necessity for a collective imaginary of the past upon which the enactment is based. The thesis draws on examples where heritage, as the space where such performances often find home, become contested, endangering the narrative of nostalgia. Decay, heritage interventions and tourist landscaping all become threats as well as opportunities to this display of identity. The patriotic duty of nostalgia forms the resistance to external influences that threaten the possibility of redemption and 'return'.

Anthropology's concern with nostalgia has produced numerous terminologies attempting to grip the term's abstractness and find applications within different ethnographic contexts. Some of these include Appadurai's *'armchair nostalgia'* (1996), Strathern's *'synthetic nostalgia'* (1995) and Herzfeld's *'structural nostalgia'* (2016). Concerns about the many forms that nostalgia takes and its temporality are at the forefront of anthropological literature (Angé and Berliner, 2014; Boym, 2002) but it is often used as an analytical tool. This section proposes the use of the term 'staged nostalgia' as an analytical tool to understand relationships to landscape, identity, memory and history, but it also understands it as both a form of discourse and a social practice within Greek Cypriot society itself. As a way of dealing with conflicting identities and division it is also a technique of othering and forgetting. 'Staged nostalgia' therefore involves the conscious expression of nostalgic narratives for internal and external audiences, a basis for the legitimization of a community, under a nationalist paradigm.

For Lowenthal (2015), nostalgia is a symptom of modernity's memory distortion. As a by-product of modernity, and with memory being further distorted with each generation, nostalgia becomes the narrative of identity. In Cyprus, the necessity to deal with loss and fragile memory has relied on nostalgia for their transcription into emotional connections with the past and the community. If the primary social use of nostalgia is to establish social

identities and cultural boundaries (Bryant 2014), then its subjective and interpretative transmission are both threats to collective identities. In places, such as Cyprus, where identities are contested and conflicting, such social tools are essential for the imagined future of the community. 'Staged nostalgia' is thus a personal and collective support system for identities and beliefs to establish self and belonging; an institutionalised performance of loss. This presents the argument that nostalgia is not necessarily based on any truth, real memory or factual history; it is an emotional and subjective interpretation of selective elements of the past by a group or individual, that may then be inherited by younger generations. The creation of solidarity under the organized expression and passing down of longing is identified in the use of the past within education and culture.

Groups form collective identities intentionally but also through organic processes; both of these strengthen the community and create a sense of belonging. In the case of Cyprus, cultural trauma becomes a basis for a strong collective identity to be formed. Alexander et al (2004b) observe cultural trauma as a process where group consciousness is scarred by a trauma that effects the whole of the group as well as individuals. Collective memory related to the trauma then shapes the community in terms of its values, aspirations and beliefs. Most importantly, Alexander et al. observe collective trauma as a scientific concept that may decipher seemingly unrelated aspects of social life. Chapter Two identifies collective trauma in its manifestations as conflict within Cypriot society and as an identity crisis, and suggests that this is negotiated through an equally collective conceptualization of nostalgia that is staged by and for Cypriots themselves, as well as for external audiences.

The transmission amongst generations, achieved through the social landscape and family histories, has the ability to hold generations together under a common cause, however, it is often altered in the process and becomes a cause for drifting between generations in Cyprus. West (2004) refers to '*mourning sickness*', often perceived as a postmodern concern (Sharpley and Stone, 2009a) that becomes central to community building needed to mourn loss. Through '*mourning sickness*' therefore, collective and often inherited memory and trauma are performed as part of identity. In Cyprus, this display of suffering is part of the individual's patriotic duty that supersedes the individual's need to explore identity any further. In the ethnographic example of urban exploration in Chapter Four, attempts to indeed explore beyond the existing realms of identity are deemed as dangerous, daring and provocative. I consider this as a betrayal of the patriotic and family duty to perform the relationship to loss that justifies the suffering of the community.

Borrowed from MacCannell's (2013) idea of '*staged authenticity*', the word 'staged' implies a curated performance and a display of identity relying on retrospective observations of the

past; nostalgia rather than memory, which as Lowenthal (2015) argues is not as reliable. The curating is a communal effort, enhanced by top-down impositions such as educational reforms and media influence, but permeated with the public's passion and personal memories. While top-down influences attributed to the political bodies may appear hierarchical to other influences, it is the extensive appropriation of the narratives of nostalgia by the public that enhance its power. It is a production, a performance and a consumption of common identity based on a selective past. Those who challenge the narrative, such as the explorers of Chapter Four, lurk in the dark corners of the city and of society. Uses of tourist and heritage spaces also become essential to this process as will be seen throughout this thesis, as spaces where Cypriots and non-Cypriots consume the performance of 'staged nostalgia'.

The term 'staged nostalgia' then refers to a cultural practice that attempts a negotiation with difficult pasts and present conflicts through a daily performance of identity. Through this negotiation, a positivist approach to the past creates seemingly rigid identities that control the imagination. The thesis explores occasions where 'staged nostalgia' is restrictive and inauthentic to Greek Cypriot individuals, and their actions challenge it through their interactions with the landscape. Chapter Four elaborates on the younger generation's particular relationship with the past as carriers of postmemory (Hirsch, 2012). Having been protected from the guilt and horrors of the war, the younger generation suffers the inherited memory while it struggles with the guilt of an 'easy life'. Controlled by the expectations of patriotism and the acceptance of their given identity post-war Cypriots bare the weight of this rigid identity which 'staged nostalgia' has produced. The explorations of ruins in Chapter Four are perceived as their way of agitating this and reclaiming ownership of the place and their identity.

Goffman (1990) wrote of the '*presentation of self*' as a performance, not of inauthenticity, but of normative social behaviour. His writing distinguishes between a public and private presentation of the self that is later linked to Herzfeld's (2016) writing on '*cultural intimacy*'. The concept of 'staged nostalgia' borrows from '*cultural intimacy*' the idea of private, embarrassing cultural traits that hold the community together and provoke a performance of a particular cultural self for public display. This public display of a uniform identity is essential for Greek Cypriots to justify their very existence as a cultural group within the international spaces of the EU and UN, for example. To be able to link this identity to the Republic of Cyprus is also part of enhancing the power of the community within the narrative of the Republic that deems the northern third of the island as 'occupied'⁴. This

⁴ This terminology is discussed later in this chapter as part of the analysis on the use of language

public performance also includes evidence of being modern, which as Argyrou (2005) has identified is a central motivation of the Greek Cypriot society. These observations are made through the analysis of the ethnographic data within the chapters of this thesis and will be elaborated in conversation with it.

Herzfeld (2013) focuses on the relationship between the state and its citizens as a 'symbolic construct', observing this through the public and private domain.

'It is that part of a cultural identity that insiders do not want outsiders to get to know yet that those same insiders recognize as providing them with a comfort zone of guilty non-normative carryings-on... The activities that qualify as culturally intimate thus defy the rule of states and other institutions- but... those institutions actually, and to a surprising degree, depend on and even surreptitiously sustain that comfort zone as a way of securing the continued fealty of their members.' (Herzfeld, 2013:492)

While cultural identity is not necessarily linked to the institution of the state, 'cultural intimacy' can be observed as the distinction of the performance between the inside and outside of a group. While the state relies on the public performance for legitimization, the private sphere also offers a comfort zone to the community members. Within this comfort zone exists a space where shared identity and solidarity becomes the common secret against the official performances of the state identity. This essentialization of identity eases the search for the shared elements within the group and identifies group members to each other. Herzfeld then proposes the idea of 'structural nostalgia', a nostalgia for the time before the state and its impositions created detachments with places. This relationship between the multi-layered performance of identity and uses of the past is one that is similarly found in the concept of 'staged nostalgia'. The main difference lies in the contestation and pain of that past that is constantly mediated in the present.

In Cyprus, where both cultural identity and its relationship to the state are contested, as Scott (2003) notes, this becomes more complicated. Her research on casinos in the unrecognised northern Cypriot state has considered them as spaces where cultural intimacy is explored by members of the two major Cypriot communities, negotiating 'Cypriotness'. As a space where stereotypes and relationships are negotiated outside of the political sphere, 'right' and 'wrong' play become relational. For the purposes of this research, the Greek Cypriot community has been understood as this comfort space created between individuals of the community while constantly contested internally and externally creating an identity crisis. The landscapes of this space are interrogated throughout this thesis. 'Staged nostalgia' then becomes an element of 'cultural intimacy', a common understanding

and internal structure that holds the community together and allows for the public display of official identity to be performed. This is then challenged at different stages as will be seen within the chapters of the thesis, by individuals and groups who struggle with the possibilities of a monolithic and self-essentialised identity.

In the understanding of public and private that Herzfeld proposes, I would add the concept of internal public. This adds another layer of intimacy distinguishing smaller groups within the private cultural sphere, for whom another layer of intimacy is hidden. This addition notes the difference between internal outsiders, or the internal public outside one's own smaller group, and the internal intimate such as the family or clan as identified in Peristiany's (1965) *Honour and Shame in the Mediterranean*. Argyrou (2005) adds that the performance of a modern and European identity is not only concerned with the external public but also amongst Greek Cypriots themselves, the internal public. Argyrou writes of the inferiority complex that Cypriots feel in comparison to the 'West' that illuminates the symbolic struggle within the community. He argues that '*Greek Cypriots do not display a European front only to foreigners, but also to one another*', referring mainly to a class conflict of 'backwards' versus 'modern'. This supports to the distinction of the 'internal public' and 'internal intimate' as proposed in relation to Herzfeld's cultural intimacy.

The class conflict that Argyrou (2005) refers to between 'peasant' and 'bourgeoisie', is an immediate effect of the introduction of modernity and European identity within a single generation. The lack of gradual evolution between 'traditional' and modern life, has left groups struggling to catch up, while others managed to take advantage of the possibilities. This internal imbalance is therefore the root of a symbolic struggle not only between classes but also generations. The performance of 'staged nostalgia' becomes necessary in the conciliation of this imbalance for a communal self. In practice, it conciliates the relationship between a peasant past and a European present, incorporating current peasant life within the traditional paradigm that Europe so values. This is reflected in the narratives of the tourism market and manifested in the introduction of Agrotourism. Branded as 'tradition' rural and peasant becomes part of a nostalgic experience of the past.

The curation or 'staging' of displays of identity thus creates several layers of performance within the society. Along these lines, 'staged nostalgia' is the selective process of display of pasts and the performance of their expression; a self-stereotyping that hides the embarrassing traits from the outsider and the internal outsider. One major element of this may be identified in the very expressions of history, where the selected and public display of history hides the shame of being the oppressor. While Greek Cypriots are somewhat aware in their dark role against the Turkish Cypriot community particularly prior to '74,

they selectively victimise themselves in public displays of history and even attempt to absorb this into the private cultural sphere through education. I say somewhat because with the passing of generations and the selective use of memory and history, the post-war generation relies largely on the common narrative. The internal public in particular may follow the public display of victimization and yet within the internal private story, sharing depends on individual experiences and motivations. This I have observed through discussions with post-war friends whose versions of the past beyond the official narrative seemed to vary based on whether their parents lived through or fought in the war, as well as political affiliations. 'Staged nostalgia' plays this role of 'staging' or 'performing' the past for the public and strengthening the community through the use of 'nostalgia' for the past and the possible future.

To understand the ambivalence between 'official self-representation' and the 'privacy of collective introspection' Herzfeld coins the term '*disemia*'. For Herzfeld, this ambiguity is displayed in the Greek context in the conflict between Western expectations of Hellenic performance and private understandings of identity. What the concept of 'staged nostalgia' offers here, is an analytical eye in the negotiation that takes place between the public and private expressions of identity in Cyprus in parallel to the Greek archetype. By focusing on the Greek aspect of their identity as a distinctive feature, Greek Cypriots share the burden of the modern Greek community that feels the need to adhere to the past as a better time. Chapter Five observes how heritage processes display these ideological contradictions both in terms of selected narratives but also in terms of the funding from various sources and towards particular projects.

The concept of 'staged nostalgia' offers a space for interrogating the negotiation that takes place to relieve an identity crisis established by various levels of conflict. The state enforced nationalisms are enforced by the multiple nostalgias to support the notion of a national identity. This social strategy is an organic development of attempts at community making within conflict. Such examples are seen within the tourism and heritage sectors, where representation must be balanced between the public and private presentations of identity. Papadakis (2006) and Paphitou (2015) reflect on using Herzfeld's Greek paradigm, as Cypriots use Aphrodite as a representation for the public eye, although in reality their lives include very little of her. Aphrodite becomes the myth on which to base an identity, displaying the 'staged' aspect of this relationship to a Greek past. Though contemporary Greek culture's influence is present throughout social life, Aphrodite is nowhere to be found but tourist materials. The public and private relationship to contemporary and ancient Greek culture create a complex dynamic of performance and consumption of identity. This

need to establish a Hellenic identity is a product of history but also a necessity to claim the origins of European civilization along with the Greeks of Greece.

Aciman (2001) writes of his experience of returning to his hometown of Alexandria where the distinction between *nostophobia* ('the fear of returning') and *nostomania* ('the obsession with going back') becomes striking. Papadakis et al. (2006) draw on his paradigm to note the difference between Greek and Turkish Cypriot uses of nostalgia; with Greek Cypriots engaging in *nostomania* and Turkish Cypriots in *nostophobia*. This obsession with return that the Greek Cypriot community engages with daily becomes part of socialization that is the 'private' to the 'public' performance of 'staged nostalgia'. Bryant (2016) offers a similar view that positions the use of memory and nostalgia beyond the physical and conceptual boundaries of Cyprus. For Bryant, Turkish Cypriots returning to their lost villages in the south, nostalgia is interpreted as a longing for essentialism rather than a yearning for a lost past. It is a need for establishing the stereotyped and idealized image of self into an unchallenged identity. In the state of liminality in which they find themselves, nostalgia is employed to forget as much as it is to remember. Nostalgia is therefore, as Papadakis (1993) explains, as much a process of forgetting as it is a process of remembering.

In the social forgetting and remembering that is established in 'staged nostalgia', the public and private display of identity becomes sanctified. The conceptualization of 'staged nostalgia' offers a platform for the investigation of the many influences within expressions of identity explored in the Chapters that follow. This space carries the concepts of trauma, conflict, belonging and the abstractness of 'identity' and 'culture' into the rest of the thesis where, employed as a theoretical tool, 'staged nostalgia' offers insight to the analysis of daily experiences of landscape.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

1.6.1 DESIGN

The questions and interests of this project have been explored in the ethnographic field using qualitative methodological approaches. The 'field' in this case refers to the island of Cyprus where the landscape becomes a space of identity-making. While some of the steps taken during research had been planned during the preparation stages of fieldwork, some were responses to new questions or the need to understand themes deeper. Madden (2017) highlights the importance of challenging and theorising the use of ethnographic methodologies that are often used with a lack of reflexivity. Madden notes that this will also

serve to alleviate some of the anxiety for the validity of the results. This section expands on the research design and decision making that has relied on ethnographic methodologies, after a short overview of the spaces in which it took place.

As the entry points in understanding the relationship between identity and landscape, tourism and heritage spaces were of particular interest. This led first to the Cyprus Tourism Organization (CTO), where the tourist industry finds its bureau. The interviews and archives exposed some of the official processes, but it revealed itself as a top-down practice that did not allow much interaction with Cypriots themselves, both in terms of the Organization's work, but also for my research questions. My next step was to independently approach a hotel, where much of the tourism processes would be at play. For this I chose to concentrate initially on a rural hotel, known as an Agrotourist hotel, where ideas of heritage and tradition became the selling point for visitors. Following a few visits to several such establishments, I was welcomed to stay in one particular place that features in Chapter Six.

A long three months in rural isolation at the hotel offered a deep insight to the production of tourism spaces and the use of heritage within modernity as an identity-making tool. What the hotel did not offer was a wider understanding of heritage processes that informed perceptions of identity. For this, I returned to the capital, Nicosia, where I began to work as an intern for three months following which I was employed as a contractor, to support the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) communications team. Overt as to my research intentions, I was welcomed to participate in many projects and was given the opportunity to visit the northern areas of Cyprus for the first time. This became central to my understanding of Greek Cypriot identities as I found that identity is perceived very much against the unknown and feared 'other'. Contested and liminal spaces became everyday experiences throughout my time in Nicosia, both in my work with the UNDP but also in interactions with new and old friends.

While initially friends and family were avoided to maintain a separate professional and private space, the closeness of the research to my personal life, the interest of my friends and family on discussing the themes and especially my relationship with the urban explorers who became protagonists in Chapter Four, all became central to the research. The idea of doing fieldwork among friends, or becoming friends with research participants has been written about in relation to ethics and representation (Hendry, 2017; Irwin, 2006; Owton and Allen-Collinson, 2014; Powdermaker, 1967; Rabinow, 2007; Taylor, 2011) and has been a major part of this research and writing process. Powdermaker (1967) has highlighted the human element of long-term social research where intimacy is inevitable and valuable; she considers the anthropologist as a human instrument, a product of biology,

psychology and society, much as the people they study. The clash between personal feelings and intellectual perception that she mentions in relation with her extensive ethnographic experience is one of the major problems of this intimacy. Others, such as Spradley (1980) have advised against such intimacy to protect the integrity and the role of the researcher. In this case, I found that new friendships were unavoidable following the bonds that deep personal discussion and extensive time together creates. Pre-existing friendships also became important and much was learned through the process of establishing my role as the researcher within my own community (Coffey, 1999). This only adds to my accountability to represent and to produce an ethnography of Greek Cypriot society.

Ethnographic methodology has long been the norm for Anthropological research while it encompasses much of Anthropology's dark history through association with colonialism and 'exoticisation' of the 'other'. Ethnography, however, can also be praised for the qualitative insights that it provides, and has in recent years undergone processes of decolonization, reflexivity and numerous stages of modernization through various interjections (for example Abu-Lughod, 1996; Clifford and Marcus, 2010; Geertz and Darnton, 2017; Leonardo, 2018; Trouillot, 2003). While all of these influences continue to shape current practices, as well as this particular research, one such interjection is particularly important to reflect on within this thesis; that of the 'native' anthropologist, or the 'anthropologist at home' (Jackson, 1986; Narayan, 1993). First, the use of ethnographic methods must be justified against critiques as to its value (Hammersley, 1990) as well as issues of positionality (Dubisch, 1995a; Rabinow, 2007).

The research that informs this thesis was designed over the period of one year, and took place over 15 months in Cyprus. Long-term research, a distinctive element of ethnographic methodologies (O'Reilly, 2011), is seen as a means to resolve some of the issues that arise with short-term research, such as the inability to form bonds and deeply understand day to day experiences. The ability to contextualise and 'thickly' describe (Geertz, 1973) events and interviews, both invaluable elements of ethnographic writing, are both results of extensive time spent in the 'field'. While much can be learned about a group of people through secondary and short-term primary research, the ability of long-term engagement to create relationships cannot be refuted. An important benefit of long-term engagement, for instance, is that it informs the unsaid. Often within this thesis, what has gone unsaid has revealed much more than what is being stated. Avoidance or indifference to disclose, not to be confused with unwillingness to do so, is reflective of social norms such as culturally private and public practices, cultural as well as personal uses of body and language, and even notions of hierarchical positionality. A trained ethnographer, and one with long-term

engagement with individuals, will be able to pick up on such important contextual elements and understand much deeper the non-text data. The interpretative processes of this type of research are subjective but informed. While empirical research claims holistic results, reflexivity is also highly valued as recognition of inescapable subjectivity.

The ability to untangle the mundanity of daily life and to communicate at a deeper level than that of a short-term visitor has been considered as a process of 'going native' (O'Reilly, 2008). This problematic term and issues of positionality and positivism have been major critiques to ethnography which has struggled to find a balance in the role of the researcher. The synthetisation of emic and etic observations becomes a matter of representation which ethnographers including myself feel the weight of. This leads to the questions of who is native, whether an outsider can ever be considered a 'native' and whether that would indeed allow for better results or more accurate representation.

As with the term 'culture', the term 'native' becomes problematic as to the bounds it implies, particularly in the modern world. While in this case I could be considered a 'native' of Cyprus due to upbringing, the complexity of identity established in this thesis joins the discussion on the term 'Anthropology at Home' to challenge the notion of being 'native'. Jackson (1986) argues that 'the exotic might be only five miles away- it is indeed, all around one'. The 'exotic' can be found in the apparently mundane structures of daily life even within one's home society; to ignore this, is to ignore the complexity of culture and the impact of modernity. Okely (1986) who has worked with Gypsy communities in the UK, problematizes her own position: 'The division between 'known' or 'other' culture can be defined neither by national nor geographical territory. The exotic should be displaced'. For Weil (1986) 'home' is not always a tangible place, but rather one that exists within individuals, she writes that 'the confluence of anthropology and home can occur in the psychological and personal, and not necessarily physical level'. Hastrup (1986) offers another dimension to the debate by suggesting that 'anthropology in neither 'here' nor 'there'. It is everywhere, being actually a third culture in any cross-cultural dialogue' essentially dismissing the ideas of 'home' and 'exotic' as irrelevant to the work of the ethnographer. The physical element of place bolsters the argument of the possibility of an 'Anthropology at home', thus by removing it, emerges a new space; a 'third culture' where the researcher may remove themselves from the constructions of their culture completely. Anthropology's fixation with the exotic has led ethnographers to look for it at the corners of the earth but while shifts towards the 'West' became more acceptable, the emergence of a 'native' anthropology (perceived here as anthropology at home for non-Western anthropologists) challenged notions of representation.

Madden (2017) argues for the use of ethnography in the contemporary world, considering the geographical and technological processes of globalisation. While the bounds of culture have never been fixed, modernity has blurred these further, but the use of ethnography persists as the capability to understand the global through the individual. To this, I add the idea of locality – local and global, which challenge traditional anthropological ‘fields’ and perceptions of society. ‘Native’ then can be a geographical, cultural or institutional claim to status. Whether Cyprus may be considered West, Global North, or exotic, as a Greek Cypriot raised in Cyprus, I could be considered either a ‘native anthropologist’ or an ‘anthropologist at home’, terms which I do not take lightly. Demetriou (2008) problematizes the positionality of the native anthropologist in a place of conflict as inevitably partial, using the case of Cyprus as an example. The tension between impartiality and engagement are always present in historical texts but more so when the writer is ‘native’. This is further explored in Chapter Two where a historical overview is presented on the case of Cyprus in particular.

My research design reflects some of these concerns and the resulting ethnography indicates occasions in which this became an issue, particularly when attempting neutrality as an individual who is so clearly positioned through language, background and networks. Existing networks were initially avoided, to evade these dangers of doing anthropology ‘at home’. Such dangers included the status shift that could endanger both existing relationships and my credibility as a researcher. The decision to spend time in a more isolated rural environment, the Agrohôtel, was such an attempt to remove myself from networks and from what I know about Cyprus as a person who was raised there; in a Greek Cypriot family in the capital city. Whether I could still be considered a ‘native’ in this space which seemed very new to me was interesting in relation to tourist literature on matters of representation and authenticity, and host-guest relations - this is analysed in Chapter Six. Narayan (1993) questions the term ‘native anthropologist’, in regards to these concerns critiquing the concept of an ‘*authentic insider*’. The dichotomy of insider/outsider becomes interrogated through Narayan’s work where even the ‘native insider’ may rarely claim an authentic representation.

In traditional ethnographic methodology it has been argued that the sense of newness that comes from a new culture is undeniably valuable, something that the ‘native’ could miss (Jackson, 1986; MacClancy, 2010). Hastrup (1986) warns that knowledge can be ‘*like a veil over reality*’ and that the ethnographer is in danger of being ‘*too literal minded*’. To attempt to see beyond the veil, I removed myself on occasions from spaces of comfort, such as the city, or the Greek Cypriot controlled areas. This proved successful particularly during those months of rural life which were much more foreign to me than many of my travels. The

comforts of modern life, such as heating and electricity, hot water and internet, access to transportation, as well as the social life of the city I learned not to take for granted at the Agrohôtel. While rural isolation was a draw for visitors, its permanence and effect was new to myself. The cold and extremely dark winter nights gave me insight to other ways of life within my own culture, and the commodification and polishing of this life for tourism became evident. Chapter Six presents these insights through the extensive fieldnotes I spent those dark nights comprising.

Following this time, the return to Nicosia, the capital city where I grew up became a mix of research and life that at times intertwined. Family and friends became interested in my research and provided insights that shaped my observations and my own positionality became central both to my attempts at neutrality as well as to the depth of intimate discussions. Some aspects of my own life revealed themselves to be part of the very process that I was studying; the urban explorer group that features largely in Chapter Four had been an existing social group of which I had been a 'member' for some years. The explorations featured in this thesis, took place during the fieldwork year as part of this usual pastime rather than as part of the research. The connections to the research question became clear some time after, where interviews took place upon my next visit to reflect on the practice. On a number of such occasions it seemed that this was a process of auto-anthropology (Strathern, 1986) and I had to work hard to escape the expectations of my own experiences. But this is perceived merely as the effect of studying something of interest; whether at 'home' or not, the research questions always derive from the ethnographer's own interest in the subject.

ETHICS

The fieldwork project has been approved by the ethics board of the Department of Anthropology at Goldsmiths, University of London, based on the ASA guidelines on ethics. While such processes of regulating ethnographic research has been criticised and problematized by Atkinson (2009) as irrelevant to the realities of the experience of research, institutional regulations have been maintained. On the ground, the process of attaining consent is complex, particularly as socialisation and participant observation establish particular kinds of relationships (Joseph and Donnelly, 2012). In reality, the process of assuring informed consent was one of repetition and of revisiting certain discussions to ensure that my participation as a person was not conflicting with my participation as a researcher. This was also necessary when communicating via telephone, *skype* or social media, where the presence of my notebook or note-taking app was not

obvious. In the case of long-term research, as with the UNDP, Agrohôtel and CTO, repetition was also vital as new persons appeared and old participants became friends. Informants were assured that their identity would remain undisclosed, partially through the use of pseudonyms, but on occasion, to avoid the possibility of identification, through careful fictionalization (so as not to compromise the context of their position)⁵. The anticipation that sensitive information would be shared as part of many discussions was realistic, as much of the conversation on identity inevitably identifies an 'other' or includes personal stories of trauma and loss. At the same time, political views and career positions can also be interconnected, and exposing one could endanger the other.

Tyagi (2018) has written about the emotional labour of ethnography, particularly within the spectre of feminist issues proposing the need to go beyond reflexivity that may challenge the ethical regulations of the practice. The extensive involvement in the life of participants, particularly when doing anthropology in a familiar environment such as in this case, raises the emotional labour which then becomes part of the data. Tyagi (2018) uses the understanding of emotionality in ethnographic research to defend ethnography's value as a producer of ethical, honest and empowering research. The posthumous publication of Malinowski's diaries (1989) illustrates the point of emotional labour and its unavoidable presence which can be hidden from the resulting ethnographic text. Clifford and Marcus (2010) have contributed with the understanding of the ethnographer as a subjective source and the use of reflexivity for an ethical representation of others.

Joseph and Donnelly (2012) refer to the use of alcohol during research as ethical liminality within the participatory methods of ethnography. In my case it was the participation in activities of trespassing during urban explorations that may be seen as a space of ethical liminality. The decision to not only participate, but also include data from these activities is one filtered through the 'do no harm' code of practice. Bourgois (1990) notes a '*postmodernist deconstructivist*' approach to ethics, particularly in North American practice, that allows researchers to use reflexivity as a reaction to difficult social situations. In response, he highlights anthropology's historical responsibility to focus on wider moral issues rather than to concern itself with narrow concerns with ethics. While controversial, this reflects concerns with institutionalised social research and its limitations that Atkinson (2009) has mentioned. In this case, the activities documented with the urban explorers revealed a negotiation with the landscape of conflict that was in conversation with the explorers' very perception of identity. It was indeed part of wider issues of inherited trauma, fear and guilt, and contested territory, that are shaping the younger generation. I

⁵ Appendix 1

believe this research would be poorer if institutionalised research guidelines affected the use of this material.

As stated within the form, this fieldwork was overt and permissions were granted for access to all official organizations and spaces. Trespassing was limited to spaces of abandonment and no destruction of property was involved. I believe in the usefulness of the data for this thesis based on a number of considerations: a) the very nature of urban exploration dictates its practice, b) no participant was ever in real danger, and also c) these acts were not initially part of the research but became so after the acts had taken place and the usefulness of the material was identified. Participants were then informed of the intentions to publish the final project and were assured that their involvement would be valuable and anonymised, they were in agreement. Appendix 1 discusses the use of pseudonyms within this process as an important precaution.

1.6.2 DATA COLLECTION

LeCompte and Schensul (1999) identify the ethnographer's body as the primary tool for the collection of data. The use of the senses in ethnographic research (Nakamura, 2013; Pink, 2009) has greatly influenced my own perception of data collection particularly when seeking to understand relationships with place (in Chapters Three, Four and Six specifically). In the immersive experience of ethnographic research, sensory and embodied experiences are undoubtedly present, to reflect on them and collect them however is a matter of method used extensively in this case. What one might know through sounds, memory, tastes, imagination and aesthetics adds to what can be known from words. An assortment of ways of knowing has been used within this project to understand the complexity of ways of being in sentient humans. This has been particularly influenced by writings on tourism research which has been used throughout the thesis as insight into understanding human/place relations as Crouch and Desforges (2003) have proposed.

Traditional ethnographic methodologies have also been used extensively throughout this project following intensive practice and theorization as discussed in the previous section (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Lofland and Lofland, 1995). While Malinowski's (2013 [1922]) legacy in anthropological methodologies resonates throughout this project, it has also been a project of trial and error. Long term fieldwork, participant observation and extensive note-taking has been the basis of the project since its conception, resulting in three notebooks, two small suitcases of promotional materials, hours of video and audio recordings and hundreds of new and archive photographs. The ethnographic material involves qualitative data collected through classic anthropological methodologies such as

participant observation and extensive interviews. In practice, however, adjustments were made to suit the space in which the particular research was taking place. Much of the material that informs this project has been hastily recorded in a notebook following casual discussion, once the concept of a formal and recorded interview revealed itself unsuitably complex and unreliable. Following numerous audio and video recordings of interviews, the change in attitude of the interviewee, reflexively perhaps of the interviewer as well, became apparent in the presence of a recorder, making the recording unrealistically formal. In addition, the pre and post-interview discussions revealed much that the interview did not, partly because of the use of language, as will be explored later on. A notebook and diary became more useful than modern recording technologies in this case, returning to the time of Malinowski's research a century back. Memory is also understood to be a major source for data collection for this project (Pink, 2009), particularly as data recording can be equally selective and rather restrictive. An analysis of memories has resulted in new insights even once outside of the field.

Sen and Silverman (2014) propose '*Spatial Ethnography*' as the ideal method of collecting place related data, '*it is an interpretive method combining analysis of artefacts... with ethnographic and observational accounts of how people use and give meaning to these artefacts*'. Physical landscapes have been underused in attempts at understanding identities in Cyprus beyond the obvious link of bordering and national identity. An argument that presents itself here, is that the physicality of life and its embodied experience is related, partly through ideas of individualism, to concepts of the 'self' and 'other' that in turn inform identities. Through an engagement with a broad range of interdisciplinary literature on landscape, architecture and heritage the ethnographic data reveals unmade connections and gaps where this thesis offers unique insight.

Through participant observation, at the Agrohôtel as a host, a guest, a waitress and receptionist, as part of the UNDP and its projects, as an urban explorer, as a first-time and regular border crosser, a researcher and a local, a consumer and a creator, I was able to see, hear and feel the embodied experiences of landscape. This immersion was done reflexively as to the purpose of the research as well as my own position within the community. While fully conscious that the subjectivity of the researcher is inevitable, the source of the subjectivity must be stated for the reader. Also, while opinions and emotions on many aspects of this research have been strong, I have endeavoured to present a fair observation of situations, with no claim to the representation of all sides. My own background involves inevitable labelling such as: Greek Cypriot, middle-class, female, British-educated, non-refugee, post-war, non-religious, and other, yet more uncomfortable classifications, that

position me in a certain way within the society. These, and other influences will inevitably and unintentionally have shaped the research from its very conception, and particularly as the research subject has been so close to my own personal concerns about identity.

The conscious part-dismissal of recording materials has not been without limitations. Extensive quotations are unable to be recorded in the notebook method, reflected in the use of shorter quotations throughout the thesis. This is not perceived as a weakness however, as the discussion might still be transliterated contextually albeit through interpretation. After all, the interpretative nature of all ethnographic fieldwork trusts the researcher's genuine intention to subjectively but justly represent. In the use of this mixed method, and by employing *'the art of listening'* (Back, 2007), the product is a *'thick description'* (Geertz, 1973) comprised of smaller quotations, noted gestures, expressions and reactions, deeper contextualization and purer discussion. While recorded sections also appear in this thesis, it is often to highlight the changing nature of 'public' and 'private' selves that Cypriots display in their representation of self (Herzfeld, 2016) and use of language (Loizos, 1981). The most valuable insight to the personal 'selves' of Cypriots has been gained through genuine conversation and making of friendship with the overtness of the research being seen as a collaborative exploration of identity. This is explained through my own status as an 'insider' and my ability to interpret and reflect on cultural traits, such as forms of expression through the use of language.

1.6.3 ANALYSIS

Ethnographic writing involves the analysis and organization of data into a readable document. This is a rewarding experience and yet one of responsibility and complexity. This process has been written about extensively (Gullion, 2015; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Hegelund, 2005; Maanen, 2011; Madden, 2017; O'Reilly, 2011) and in relation to particular themes and spaces. This section discusses the analysis and display of data, reflexive of the position used of language, glossary and toponymy in places of conflict.

The use of ethnographic excerpts throughout the final thesis is inspired by the case study method (Gluckman, 1961) which interrogates instances of conflict as key to the understanding of society. Conflict is perceived here in its broad sense of not necessarily violence, but contradiction through the existence of dichotomies. Through selected ethnographic instances where such conflict is identified, the space is created for its analytical observation. In Gluckman's own words *'Clearly one good case can illuminate the working of a social system in a way that a series of morphological statements cannot achieve'* (1961:9). Here, the use of case studies is not as sole sources of data and analysis, but also as

illustrations of instances where conflicts are at play. Qualitative research benefits from epistemological techniques that result in graphic ethnographic excerpts. The case studies are compiled of fieldnotes and diary entries, including pictures and video, that were at the time recorded as memory devices. Their importance revealed itself in the process of writing, both as an analytical and an illustrative tool.

The analysis of attained ethnographic data relies on a process of interpretation, not simply of what is being explicitly said, but of its contextualized importance. This is achieved through Critical Discourse Analysis (De Melo Resende, 2013; Fairclough, 1992; Krzyżanowski, 2011), which interrogates the use of language in its written and spoken forms. Such examples of analysis can be seen in the use of promotional material such as tourist leaflets or UNDP's printed material to interrogate the use of language. These reveal subtle conflicts and uses of power, reflecting and reproducing existing social relations and ideologies. It has also been useful in understanding layers of conflict within daily life in Cyprus, where the use of language is always politically situated, particularly when referring to the Cyprus Problem and its related issues.

The thesis question invites a broad understanding of the terms landscape (Bender, 1993) which includes literal and symbolic, physical and social spaces upon which culture is inscribed. This research has selected a set of landscapes to explore the question of identity, through social interactions and often touching upon issues of political economy, history and geography. The historical overview provided and analysed in Chapter Two and present throughout the thesis is unavoidably situated. The competing narratives whereby a conflict is created are observed as differing perceptions. The tendency towards a Greek Cypriot sided observation of history reflects the official, private and academic voices of those who have informed the research. A claim of objectivity would not only be unrealistic under the circumstances but would also be impossible. The subjectivity and power of history, memory and uses of the past are main themes in this project, seen through the writings of important contributors.

LANGUAGE

The use of language during and after research may be interrogated in a number of ways; translation, transliteration, interpretation, selective quotation, question formatting, use of terminologies, positionality etc. The following sections investigate the use of particular dialects, glossary terms and place-names as political decisions both in terms of context and in terms of methodology. Here, the way language used during research is reflected on as a critical epistemological decision. My own dialect and use of language is indicative of my

status. On a number of occasions this became noticeable, marking the discussion in certain ways; when working in a rural village hotel, when working in the international space of the UNDP, and even when interviewing older locals. While this has been reflected on as somewhat of a limitation at times, the ability to speak, translate and interpret the language and dialect has been a major benefit in this research. While much of the discourse investigated, such as heritage and tourism narratives, are presented in English, the understanding of the local language behind such official displays has been an essential element of this research⁶.

The Greek Cypriot community in Cyprus speaks the oral Cypriot Greek dialect that is distinct from Modern Greek. In official spaces, such as on the news for example, or in any written form, the narrative shifts to Modern Greek. This shift will be interrogated in Chapter Two as part of the symbolic conflicts that result in the identity crisis of Cypriots. Loizos, in the appendix of *A Heart Grown Bitter* (1981) identifies a methodological problem with the use of language that embodies the issues of public and private in Cyprus.

'There was an initial barrier; since they were being recorded, many villagers felt they had to speak carefully, or properly, as if in a public recitation. This was partly a consequence of schooldays, and their teachers' insistence on speaking proper Greek (i.e. not dialect), and partly of their sensitivity to the idea of a permanent recording being made of something important to them' (1981: Appendix 1).

This reflects much of my own experience in the field. The public and private uses of language often became an issue when using recordings or presenting myself in official ways as a researcher. The shift in the use of dialect is usually accompanied by a selective use of vocabulary and stance much different than in casual conversation. This is not to say that individuals were untruthful but certainly restrained. As mentioned above, the decision to abandon recording methods where possible was a conscious one, following experiences of having to re-establish relationships following attempts at recording.

As much of the thesis speaks of narratives and discourses, the subject of translation and interpretation is central. I have done all of the Greek-English translation, while some Turkish-English has been done by colleagues in the UNDP. In terms of transferring exact meanings and wording, this has meant at times that direct quotes must be contextualised or transliterated. Some of the terminologies used to understand concepts and theories

⁶ The very fact that much of the (re)presentation of identity is done in English is notable in itself. Either due to foreign audiences or foreign agents of heritage, much of the narratives can be found in English, or where the UN is involved, in trilingual translations.

within anthropology and within the English language are not translatable in the same sense. This is interrogated further within the chapters, as with the case of the use of the term 'heritage' or 'cultural heritage' which holds a different connotation and weight in the Greek language, and is most often used in Modern Greek, official and public discussions rather than in the vernacular Greek Cypriot dialect. This has meant at times that a question on 'cultural heritage' was not as clear to some individuals as to what the term encompassed. This was mediated through either transliteration or the Modern Greek word, each of which resulted in different types of replies. Similarly, on occasions of sensitive terminologies much deliberation has taken place as to representation and selective glossary as will be seen below.

GLOSSARY

In July 2018 a glossary was published by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, called *Words that Matter: A Glossary for Journalism in Cyprus* (Azgin et al., 2018) in three languages, English, Greek and Turkish. Its writers, two Greek and two Turkish Cypriots explain the need for an awareness of the use of language in publications of both communities as well as internationally. The publication was received with outrage within the Greek Cypriot community and was subsequently rejected by the Cyprus Journalists Union who acknowledged its good intentions but found that they were unfair to the Greek Cypriot community. One of the writers of the Glossary reported to have received threats to her life following the publications, while official statements by the president called the publication an untimely effort⁷. The twofold importance of the emergence of this dispute at this time reveals itself through both the reactions to the Glossary as well as its very existence. First, its very existence indicates the need for a commonly accepted language when discussing the 'Cyprus Problem' or anything that might be remotely related to it. Language use in contested landscapes involves a politically situated selection of words that is often unintentionally harmful. The lack of safe wording to express certain notions resulted in the creation of the Glossary where members of the two communities worked to find common ground; this was not always successful as will be seen. Secondly, the reactions to the Glossary are evidence of the omnipresent conflict that lies under the surface, where small stirs are always in danger of causing explosions. This is the landscape of conflict referred to throughout this thesis, where the lack of violence does not necessarily mean peace (Bryant and Papadakis, 2012a).

⁷ (Kathimerini, 2018)

The publication of the Glossary was an attempt at revisiting the language used in the media that is sensitive to either one of the ethnic groups, and in this way to promote the softening of inter-group relationships. The president of the Ethical Journalism Network Aidan White, clarifies⁸ that the glossary is not a list of banned words, and nor is it meant to restrict the freedom of journalists, but rather a contribution to the efforts of journalists to be as sensitive as they would like to be, aware of the impact of their writings. It is meant to empower Cypriots to express themselves sensitively and to create dialogue over representation. The need for such a glossary demonstrates that language is a large part of the division and a powerful tool in the creation of narratives. This is representative of the wider use of language in Cyprus; not just in the media. The structure of the glossary offers a sensitive word, explains its context and reasoning for its proposed alteration, and suggests an alternative that it could be replaced with. For several words no alternative was agreed upon by the bi-communal committee, which indicates the complexity of the task. The glossary includes words that are a challenge to any writing on Cyprus such as this one. Some examples of agreed replacements stated are: *Green Line* rather than *Border*, *The southern part of the island* rather than *Free areas*, *Greece or Turkey* rather than *Motherland*, *The northern part of Cyprus* rather than *Occupied areas*. Some of the terms that were unsuccessful in reaching an alternative include: *Occupation*, *North Cyprus*, *Invasion*, *Peace Forces (for Turkey)*.

'We cannot flatten everything' a friend replied when I got in touch about this recent development. *'we call it an invasion because it was an invasion. If we change the name it does not change what happened'*⁹. Of course, the real worry is that if the name is changed, what happened will also change because what is history if not simply a set of carefully selected words? The war generation holds on to their memory and their interpretation of events as the most valuable evidence, but they acknowledge its fragility and fight for the record to show their side of things. The worry that new generations using the new glossary would have a very different perception of history is a threat to the current generations efforts to achieve a fair solution, or justice. What the glossary is attempting is not to change history, but to change perceptions and viewpoints. What is considered an invasion by one person is not seen as such by the other person- this of course is the very basis of the Cyprus Problem.

For the purpose of this project, much deliberation on the use of language has taken place. The struggle between being neutral but at the same time respectful and representative of the reality of one of two groups in conflict, needs mediation. The contradictions between

⁸ Words that matter (B Azgin et al., 2018)

⁹ Nora, 2nd September 2018

the use of language by Greek Cypriots and the international organisations, such as the UNDP with whom I was involved, become a difficult project of representation of opinion. The analysis of discourses contextualizes ideological and moral decision-making in language use for either group. For example, the use of the word 'Κατεχόμενα' ('Katehomena'- occupied) by Greek Cypriots, an everyday word referring to the northern areas of Cyprus, is used in quotes throughout this project, to highlight its contested nature. The international organizations avoid the use of the term 'occupied' due to its political implication and refer to Cyprus as a whole island separated by the Green Line. Here, the use of neutral terms, with the Greek Cypriot ones in quotations, is not meant as an attempt to neutralize language or take sides, but as a way of highlighting the difference of language and thus of perception. At the same time, the UNDP has adopted a system of neutrality when referring to contested places, whereby political names are avoided and toponyms such as village names are referred to in both Greek and Turkish each time. In terms of methodological uses of contested language such as place names or language referring to the war and division, the elimination of divisive language is seen very much in parallel to the 'peace-promoting' narrative used within the context of heritage making in Chapter Five.

The term 'border' is identified in the Glossary as a word that implies legal validity and sovereignty of states that in this case cannot be applied. Throughout this thesis, the term border is considered, not as an attempt to define it, but as an attempt to compare it with other similar places under the theoretical framework of borders and borderlands. *Green Line* ('Prasini Grammi'-Πράσινη Γραμμή), is used more widely. The UN and other official organizations also refer to it as the *Buffer Zone*, emphasising the peace-maintaining purpose of the line, as well as their own involvement. This term carries more military and dangerous intonations than civilians would prefer. Another name used often, mostly by the older generation in the Greek speaking world is the term *Dead Zone*, 'Nekri Zoni'- highlighting the soreness attached to it. This is usually contextualised within the narratives of war or to emphasize the '*I do not forget*' sentiment. Finally, the *Attila line*, used largely in the media, and specifically during the commemoration periods of the war in the summer months, is meant to correlate the atrocities of the Attila Plan, as the 'invasion' was named, with those executed by Attila the Hun. The Glossary rejects this term as a sensitive one for Turkish Cypriots. In educational institutions, all of the above terms are used, a different one for each occasion and depending on the government agendas of the time.

TOPONYMS

'So, did you go to Morfou?' Lara asked when I was finally back in the reach of my mobile phone signal. I had been out of touch for the entire day, working at one of the sites in the northern part of the island and then gone for lunch with my UNDP colleagues. Most of my colleagues have a Turkish Cypriot sim-card for such occasions, or even a second device, as the Greek Cypriot phone signal is lost once across the line. I looked at her, knowing that her mother's family is from the Morfou area, where she has never been. They had been moved south during the war, just across the line from their village, where on a clear day they can see it from afar.

'I think so' I reply, suddenly puzzled, constructing a map of Cyprus in my head. I am sure we were heading in that direction, but did we ever reach it? Surely I would have known. Could it have been that small town we went through, near the place where we had lunch? Greek Cypriots have grown up calling it Morfou, as it was called before the war, presumably derived from the Greek word 'omorfi' meaning beautiful. Pictures of its endless orange groves, and of its famous orange festival were plastered on school walls so children should not forget with time, creating a nostalgia for an unseen place. But of course, now it has a Turkish name. I run through some of the village and town names I came across during the day, most of which I cannot remember nor pronounce.

I remember seeing the groves, being mesmerised by the orange specks in dark green oceans, there is nothing like it in the southern areas. Distracted by the scenery that I was experiencing for the first time, and by the casual chat amongst my international colleagues, I never brought myself to ask where we were in 'Greek-Cypriot terms' as I often have to do. The drive was long; because of the border one could not cut across the land, but was directed along its line. Güzelyurt, I think that town was called, 'güzel' rings a bell, I think it means beautiful in Turkish.

Somehow in my very limited interaction with the Turkish language, I enjoy the fact that the word güzel came up enough for me to recognize it. Güzelyurt indeed means beautiful country, and the town and district were renamed following '74. Goodwin (1985) writes that the town was founded by the ancient Spartans who referred to the goddess Aphrodite as 'Morphou'. During the British colonial period the population increased (Hill, 2010) and the Greek and Turkish Cypriot residents referred to it as Morphou/Omorfo. The intercommunal conflict of the 60s displaced most of the Turkish Cypriot population of about 123 (Patrick, 1976). The Turkish army in 1974 then forced the 7 500 Greek Cypriots out of the area upon which the town was inhabited by displaced Turkish Cypriots from across Cyprus. Morphou/Güzelyurt is today mostly a refugee town while Hatay, (2007) reports there are also some settlers from Turkey. The analysis of toponyms is a step to understand

relationships with the landscape and will be relevant across the thesis, particularly in Chapter Five that concerns itself with heritage narratives.

Regarding the use of language in places of conflict or contestation, the issue of toponyms¹⁰, or place-names, is one of symbolic violence where displays of power take place. Naming places is a 'strategy of ownership' of both territory and history, Goker (2012) argues. This is reflected throughout the thesis in recognition of the Glossary's concerns but also in terms of heritage and tourist narratives of identity. Chapter Five specifically turns to the example of Macedonia to highlight the importance of place-names in their relationship to the past and thus to identities. Heritage is not merely the monuments that become celebrated as heritage sites, but a set of histories that inform collective identities. Toponyms are thus part of heritage as direct links to the past (Calvo-Iglesias et al., 2012), and as illustrated with the example of Macedonia, place names encompass heritage within them. In Cyprus, place-names have been part of an active dispute ever since the division where maps have been altered as claims to sovereignty (Navaro-Yashin, 2012). My own visit to the mysterious 'Gyzelyurt' that indeed turned out to be the Morphou that I had been raised 'missing', indicates the power of naming places as a claim to the ownership of their present, past and future.

The striking realization that the lost places which have long been used in nostalgic narratives, cease to exist in the same way through their altered toponym, is one that crossers are often faced with. In the northern half of the island villages, towns and streets have been given Turkish names, ones that Greek speakers can hardly pronounce, and they are thus re-identified as Turkish villages. Similarly, in the south, any Turkish or bilingual village names have been translated into Greek (Kadmon 2004). Tourists might navigate Cyprus often unknowing of the variety of names, consuming the narratives of one side, or might abruptly find themselves completely lost. UN organizations in their neutral stance refer to places always with both names. In Cyprus, the use of place-names reveals much about a person's ethnic identity, political party and beliefs. As seen with the case of the Glossary, repercussions for the use of particular words and names can be serious; disputes have arisen in recent years over leftist Greek Cypriot political parties using the Turkish names to refer to places in public debates. This is not merely about political correctness but also about

¹⁰ From Greek – 'topo-nym': translates directly to 'place-name'

empowering notions of belonging; some of the disputes over the 2004 Annan plan¹¹ had to do with toponyms and historical links.

For the Greek Cypriot community, the pain of the loss of places is intensified through the change of their toponyms that often involve a historic or religious importance. Language presents itself as a stamp on which claims to places are based; a Greek name, or a particular name in Greek, both signify cultural ownership and establish belonging. The clear distinction between Greek and Turkish names, deriving from language and religion, allows name-changing to become immediately linked to tampering with history.

‘Cyprus is privileged to have most of its geographical names included in ancient texts from Homer to Herodotus, the tragic poets and Strabon, up to ancient cartographers, like Claudius Ptolemaeus, and from medieval cartographers, like Abraham Ortelius, up to lord Horatio H. Kitchener, who mapped Cyprus in the 19th Century at the beginning of the British rule of the island. The name of the island “Kypros” was mentioned by Homer 3000 years ago’¹²

The links to Hellenic history, further discussed in Chapter Six, are often used to validate links to Greece and nurture patriotism. This observation links to what Herzfeld (1991) has identified as the complex dynamic between ancient Hellenic heritage and Greek Christianity that is observed at various stages within the thesis. In the patrilineal Greek Orthodox society of Cyprus names are traditionally kinship and cultural labels much like in Herzfeld’s Crete (1991). Places and persons are named, not simply to distinguish but to assign meaning; religious, cultural, historical. For persons, namesakes, namedays and name-giving ceremonies (baptisms) are highly valued religious and cultural practices as there is value in a given name and often expectations. Toponyms on the other hand are words of imagery and mythology, while meanings are on some occasions lost in time. Villages are named after the nature that surrounds them (*Mia Milia*- One Apple Tree), the colour of their building stone (*Lefkara*- White Mountain), a myth (*Stavros*- Cross) or a saint (*Agios Panteleimonas*). Private shops and buildings are given names of their owners or loved ones while streets and public buildings most often honour the deceased; the Larnaka airport for example was recently renamed after late president Klirides. Reflected in graffiti culture (Chapter Four) as part of urban heritage practices to have one’s name inscribed somewhere is to be leaving one’s mark on the world. Throughout the world, indigenous place-names are contested and

¹¹ A solution plan proposed by Kofi Annan in 2004 and rejected by a majority of Greek Cypriots. This will be investigated further in Chapter Two when considering the historical overview of the ‘Cyprus Problem’ (Varnava and Faustmann, 2009)

¹² National Report of the Republic of Cyprus for 2012-2017, Eleventh United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names New York, 8-17, August 2017

violated (Cohen and Klot, 1992; Oliveira, 2009) in various processes of intentional and unintentional alteration, resulting in the loss of ancestral links to lands.

Chapter Six investigates tourist spaces where the commodification of heritage becomes consumed and re-absorbed into identity. The commodification of toponyms (Light, 2014), such as *'Aphrodite's baths'* for example, offers occasions where place-names become modified or introduced as constructed links to the past. The Cyprus Permanent Committee for the Standardization of Geographical Names, based in the Ministry of Education and Culture¹³ made a claim in 2008 for the 'Safeguarding of Geographical Names as part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage' (Vasileiou, 2008). The colonial British transliteration of Greek place names that remained official for decades (i.e Nicosia, Limassol) took place to allow a phonetic ease to tourists and non-Cypriot speakers. Nationalistic influencers claimed an attempt for political correctness by changing to a more literal phonetic translation (i.e Lefkosia, Lemesos). Some of the issues brought to the table highlighted the socio-economic benefits of name-changing in the current global community. The standardization of place names meant the adoption of the Latin alphabet and exonyms even within states themselves. Lefkosia has become Nicosia, Lemesos Limassol, and Agia Napa Ayia Napa.

In terms of the methodology, some of the issues when referring to toponyms have been mentioned regarding the Glossary. The Glossary, however, is a more recent development, and during this research's fieldwork, the toponym issue had to be tackled first hand. In interviews and casual discussion within the Greek Cypriot community, very specific terminologies are used to refer to places, and for a researcher to use a different term would be an insult and an instant mark of separation. Loizos (2009) writes of the dynamic between being a Cypriot and a researcher, and that he often felt like a 'spy' due to his notetaking and asking too many questions; in this case, the use of the appropriate words also seemed necessary as to avoid being marked as a 'spy'. Words such as *'katehomena'* (occupied areas) and *'pseudokratos'* (pseudo-state) are commonplace and their use by the researcher during fieldwork was an intentional attempt at blending in rather than taking a political position. That being said, as both Loizos (2009) and Argyrou (2005) have written on their fieldwork experience, the very fact that I have been raised in Cyprus as a Greek Cypriot inevitably leaves a mark onto this thesis as a situated one, and on the data I was able to collect as influenced by this status. The data and analysis cannot claim complete neutrality or objectivity, as no ethnographer could, and more so because of my own connections. I can, however, state the intention of ethical and respectful research. An awareness of the issues of language, glossary and toponyms is necessary for the reader to understand the conditions

¹³ Note that Education and Culture are considered interlinked

in which the fieldwork was conducted and transcribed. In a place of conflict, neutrality is not representation, this is the exact issue identified in internationalist heritage processes in Chapter Five.

If anything, to name a place is to claim it, politically, geographically, historically. The issue of toponyms in the case of the Cyprus problem reflects exactly where the pain is located, in the loss of places that mean more than mere property. Greek Cypriots' sense of belonging has relied greatly on their ability to establish themselves onto the natural border of the island. '*I Kypros mas*' (our Cyprus) is referred to often in political and non-political contexts, not distinguishing who 'we' are exactly, but establishing 'our' common love for the place named Cyprus. The Republic of Cyprus, often itself called Cyprus, is the political entity that claims the land.

2 PRODUCTS OF CONFLICT

'To Yorgos

... - This is a country that sacrifices the newborn to the dead –

While mines were laid in the roads between us, my only wish was to visit you at all hours. (who would believe if I said it was just to have a meal together or to sleep at each other's place). But we believed in certain things: in Aphrodite, for instance – but if you want the truth, I'm sick of Aphrodite too –

This is an island, embraced by salty waters, we had seashells and yellow sand on our back like a fishing-boat turned upside down by the waves. And my only wish is to sleep quietly...'¹⁴

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The physical and social landscape reveals the existence of various layers of conflict in today's Greek Cypriot society. In this chapter, the literal and symbolic conflicts are contextualized in terms of the historical and social space in which they take place, showing the effects of post-coloniality, war, ethnic division and EU succession, as well as further social conflicts relating largely to generational contradictions. Greek Cypriot identities are products of these conflicts and the negotiations within them, and find themselves in a state of crisis. The argument results in an investigation of the social landscape of contemporary Cyprus that reveals the dichotomies on which identities attempt to find balance. A historical overview leads the discussion, examining the past as part of the present. As a wider observation of the complexity of identities this chapter serves as an examination of the present moment. The term 'staged nostalgia' then, conceptualizes the negotiation which takes place within the society as a collective identity. As a social practice and a form of discourse, 'staged nostalgia' is generated out of the need to confront social conflict and display collectiveness. Before delving into the ethnographic and historical analysis, a discussion on the term 'conflict' clarifies its use in this chapter.

Anthropology's concern with conflict has traditionally focused on its ability to reveal either the changing nature of culture (Siegel and Beals, 1960) or the internal structures that

¹⁴ Yorgos, this is Bloody Disgraceful, by Mehmet Yashin, (2012) Cyprus: Tracing the Visible, European Commission Publication

stabilize social system (Gluckman, [1955] 1973; Turner, 1957)(LeVine, 1961). This chapter steers away from a conflict theory to focus on the products of the various levels of literal and symbolic conflict in Cyprus. The use of the term 'identity' as shown through its previous analysis, provides the space to investigate the understanding of one's place in the world, and a sense of belonging to a place and to a community. By encompassing all definitions of the word as understood academically as well as in the minds that have informed these ethnographic observations, identity is perceived as a product of conflict. A Marxist analysis is helpful to the particular understanding of identity politics and national identity but less so to the understanding of identity as perceived by individuals' friction with the physical landscape of conflict. Instead, sociocultural and politico-economic factors come out of this friction as elements of a complex system of deliberate and circumstantial identity making.

In Cyprus the division as a temporary solution to internal violence, is a stagnant expression of the ethnic and social conflict that has followed the developments of the last century, manifested in a contested border. The ethnographic data reveals that the conflict does not remain on the political platform that hosts it, but seeps into the social and cultural lives of Cypriots, shaping their sense of self and belonging. As will be seen, each community's response to this is expressed in different ways. Greek Cypriots are products of this conflict, revealed in the layers in which this is displayed in the landscapes of daily life. Observations are made on the various platforms on the symbolic landscape on which these ideas are established and perpetrated, resulting in an identity crisis that Greek Cypriots find themselves in today. The social conflicts identified here are mentioned in a variety of ways in the literature on Cyprus, (Papadakis, 2006b) refers to them as '*categorical ambiguities*' while (Argyrou, 2005) observes them as a '*symbolic struggle*'. Their identification here as 'conflicts' aims to utilize the metaphor of the literal conflict and its imposition onto contradicting landscapes of identity making.

Ross (2012) describes how political theory on ethnic conflict has tended to focus on clashing interests, neglecting issues of cultural and identity contestation. Using the 'elusive' concept of culture to explore ideas of cultural expression and contestation, he proposes the exploration of the symbolic landscapes that host conflicts in a divided society's public space. The analysis of the symbolic landscape proposes that the ethnic and cultural conflict is manifested in local perceptions as various sets of dichotomies that emphasise perceptions of self and other, legitimized through the physical division. 'Cypriotness' is accepted as a perspective rather than an identity and may be attached to existing perceptions of identity such as Greek Cypriot, as may be seen throughout the chapter. It is understood as a national construction rather than an indication of ethnic origin but also accepted as a cultural

categorization that separates Greek Cypriots from mainland Greeks. As an approach to understanding the deeper effects of conflict onto Cypriot identities, the chapter delves into literal and symbolic landscapes of violence to identify the dichotomies that cause an observed identity crisis.

Perspectives of the 'Cyprus Problem' will form the background for this discussion to unfold, which, as any historical account exists in many versions. The voices of Cypriots themselves attempt to negotiate this historical subjectivity, resulting, of course, in a partiality of their own. For Bryant and Papadakis (2012) the very conflict is rooted in the binary expressions of history disseminated by each side of the border, revealing the malleability of history to suit different motivations. As will be illustrated later, the conflict originates in these binary expressions of history and maintained through their repetition. While I do not aim to perpetuate any such binary observation of history, as Demetriou (2008) explains, my own position as a Greek Cypriot is inevitably a source of subjectivity itself. Demetriou (2008) understands the partiality of historical accounts as unavoidable while she proposes its acknowledgement is more important than its disregard, in this way, she continues, the social scientist might focus on the 'paratext'; *'a device that helps uncover the structures through which the tension between politics and analysis is maintained'*. This is understood as the reflexive process of reading and writing text which is attempted here.

While I do not intend to mix historical analysis with political involvement, as any historical account, this is a situated one; with the thesis being concerned with only Greek Cypriot perceptions of self, identity and belonging. The danger in doing so is the background of the Greek Cypriot ethnic identity as often perceived in comparison or opposition to the Turkish Cypriot 'other'. My interest in identity does not derive from this binary but understands it as one of the processes of identity-making within the Greek Cypriot society. Therefore, a historical account is necessary, not as an attempt at political analysis but as a basis for understanding the layers of meaning in the identity-making process. No claim at objectivity will be made other than their discourses and their compilation, as no claim to the existence of such objectivity is possible (Demetriou, 2008). The analysis is confidently informed by these subjectivities, conscious of their limitations but secure in the ability to offer new perspectives. With the impossibility of an objective historical narrative in mind, an exploration of historical accounts and their contradictions establishes the background of discussion that follows, both in terms of context and in terms of binaries.

The existence of a political, ethnic and cultural conflict admittedly shapes perceptions of identity within daily life. Argyrou clarifies that a study of Cypriot identity, or any cultural identity, must recognise the culture referred to is not *'an entity defined by essential,*

unchanging characteristics' (1996:182); there is no 'truth' to be found in such an effort. Rather than searching for the 'truth', investigating the *perceptions* of identity within Cypriot society is central, and most importantly, the effects of these sensitivities. The main questions rely on the notion of identity and culture as a continuous and abstract process rather than static and rigid social artefacts. There is however, a sense of identity and culture as static within local narrative, in the identification of tradition for example, which will be scrutinised accordingly. What is meant by this, is that both identity and culture are expressed in static terms when referring to the past, a fact that is seen as a cause of current conflicts in their articulation. Throughout the ethnographic data, where memory is employed to express notions of identity, heritage or tradition, there is a tendency to refer to static pasts as '*the past*' or to past generations as '*our ancestors*' forming collective timeless past that provides a strong basis for current identities to be formed. These static perceptions are seen as stepping stones in the process of legitimizing one's place.

The negotiation of identity within the socio-political context of Cyprus is a matter not only of perspective but also of positioning. An attempt to host all voices would be beyond possibility but there is use in the appreciation of the contradictions that emerge and their reasoning. These come up often on the subject of ethnicity, for example. Some voices refer to a distinct Cypriot ethnic identity deriving from an amalgamation of genetic material from the various occupants of Cyprus over the centuries. Following the British introduction of the concept of ethnic identity (Bryant, 2004; Ioannides, 2014; Peristianis, 2006), however, the groups of Cypriots previously separated by their language and religion have since been referred to as Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The incorporation of these positioned historical accounts reveals that they are part of the many conflicts that shape perceptions of identity beyond the genetic dispute. A product of global and local influences, literal and symbolic conflict, memory and belief, identity is a personal journey as much as it is a communal one. The source of the narratives that are referred to in such occasions are the root of an established identity crisis.

What is the source of historical evidence and what motivations shape such narratives? In what ways is the conflict a daily experience? How is it established in the social life of Greek Cypriots who have lived separated from the 'other' and in non-violent conditions for 44 years? How is the war, division and 'the other' still present in daily discourse? Is the memory and trauma of the war forming the apparent generational gap? How is the inheritance of this memory and trauma shaping younger Cypriot identities? Are the internal dichotomies and conflict identified within social life simply products of the wider *Cyprus Problem*, and if so, how may this be acknowledged and examined?

The chapter employs a number of sources in order to approach the questions on both the literal landscapes of conflict as well as the symbolic ones. A review of the literature reveals that any research on Cyprus must apply an analysis of its socio-political state of division and this indicates the effect that the division has on all aspects of social life. This is where the necessity for such an analysis is identified, in the omnipresence of literal and symbolic conflict as well as the lack of clarity concerning Cypriot perceptions of identity. Much has been written in terms of political and economic analyses and within anthropology there is lively discussion on the influences of Europe and modernity (Argyrou, 1996; Bryant, 2010; Bryant and Papadakis, 2012; Welz, 2017) and on displacement and nationalism (Bryant, 2010; Dikomitis, 2012a; Papadakis, 2003). These analyses inform this chapter that has been shaped out of first-hand observations of current Cypriot life. For all of this to become possible, a historical backdrop is necessary.

2.2 THE CYPRUS PROBLEM(S)

2.2.1 CONFLICTING HISTORIES

Historical accounts and facts are, as Carr (1961) explains, subject to interpretation both on the side of the writer or speaker, as well as on the side of the reader or listener. Official historical accounts of the past century in Cyprus compete with first-hand and inherited memory to establish a complex narrative of the past, present and future (Scott, 2002b). For Nora (1989) the coexistence of memory and history is in opposition. The historical account of the 'Cyprus Problem' therefore that relies on living memory as well as competing official histories is clearly a space of contestation. The existence of conflict complicates the process as the sources of that very conflict are also contested inter and intra-communally. Papadakis (1994) refers to the 'grand narratives' employed officially by the two larger communities on the island for moral legitimacy and national purpose. The basis of the identity crisis proposed here leads to a necessary examination of the 'Cyprus Problem', as the Cyprus conflict has come to be known in international politics. While it has been written about extensively, this short account of Cyprus' recent past aims to bring together an overview of the historical background upon which the identity crisis, particularly that involving national and ethnic conceptualisations of identity, is based. Based on White's (1990) understanding of structure in narrative discourses, Scott (2002) identifies 'the lack of a clear nationalist narrative' displayed in national history museums on both sides. This lack of clarity may be

identified as a wider problem in Cyprus, seen as gaps in the historical narrative that either side that are intentionally selective.

Social scientists of Cyprus such as political geographer Patrick (1976) and anthropologist Loizos' (1981) contemporary accounts observed developments now understood as historical moments. Their analysis informs the historical record on the Cyprus Problem that also still exists in living memory. It must be noted, however, that while both history and memory are subjective records of the past, their intentional use within a place of conflict alters the story. By this, I mean to clarify that a history of the past century in Cyprus varies when read in anthropological, historical and political geography analyses or through word of mouth. The struggle to present a background chapter therefore has been a struggle with selective histories that the either community is educated in and official narratives. Demetriou (2008) has proposed looking at the paratexts of the narrative; who tells the story, how it is remembered and what is recorded is an interpretative process. Importantly, what this process has revealed, is the general lack of discussion on the historical processes of the Cyprus Problem within the Greek Cypriot community, but rather a focus on its results. This is not to say that history is not reiterated but that it is selectively and uncritically presented to support the Greek Cypriot community's position. The force of an ambiguous past and a conflicting present come together to form a crisis in Greek Cypriot perceptions of identity. This is a theme that runs throughout this thesis.

Bryant and Papadakis identify the exceptionally 'intense preoccupation' (2010:4) with history that shapes political and social life to this day as well as the 'binary scholarship' (2010:1) that has formed the two main versions of history within Cyprus. The dichotomies and the conflict between them are established and reinforced through daily friction with elements of history and memory that remain ambiguous but present in the physical and symbolic landscape. Though the division between Greek and Turkish Cypriots appears at first to be the main societal dichotomy, divisions within Greek Cypriot society itself are largely based on opinions over the Cyprus Problem, left and right-wing party supporters, differing generational approaches to history and values, and support of future possibilities of unification or partition (Papadakis, 1998). The Cyprus Problem is therefore not simply a political dispute but one that shapes and influences social life as well as perceptions of identity.

Webster and Timothy (2006) argue that the current state of division has its roots around three thousand years ago with the settlement of the island by Greeks. Patrick (1976) notes that through the various conquests of the island, the population has maintained a 'self-awareness that it was 'Greek'', while a sizeable immigration from Turkey during the 17th

century established the Turkish Cypriot population. The Greek Cypriot strategy has used the '*we were here first*' argument in attempts to establish ownership of the island, as well as ethnic links to mainland Greece (Bryant and Papadakis, 2004). Hatay and Papadakis (2012) then identify a point during the post-colonial struggle where narratives established Greeks as the 'native' inhabitants of the island, with the various ethnic groups that exist today being left over from enemy conquests- the Turkish Cypriot minority perceived as what was left from the Ottoman empire's reign. This narrative is often attributed to British divide-and-rule politics (Ioannides, 2014) and resulted in a fierce struggle for 'reunification' (*enosis*) with Greece that severed the relationship between the two communities. Turkish Cypriot narratives, on the other hand, establish the beginning of the history of Cyprus in 1571 with the arrival of the Ottomans (Bryant and Papadakis, 2012). As will be seen throughout this thesis, these highly selective versions of history feed nationalistic ideas that shape identities, reinforcing the differences between the two communities and justifying the atrocities of the past.

Local narratives as well as the literature speak of a peaceful coexistence of the two communities at the time of the arrival of the British (Patrick, 1976) or, as Ioannides (2014) prefers to refer to it, in a state of 'compartmentalised symbiosis' highlighting a cooperative and non-violent coexistence that was also guided by social rules and taboos. Loizos (1981) notes that the two communities on the island, then defined as the Christians and Muslims, jointly resisted rulers of either the Church or the Ottomans, indicating the social cohesion between the diverse inhabitants of the island. Scholars have sought to identify the point in history where the two communities became hostile, focusing mainly on the ties to Greece, its conception as a nation and hostility with the Ottoman Empire, and British imperialistic policies. The colonial administration has produced military reports that provide insight into this historical moment (Orr, 2010; Reddaway, 1987, 1986), interpreted and analysed through the eyes of historians amongst controversy and debate (Heraclidou, 2017; Holland, 1998; Holland and Markides, 2008; Ioannides, 2014; Morgan, 2015; Rappas, 2014; Varnava, 2009; Varnava and Thompson, 2012).

Three hundred years under the rule of the Ottoman empire were followed in the late 19th century by British colonial rule in 1878 (Hill, 2010; Holland, 1998; Luke, 1957; Morgan, 2015) which other than securing access to the nearby Suez Canal, had a further moral mission to educate the Cypriots on the proper use of resources (Bryant, 2004). The contact between the British colonizers and the 'peasant' inhabitants of the island was initially a peaceful acceptance of a new administration (Morgan, 2015). Loizos (1981) identifies the favourable treatment of the British towards one of the two communities as the beginning of

the bitterness between the two groups. This, understood as part of the 'divide and rule' politics was the first seed of partition, as Ioannides (2014) also observes. Particularly, Loizos (1981) notes, the shifting of resources to the Christian/Greek Cypriot population and subsequent weakening of the position of the Muslim/Turkish Cypriot population as the beginning of the drift.

In the meantime, the Greek revolt against the Ottoman empire in 1820 and attempts at establishing a Greek nation thereafter resulted in much diplomatic interest in the area. As the island of Crete was absorbed by the newly formed Greek nation, dynamic forces in Cyprus left the islanders struggling between ideologies of *enosis* and independence as the British began to pull out (Holland and Markides, 2008). The British, however, did not leave the island without shaping its future, they established infrastructure that shaped the physical and social life of the islanders.

Bryant (2004) controversially proposes one such legacy of the British as Cypriot identity itself, which allows for new insights to the problem.

'British colonists took Cyprus as an island - in other words, as a well-defined and bounded territory - and saw it as a unity containing populations that spoke different languages and worshiped in different fashion. These people they called Cypriots. For the inhabitants themselves, 'Cypriot'... was a designation of origins, but not a significant designation of identity' (Bryant, 2004:21)

While the colonial administration of the time has produced accounts that refer to the Cypriot population as a unified whole (Luke, 1957; Reddaway, 1987), and analyses such as that of Loizos (1981) and Ioannides (1994) mentioned above, speak of a peaceful coexistence, what Bryant proposes here is the introduction of an identity based on colonial understandings of geography, rather than an organic local understanding of collective self. The imposition of terminologies problematically introduced by colonial administrations as to understand populations has been discussed in anthropology as part of its own dark past (Asad, 1995; Gough, 1990; Leonardo, 2018; Lewis, 1973; Said, 2003, 1994). While Cypriots understood themselves as Christian and Muslim groups of Greek and Turkish origin that are Cypriots as far as their localism (Beckingham, 1957), the idea of a Cypriot identity can be seen as parallel to Anderson's (2016) process of 'imagining' nations.

Along this line of historical analysis, the process undermined the existence of two separate ethnic groups and their perceptions of a relationship with 'motherlands', making the 'peaceful coexistence' or the 'compartmentalised symbiosis' into a set of duties. The attempt at imposing notions of common identity while at the same time posing the two main

communities against each other may thus be seen as Britain's dark colonial legacy. The 'imagined' nation established later was based on both commonness and difference which weighed differently at various stages of history. The current identity crisis persists as result of the fact that different groups embraced and perceived this new unstructured identity in different ways. The contradicting understandings of ethnicity- both Cypriot and Greek, still trouble Greek Cypriots today- deeming the 'other' as both compatriots and enemies (Argyrou, 2005). While this proposition by Bryant is useful within this project to consider the concept of identity as a construction rather than an organic process, it challenges contemporaneous accounts of historical events and brings about the question of agency of the Cypriot communities in relation to the very concept of identification. Bryant (2004) also controversially rejects the common notion of divide and rule politics as a simplistic explanation for the Cyprus conflict and identifies the 'ideologies of freedom' imagined in nationalist terms and introduced by the British as a source of inspiration for the Cypriot locals. Importantly, the ambiguity of the historical account and analysis is indicative of the malleability of narratives of the past that so highly features within this thesis as a problematic space of identity-making.

The relations between the two Cypriot communities grew bitter following British colonial politics as well as the guerrilla war against colonial rule in 1955-59, led by EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) which is still commemorated annually on the 1st of April. EOKA reinforced the idea of *enosis* through its relations with Greek mainland politics. This was opposed by the Turkish Cypriot minority group TMT (Turkish Resistance Organization) who called for '*taksim*' (separation) and fought with the British (Patrick 1976). The two ethnic groups turned against each other and British military forces retreated to their bases calling for Greece and Turkey to come to a settlement that would avoid further conflict. Cypriot delegations were then presented with a constitutional structure of an independent Republic (Patrick 1976). The population of 80% Christian Greek speakers and 18% Muslim Turkish speakers (Ioannides, 2014; Thubron, 2012), then had to establish a national identity while already being driven apart by colonial processes. These was meant to suppress the ideologies of *enosis* (unification with Greece) which began to appear following Greek independence. For the British administration's interests, a newly formed nation was more valuable than another island added to the Greek nation, and the stability of the eastern Mediterranean region depended on Greek and Turkish collaboration (Patrick, 1976).

The Republic of Cyprus, established in 1960, was a post-colonial attempt at self-rule based on little pre-existing structure and mitigated by the support of the two 'motherlands' and Britain as Guarantors. Greece and Turkey's relations were already hostile and attempts to

re-establish links with the 'motherlands' would bring the friction to the island. For the British, who managed to maintain two large bases on the island, the political turbulence a natural process on independence. The newly formed nation, however, was already established among internal friction and with one community stronger in numbers and resources.

The first appointed president, Makarios, was the head of the Church of Cyprus, inaugurating early on the ties between the Church and state that were alienating for the Turkish Cypriot minority. Despite independence, the idea of '*enosis*' was not forgotten; the newly found Republic of Cyprus even adopted the Greek national anthem as its own in 1966. Patrick (1976) reports the political manoeuvring that took place following independence by the Greek Cypriot community to keep open the possibility of union with Greece. This, following the refusal of Greece during Allied negotiations in 1915 to receive Cyprus as part of a joining deal, and several attempts following WWII undertaken by the Greek Cypriot community to establish the relationship. Greece's political concerns let down the *enosis* movement but it remained prevalent even following independence causing conflict with the Turkish Cypriot community who felt their requests had been satisfied within the existing constitution. After three years of constitutional deadlock and armed, economic and political coercion by the Greek Cypriot community (Patrick 1976), the Turkish Cypriot community responded by allying with Turkey, and promoting *taksim*, who in turn threatened to invade.

The violence and conflict during the early days of the independent state defined its future. The de facto partition of the island followed its 1963/64 division into areas controlled by each group, involving the displacement of members of both communities and loss of mixed Turkish Cypriot villages, altering the physical and social landscape towards its current state. These first acts of displacement are disputed as an initiation of either community but Patrick (1976) finds that in the case of Turkish Cypriots, it was the conflict and harassment that they experienced that encouraged their 'temporary' move into enclaves. However, he notes, as much of the movement at the time had been due to urbanization rather than conflict, it is difficult to claim that the alternation of the landscape of Cyprus had been due to forced displacement, but the conflict was certainly an acceleration of the process, as well as the separation of the two communities within urban centres. Erdal (2011) observes the treatment of property on both sides particularly following '74 where some lost and some gained as 'enemy properties', understood through British wartime legislation. Through the process of population exchange, property was also personified as a 'prisoner of war'. Gürel and Özersay (2006) consider the issue of property as a major issue of the Cyprus Problem, considering how a possible solution could deal with its complexity. They observe

'bizonality' (for Turkish Cypriots) and 'human rights' (for Greek Cypriots) as key concepts in this discussion that the two sides have used as their official positions. This indicates not merely the difference in uses of the past between the two communities, but also the difference in the imagination as to the future of a united Cyprus.

The geopolitical partition created what was perceived at the time as a temporary buffer zone, initially across Nicosia and subsequently a line that ran across the island and patrolled by UNFICYP (United Nations Peace Keeping Force in Cyprus) (Henn, 2004). This came to be known as the Green Line, a space of liminality and abandonment that features throughout this thesis as a symbolic and physical divide. Foka (2014) points out that the date of the line's birth varies according to who is telling the story, with its origins identified as the fence erected in 1956 within the walled city to separate the two groups. This became evident during the course of this research as understanding of the historical presence of the Green Line was often unclear. During separate discussions, George and Lena, both Greek Cypriot children of refugees, were surprised to find out that the line was not drawn following the '74 war, and that its existence preceded the nation. This may be considered as an element of 'staged nostalgia' where selective pasts are commemorated using victimization and hiding guilt. The intentional and selective use of history within the socializing landscape of Cyprus, aimed at creating patriotic individuals are problematized later on in this chapter as part of the conceptualisation of Greek Cypriot identities as products of conflict.

In 1974, following an 'Athens inspired' (Henn, 2004) coup against the government by EOKA B' (a group of Greek Cypriot extremists working with the Greek junta) Turkey 'launched a military offensive' (Bryant and Papadakis, 2012) claiming the northern third of the island and leading to its current state of partition. The constitutional power of the Guarantors¹⁵ to intervene in times of conflict is often used to justify this act, controversially, because of the extent of the intervention and its effects. Cypriot narratives refer to this particular point in history in largely opposing ways, Greek Cypriots refer to it exclusively as an '*invasion*', while Turkish Cypriots have learned to celebrate it as a '*peace operation*' made to protect their minority. The use of language becomes central in the justification of each groups past, present and future, as will be seen later on in this chapter. The war resulted in the loss and violent displacement of Cypriots of both communities, and as a final step almost all Turkish Cypriots were forcibly moved to the north and Greek Cypriots to the south of the island. The bitterness from the horrors of the war as it exists in living and inherited memory, drives Greek and Turkish Cypriot perceptions of 'self' and 'other' to this day.

¹⁵ Established in the constitution as Greece, Turkey and Britain (Henn, 2004)

The division and its presence today is often attributed to the inability of formal mediation to solve the problem (Fisher, 2001). The historical understanding of the Cyprus Problem reveals that it is not isolated incident, but rather a complex political problem connected to wider power relations in the region and the world. To this day, negotiations involve stakeholders such as the European Union and the United Nations who have their own concerns and motivations as to the future of Cyprus. Parallel to its political interest, the state of division has been subject to development programmes which play a part in the resolution of the effects of conflicting histories. As will be seen throughout the thesis, attempts at re-telling the history of Cyprus are often seen as a possible solution for a peaceful future.

In 1974 the Green Line became from temporary UN buffer zone into a rigid border. While the Republic of Cyprus still claims sovereignty over the entire island, today the northern half of the island is referred to by Greek Cypriots exclusively as the '*katehomena*' (the occupied areas) and is currently a unilaterally declared state since 1989. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, or 'North Cyprus', is unrecognised internationally, except by Turkey, and is referred to as the '*pseudo-state*' by Greek Cypriots. Marangos (2015) notes that the occupation of the northern third of the island has been found to be illegal by the United Nations Security Council, creating a physical space of legal and political liminality. The following section explores the daily experiences of living in liminality through the eyes of Greek and Turkish Cypriot friends.

The political developments and ongoing conflict has been subject to valuable ethnographic investigations that have focused on Greek and Turkish Cypriot relations. Importantly, these were observed by Peter Loizos (2009, 2008, 1977) who had done research in his father's village of Argaki before the war. Argaki was one of many villages whose inhabitants fled during the war, yet to return, and Loizos provides an observation of events as experienced by his Greek Cypriot informants. His contribution became vital when he returned to observe Greek and Turkish relations in Cyprus following the division, analysing the transhistorical nature of the conflict (Bryant and Papadakis 2012b). Memories of the war, missing people and lost lands have traumatized first and second hand witnesses for 44 years, as Sant Cassia (2007) writes following his own research with the excavations of mass graves. The thousands of missing persons from both sides have become symbols of the victimisation efforts by either side that tends to focus on their own loss. Images of children with pictures of their families haunt Cypriots who were raised in the wake of the war. Every so often, new excavations and DNA testing reveal the remains of missing persons, breaking the hopes of their family members who imagined them imprisoned but not lost.

2.2.2 DAILY EXPERIENCE OF THE CONFLICT

Every year on the 15th and 20th of July, Greek Cypriots across the southern areas are woken up at dawn by the commemorative sirens, the first one for the coup and the second one for what they refer to as the invasion. Leonidas, a young Greek Cypriot whose father fought in the war, referred to them as an anxiety trigger to those who lived at the time, many of whom refuse to speak of it and possibly 'suffer from undiagnosed PTSD'. It is a haunting wailing sound that reminds Greek Cypriots that summers are 'dark'¹⁶. Anna, an older Greek Cypriot lady and a refugee herself does not understand the younger generation's tendency to let go of the past. *'It's supposed to be a day of mourning, but all the youngsters are at the beach'* Anna's tone reflects that of many others of her age group. The disapproval of the older generation is rooted in a wider gap between older and younger Cypriots; a miscommunication and a clash of ideals that forms the basis for a generational conflict.

Two major generational groups may be identified in Greek Cypriot society, separated through the developments of the war, the 'post-war generation' and the 'war generation'. The differences of opinion are often striking; first-hand experience and inherited memory cannot form the same response, a disappointing realization by the war generation. This is part of 'staged nostalgia' as the imposition of trauma through the expectation of the commemoration of loss is intensified on these difficult summer days. In the meantime, celebrations in the North commemorating the 'happy peace operation' are referred to in the media and casual talk as 'provocative', as is the colossal set of flags (the Turkish and the unofficial TRNC ones) drawn and lit on the mountainside facing Nicosia.

In the four decades of division, Cyprus has remained relatively peaceful to an outsider, though Bryant and Papadakis point out that *'no Cypriot would say the island is at peace'* (2012:2).

'War is not only about violence but the anticipation of violence, and thus involves a distinct temporality – what we might call a time of war' (2012:2).

Greek Cypriots understand their divided or 'occupied' (as they refer to it) status as a liminal stage in their history, where the terms of a resolution of the problem will shape the future of the island. In this sense, Cyprus is in a constant battlefield of a diplomacy and symbolic conflict. The political division is currently expected to end in one of two ways; either the permanent division of the island, or an agreement towards a bi-zonal bi-communal

¹⁶ A number of unfortunate events have taken place in the summer in addition to the war, most notably a fatal clash at the border between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in 1996, multi-fatal explosion at an electricity plant in 2011 and a plane crash in 2005

federation. The Republic of Cyprus, officially still considering its border to be Kyrenia¹⁷, and still considering Turkish Cypriots as its citizens, managed to rapidly recover after the war, at least financially, in what has been named 'the Cyprus miracle' (Christodoulou, 1992). Within the first few years, refugees were incorporated and placed in more permanent homes (Bryant, 2010; Loizos, 1981).

In the following years the economy flourished, largely due to its natural resources and tourism industry (Ioannides, 1992; Ioannides and Apostolopoulos, 1999). By 2004 the Republic of Cyprus became a member of the European Union adopting what was at the time a weaker currency and a status that continues to shape perceptions of identity (Argyrou, 2017b; Philippou, 2005). On the other hand, the unilaterally declared state of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), established in 1983 is recognised only by Turkey, and has suffered from international boycotts leading to its isolation, and leaving it economically dependent on Turkey (Hatay, 2009; Navaro-Yashin, 2003).

Several failed attempts by the leaders of the two communities under the auspices of the UN to form a solution plan explain Cypriots' temperamental attitude towards the solution. In 2004 the final version of the *Annan* plan was brought to a referendum- the closest Cyprus has been to a solution since the war. Under charged circumstances Cypriots were once again undecided, their own leaders campaigning for 'No' as they felt they would be giving much more than they would be receiving in such an agreement. Whether anything would ever be enough for Greek Cypriots to accept an agreement is something that comes up often in casual political chat. The majority of Greek Cypriots voted 'No' to the plan, while the majority of Turkish Cypriots voted 'Yes' and to the disappointment of the international community and to Cypriots themselves, the plan fell through (Sözen and Özersay, 2007; Varnava and Faustmann, 2009). For Faustmann (2004) it was the security demands of the Greek side that were not met that justifies the result. Both the public and politicians still refer to this as a lost opportunity and the solution talks have yet to reach another referendum. The solution of Cyprus Problem, has been at the forefront of each government's agenda ever since, coming close but falling through once again in 2017. For Greek Cypriot politics, little else has mattered over the years than the agreement and solution of the problem (Bryant and Papadakis, 2012b), a preoccupation which has led to political division within the Greek Cypriot community and a neglect of social issues (Papadakis, 2006b).

¹⁷ Kyrenia is the beach where the Turkish army is said to have landed during the invasion, and the most northern city of the island. This section refers to a post-war slogan found on old watchtowers along the Green Line which refers to Kyrenia as the northern border of the Republic.

In 2016 my interaction with numerous individuals as part of this research revealed a conflicting ideological landscape. *'I prefer permanent partition over a bi-communal federation. That would ruin our economy and we have done so well recently'* Charalambos said and his girlfriend Nasia nodded. Both of them post-war children, they explained their reasoning. *'We have never lived or even talked with any Turkish Cypriots. We (the young generation) have been raised in separate parts. What is the point of fighting for fields and ruins? Let's just divide the island and move on'*. This did not seem to be an uncommon opinion, as others would discreetly propose it as part of discussions on the future, but never so blatantly. The public opinion on the Cyprus Problem is that everyone wants a solution that does not mean the loss of the island for either community, but in private, other discussions emerge. These conversations were in direct contrast to the narratives of the international organizations and activist groups who I was also working with, who believed that the people were ready to live together and were merely separated by politics. Unification of the island, which these groups were working towards, meant that the two groups would be living together in the near future, and those who did not believe in this were seen as extremists. My own interest in how this shapes Greek Cypriot identities allowed me to see many sides of the issue, but in reality I was also very much part of the discussion and it was during my fieldwork and those first interactions with the 'other' when I first began to understand my place in this.

2.2.3 NARRATIVES OF DIFFERENCE

'We did not have fresh milk when I was young, we used to drink it from tins', Murat is a Turkish Cypriot in his late 30s, he has experienced the reality of the post-war years, without the memories of the war. Stuck in place and time, as he said, the Turkish Cypriot community developed very differently than its Greek Cypriot compatriots. *'We did not even have cinemas until recent years... when the border crossings opened (in 2003), it was like a new world'*. The international boycott left the Turkish Cypriot state, the 'pseudostate' as it is referred to by Greek Cypriots, relying exclusively on Turkey. The Turkish agenda is said to have kept the Turkish Cypriot community under tight control while 'imposing', as Murat explained, its own culture on to them. This is often referred to as the 'islamization' (Papadakis, Hatay, 2015; Navaro-Yashin, 2012; Papadakis, 2003) of the community, evident in the large mosques erected in the northern half of Cyprus in recent years, where Turkish Cypriots refer to themselves as *'not really very religious'*, as Murat said while sipping his beer. He and his friend Hakan had come to meet at a downtown bar, they were regular border crossers and two of the few Turkish Cypriots interviewed as part of this research. Their voices provide an insight in the understanding of Cypriotness within this research as well as the

conflicts that exist within the Turkish Cypriots society itself. Their limited presence is a reflection of the social segregation of the two communities as I only got in touch with them through bi-communal projects I was involved in as part of my official relationship with international organizations. Outside of intentional bi-communal interactions that activists and organizations have slowly normalised, the presence of Turkish Cypriots in Greek Cypriot everyday life is very limited. This is reflected within the thesis, not as an 'othering' device or an attempt at ignoring the community's presence, but as a reflection of the ethnographic experience. A number of researchers have observed more deeply the relationship and interactions of the two communities (Bryant, 2010; Dikomitis, 2012a; Papadakis, 2005a). While these intentional interactions are common in organized border crossing, it is the apparent absence of organic everyday interaction between the communities that is striking to observe. In relation to this Demetriou (2018) has identified the absence of Turkish Cypriot presence in Greek Cypriot discourses of loss.

Murat and Hakan went on to describe a further division of the two current communities in the northern half of the island, a further analysis of which is provided by Navaro-Yashin (2006). They explained how Turkish Cypriots intentionally avoid the places where non-Cypriot Turks spend their time, including the iconic Kyrenia harbour¹⁸. This division is largely unknown to the Greek Cypriot community who often think of Turkish Cypriots and the settlers from Anatolia as one tight community. Navaro-Yashin (2006) problematizes approaches to the Cyprus problem that focus on Greek-Turkish relations, investigating the varying interpretations of the word 'Turk' and the cultural conflict among 'Turkish' groups. For Greek Cypriots, the presence of the settlers is one of the major grievances when it comes to the solution talks, with rumours over their actual numbers ranging vastly. Hatay (2015, 2009) investigates the Orientalism observed in Turkish Cypriot perceptions of identity who see themselves as more modern to immigrants from Turkey who have established themselves within the walls of the old town. *'They are breeding so fast that the Turkish Cypriots are already a minority in the north'* Hakan threw out, *'the Turkish Cypriot community might soon disappear'*. This is perceived by the Greek Cypriot community to be the Turkish long-term agenda, establishing itself with the passing of years, and with each failed attempt at solution the issue of the settlers becomes more complex yet. Further conflicts exist the

¹⁸ The Kyrenia harbour features to a great extent in the Greek Cypriot 'Den Ksehno' (I do not forget) campaign that emerged in the 90s (Christou, 2006) and was prominent in schools through posters and the Ministry of Education's notebooks, handed to each primary school student at the start of each year. Along with the Apostolos Andreas monastery which is mentioned later on in the thesis, they are the two symbolic places of loss, imprinted on the inherited memory of a generation that had never seen them up close. (Figure 8)

layers of legitimacy between Turkish Cypriot groups therefore, between those established before the war, and those born of immigrants after.



Figure 3: The use of flags and religious symbolism across the Green Line embodies the division and indicates its width. Photo by author, 2016.

In 2003 and much to the surprise of the international community as well as those involved, the border crossings were opened for the first time since the war. Bryant (2004) recorded the changes of the border-crossing openings while observing the 'Cyprus Problem' as part of the wider Greek-Turkish historical conflict. The opening of the border crossings coincided, intentionally as Bryant indicates, with the upcoming succession of Cyprus into the European Union in 2004. It had been the demonstrations within the Turkish Cypriot community which initiated the process (Bryant, 2004; Demetriou, 2007). For the Turkish Cypriot community, having been marginalized for so long, the European succession was perhaps even more important than it was for Greek Cypriots. The opening of the border crossings was seen as a positive step towards reunification but it was most importantly an eruption of the social scene. Having spent almost 30 years apart, the two communities met with caution. Greek Cypriots were torn, some rushed to cross, drove straight to their villages to see their homes, hoping to still find things as they were when they left. Others were much more sceptical about the meaning of this politically charged move (Demetriou, 2007). As will be discussed later on, the implications of crossing this contested border are still debated today, and a large proportion of the Greek Cypriot population has yet to do so. Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, are more likely to cross to see their homes and to stock up their cars with shopping. The first contact between the two communities was and still is at times an experience indicative of the many years of separation and nationalistic discourse. Today,

the recognisable Turkish Cypriot cars are a common sight in the southern areas, though contact between the communities is still rare and cautious.

2.2.4 GLOBAL INFLUENCES

Historically Cyprus has been unable to avoid external influences, and yet more so in today's world where post-colonial power relations and neo-colonial engagements are at play within the same space. Developments in Cyprus are interlinked with global changes and political affiliations shape daily experiences and perceptions. Its links to the EU and the global market affect the socio-political and economic landscape while Turkey's potential succession to the EU has brought the Cyprus Problem to the forefront of the EU agenda. The solution negotiations reveal the EU's diplomatic relationships between its member states and the powerful other; Turkey's imperialist policy is reinforced by its power as a refugee passage into the EU shaping developments much beyond those of the Cyprus Problem. There is an expression of bitterness by Greek Cypriots at EU diplomacy that does not meet their expectations as members who would like to see a prioritization of their local issue. This indicates the complexity of the web on which the Cyprus Problem falls within global politics, as well as a side-lining of the 'small' Problem of Cyprus.

The status of Cyprus as a marginalized member is illustrated in the politico-economic developments of the past years that Argyrou (2017) refers to as a 'punishment'. The recession reached Cyprus largely through its economic ties with Greece and Russia introducing the most major period of austerity since the war (Knight and Stewart, 2018). In 2013, following an application to the EU for urgent financial assistance, the Republic of Cyprus was the first and only European state to experience what became known as the 'haircut', paralysing the economy for months. The decision was to capitalize the banks through the accounts of their customers among other measures (Argyrou 2017). In practice this meant for the two largest banks to suffer a cut from all accounts capping Laiki Bank's accounts at 100 000 euros while everything else was taken, as was 40% of anything over 100 000 euros from Bank of Cyprus. For Argyrou (2017) this is an indication of the marginalized state of Cyprus within the EU and a 'civilizational lesson'. The 'bailout programme' created a long period of insecurity and retreat from the market. Large amounts of savings vanished in a moment and the shock left the market still for months. Limitations on withdrawals followed, then the closing down of Laiki Bank. Contained shock took the place of outrage as the international community commended Cypriots on their resilience to such difficult times. The irony was not lost on Cypriots who retreated to the island in what turned out to be a community building exercise. In the space of austerity, an instinctive turn

to the local market eventually revived the economy; local products and services became preferable, small businesses took the place of large corporations, unemployment and financial loss boosted the volunteer and contribution spirit. The Cyprus Problem had taken second place for the first time as a bigger problem had destroyed life savings, retirement funds and future salaries.

In the liminal stage between East and West, both geographically as well as conceptually, Cyprus is the south-eastern most European frontier. This makes its unofficial border highly problematic for Europe and for the nation itself. Cyprus takes the division as more than simply one of ethnic and national partition but perhaps more so as a limitation to its full European status. With Syria and the Middle East as its neighbours, the island also finds itself currently in the midst of the refugee crisis. Considering its position, Cyprus has had relatively small numbers of incoming refugees; larger numbers of fleeing Syrians chose to cross through Turkey and into mainland Europe through Greece (Karas, 2015). While none of the European countries has the infrastructure to host the numbers of individuals coming in, Cyprus has been able to host the small numbers of overloaded boats that find the way to its shores. The refugee crisis has raised discussions among Cypriots as to the concept of 'global citizenship' 'European citizenship' and humanitarianism. The groups that reacted negatively to the first arrivals of refugees were attacked by the rest as being discriminatory and reminded of Cyprus' own internal refugee problem. The term 'illegal immigrants' has been used to describe the refugees and excuse such behaviour while Cypriots themselves struggle to find their place on the global map.

The community building efforts within Cyprus since the war have focused on the idea of a Greek origin, ignoring the multi-ethnic nature of its inhabitants. The island is host to a number of minority groups and migrant communities, some of which have been incorporated, and others being considered temporary. Cypriot minorities include the Maronite and Armenian communities, which have amalgamated while retaining their own ethnic identities. Demetriou (2014) writes on the Armenian minority in particular, how their double displacement, by Turkey during the genocide and by the Turkish Cypriot administration once their areas were caught in its sector, have been silenced in the literature of the Cyprus conflict. During my ethnographic research individuals from these groups did not stand out as separate from Greek Cypriots in daily contact, but on paper they are considered ethnically distinct, they maintain their religious practices and language and some attend separate schools (more so the Armenian minority). Papadakis and Bryant (2012) refer to these minority groups as examples of the selective explanations of historical origins of Cypriots, where Greek Cypriots will focus on the arrival of ancient Greeks to the

island as a direct link to them, while Turkish Cypriot narratives focus on the arrival of the Ottomans in 1571 as a milestone in establishing the idea of Cyprus. The minority groups are not disputed as rightful Cypriots in the same way that each of the two larger groups disputes the other's right to the land. Until recently male individuals of these groups could have avoided the compulsory military service, though this has slowly changed, a further step towards their incorporation as Cypriots.

Smaller migrant communities find it much harder to time merge into Cypriot culture since they maintain separate communities and are seen as temporary visitors. These groups include, for example, the UN and EU personnel, Russian investors and their families, and Eastern European and South Asian workers. This is mirrored in the diasporic communities of Cypriots that create communities in their host countries but merging with diasporic communities of Turkish Cypriots and Greeks in a distinct understanding of what it means to be Cypriot. During the turbulent years of the 60s and 70s, many Cypriots migrated to the '*eksoteriko*' as it is referred to in Greek, directly translated to 'the outside', meaning abroad. Large diasporic communities in the UK, the US and Australia are tight communities, culturally distinct and often politically active (Chatzipanagiotidou, 2012). The Greek Cypriot diaspora, wherever they are based, find themselves blending with diasporic communities of Greece, often living in the same areas and sharing the same specialist shops and events. There are also links to Turkish Cypriot communities, particularly in the UK where the distinction does not seem to be as opposing as it is in Cyprus (Chatzipanagiotidou, 2012). Much could be said about Cypriot migrants' own sense of place and belonging in their own communities and in their (very common) visits to Cyprus. What the diaspora offers is an external community of Cypriots who practice their Cypriotness outside of the symbolic landscape of conflict that is found in Cyprus.

2.2.5 IDENTITY CRISIS

Bryant (2018) proposes the use of the term 'crisis' to refer to periods of intense presentness. Considering the temporality of periods of crisis, she interrogates the term to understand its opposition to what is vernacularly perceived as the 'norm'. Within her article, Bryant considers occasions where sudden change causes liminal moments in between the past and future which are in constant movement. These moments of crisis become spaces where identity is challenged, but when identity is in a constant state of negotiation, crisis reveals its sensitivities and internal processes. Identity in Cyprus may only be considered through periods of crisis, but most importantly as a space of crisis itself.

The historical understanding of Cypriot formation of identities through colonization, post-colonialization and division reveals the external influences that have shaped Cypriot perceptions of identity. The major insight affirmed through a historical positioning of Cyprus is that Cypriot identities are Western products, or as Welz (2017) presents them through the investigation of heritage practices '*European products*'. Herzfeld (2002) refers to an '*aggressive national pride*' shaped by Western influences which he translates as '*crypto-colonialism*' (Herzfeld, 2002). This translates well in the example of Greece, where Herzfeld has done much of his work but also in Cyprus. Where Herzfeld identifies crypto-colonialism in the absence of real colonialism, that is, the imperial project of 19th century powers across the world, Cyprus finds itself on a margin. While under British colonization, the concept of a Cypriot nation was being formed, at the same time links with Hellenic heritage formed a contradicting identity of ethnic nationalism (Bryant, 2006; Peristianis, 2006). Peristianis (2006) observes this result as a 'dual identity'.

The independence introduced to countries such as Greece, Herzfeld continues to explain in (Herzfeld, 2002), have created a form of dependence on Western economies. The independence of Cyprus from British rule had also been a project of much economic and political gain. The economic power of the many incarnations of 'the West' is seen throughout this thesis as a major influence to identity-making. As two British bases still exist on the island and the remains of colonial rule remain present, Cyprus has entered a neo-colonial state of European succession. With its capital is tied to European interests, the soft power of the West remains present. For Argyrou (1989) '*the West*', '*Europe*' and '*modernity*' are interchangeable terms; monopolizations of a 'technology of power' essentialised in opposition to the Other. He observes Cypriot identities on a conceptual map through a comparison and contrast with the West's modernization practices. In this case, this idiom is useful to an understanding of how Cyprus has gone from being 'the Other' or 'the colonized', to being part of the European community (albeit marginalized), both in politically and socially.

Argyrou (1996) applies Foucault's (1982) idea of '*knowledge as power*' to emphasise how identities are formed through power relations. In this sense, identities are the way in which people make themselves into subjects within a hierarchical social structure where the need for authority then becomes essential for their mediation. Argyrou uses this understanding to support the argument that '*Cypriots themselves reproduce the conditions of their subjectification in a complex interplay between recognition of Western superiority and resistance to it.*' (1996:170). This interplay produces friction amongst and within groups with differing opinions on the relationship with the West, what Argyrou refers to as an

imposition of 'dividing practices'. This identifies a major conflict in perceptions of Cypriot identity, and a cause for the identity crisis. The performance of a modern front is not only one put up for external audiences but also within the community itself. The performance of modern self (Goffman, 1990) on a daily basis and for the approval of others is certainly a cause for identity representation and negotiation. The distinction between modern and non-modern also creates assumptions of class, education, age, financial situation and most importantly ethnic origin. If Greekness is to be cherished as the origin of civilization and modern society, Cypriots must act as if they deserve the credit. Similar to Herzfeld's termed '*disemia*' (Herzfeld, 2016) in Greece, the public front may be able to do so in a structured way, but the organic performance of Greekness in intimate and private spaces is not only a difficult feat, but one that is also resisted. Greekness, modernity or Europeanization is an expectation imposed both externally and internally in Cyprus causing daily internal conflicts within its symbolic landscapes, on which identities struggle to root.

Concerning Greek and Cypriot relations, Argyrou (1996) writes that

'for Cypriots, the ultimate significance of being Greek does not lie in the obvious association with mainland Greece...the association is riddled with tensions and contradictions. The significance rather is to be found in the past, the heart of classical, Greek civilization of the fifth century BC. It is this 'Greekness' that carries the premium – the-cradle-of-the-West syndrome – so that in order to claim a European identity, Cypriots need also to imagine themselves as descendants of the ancient Greeks' (1996:38)

The reification of Hellenism as introduced in Cyprus carries with it the power to counter its perceived marginalization. The tensions between Greek and Cypriot political bodies over the years and bitterness deriving from unfulfilled expectations by each side reveal a different agenda of the two nation states, while remaining close. This relationship further complicates the Greek Cypriot population's perception of identity and belonging to a wider Greek community. Below, the examination of symbolic landscapes on which such ideas are played out will draw out the true complexity of Greek Cypriot identities, but in this context it is necessary to observe this relationship as a product of internal as well as external power.

Cyprus' voluntary submission to the European neo-colony demonstrates the acceptance of the hierarchical power relation and its impositions and expectations. It is in this power relation that the contradiction between modernity and tradition becomes further complicated. 'Modernity' and 'tradition' form a perceived dichotomy that is based on the idea of the two being counterparts rather than products of the same process. Europe, or the West (as neither is a clearly defined entity in this case, but a manifestation of modernity),

then reverses the expectation onto its subjects in the reification of their 'original' culture. Similar to the process of Hellenizing Greece (Papadakis, 2005b), Cyprus has been expected to perform its traditional culture for the British colonisers at first and then for the benefit of European cultural diversity, relying on its links to Greece as a foundation for establishing the 'civilized' nature of its traditions. The conflict between tradition and modernity within this perceived dichotomy becomes a major influence in the perception and performance of identity. While Cypriots are not passive actors in this game of power, the internal conflicts weaken their ability to establish themselves within global society. Having at times been powerless to resist global tensions, and at others consciously in support or opposition of their influence, they are also largely aware of the possibilities of a weak front. As a small island nation in conflict, their power within global politics relies largely on their ally relations with Greece and Europe – this is not merely a political concern but a social one as well, as Cypriots feel the need to fit into this role of Greek Europeans on a day to day basis.

2.3 SYMBOLIC LANDSCAPES OF CONFLICT

As products of conflict, Cypriot identities are established and reaffirmed through the symbolic landscape. Ross (2009) identifies symbolic landscape as what '*communicates social and political meanings through specific public images, physical objects, and other expressive representations*' based on the influential writings of Cosgrove (1998). Symbolic landscapes shape and are shaped by cultural practices; these are therefore able to communicate ideas such as hierarchies, inclusion and sacredness, and their changing properties. The conceptualization of symbolic landscape provides a basis for the argument that the 'products of conflict' are not merely products of physical violence, but also symbolic and cultural conflict, enacted through daily friction with society. These daily conflicts are often directly related to the Cyprus Problem's social effects but also derive from wider social issues such as the conflict between tradition and modernity or East and West.

An illustration of the subtle conflicts identified in daily experiences of the symbolic landscape is in the institution of the café or *kafeneio*. As gendered social spaces, the *kafeneia* in the centre of villages and towns are snapshots of 'traditional' Cypriot life. Masculinity, power and politics are all understood to have historical links to the *kafeneia*, which also did indeed serve coffee. Eftychiou and Philippou, (2010) examine the historical representation of these 'traditional' coffee shops now romanticized and replicated for tourist audiences and highly 'exaggerated' through the photographic records of the past century. These coffee shops now find themselves in a battle of authenticity as the conflict between tradition and

modernity attempts to balance the needs of the tourist industry. Interest in the traditional leads to its replication and to questionable claims to authenticity, while the true evolution of the 'traditional' does not suit the needs of the tourist industry. The 'indigenous' coffee shop now competes with the traditionalized one, as well as the new trends of chain cafes and nostalgic recreations of *kafeneia* for younger Cypriot audiences, mapping the landscape of conflict in today's Cyprus. Gendered practices, modern influences and age differences are all at play within the coffee culture where the selection of establishment and drink is much reliant on gender, age, nationality, class and politics.

Beyond the metaphor for the evolution of cultural practices through influences such as modernity, the coffee culture reveals yet another layer of conflict; a reflection into social life as shaped by the political division in today's Cyprus. There is nationalistic and political background to the type of coffee one might order, an insight which reveals layers of meaning with a single word. Papadakis (2005) explains how in the turbulent 60s, the name of the traditional coffee that people would simply refer to as 'coffee' changed into 'Turkish' and 'Greek' coffee. The attempt to remove the oriental element of its character was an influence from European expectations of Greekness, and Hellenic culture as the beginning of civilization, being encouraged at the same time in Greece. It seems the conversion was a successful one, as today Greek Cypriots refer to Greek coffee, but yet more commonly Cypriot coffee as, along with the new nationality, came the claim to the practice. In reality an order of Greek, Turkish or Cypriot coffee should retrieve the same result. The concept of Cypriotness, might be perceived as settlement of the dispute in this case and a uniting identity, but much like Cypriot society, the dichotomies are deeply rooted into society beyond the obvious ethnic dispute. The two major companies that produce packaged coffee in Cyprus, *Charalambous* and *Laikou* do not only compete on the market but through their political affiliations also become a political choice within supermarkets. The 'left-wing' *Laikou* coffee is generally understood as the choice of the working class, most often ordered as a Cyprus coffee, while *Charalambous* is mostly linked to right-wing politics and thus more likely to be referred to as Greek. In reality there is hardly any difference in the process or taste of the two brands. Ordering coffee in Cyprus therefore reveals much more than what one would like to drink; it is a daily political statement.

Billig (1995) refers to the use of everyday artefacts to inform nationalism as 'banal nationalisms', the dissemination of coffee culture across Cyprus creates exactly that. Cyprus coffee, a fragrant, thick and strong brew served in small espresso cups with a side of cold water, is most commonly enjoyed by the older generations, though not exclusively. Its brewing technique is something to perfect and to be proud of, with the foam at the top

expected to hold a single bubble, for the indication of a well-made *meraklitiko* one. Younger Greek Cypriots today tend to prefer the admittedly less politicized and modern, colder options which may still be observed to compete on the level of class: the 'common' order known as the Greek *Nescafe Frappe* or the trendy ones like *Freddo espresso*. Known as very Greek influences, all of these are meant to be enjoyed over long hours of outdoor lounging, gossiping and conversing, where refills of water into the strong thick foam will replenish the frappe's strength for hours. A single meeting for coffee in Cyprus is thus more revealing than it would appear to the untrained eye; it is a cultural practice where an insider is an active consumer and a political individual. It is unsurprising that much of this research was done over coffee.

The binaries identified in everyday experiences of Cypriot social space, such as the age, gender, class and political dichotomies are reflected within the coffee example. The examination of the *kafeneio* as both a physical and symbolic space is a snapshot into daily life and a bolster to the claim of layered social conflicts. Importantly, this picture opens up the discussion over tradition and modernity, often perceived as binaries in Cypriot expressions of past and present. In this linear understanding of time and the participation of the older generations in the historical developments of the past century that have transformed Cyprus from a marginal island community to a divided European nation, traditions are perceived as the link through generations. Tradition is understood to be the basis for the values and cultural practices in Cyprus today and rarely accepted as an actual product of modernity. And yet, as this section argues, tradition is an 'invention' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012), an amalgamation of the 'West', the 'Orient' and the 'Greeks' that creates selective history and identity politics.

2.3.1 SHAPES OF MODERNITY

Latour (1991 [1993]) identifies modernity as the conceptualization of science in a hierarchical opposition to nature. The reification of science and society over nature is characteristic of modern discourse and very much present as a dichotomy in the symbolic landscape of Cyprus. The perceptual dichotomy has created urban spaces and 'non-places' (Auge, 2009b) that aim to remove or control nature and natural bodies as discussed in Chapter Four. In Cyprus, the dichotomy between nature and culture has created the binary of 'peasants' and 'elites' as a historical opposition. Modern social life as introduced by colonial forces was incorporated in local perceptions as an improvement to the peasant past (Eftychiou, 2013b). Sharpley (2003) explains how modernization is seen as an evolutionary step in the development of a society that begins with tradition and ends with modernity. In

Cyprus, these ideas became incorporated into daily life causing a distancing from tradition that was perceived as 'peasant' and towards a modern European nation. The dichotomy becomes the source of much identity confusion upon the return of 'tradition' as modern concerns with the past come to the surface. This is displayed best through tourism, as analysed in Chapter Six, where tradition becomes an attraction to the modern tourist.

The modernization of Cyprus has thus resulted in a crisis with the 'self' between modernity and tradition, between social and natural. Cypriot identity under these circumstances becomes disputed as it has started to reinvent itself in modernity's own product: tourism. Daskalaki (2017) identifies the 'national mission' of independent Cyprus to be modernization, using evidence of the construction of tourist landscapes. Within these landscapes therefore, the identity of the Cypriot nation becomes narrated as a legitimizing discourse. Modernization as a process implies economic and social development that Argyrou (2005) argues establishes the 'symbolic domination' of Europe. For Argyrou, modernization is the legitimizing discourse that negotiates social conflicts; the root of the identity crisis. Europe may be seen as synonymous to modernity or as its official embodiment, as its 'domination' shapes social and economic development but also the perception of tradition in the process of identity making. Current perceived dichotomies of tradition and modernity are based on Latour's model, using the binaries to place generational and class differences (among others) at a hierarchical scale. The urban elite and the rural peasant are characters that feature greatly in Eftychiou (2013), who sees rural spaces as the negotiation of power and identity. The 'symbolic struggle' between the dichotomies of modern and traditional becomes complicated in the tendency of modernity to give value to what is perceived as traditional. Tourist landscapes reflect this paradoxical relationship, as will be seen in upcoming chapters.

'Modernity' in Cyprus also saw the introduction of secularity. The relationship between the Church and State, initially attempted the balance between tradition and modernity. As discussed, it was religious and language differences which initially created the segregation of Greek and Turkish groups inspired by the British. With Archbishop Makarios becoming the first president of the Republic in 1960 the connection between religion and state was established from the beginning and was a one-sided representation that caused a further drift between the two communities. Bryant (2004) observes modernity as an evolution from the religious age towards an ethical project of the modern nation. In this observation, Cyprus' attempts to maintain religion within the newly formed nation state may be seen as a cause for the conflicting nationalisms that maintain the division between the Greek and Turkish communities. The perception of 'good' and 'bad' nationalism within the Cypriot

context, Bryant argues, is part of the identity politics influenced by religious understandings of 'self' and 'other'.

Bryant refers to modernity, as a complex set of ideas that came to be appropriated and transformed by Cypriots. It has introduced a new dynamic in social life in Cyprus within a single lifetime, and older generations have been expected to adapt. Its emergence coincides with the post-colonial struggles and local political turbulence, introducing concepts like secularism and individualism, and it is thus perceived as a challenge to traditional life. Where honour and shame are perceived as the cornerstones of traditional Mediterranean societies, including Cyprus (Peristiany, 1965), the introduction of modern values challenges such traditional notions. Bryant observes modernity as a 'liberating ideology' that followed independence. The speed of this shift has caused a drift between people who have been raised in the same space but in very different settings. For Cypriots today, an imaginary generational line may be drawn at the time of the war, where those old enough to remember it form one ageing group, and those born after it form a second one, increasing in numbers by the day. This would form the perceived generation groups where Cypriots place themselves as a definition, not just of their age, but of their values and beliefs as well. It is apparent that within each of these two, other smaller groups exist, yet the major influence of the war has been the major divider.

If the idea that '*the past is a foreign country*' (as proposed by Hartley (2017 [1953]) and appropriated by Lowenthal, 2015 [1985]) it seems suitable to observe the differences between generations as those of foreigners. In this metaphor, one group becomes a tourist to the other group's perceptions. Experiencing the same physical landscape, the two groups struggle to understand one another. Raised by the older generation, the younger one may understand the language of the older 'foreigners', but have trouble living by it. Differences in opinion occur based on one's age, not so much to do with growing up, but the circumstances of doing so and the time at which it is happening. Older individuals speak of priorities and values, critical of the younger generation's dismissal of them, and perceiving this difference as naivety and obsession with the 'West'. To the younger generation, it often seems as if the older has indeed grown up in a foreign country, with pre-war stories of famine, lack of modern technology, and war memories seeming so distant they become irrelevant to their life experiences. The conflict between the two generations is found on political, religious and social values, where the influences of modernity clash with what is perceived as the traditional way of life.

The post-war generations indicate what may be perceived as a case of 'inherited' trauma. Much is written on trauma (Alexander et al., 2004b; Bryant, 2012, 2008; Eyerman et al.,

2015; Galatariotou, 2012), but little is directed towards the passing down or the inheriting of trauma from one generation to another in Cyprus. Dikomitis (2012) touches this through the conceptualization of imagined memories, in observations of different generations of refugees crossing the Green Line and their encounters with lost places; this will be further discussed in Chapter Three. Absent from observations of daily life, inherited trauma can be identified in the post-war generations' motivations, beliefs and attitudes, particularly upon encounters with lost places. Fading with each generation, yet present due to intimacy and cultivation, this trauma forms part of the identity crisis discussed here. A deeper look into these individuals produces samples of age groups within the group. The first has clear influences from the experiences of growing up immediately after the war, with parents shaped by the first-hand experiences of fighting or losing family, during political, social and economic instability. Then, there are those who were raised in the 'golden 90s' as they are referred to, the millennials as they are internationally known, who experienced the flourishing of the economic and social scene of Cyprus, the coming of the internet and its influences. Protected from the immediate after-effects of the war, the millennials are often criticized for being spoiled, yet this research demonstrates the underlying instability of defining self and belonging that has emerged from years of inherited trauma and identity conflicts. Finally, the younger adults appear to have adopted a post-modern viewpoint on politics and society, a detached relationship to places and traditions, that not only causes a further drift from the war generation but that seems to embody globalization in its eyes.

The generational landscape is an insight into the adoption of the conflict in society and symbolic conflicts within it, where lived and inherited memory plays a major role. In subsequent discussions with the individuals on which these generational conceptualizations were formed, there was agreement at an analysis that had not been previously presented to them in such straightforward manner. '*Everything we do has to do with the war!*' Eleftheria, a post-war child of non-refugees reacted to the idea of inherited trauma, indicating that this is a communal trauma. The effects of the war have worked together with global influences to create a melting pot of characteristics and stimuli here understood as the generational gap in the identity crisis of Cypriots.

2.3.2 SELF AND OTHER

In *Modernity and Ambivalence*, Bauman (1993) understands 'otherness' as the basis of identity formation in modernity's ambiguity. The dichotomy between 'self' and 'other' is a major part of socialization that shapes group and individual sets of identities. Throughout life, the negotiation of identity is based upon this system that created ideas of 'norms' and

'abnormalities' generating a power dynamic within society. In Cyprus, the unseen 'other' for many years hidden behind a border, allowed for the mythology of 'otherness' to flourish within society. In places of conflict, the space for 'othering' allows for negative sentiment to shape one's perception of the 'other' with no need for reality's confirmation. This section investigates the categories of 'self' and 'other' have been created and enforced within Greek Cypriot society, while the following section identifies the landscapes on which such narratives are perpetuated. Divisive socialization had created a landscape of division beyond the physicality of the border.

Identity is a pliable artefact that is personal and unique to each individual, but when collective identities are observed, the patterns reveal external influences. Whether or not genetically ethnically Greek, Greek Cypriots adopted the identity with pride (as was expected by them) and with it, cultural behaviours and values. The initial dichotomy of Christian and Muslim, became systematically enhanced with ethnic ideologies that created Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Access to Greek cultural influences has become increasingly easy over the years with media and mobility technologies unifying Greek communities under an ethnic idea. Greek Cypriots today understand themselves as marginal Greeks, at times more Greek than Cypriot and at other times more Cypriot than Greek, whatever they understand that to mean. This idea is based on a discussion with Anna, who illustrated the tension through occasions of national representation, using sports as example. The tension between the two identities is reinforced by the existence of another Cypriot community, the Turkish, which they have not had much contact with for over forty years. Argyrou (1996) refers to this group as the 'internal exotics', while Spyrou (2006) considers them as a 'contradiction in terms' indicating the complication of the dual terminology of both Turkish and Cypriot, as will be seen later on. The discourse of the international organizations involved in community making practices for unity refer to the two communities as Cypriots, bringing them together in ways which have not been conceived for so long that they have become uncomfortable.

In the space of symbolic conflict, categories and boundaries are created to guard ideas of 'self' and 'other' that become incorporated as binaries. Collective and individual 'selves' are dependent on their definition for the protection of their existence, creating symbolic borders. Chapter Three investigates how the existing physical border becomes the symbol of many such societal dichotomies, but beyond the Green Line, perceptual borders are created to form the bounds of a collective identity. Durkheim and Mauss' (2009[1963]) classic writings on classification systems becomes relevant, where the idea of classifying is introduced as a natural human characteristic. Douglas (2002) investigates this idea further

to identify what it is that these classifications are based on, concluding that the culturally specific notions of purity and impurity come to play within such systems. In practice, classifications often lead to outliers and marginal groups which indicate the inefficient nature of the classification system, as seen in Bowker et al.'s (2000) work. In Cyprus, classification systems may be seen as perceptual dichotomies which involve the 'self' as the benevolent, pure and familiar, and the 'other' as dangerous, different and impure.

One of the most controversial dividing (or uniting) ideologies in Cyprus is that of the 'nation-state'. Anderson (2016) understands nations as 'imagined communities' and it is suitable to observe the Cypriot nation as such, having seen the effects of an attempt at a national entity as Bryant (2004) observes. The imaginary community that has been formed into a nation struggles to fit in to the notion as its very construction is flawed. As Bryant has written so clearly, at the time of the arrival of the British colonists, the understanding of collective and individual selves was based on religion. Locals would introduce themselves accordingly and associate themselves with other groups of similar religious following. The idea of grouping together different communities according to where they live and giving that group a name and a purpose, as well as a defined territorial boundary is based on modern and Western notions established fairly recently (Anderson, 2016). The origins of Cypriot nationalism have been established in the historical overview of the Cyprus Problem above but its definition still struggles to fit in with the ideology.

The term nationalism itself, is translated in Greek as '*Ethnikismos*', and it is immediately apparent that the meaning shifts in the translation. There is a tendency in Greek and in interpretations of the ideas of national identity, to equate nation and ethnicity- 'ethnos' ([ethnic] nation), '*ithageneia*' (nationality) and '*ethnikotita*' (ethnicity/nationality). The trouble with the distinction results in the crisis of where a person belongs and what origins mean, ideas highly regarded in Greek Cypriot culture today. The idea of Cyprus as an ethnic origin is one that is not recognised as valid, although Mavratsas (1997) writes of the rise of *Cypriotism* that began to be conceptualized in opposition to Greek Cypriot nationalism following the division. The idea of an ethnic group that may be called Cypriot is beyond the efforts of the British; it has been introduced following the invention of the nation. But this clashes with the ethnic pride that has been cultivated since colonial times and well into recent years. The 'ethnos' is proudly part of one's identity as a Greek Cypriot, distinguishing them from Turkish Cypriots. While both consider themselves to be Cypriots, Altinay and Bowen (2017) argue that '*Greek and Turkish Cypriots see themselves first and foremost as Greek and Turkish*', and that this social and political difference complicates the

conceptualization of Cyprus as a single tourist destination- as will be explored in Chapter Six.

Though the statement by Altinay and Bowen (2006) may be disputed, it indicates a tendency to identify with the 'motherlands' which has been part of the divisive agendas of the two jurisdictions. Spyrou (2006) describes how the very term 'Turkish Cypriot' in its use among Greek Cypriot social understandings of the term, is a '*contradiction in terms*'. Greek Cypriots are educated to think of Turkish Cypriots as compatriots, but at the same time as the enemy from Turkey. How one can be both Turkish *and* Cypriot creates a conflict in the perception of this mysterious 'other' and thus a conflict in the definition of 'self'. If Turkey is the enemy, how is a Turkish Cypriot a compatriot, and what does this mean for the Greek Cypriot? Argyrou (1996) writes that the paradoxical existence of a Turkish Cypriot for Greek Cypriots leads to their consideration as '*internal exotics*'. They are both compatriots and externals, both similar and opposite in their mysterious existence. This becomes highly problematic especially when observed in contradictions between formal education and official policy Spyrou (2001). As Turkish Cypriots are officially citizens of the Republic of Cyprus they share the rights of Greek Cypriots, while considering themselves part of an independent nation.

The lack of clarity when referring to a national or an ethnic identity is also part of the discourse of opposing political parties of the left and right as proposed by Papadakis (1998). It is more likely to hear of '*mitera patriida*' or '*patriida*'- motherland by right-wing politicians and supporters, while left-wing narratives will tend to speak of Cyprus as a place that can claim its own identity. Nationalism in Cyprus is therefore much less about the nation as it is about ethnicity. Bryant (2004) suggests that in recent years there has been a rise in the idea of *Cypriotness*, '*defined against the Greeks of Greece and the Turks of Turkey*'. This had never been a possibility in Cypriot minds during their colonial struggle, as Bryant indicates. This current 'trend' has been perceptually possible through the negotiations for the reunification of Cyprus. This effort, in which international organizations have played a major part, has focused on the common aspects of the two communities and has attempted to introduce the differences as diversity. The ideologies of *Cypriotness* (Bryant, 2004) and *Cypriotism* (Mavratsas,1997) are not considered to be nationalistic ones, as those focus on ethnic difference. They are considered as the attempts at constructing or considering new 'selves' that will finally end the ethnic and social conflict on the island. Throughout Greek Cypriot culture and community, however, it is evident that the idea of being Greek has been incorporated deeply.

Spyrou (2006) identifies the strong links between religion and nationalism, with the Church of Cyprus being a constant player in the political scene. As seen above, the conflicts between modernity and tradition are also conflicts between modernity and religion. The relationship between the Church and State is an interdependent one as politics rely on religion for ethical validation and the Church relies on the state for political power. The Church of Cyprus is still today a powerful player in social and political matters with its influence deriving from the values of Greek Orthodox Christianity. The Church, as a religious organization, naturalizes the dichotomy between the Orthodox self and the Other, scarcely considering the existence of other religions or secularity within its wider influences in society and education. In this system, the 'other' is demonized while the Orthodox remain protected by the Church and God. It will at times put itself in opposition to Islam, following an international inclination but also a very local, personal one, of considering Islam as the enemy. The Church, being a dominant political figure in the past, is currently finding itself struggling to draw in the younger generations. Having baptized them young, and churched them often while in school, it considers them part of the congregation, and yet it appears that it has lost its appeal.

Greek Cypriots are protective of their ethnic identity, having been raised in a system that required and promoted pride in Hellenic heritage and celebrated the history and achievements of Greece in history, sports, music and so on. The history of Cyprus and the promotion of national pride is somewhat marginalised in education, giving way to the glory of the motherland. This is still disputed among political parties of the left and right and, though the general narrative remains, aspects of it change depending on who holds the government. The historic definition of Greece as a nation is often brought up to defend the nationalistic views of individuals, who refer to the unification of Greece in various stages. The 'loss' of Asia Minor and Constantinople feature largely in history and literature taught in schools, and the slow incorporation of the Greek islands into the nation appears to have left Cyprus waiting for her turn (Herzfeld, 1991). What all of this means in practical terms, is that Cypriots feel that the story is not over, that they are currently living in a stage of history that will prove to be a transitional one. Some still believe in 'enosis' (unification with Greece) but most have an idealised view of a united Cyprus as culturally Greek. With the ongoing conflict and separation, Cypriots of each side have grown apart for the past 40 years, and that the struggle for a reunited Cyprus seems politically and socially impossible. International organizations such as those within the UN attempt to find ways for a

*'sustainable development for social well-being'*¹⁹ as it is officially referred to, aiming to smooth the way for a post-solution future.

'I had never seen a Turkish Cypriot before' George is a post-war child of the 90s, his father is a refugee from Morphou and had left it as a child. Everything George knew about Turkish Cypriots he had heard from family and school, though his father himself does not talk much about his experiences. His statement highlights a key point in the attempt to understand the development of identities in a post-conflict state of division. An entire generation of young people having grown up next to an unseen enemy; an 'other' which defined one's self at its opposition (Bauman, 1993). The socio-political significance of the border crossings is illustrated in personal descriptions of the experience. *'I was shocked that I couldn't tell them apart from us'* George continued reflecting the thoughts of his age group on the first days of the border openings. Hakan and Murat joked to me about this one night at the bar, *'You thought we were green men'* Hakan laughed, his joke hiding a disturbing truth.

The expectation of some difference in appearance is admitted by most - *'at least a bit darker'* as George responded to what he might have been expecting. This is a common misconception and hard to ignore, why darker? What might be hidden behind an assumption that the 'other' is 'darker' skinned? Is it based on the perception of ethnic difference between the two groups? Perhaps it is due to a hierarchical understanding of race, based on the colonial roots of racism and reinforced by the need to justify difference. Recent studies (Heraclides et al., 2017) have shown that there is no significant ethnic difference between Greek and Turkish Cypriots but rather a common pre-Ottoman ancestor, giving power to the claim that the ethnic differences are later constructions. Even if there had been such evidence, having never met a Turkish Cypriot, or a Turk for that matter, it raises questions as to how such assumptions are formed. The post-colonial European status of Greek Cypriots seems at times to have incorporated elements of orientalism once used upon themselves; 'Greekness' as opposed to the 'Asian Turk'. In the European narratives, the Ottomans (to whom the Turkish Cypriots are linked) had been the last uncivilised, pre-modern Empire that was ruled the British (Bryant 2004). It is possibly superficial to assume that this is merely a racist comment, though in Cyprus as in many cultures lighter skinned individuals are often thought to be of higher status, possibly an idea left over from colonial times (Asmussen 2006). In a literal use of Douglas' writing on dirt and purity (2002), this could possibly link to the idea of dirt, where the 'other' is not as clean as one's self, and thus 'polluted'. In this case, the idea of the other being dirtier could be traced to acceptable terms such as 'vromotourkoi' (dirty Turks) for example, or the use of

¹⁹ UNDP website, accessed 21st October 2018

the word 'Tourkos' (Turk) to refer to someone's barbaric behaviour, used in casual conversation. A Foucauldian reading of the statement would identify it as part of a larger discourse which allows the 'Turks' to be viewed as lower in hierarchical terms to 'Greeks'. My questioning was met with a shrug, whatever the reason it did not seem to be a conscious one.

For Hakan, I was one of the Greek Cypriot 'others' myself so I enquired about their own notions of the 'other'. "*We were taught to hate you too*" he said comfortably "*but I didn't think of you as green people*". It appears, based on my friend's statement, that socialization for Turkish Cypriots has less use of mythology and mystery. The power of formal and informal education on children's imaginations and on shaping the 'other' (Spyrou 2006) is not lost on Cypriots of both sides. The realization that the 'other' is very much similar, that the 'enemy' is not faceless, that one has grown up with only one side of the truth, brings the 'self' one had built in opposition to the 'other' (Bauman 1991) into question. When socialized individuals come to face with the 'other' and find elements of cultural similarity or even very basic similarities of humanity, the boundaries of 'self' and 'other' find themselves clashing. This conflict I argue, fuels the Cypriot identity crisis that haunts the post-war generation to this day.

The idea of 'self' and 'other' in Cyprus is clearly demarcated by the existence of a physical and symbolic divide, as will be further discussed in the following chapter. In the years following the drawing of the *Green Line*, however, negotiation with the divided landscape became a matter of socialization. The physical and social division allowed on both sides of the border the space for a single voice to be heard, that of the 'self'. In the absence of the 'other', divisive socialisation was free to take over the next generation and make patriots out of them. The layered landscape of divisive socialization remains active today using education, media and language to perpetuate ideologies of nationalism and selective history.

2.3.3 SOCIALIZING LANDSCAPES

Patrick (1976) has noted the lack of the Cypriot education system's attempt at a Cypriot national narrative during the 60s. instead, the ethnic/religious community had been in charge of the curriculum. This has historically produced the patriotic sentiments of either group, particularly when positioning the 'other' as the villain. Noted prior to the '74 division, this observation indicates once again that the official attempts at socializing children were already divisive with the creation of the Republic. These socializing landscapes are observed here as part of the education and political education of individuals in intentional fashion.

Spyrou (2006) investigates the processes of ethnic socialization that is introduced to individuals as children in a culture where 'being a particular person implies a particular sense of political being'. I would add that in this case a political upbringing generates political individuals, establishing dichotomies from a young age. This argument is based on the observation that, as in Britain (Menon, 2018²⁰), in Cyprus political parties are a tradition for families through generations. Being raised by parents supporting a particular party, brands children from an early age. This is reflected in daily life in such a way in which it becomes difficult to break out of as a friend explained "*you are stigmatised as a child*"²¹; their football team, their newspaper, their juice or beer, their brand of coffee are all choices that reveal the family's political belief system. Importantly, the political division of left and right is internationally observed also as a class division, which indicates the political drive of Cypriots as relating to the division is also shaped by class status. The difficulty in establishing and adopting a common identity may thus be explained through the extensive preoccupation with the past and present through politics.

As political parties are torn about the nature of the national struggles and the importance of religion, each decision or affiliation makes a statement. Papadakis and Hatay (Hatay, 2015; Hatay and Papadakis, 2012; Papadakis, 2003, 1998, 1994) have written extensively on the political space within Cyprus as a major source of internal conflict on both sides of the Green Line. In the Republic of Cyprus, right-wing parties, with the most prevailing one DISI currently in government, tend to have better links with the church and Greek politics, in extreme situations (such as football chants) they are called 'fascists' and blamed for the coup that started the war. On the other side, AKEL, the largest left-wing party, previously in government, are referred to degradingly as the 'communists', as traitors of the 'homeland' and accused of considering the Turks as brothers or friends ('Tourkofiloi'). The power of each government to change education priorities with each four-year presidency has brought subtle but important reforms each time, producing different messages each term. Such influences affect the use of flags, ethnic holidays, religious studies and even versions of history in schools. The pronounced differences in the ideologies of political parties create divisions within Greek Cypriot society itself as the present and future remain fixated on the past.

Papadakis (1998) notes the use of maps in schools and the geographical positioning of Cyprus; closer to Turkey for Turkish Cypriots and inserted on the side of Greece for Greek Cypriots, semantically 'floating' closer to disputed motherlands. For Papadakis, models of

²⁰ 'Social Sciences: Issues in Europe and beyond' Conference plenary, 2nd July 2018

²¹ Maria, 13th April 2016

nationalism used within educational institutions shape collective identities. In the process of educating children about the current state of divided Cyprus (Christou and Spyrou, 2014), the selective history is only the basis on which to create nationalistic sentiment. Educational prioritization over the years had highlighted education on the division through historical interpretations that fit the national story. Much of this was driven by Greek nationalists in the mainland who had an ultimate goal of uniting all Greek speaking communities under the Greek nation. Bryant (2004) argues that formal schooling included a pedagogy focused on discipline and nationalism even before the division. Historically, education was sacred and highly respected in Cyprus where it is still considered '*cultural capital*' (2004:127). Bryant adds that education in Cyprus was a practice through which Cypriots '*learned not to think nationally but how to be nationally*' (2004:127). These educational traditions are still part of modern education, encouraging the spirit of patriotism to drive students throughout their life. Reforms introduced with the rise of a leftist government in the early 2000s were branded as unpatriotic, and many were reinstated on the return of the right-wing. The efforts for solution of the Cyprus problem through the years inevitably resonate in the classrooms as highly contradictory narratives.

Christou (2006) investigates the use of the phrase '*I do not forget and I struggle*' plastered in classrooms following the division and aiming to fuel patriotism and the nostalgia for 'the fighting spirit' of past glory. Though the use of such nationalistic and divisive ideas on posters depicting 'lost places', as well as on Ministry books and notebooks and other national outputs, appears to have lessened through the years, today's adults have been raised with this imagery²². As Christou points out, these narratives are no longer compatible with current efforts at reconciliation. The generations of adults that have attended school and military service following the division, have been intentionally shaped by such ideologies as an inherited burden and struggle to reposition their perception of 'self' within new ideologies. Schools, as spaces of narrative reproduction (Gellner, 2009), create national imaginaries that Christou argues create conflicting desires while promoting both a future of peace and a nostalgia for a national past. Such conflicts between 'self' and 'other' as oppositions feed nationalistic ideas in younger generations who enter adulthood in an identity crisis. Importantly, for young males who have had to attend a 25 month (until recently) military service, this intense socialization would extend well into adulthood. The contradictions between ideologies of nationalism and reconciliation within the educational system become part of the identity crisis that characterises Cypriots today. Philippou (2005) observed how European ideologies have made their way into Cypriot classrooms

²² Figure 4

attempting to promote a European identity just before European succession. According to her research, national identity was much more important to young students than the European idea but most importantly, the national identity was essentialist and a-historical.

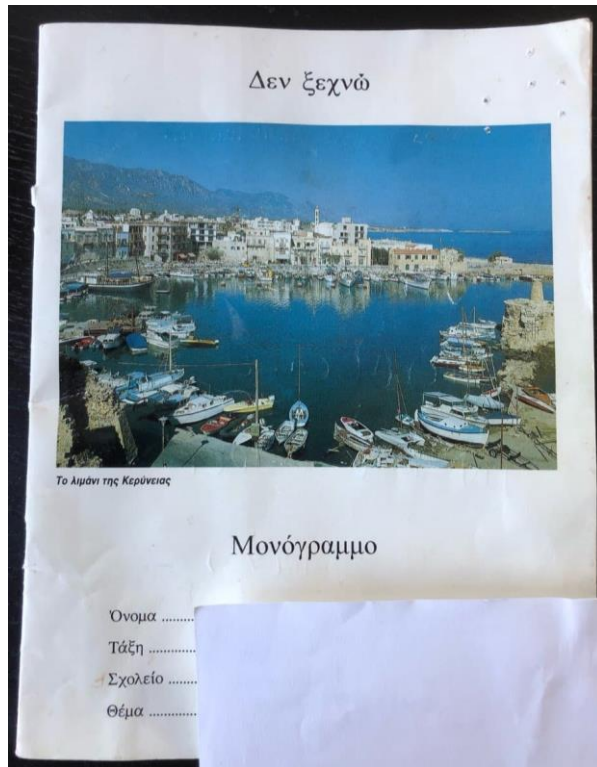


Figure 4: The Ministry notebooks distributed in schools until 2015 depict images of 'lost places' such as the Kyrenia harbour and Apostolos Andreas Monastery. At the top reads 'I do not forget'. Photo by author, 2016

Beyond education, socialization takes place largely through popular culture via the repetition of narratives planted throughout a person's life. In Cyprus, independent television channels and newspapers are often supported by specific political parties or the church. CYBC, the national broadcaster, is dependent on and allied to by the current government's causes, leading to shifting priorities with each elected leading party. But influences of the media go beyond those of intentional politicised messages. The influence of media technologies such as television and radio reinforced the infant nation's ideologies, ending the programme each night with the Cypriot anthem adopted from Greece. Television was embraced by the public since its introduction in the early 1950s, and when the market required more than the two channels of the CYBC, channels from Greece invested in Cypriot branches (Georgiou 2010). The productions and news programmes from Greece were incorporated in the schedule, creating the notion, especially to the younger audience, of being part of the Greek community. To this day, Greek programmes form a large proportion

of the broadcasted material, though international influences are also important. Collaborations between Greek and Cypriot productions have resulted in an amalgamation of the two industries, empowering the conceptualization of a single cultural space. International sports events featuring the Greek national team are broadcast as representative of the population, as Cypriot teams themselves have yet to achieve momentum to do so. Such events fuel the patriotic spirit where each success is celebrated as an equally Cypriot success.

2.3.4 LANGUAGE

Language has been used as a political tool extensively following the division, based on the idea that language might bolster a sense of belonging to a place. In the ways that the common dialect has evolved separately, relationships to the 'motherlands' of Greece and Turkey become accentuated. The media has not only had a cultural influence as identified previously, but a linguistic one as well. According to Pavlou (2006) the media has been one of major influencers of the language shift of the last few decades in Cyprus; the Cypriot Greek (CG) dialect has taken a shift towards the Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and similarly, but to a lesser degree, the English language. This fact is targeted by pro-Cypriot groups who value the dialect as distinct from SMG often linking to the distinction between a Greek and a Cypriot. The use of the Cypriot Greek dialect by both Greek and Turkish Cypriots prior to the war, had been one of the uniting elements between the two communities. The division was not only cause for the prioritization of each groups own language but also for the evolution of the CG dialect towards SMG. The language conflict is a manifestation of the wider social conflicts such as class and obviously, ethnicity, and an illustration of the flexibility of cultural practices that are understood as part of identity.

The tension between dialects is what Herzfeld (1980) calls *diglossia* coining the term to represent the semiotic phenomenon that establishes social boundaries. It will often come up in casual conversation, as well as in public discussions about education reforms, that Cypriots have trouble expressing themselves; this is attributed to the bi-dialectical nature of communication; in school one is taught to read and write SMG but uses CG when communicating with teachers, friends, at home. This has been written extensively about (Arvaniti, 2006; Karyolemou and Pavlou, 2014; Papapavlou, 2006) and is considered here as part of the identity crisis of Cypriots. Georgiou (2010) also identifies the use of both dialects in the media. Official newscasts and publications use the SMG while the dialect used

in TV series varies based on their audience Following the financial crisis of the 2010s²³ media productions from Greece and Cyprus have collaborated resulting in a further shift towards SMG, for the benefit of non-CG speakers. This may be observed as another step towards a loss or sterilization of the dialect and a further cultural link to mainland Greece. The shift of the CG dialect towards SMG enlarges the drift between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities who had already begun to communicate exclusively in English.

Language's ability to evolve is a seeing glass for the values of a community. In Cyprus, modernity has introduced new ways of communication which have created social divisions between generations, classes and ethnic ideologies. Younger generations have embraced the invention of *Greeklis*²⁴ and they are often accused of rejecting their ancient language. CG being an oral dialect, is expressed best in this way as attempts to put it on paper have been difficult to assimilate into writing and therefore teach in school. Depending on the degree of CG versus SMG a Cypriot uses in speech, to the trained ear it is possible to identify their age, gender and class (Sciriha, 1996) while Greek SMG speakers might even have trouble understanding (Bryant 2004). The epistemological importance of this lies partly in the interpretation of what is said, what is not said, and how things are said during interviews and discussions; to a non-native speaker, changes in tone, particular use of words, accents and manner of speech might be overlooked. This has been an important learning curve throughout this research. In terms of this discussion however, it becomes obvious that the use of language is yet another political decision and a space of conflict within Cypriot symbolic landscape.

The years of division have shaped the landscapes of language separately on each side of the Green Line, leading them to evolve distinct differences absorbing the division deeper into society. Karoulla-Vrikki, (2004) suggests that during British rule, language was perceived to be the primary indicator of ethnic identity in Cypriots. Bryant (2004) then refers to '*Kypriaka*' (Cypriot Greek dialect) as the common language of the two communities prior to the introduction of the '*katharevousa*' Greek and Ottoman Turkish during the British rule. The dialect bares influences from the various conquerors of the island, such as Turkish, Italian and Arabic. '*My grandmother did not speak Turkish, only Greek, even at home they spoke Greek... after the war she did not speak very much because they didn't let her speak in Greek*' Hakan told me, in English. By Greek, Hakan was referring to '*Kypriaka*' offering proof

²³ Which reached Greece and Cyprus at different stages but were connected (Theodore and Theodore, 2015)

²⁴ Either SMG or CG written using the Latin alphabet and English expressions

that what I had read was true, but whether he was able to distinguish between Cypriot Greek and SMG I did not dare ask. Communication now between Greek and Turkish Cypriots is done mostly in English. This illustrates the effects of years of separation, where the common language has been lost and the differences are accentuated in the loss of communication. Some older Turkish Cypriot individuals communicate in a Cypriot Greek that is now slightly outdated; Sevket, one of the older Turkish Cypriots I interviewed for example, spoke it fluently but with a very distinct Turkish Cypriot accent that after a bit of practice I was able to distinguish. The years of division have caused the common language to evolve differently on either side, both with influences from their 'official' languages but also with intentions of erasing the influence of 'the other'.

Finally, language becomes an indicator of class and everything that is ascribed to it, indicating further internal conflicts within Greek Cypriot society. Karatsareas (2018) highlights the class division that is indicated through the use of language, where Cypriot Greek is today seen as 'villagey' or 'peasant' while the influences of Standard Modern Greek indicate better education, higher class and formality. The division between urban and rural Cyprus was initially introduced by 'native elites' according to Eftychiou (2013) in a recent past where modern life was valued and rural life was seen as backward. This past is identified around the time that the economy was flourishing and the Europeanization of Cyprus was well under way. These social hierarchies were reproduced in society resulting in the dismissal of the traditional and an appropriation of a modern European self. This takes the discussion full circle, to the influences of modernity and Europeanization in the socialization of individuals.

2.4 CONCLUSION

The physical and symbolic landscapes in Cyprus have created products of conflict out of identities, characterised by the difficulty to articulate and express them. Through contradicting historical interpretations of the past, living and inherited memory, and the daily experiences of the division, the main conflict is established as the 'Cyprus Problem'. However, observations of daily life in Cyprus reveal that, not only has the division disseminated into society in the form of politico-economic conflict but throughout society. This can be felt through the influences of modernity, which as Argyrou (1996) has argued can also be interpreted as the influences of the West and of Europe, as both a producer of and an opposition to 'tradition'. The dichotomy between tradition and modernity is then embodied as a generational conflict between the two major generational groups; the war

generation and the post-war generation. In this observation, the 'Cyprus Problem' also becomes symbolic of the generational conflict as the war defines the separation of time.

The identity crisis introduced here, therefore, is a product of conceptual dichotomies that have been permeated in Cypriot daily life, explained through ideas of divisive socialisation (Bryant and Papadakis, 2012a), concepts of dual ethnicity (Constantinou and Hatay, 2010) and contrasting nationalisms (Papadakis, 2003), symbolic struggles with dominant powers (Argyrou, 1996), and internal attempts to deal with memory, loss and trauma. Amongst all of this conflict, a peaceful display of life is successfully presented to the external public who, as Chapter Six will show, consume Cyprus through its display of identity often through tourist narratives. This is achieved through the social mechanism of 'staged nostalgia' which mediates the negotiation of collective identity against the social conflicts, expressed as a performance of a collective 'self' presented to the world. While the idea of collective identity safeguards a peaceful internal coexistence within the Greek Cypriot society, individuals find themselves struggling to define their personal identities. As Chapters Three and Four will show, much of this difficulty is located in the landscape of division and abandonment. Chapter Five delves into the processes of heritage narratives to observe the negotiation of these conflicts within the broader identity of Cypriotness, and how this becomes an additional layer of conflict. The following chapters investigate how this physical landscape of division, memorialization and commodification becomes a mediator for the negotiation of identities and how the display of 'staged nostalgias' reveals itself as a performance.

3

THE EDGE OF IDENTITY

*Under a table, I remember it as if it was just now
With a bowl of grapes at the time of the bombing
I saw a thousand parachutes like stains in the sky
My father talked to me so I wouldn't be afraid
"Look how nicely they are falling!
How nicely they are falling..."*

...

*And I saw uprooted people crossing the line
For a cheap whore or for casinos and cigars
Either way our poor faith is confused
Solomos in Armani and his heart open*

*I don't want myself to be my place
I know if everything was like me, the earth would not have been born
I am not afraid of my monster, nor my angel
Nor the end of the world, I am afraid of you²⁵*

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In 2011, in a performance piece, artist Christina Georgiou carried her mother over the Green Line, as her mother had done in 1974 as with her children (Demetriou, 2016). Symbolizing the 'return', the performance piece addressed the refugees' relationship with the contested border and particularly that of women. The piece spoke for 'the disputed processes of a constant negotiation between territory, power and socio-political identity' as Demetriou writes (2016). It was a play on the irony of displacement and return, an exploration of age and gender within the refugee community, as well as a social critique on freedom in a bordered world. The body becomes a political and symbolic artefact in conversation with the Line where each encounter is a statement and a negotiation.

This chapter finds place within the literature on borders as they relate to national/state boundaries, as divisive symbols and socioeconomic mechanisms. It must be noted that in

²⁵ Section from *Alkinoos Ioannidis* song 'Patrida' (Homeland) 2009). Full song in Appendix 2

the Greek Cypriot community, the border is never referred to as a border (Peristianis and Mavris, 2012); this would legitimize its political existence. It is most commonly referred to as the Green Line or the Dead zone. As the 2018 OSCE glossary states, the use of the word border implies the sovereignty of two states, making it a problematic and sensitive word (Bekir Azgin et al., 2018). The decision to observe the Line as a type of border here is not meant to make such claims nor equate it with any other border, but rather to acknowledge its social power as similar to other rigid borders in existence and observe it within the spectre of border theory which will undoubtedly offer invaluable insight. It is not observed as a geographic boundary of a political entity or a legal jurisdiction, but rather as a physical manifestation of division, encounters with which shape perceptions of identity. These concerns are also reflected in a discussion on the politics of crossing the border, that indicate the difficulty in articulating the border within Cypriot perceptions.

In contemporary issues of the social sciences such as migration, mobility and identity, borders become central both as a physicality and as a symbol of power. Border theory is an entry point for the understanding of divides throughout human history as it investigates them across disciplines and in their many senses. Often these borders are perceptual ones, such as the one between East and West (Dallmayr, 1999), or physical, such as the one between the US and Mexico (Donnan et al., 1999). As will be seen, the Green Line fits under both these categories in its position as a divide within a European capital city. Much of the social divisions identified in Cyprus are perceived as effects or embodiments of the existence of a physical border. The term 'border' then may be used to distinguish between many types of literal and metaphoric divides.

Low and Lawrence-Zuniga's (2003) volume offers insight as to the embodied experience of places that inform identities, noting that while space is often a background to anthropological studies, it can be itself provide elaborate understandings of human interactions. 'Embodiment' is defined as a methodological field collecting perceptual experience and engagements with the world that then escapes the limitations of defining the body, to assert on the usefulness of lived experience of places. This chapter investigates the cases in which the border becomes penetrable, and the shape in which this takes as an embodied experience. The encounters with the borderland itself are further investigated in Chapter Four, where new life forms and explorations of identity are seen to emerge in the abandonment of its vicinity, endangered by attempts to sanitize the space through heritage processes. Here, identities and bodies become politicized through the smallest acts of pilgrimage and tourism, that cause a large proportion of the population to refuse crossing. As refugees yearn for 'epistrofi' (return), the entire community stands beside them

considering the 'occupied territory' as their own land. The contestation of whether to cross the line and why, reveals the symbolic power of the border as well as the perception of it as an edge. As time passes, this relationship evolves based on social dichotomies identified in previous chapters, such as political affiliations, age/generation, class and even gender. Karayanni (2006) explores the memory of the body (particularly in dance) to express naturalised dichotomies of gender, ethnicity and tradition/modernity and formulate identities. Similarly, the memory of the body is observed here within religious processes to explore the sense of identity and belonging produced through its use.

3.2 THE GREEN LINE

In Cyprus, a contested border known as the Green Line cuts through the landscape dividing its two main communities. The Green Line, therefore, forms a physical and symbolic edge upon which identities are being negotiated and perceived. The various types of encounters with the Green Line, reveal the interaction between the cultural and economic aspects of a contested border as it permeates discussions of 'self' and 'other'. The chapter approaches border theory through debates on 'crossing' and the use of the body to negotiate the edge. Identity thus becomes spatialized through these encounters. As a space of power display and a distinctive edge, the Green Line also becomes symbolic of the dichotomies between Europe and the Orient, West and East, Self and Other, embodying the Cyprus Problem as more than simply an ethnic conflict. A historical overview of borders indicates how they have become the definers of identity and belonging, separators and unifiers, and in debates based on Greek philosophy as described by (Diener and Hagen, 2010) agents of either security or opportunity. Internal mobility is part of Cypriot life and heritage, traditionally practiced as cultural performance and now interrupted by the border. The challenges of dealing with the border as a limitation cause internal friction and complicate the communal identities formed against it.



Figure 5: As the line cuts through the old town, behind the oil-drums the abandonment is evident. In the front, restored building facades and streets. Photo by author, 2016.



Figure 6: Some sections have been restored, repainted and planted. Photo by author, 2016.

The Green Line was placed initially as a fence following the intercommunal violence in the 1950s, the nationalist context of which led to intercommunal conflict. At that time, it merely divided the walled city of Nicosia to separate the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities and avoid violence. In 1963, with the escalation of tension between the two communities, it became known as the Green Line, drawn by the UN as a rigid divide (Mallinson, 2008).

Following the war of 1974, it became an impenetrable border running across the island and dividing the territory of the newly formed Republic of Cyprus, the two jurisdictions now only had control of their own side of the border. The two communities remained separated until 2003 when the Turkish Cypriot administration, for reasons still disputed today decided to allow entry into the northern areas. Today, the border remains in place, penetrable but contested and patrolled by UNFICYP's light blue berets. The Green Line is often referred to as a temporary emergency measure, but in the passing of years it has become a way of life. As has been noted throughout this thesis, both the story of the Green Line and the terminology used within it is still a matter of disagreement. This is symbolic of the effects that the Green Line has had onto Cypriot social life in the last half a century, as this chapter will argue; it is not merely a physical divide but a mental and symbolic one as well. Partitioned Cypriots negotiate the border within their daily experiences of the physical and social landscape and shape their perceptions of identity against it. The border remains contested due to the contested nature of the sovereignty of its northern state, and the claim to the land by the Republic of Cyprus. Beyond its symbolism, the Cyprus Green Line has a role in global political economy beyond the issue of the 'Cyprus Problem' as it becomes the edge of the West and of Europe against the developing world. Legal and illegal movement and exchange takes place both at the local and global level.

The perceptual border between the West and the Muslim 'other' is challenged in this contested European frontier where political gains are negotiated internationally. If borders that define nations are initially perceptual ones their transformation into physical divides could be perceived as a natural development of nation making. Nations are after all based on the assumption that territory and power go hand in hand, evident in imperialist and colonial practices of the past and present. However, Nail (2016) argues that borders are not products of nation-states, but rather the opposite; nation-states are products of bordering. Nail studies borders in their many manifestations as social divisions, in recognition that in each manifestation it is different. Referring to his work as '*critical limology*', he studies the concept of a border in its historical context while challenging notions of motionlessness. In this sense, the border as a primary production process is not an active creator of identities but a product of their expression.

As place-makers, humans have the ability to shape space to suit their social and cultural needs (Diener and Hagen, 2010). While they are often considered an ancient practice, borders are in fact products of modernity. Today, they are accepted as tools for the organization of political space but have origins in ancient frontiers, natural obstacles, feudalism, colonialism and the World Wars, as Diener and Hagen describe (2010). This is to

say that the need for rigid borders is a recent development on ancient borderlands where modern state systems become defined and legitimized. The existence of borders is a place-making effort that has become engrained and naturalized in human perception. Though at times they take advantage of the existing natural landscape, state borders are not natural phenomena, but rather physical and symbolic entities constructed to bind space and groups of people for social and spatial organization. They are symbols of authority deriving from a particular cultural understanding of land as territory and territory as power. All borders may be contested as can the ideology of land ownership by collectives and individuals.

Though the initial creation of a border may be an expression of identity, in the case of Cyprus an ethnic identity, with the passing of years their meaning changes from an expression to an imposition. The border is currently a physical and social imposition that shapes Cypriot perceptions of identity. Identities in their many forms and abstractness are never static entities, but they are constantly informed from various interactions (Macdonald, 1993). In the continuous negotiation of identities, borders become rigid edges upon which to understand collective and individual 'selves' and thus 'others'. From being *creations* of identity, borders then become *creators* of identity, leading to further divisions, dichotomies and conflicts. As the Green Line was based on the perception of ethnic difference, the border affirmed the dichotomy of self and other and became the edge of each group's collective identity. Where the creation of the nation in 1960 had identified Cypriotism as a common identity of its people, the division and the events that led to it came to accentuate the ethnic differences over the national commonality of its two main groups (Mavratsas, 1997b). Currently a physical and symbolic division, the border defines the edge of identities through encounters with memory and trauma. Generations of Cypriots have grown up separated in the same city space struggle with the contradictions based on the physical and symbolic division as will be seen in this chapter. The identity crisis is located at these divisions and dichotomies and the conflict that exists between them, the border is thus the symbolic materiality of an identity crisis.

3.3 THE 'BORDER' AS AN EDGE

I am sipping my brandy sour at a more-than-casual café/bar situated right on the border, my back to the oil drum barrier, vine leaves hanging over my head, the sporadic appearances of cockroaches keeping me alert. I find myself sitting between a transsexual prostitute from the nearby brothel who is explaining to my group of friends how pigs are skinned in her village, and a political refugee from Iraq. He is describing how he is presumed dead by everybody that

used to know him before he escaped to Cyprus to avoid the government's punishment for working for an American company. The southern half of the old town of Nicosia is host to a mix of people, and the transforming landscape struggles to embrace them all, tonight is a somewhat hyperbolic example of this.

Two streets to my left, one of the trendiest bars of the city is collecting stylish customers for the evening while 60s music blares from the speakers of the former electricity plant - turned arts museum-, which is hosting the monthly 'Nostalgia' party. Right behind me, past the oil drums, an absolute silence and darkness can be felt in the several meters' width of the deserted 'Green Line' before the city continues its life mysteriously on the 'other side'²⁶, in a different language. Before the division of the city, this road would have continued north to the upper semi-circle of the circular 16th century Venetian walls. Today, past the 2-meter stack of oil drums plastered with posters and graffiti, the derelict houses and overgrown streets of the 'Green Line' stand as ghostly reminders of conflict, but somehow normalized by their constant presence. Along the road straight ahead of me, the old city market stands, eerily empty, next to what is to become the new municipality building, whose construction has been delayed by at least a decade after the site produced invaluable archaeological findings.

Near the border, landscape is full of paradoxes. Bullet holes covered up by colourful EU-funded plaster are deeply wedged in the old stone walls, while sand bags can still be seen stacked on intricate balconies along the line. There is now laughter and music in the open air spaces next to deserted watchtowers painted in the colours of the Greek flag. There are rustic-looking signs for new bars hanging next to rusty signs with five-figure telephone numbers of the 70s. Church bells follow Muslim prayers, music breaks dead silence, soldiers change sifts amongst the nightlife. Young Cypriots speak in English amongst themselves, having grown up separated and othered for so long. On such rare meetings, Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots sit together at cafes on either side, having been confused about their meeting time due to the newly introduced time zone difference, joking about how they had to travel in time to meet up.

The iconic 'tonenes' (woven) chairs we are currently sitting on are situated in what now forms a corner in the street, a permanent/temporary detour, where occasionally some shuffling is necessary, announced by the blinding lights of an upcoming car. Some days earlier, the alternative, and admittedly hipster clientele of the particular café/bar was entertained, if somewhat offended, by the staring glances of a group of tourists who had found the entire image picture-worthy. Among all of this I am sat overwhelmed and inspired, sipping my brandy

²⁶ The common reference to the 'other side' by Greek Cypriots as alternative to 'occupied areas' can be interpreted as an 'othering' of the unmentioned and unaccepted community. It places one's self at one side of the border or the argument, and the 'other' on the other side.

sour just after sunset with the distorted sound of the pre-recorded Muslim prayers from the mosque across the Line adding to the soundscape of music and chatter. It's the only noise that makes its way across.

Life at the edge of the border has been life at the edge of society where marginalized groups have found a place due to the abandonment by general society. The liminal space around the border has hosted the liminal social groups since the war, particularly within the old town walls. Over recent years, beautification and gentrification efforts, as well as the economic crisis' shift of the market have brought flash development to the old town. The result is an amalgamation of people of all ages, classes and ethnicities who find themselves within the few square kilometres of the capital's walled city. The society's dichotomies, proposed as part of the identity crisis, are all performed in this space, with the border looking over each move. The paradoxes that emerge from a divided city, such as time difference, cut off roads and ancient ruins that transgress the modern nation-making materiality of the border, are all internalized as identity conflicts. The physical landscape of division is incorporated in identity making where the border is largely perceived as a literal and symbolic edge.

The institutional and legal role of borders as boundaries of geographical frameworks is based on the assumption that the 'boundaries of the state match the boundaries of society' (Diener and Hagen, 2012). Upon this assumption, the perceived boundaries of society are demarcated and internalized as part of one's identity. In a bordered world, identities are shaped understanding borders as an edge of national, ethnic, social, political and cultural selves. This is a highly problematic assumption to base collective identities on, as human diversity is institutionalized and classified in unnatural ways that then become daily struggles for individuals and groups who find themselves not fitting in. The example of Cyprus illustrates this struggle through the existence of the Green Line, a line initially drawn on a map to divide an ancient city in half. The unnaturalness of a border becomes striking when streets and houses are cut in half in its path. The partition of an urban environment is recognised as an unsustainable and temporary solution (Foka, 2014) but it remains in place today. In practicality, the border drawn to divide two ethnic groups has created much deeper divides in its path and has managed to do so both physically and socially with the passing of time. The divisions in Cyprus today, begin with the border and what it represents and are challenged by the rise in global mobilities, such as tourism and migration. The Cypriot identity struggle can be attributed to the physical and symbolic border that forces them to perceive themselves against it.

In Greek Cypriot society, divisive socialization has for years defined the border symbolically as the edge of identity but also as a temporary materiality that must be broken down to 'free' the island. For Greek Cypriots, the Line encompasses the physical and symbolic division between 'here' and 'there' (Dikomitis, 2012) and between 'us' and 'them'. It is a line of social and political division that raised individuals who perceived it as the edge of their 'self' and the beginning of the 'other'. Following the devastation of the war and internal conflict, attempts at regrouping and community making used nationalistic narratives and victimization to create a collective self. 'Staged nostalgia' evolved from this socialization and held itself up against the border walls. The border was therefore initially perceived as a symbol of loss as well as a protection from the 'dangerous' other. Its physicality was feared by children who were disciplined with the threats *'the Turks will come to get you'* if they misbehaved, as George and Elena mentioned on separate occasions. Generations of Greek Cypriots avoided the vicinity of the border and have come to embrace it today as will be seen in Chapter Four. Today, it forms the edge of identity for Greek Cypriots who have been raised within the social space created by 'staged nostalgia' and division.

The Green Line is never referred to as a border in Greek Cypriot society. It is most often mentioned as the Green Line (*Πράσινη Γραμμή-Prasini Grammi*), or as the Dead Zone (*Νεκρή Ζώνη-Nekri Zoni*). This distinguishes it as a temporary buffer rather than a rigid state border. The idea of a Dead Zone, used mostly by the older generations, carries sinister connotations which point to it as a space of danger and bad memories. In translation, the use of the word 'dead' is used as an adjective rather than a noun, mostly referring to the lack of human activity in the area rather than 'death' as a threat or reminder. The fear of the area, however, has been an intense socialising mechanism for post-war children (Christou and Spyrou, 2014), who by avoiding the area also avoided dealing with its difficult history. During a focus group Greek Cypriot friends described growing up in a divided city as a seemingly clear cut place to form identity in, where the 'us' and 'them' was a clear distinction until one realised the nature of the edges of their identity. History, as taught in school and through school excursions to one of the safer guard posts along the Greek Line, was a purposeful narrative that established 'self' and 'other' against the threat of the border. For young adults, trips deep into the old town where the border was met, were rites of passage, as if the border was a literal edge where the closer one could get, the more danger they were in, and thus the more prestige was gained.

In the years that have passed since the division, the borderland has become naturalized. This is not to say that peace has been made either with the existence of a border or with the events that led to its creation. Nor is this to say that Cypriots on either side of the line have

gone on to live peacefully and comfortably with their new identities. But the divide has been incorporated both physically and symbolically as a partition. The concept of a borderland, including the landscape within the border itself, is a space rather than a simple barrier. The space within the line, sectioned by oil drums and sandbags on its north and south, is a strip of land patrolled by UNFICYP since its creation (Peristianis and Mavris, 2012), and remains abandoned by all other humans. The existence of mines along the border space mean that the international troops remain in sectioned areas, leaving much of the space abandoned. This space has been taken over by nature which is deconstructing the urban decay into new environmental habitats. Similarly, the areas near the line have also been largely abandoned since the division, as the borderland does not offer the safety and comfort of making a home nearby. The areas south of the border are patrolled by the Greek Cypriot national guard and it is in these spaces where the urban explorers in the following chapter explore the boundaries of identity. The borderland is therefore a space of negotiation between natural and cultural processes, and offers space for the negotiation of spatialized identity. In the apparent abandonment at the edge of a buzzing city alternative ways of life have been explored. In recent years, as city life is dealing with urban decay as a possibility rather than a lost cause, life is moving back closer to the line, disrupting the natural and cultural processes of abandonment, but it is interrupted by the physical boundary. The following chapter investigates the space of the borderland and the negotiation of identity that takes place within it.



Figure 7: UN entrance to the Buffer Zone of the Green Line. Photo by author, 2016

Among the projects overseen by international organizations (UNFICYP and UNDP) has been the opening of border crossings along the Green Line since the first opening in 2003. As the border crosses the entirety of the island, currently seven crossings are in use, with a new one opening in November 2018. The UNDP have run demining projects along the Green Line to remove the possibility of danger when crossing, but also to symbolically remove the remains of war and fear. Currently working on a new border crossing in Deryneia, the UNDP are facing difficulties involving the contracting of engineers and workers in the bi-communal setting and the bitterness of the local people. Demonstrations at the construction site memorialize loved ones lost at the same location during the war and again in 1996 during a violent incident. The opening of the crossing at Ledras street in Nicosia was equally controversial, as the iconic guard post at the edge of the divided street had been a space of collective mourning. In the years following the division, the guard posts along the line had been host to difficult encounters between the guards on each side of the line, some of which had ended in conflict and death. The nearness of the enemy just on the other side of the Dead Zone, and the vicinity of their guns had been enough to keep the public far from the area. The perception of the border as the very edge of safety and as the definer of identity, an idea that an entire generation was raised with, was challenged with the new opportunity to negotiate the border as individuals.

'We would never step foot inside the walls' a friend of the post-war generation describes his memory of the divided old town during the focus group. His name is Mario, he is in his late 20s and has never crossed the border. We met through common friends and he ends up joining the discussion one afternoon over frappe coffee in the old town. 'When we first got our driving licence we wouldn't drive through the old town... we would park in 'Tafros' (the moat) ... Anyway all of the places we went back then were in that area, nobody really came in here'. Born after the division, for most of his life the old town was known as an inhospitable place. Apart from a few small sections, the area was considered dangerous at night especially as one got closer to the border where most buildings were deserted. Stories of drug use, dangerous 'foreigners' and the proximity of 'the Turks' kept children and teenagers out of the old city. It was known for its red lights that still shine in areas once deserted and now overpopulated. Along the border, on both sides, the bravest of soldiers held the guard, where throughout the years there had been several unfortunate incidents – older friends remembered these on other occasions. The guard posts that are slowly being deserted, used to be the only indication of life in some of these corners. It was not a lively place like it had been in the old days when, markets and shops filled the streets with city folk and visitors from the entire island, nor like it is today when life has gradually returned to the old town.

Mario remembers school trips to what became the end of Ledras street following the war. In reality, the border cuts straight through a longer street, making it into two shorter ones, leading to a guard post on each side and a bordered gap in the centre. Ledras street, one of the capital's major shopping areas had become practically deserted following the divisions. The main shopping area moved to Makariou street, the new downtown, just outside the old city walls. The shops at Ledras began to close, the area started to attract marginal groups, and the social division was established along the physical divide. The area became fearful to the children growing up following the war, and some of the very few memories post-war children have of the area during their childhood are of school trips to the barricade. The guard post featured a bunker at the bottom and a viewing tower on the top, adorned with the Greek and Cypriot flags. Guests such as school groups and intrepid tourists were invited to look through the gun holes into the abandonment of the Green Line. 'Someone had to hold you up to be able to see through the holes... but you couldn't really see the other side, only dried weeds' Mario remembers.

ΤΙΠΟΤΑ ΔΕΝ ΚΕΡΑΙΖΕΤΑΙ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΘΥΣΙΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΑΙΜΑ- NOTHING IS GAINED WITHOUT SACRIFICE AND FREEDOM WITHOUT BLOOD was written at the top of the post in Greek and English. A small gallery to the right displayed pictures of missing persons and their families. 'This is how we grew up' Eleni mentions when we find an old picture of the writings on the old guard-post online. She is referring to the nationalist and patriotic discourse prevalent during the 80s and 90s. Today the narrative has softened and the area has recovered its popularity. The divide remains seen and felt throughout the old town, but the fear has lessened. The Ledras street pedestrian crossing was opened in 2008 after a controversial effort of de-mining and diplomatic debate. A narrative of loss and reunification remains, as does the monument to the missing persons, but Cypriots are now able to see for themselves what lies on the 'other side'.

Once the impenetrable border became penetrable, the idea of a fixed edge between 'us' and 'them', became a matter of perception and personal verdict. While the border had been the edge of a group identity (Demetriou, 2007), it had also been a symbolic representation of loss and longing that held the group together. The opportunity to revisit literally and metaphorically, the place and perceptions, broke the Greek Cypriot collectiveness. The breaking down of the border's rigidity opened up the 'other side' but only under certain conditions that each person must negotiate with themselves. In many ways, the opening of the borders under these circumstances drove Greek Cypriots further away from the border, as the movement to and from the 'other side' complicated the edge of their perceived selves (Demetriou, 2007). The safe distance held from the borderland for so many years was now

a space to tread cautiously. In a physical sense, the opening of the borders is an uncomfortable change; where the solid divide stood as a symbol of loss and the mystery of the 'other' fed the mythology of socialization processes, the now penetrable border simply normalized the divide and legitimized the authority of the self-declared state across the line.



Figure 8: The crossing at Lefkosia street with the monument for the missing persons at the foreground

Borders are most commonly known as the edge of a nation and their crossing is a political act. When contested borders come into the discussion, the terminology becomes challenging and controversial; as mentioned above, Greek Cypriots do not refer to the Green Line as a border. The official borders of the Republic of Cyprus are considered to be the island's coast, with the northern enclosure being referred to as the 'occupied territory' (*Κατεχόμενα*-Katehomena). This space is also an unrecognized (except by Turkey) self-declared state since 1983. The contested border indicates the problems with such constructs as nations which are embodied in bounded landscapes. Agnew (2009) challenges the common notion that state sovereignty is becoming obsolete in current processes of globalization. The mobilities of present-day life are instead, he argues, intensifying the need

for borders and border control. Though globalization is often perceived as the breaking down of such divides, Agnew argues this is simply an illusion. This has been evident in recent international politics through the refugee crisis and the rise of right-wing politics. The idea of a nation, exactly as that of a border, however, is a constructed one. This became particularly evident for Cyprus in Chapter Two. Though the sets of ideologies and immortalized constitutions that form national identities, all borders, and not just the Green Line, are divides.

Importantly, in Cyprus the internal 'border' is not merely the edge of a collective identity or the contested edge of a political entity, but also and in a political sense, the edge of Europe. Peristianis and Mavris (2012) write that this 'ambiguity' that the border has created for the EU as an internal border has led to the 'Cyprus Problem' to be inherited by the European Union. In its unofficial and un-legal existence, the border does not merely challenge Cypriot identities and territories, but also those between West and East, Europe and the Orient or Christianity and Islam. In practical terms, the border becomes an unofficial entry point into the EU, where illegal trade takes place and wanted persons find refuge. This is a highly problematic space for the EU, particularly in light of European/Turkish relations which are currently in a state of tension. Turkey, as a protective frontier and an imperial power whose politics have been increasingly nationalistic and anti-democratic, has been a difficult negotiator. The balance of relations is a crucial one for Europe who has much to lose from a conflict with Turkey, leaving the 'Cyprus Problem' frozen in time. While the solution of the 'Cyprus Problem' is high on the list of international politics for the resolution of this challenging space of the border and its northern beyond, negotiations are cautious and fragile. Cyprus and Greece as members of the EU resist concessions that legitimize Turkey's authority in the Eastern Mediterranean. The border is highly symbolic of this power conflict, and thus a space of unique political activity.

Cross border institutions such as the UN and EU attempt to mediate the border's social effects through funding and implementing peace-building and unity projects between communities. Their attempts to rebrand the border as a space of collaboration have seen the creation of the Home for Cooperation; an organization housed within the Buffer Zone, with permission by UNFICYP, at a newly restored building. It runs projects, exhibitions, classes, screenings and talks to educate and promote cooperation between the two communities. The Home for Cooperation was founded by the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR) who had to struggle with the bureaucratic processes of establishing a headquarter within the Buffer Zone (Foka, 2014). The AHDR align their values with those of the *'Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human*

*Rights, the UNESCO aims on education, and the Council of Europe's recommendations relevant to history teaching*²⁷. Such cross-border projects and organizations aim to break down the perception of the border as an edge using values of a common humanity to eliminate the after-effects of war, within the symbolic space of the border.

3.4 BODY AND IDENTITY AT THE CROSSING

3.4.1 EMBODIED ENCOUNTERS WITH THE BORDER

As a physical imposition onto the landscape, borders create an unnatural dynamic of separateness that becomes incorporated into daily life and develops into a norm. In a city that shares the same sewage system (Papadakis, 2005b), the same road system, and the same sky and birds, this becomes yet more evident. Muslim prayers and church bells cross over the border in a conflicting soundscape that reveals rare signs of life from the 'other side'. On its southern face, the border can be *seen* and *felt*, it can be *touched*, but not (legally) photographed. It can be crossed at specific points, since 2003, but it crosses one's path much more often. As city life overpasses the trauma linked to the border's vicinity and develops the surrounding landscape, the border becomes the side wall to a restaurant, café or music venue. Often symbolic, but more often ignored, the border becomes part of the physicality of daily life. Plants are planted onto it, ads are posted, graffiti art and slurs become a normality. One friend tries to break down its material as a political statement in Chapter Four, another illegally photographs it as a symbolic physicality. The relationship between the body and the border changes when the border becomes penetrable, perceptively and literally, at the moment where its symbolic and physical dominance becomes a gateway into the 'other side'.

The line drawn across the island is not just contested, but it is also perceived in very different terms by the two communities, for one side it is distinguishing areas that are currently under occupation, and for the other it is distinguishing their own nation state. It is perhaps for this reason that movement across the border is a very different experience for Greek Cypriots than it is for Turkish Cypriots, as Dikomitis (2005) notes. Dikomitis' observations confirm that movement across the line is done with a very different attitude by the two communities, though both share losses, trauma and displacement. Turkish Cypriots cross in a much more casual manner than Greek Cypriots who see it as a political

²⁷ Website www.adhr.info accessed 7th June 2016

statement. During such visits, Turkish Cypriots enjoy picnics in the fields or the beach and shopping, while in equivalent observations of Greek Cypriots across the line, they were much more reserved, both financially and emotionally. The discomfort of crossing was evident in the crossers' use of the body. Greek Cypriots were careful about what they were touching, as if a sacredness exhumed from every bit of the northern areas. This was especially true for first-time crossers, the more often one crossed, the more accustomed one seemed to be with the idea. Crossing the border is in many ways, a matter of removing the sense of separation within communal mind-sets.



Figure 9: Graffiti and activism on the physicality of the Green Line. Photos from author's personal archive, 2011-15.

The international organizations aiming to moderate social relationships and conflict, such as the many UN and EU organizations involved in different projects, promote crossing of the Green Line and interaction between the two communities. The UNDP, specifically, targets heritage projects across the island to create a sense of unity and cultural diversity. Their restorations of mainly religious monuments target the sensitivities of the two groups, observing the monuments both as sacred spaces and as spaces of communality. Such spaces encourage mobility across the border of groups and individuals who face the trauma of war and loss and create new memories in newly restored spaces. The UNDP plants an olive tree at each restoration site symbolic of peace and cooperation, that the community leaders agree to upkeep as a notion of good-will. As the host communities and the religious sites are often opposing, meaning that churches are often restored in villages currently occupied by

Turkish Cypriots and mosques are restored in villages that are occupied by Greek Cypriots, this is symbolic of the tolerance and cooperation that will have to take place in the future of a possible solution. By bringing the communities together across the border, international organizations are therefore laying the ground for peace.

In the negotiations with the border, however, the decision by Greek Cypriots on whether to cross or not remains a matter of dispute. The ritual of crossing borders is recognizable among well-travelled Cypriots, but, with Cyprus being an island with no other land border, the Green Line is the only time many of them cross a border on foot. The symbolism of this experience reflects the nature of the very idea of borders, particularly when drawn across a single city space. Border crossing for most Cypriots is a process done through airports and seaports, where the well-rehearsed ritual of security checks and passport control gives them the impression of security. When it comes to the process of crossing to the northern side of what they perceive as 'their island' and 'their city', this process becomes politicized but also physically conflicting. When crossing on foot, the rite of passage that is the airport for example becomes obsolete. The time and space one has to transition from one physical space to another, and from one cultural and sensory space to a new one, normalizes the change. In Nicosia, a few steps and a quick stop at passport control brings one in a space that looks very similar, but where the senses are attacked with difference. While architecturally Nicosia remains monotype, upon crossing the border, a new language is spoken, new music, new smells, unrecognisable writing, different dress sense²⁸ and completely different spatial organization makes the space foreign. The paradox of sameness and difference, or even opposition, creates a sense of self-reflection. The trauma and divisive socialization often also leads to an initial experience of insecurity, insult and shock. Greek Cypriots are divided on whether to cross, those who do it regularly have very different experiences from those who did it once and of course, from those who refuse to.

The body is a mechanism of performing ideologies as disputes and contradictions emerge at the border. Mauss (1973 [1938]) writes the body is humans' *'first and most natural instrument'* (1973:75). The decision on whether to cross the border is a moral and ideological one that reflects political affiliations and moral standpoints. The body becomes the instrument of negotiation with the border in Cyprus; and a mechanism through which experiences are internalized as part of identity. In this sense, the body becomes a vehicle for individual and collective identity and the performance of 'staged nostalgia'. The theoretical approach of 'the body' becomes central to the understanding of Cypriot relations

²⁸ Mainly for religious reasons. This is not necessarily attributed to Turkish Cypriots themselves, but more often by Turkish immigrants who have a more devout Muslim faith (Navaro-Yashin, 2012)

to the border and this approach must be briefly clarified here. Anthropology today challenges Western uses of 'the body' that assume that notions of individuality and focus on scientific 'knowledge' drives research on 'the body'. Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) clarify this through the suggestion of the three main analytical observations of the body which may be used individually or in conjunction to understand cultural perceptions of 'the body'. Starting with Mauss' (1973 [1938]) observations of the 'embodied self', is the phenomenological observation of the body as individual. In this sense, the body is understood as constructed by parts such as the mind and soul which form a unique body-self. At a second level, Douglas (2003) observations of the body as a symbolic negotiation with nature and culture offer a structuralist observation also encompassing the ideas of social and symbolic anthropology. In this sense the body balances natural and cultural binaries such as those of 'health' which the writers are most concerned with. Finally, a third theoretical view of the body is referred to as the *body politic*, where the structuring of society imposes control onto individual and collective bodies. This theoretical approach is drawn mainly from Foucault's (1991) observations of regulation and disciplining in industrialized society and adds a strong analytical tool for the observation of the body against a border. Bourdieu and Foucault both write extensively on the relationship between power and the body, introducing the concepts of *biopower* (Foucault, 1998), *habitus* and *doxa* (Bourdieu, 1984), which may be used to explore the concepts introduced in this section much deeper. For the purposes of this short chapter however, the use of the body as a transmitter rather than capital informs the level of identity-making in the hands of the body owners as they interact with physical and emotional divides. The '*body politic*' remains helpful as a theoretical background in this chapter as an observation of the political, religious, gendered and divisive socialization that is contradicted by understandings of the body as a negotiation between nature and culture.

The collective and individual bodies referred to here are capable of memory, emotion and sensory experience, all of which inform identity. The use of the body manifests the link between humans and places as the body becomes a mechanism for notions of identity and belonging to be established. The body as a social device is also a transmitter of embodied experience through various levels of interaction that create individual and collective selves. The '*techniques of the body*' as introduced by Mauss (1935) are the socialized use of the body, the cultural understandings of how the body must be used and displayed. The way in which the body incorporates and performs identity is physically observable according to Mauss' theory. This is particularly relevant when observing the gendered body, or the religious body in the sections that follow.

3.4.2 THE POLITICS OF CROSSING

In 2003, the newly opened crossings offered a sense of freedom for those desperate to cross. It was, however, a controlled freedom, mobility was allowed but only under certain conditions. Most importantly, the opening of the borders did not mean resolution of the Problem, although it was initially seen as a step towards it. Dikomitis (2005) breaks down the main reasons that Greek Cypriots cross to the northern part of the island in her *Three Readings of the Border*, pointing out that all interactions with the border are done so without accepting its validity. Among crossing for cheaper prices and crossing for pilgrimages to lost homes and churches (also in 2013), what stands out is the refusal of a large portion of the population of Greek Cypriots to cross²⁹. Despite statements on the illegitimacy and temporality of the border, there is distinct change of attitude on the issue of crossing it or not, and the reasons for doing so. The contradiction between ignoring the existence of a border and considering Cyprus as a 'whole' island while at the same time ideologically refusing to visit is an internal conflict. Torn between the reality of the division and hopes and dreams of a united homeland, the friction with the border is not only a physical one but a mental and symbolic one as well. While on one hand the border is somewhat ignored or at least perceived as invalid and temporary, at the crossing it becomes a physical and symbolic rigidity that interacts with '*the body politic*'.

At the border, the body is also used as a tribute. The refusal to cross is a political declaration of refusal to validate the authority of the 'enemy' (Peristianis and Mavris, 2012). Following the opening of the border in 2003 the decision whether to cross has been a personal struggle for Greek Cypriots, with reports showing that a large proportion of the population has yet to cross in 2018³⁰. At least until 2006, three years after the opening as Webster and Timothy (2006) report, half the population of Greek Cypriots had not crossed and 28% had crossed as a novelty act of seeing what they had left behind but with no intention to revisit. In those early days of the opening, there were those who rushed to do so and those who were simply appalled by the idea. It is important to understand the context of the decision that is personal to each individual but influenced by a number of things: refugee status, political and ideological beliefs, age, gender etc. Dikomitis also notes, as mentioned above, the differences between Greek and Turkish Cypriot crossers. This study does not wish to represent either group as a whole but remains focused on Greek Cypriot experiences and

²⁹ Chatzipanagiotidou (2012) has indicated how the stance towards crossing differs between Greek Cypriots in Cyprus and the Greek Cypriot diaspora of London, indicating that the social space of Cyprus particularly reinforces decisions not to cross.

³⁰ CTO report 2018

observations. A large number of individuals who have participated in this research have been non-crossers, or single-time crossers, while most of those who have reported being willing or eager to cross more often have been those involved in social or political reunification projects such as those of the UNDP. It is noteworthy that often questions about not crossing are met with silence, shrugs or change of subject, which indicated either personal or inherited trauma attached to the idea, or perhaps an unwillingness to escape a comfort zone for fear of further challenging personal identity struggles. The latter is a conclusion reached while accompanying a young friend named Lara's first trip to northern Nicosia for the very first time where the experience reportedly created more questions than answers.

On the subject of spending money across the border Cypriots a new dynamic is created. Nora, a regular crosser and non-refugee, described how they pack lunches if ever they are on a 'pilgrimage' or 'tour', so as not to spend any money. The spending of money, much as the showing of documents is seen as a political act and perhaps even more so as it is an obvious economic backing of the *pseudokratos* (Webster and Timothy, 2006). On the other hand, though frowned upon, there are those who have no problem spending money on shopping, food and gambling. The tendency to believe that produce from the northern areas is of better quality is reflected in an inclination to cross for fresh fish by the sea, for example. There is also the matter of taxation, where the difference between the north and south jurisdictions means that there is a difference in price for many products, such as tobacco. Crossing to buy cheaper smoking products following EU regulation implementations on the taxation of such products became an issue for the Cypriot government, who began regulating the amount of tobacco allowed through the borders. In Nicosia especially, where the border forms the edge of the city centre for each side, crossing on foot to buy from the closest kiosk means that more and more people can be seen walking the 50 metres across for a cheaper pack. I observed Lena doing this on several occasions. The moralities of this are disputed among smokers and non-smokers but also between smokers who would cross and smokers who would not. The most controversial form of money spending in the 'katehomena', however, is the use of the casinos or brothels, as is mentioned in the opening song of this chapter. It can be heard in both private discussion and news reports that millions of euros a year (the numbers cannot be verified) are spent by Greek Cypriots in casinos in the northern areas. As gambling is illegal in the southern areas and there are still no -legal- places to enjoy the sport for those who do, many take advantage of the opportunities of Turkish investment in the north where extravagant casino hotels stand disproportionately against the landscape (Scott, 2003). This has been an issue discussed from the beginning of the opening of the crossings, not only in terms of different moral

standpoints, but also in terms of the substantial economic effects. The conceived solution was to change the laws to allow for the opening of a government-owned casino in the 'free areas' for 'casino tourism' as it is referred to, and most importantly to keep the money spent on gambling within the Republic.

Greek Cypriots adhere to the idea of not being 'tourists in their own land' (Dikomitis, 2005) to protest the process of document showing at the checkpoints. It is the act of showing identification to be able to visit what they see as their own collective land that becomes political, whereby they would be acknowledging the authority of the 'pseudokratos'. The identity of a tourist is therefore associated to that of a foreigner, a temporary visitor with not claim to the place or culture, that has a superficial experience of a place. The term is also used degradingly as it is often used in local and global discourse to equate tourists with shallow connections to places, naïve and often discourteous individuals exchanging money for superficially constructed truths (McKercher, 2008a, 2008b, 2002). Having been on the hosting side of tourism for much of their lives, some of these conceptions derive from first-hand experiences. Most importantly, Greek Cypriot crossers themselves are offended to be considered tourists in their own land, as Dikomitis (2005) explains, as their visits are much more significant than a tourist visit, referring to them as 'pilgrimages' whether of a religious context or not. Though many described their visits in terms of churches and monasteries, even those who were merely exploring the landscape also described it as a 'pilgrimage' to lost historical and natural lands.

Both Bryant (2010) and Dikomitis (2012) have worked with refugees of both communities upon their first and subsequent returns to their villages and homes. These illustrate that the concern to see lost lands lies mostly in the older generation. Dikomitis states that the under 30s (in 2005) are more reluctant to cross. This, I would argue based on Lara's experience is a result of the divisive socialization and internal trauma that exists parallel to the lack of real memories of the 'other side' that the older generation yearns for. Those of the younger generation who felt they needed to visit with their older family members often appear to be traumatized by the experience and refuse to cross again. The children of refugees, having grown up with utopian ideas of lost homes, reported to have their dreams crushed when their first visit revealed the reality- whether this was due to complete destruction or due to strangers who have made homes in such spaces. Eleftheria, another post-war friend described the experience of crossing as 'scary and disappointing' (φοϊτσιάρικο τζαι απογοϊτευτικό), recalling the presence of red flags everywhere, an ever-present symbol of 'the enemy' while their family car (with its Greek Cypriot license plates) drove through the city and country. She explained how she felt like a foreigner and was afraid, 'like everyone

was looking at us' (σαννα τζαι εθωρούσαν μας ούλλοι). The places she had grown up seeing pictures of were not what she expected, and her grandparents' house was a ruin.

Dikomitis refers to *'imagined memories'* to explain how a similar interaction with a second-generation refugee resulted in problematic expectations. To add to this, I have found it useful to consider *'re-remembered memories'* as part of the processes of 'staged nostalgia', to refer to the use of first-hand memories in the creation of a collective utopian interpretation of the past. With the passing of time and pain of loss, places preserved in memory become sweeter (Seremetakis, 1996b). Subsequent generations raised with these *'re-remembered memories'* have internalized them as part of their own identity and seek evidence for them when crossing. For fear of never being able to find such evidence, many refuse to cross, avoiding the challenge to their perception of their 'self'. The war generation, through repetition, longing and hope, have constructed an unrealistic model of the past for themselves and their children and grandchildren that is threatened by the reality of war and the passing of time. The border therefore remains as an edge of safety for such consciously constructed identities that rely on faith rather than experience, much like the values of Orthodox Christianity.

Whatever the decision on crossing and the reasons for doing so, there is a collective effort to invalidate the authority in the north. The official stance is not to publicly discourage Greek Cypriots from crossing, but it does not encourage them to do so either. In more private circles it becomes evident that the opinion of the current government on crossing is contradictory to its public one. The CTO (Cyprus Tourism Organization) *'does not encourage Greek Cypriots or foreign tourists to use the crossings'* as I was told when questioning the projects of the organization for both domestic and external tourism in the 'free areas'. This is achieved as in many other occasions by *victimization* (Bryant, 2010) through the obvious displays of loss in the form of informational posters. The narrative is straightforward- *do not support the pseudostate by visiting it, look what it has done.* The images and text provide visual material to support the narrative of 'staged nostalgia' at the border; the public performance of collectiveness, loss and victimization. This is not to say that it represents the opinions of all social groups who might inadvertently also participate in the performance.

3.4.3 PILGRIMAGES TO THE PAST AND PRESENT

Mr Mihalīs, his wife Mrs Georgia, and her cousin Mrs Soula arrive at the village church in the early morning. They crossed in their pickup truck at the Agios Dometios crossing, as they have done many times since the opening of the crossings to make a pilgrimage to their church. This

is not a rare occasion, their village church in the northern areas was recently restored by the UNDP and the TCCH, and they had already visited many times. They walk up to a house and confidently knock on the door. A Turkish Cypriot man lives here with his English wife. They have been unofficially appointed protectors of the newly restored church and offer the large iron key to the Greek Cypriots who thank him and turn towards the church.

Mr Mihalis, Georgia and Soula cross the street to the small church and open its wooden door with a creek. They automatically group their right thumb and two first fingers together as a symbol of the holy triad and make the sign of the cross on their bodies. From the forehead, to the belly button, to the right shoulder and then the left. They do this as they walk in and go towards the icon that stands in the middle of the church, where they bend down and press their lips against it. Then they follow each other silently to the far end corner of the stone church where an opening on the wall holds a set of very specific ingredients. They pick up the clay lantern and fill it with dried olive leaves. These will have been blessed by a priest in the beginning of the year. They add some incense and a small round coal which they light in a few tries. The open top lantern begins to exhume a stream of potent smoke that soon becomes a cloud. It is the distinct smell of an Orthodox church. All three, who had been working together in silence to make the small offering wave their hand over the smoke thrice and repeat the cross sign on their bodies while Mr Mihalis who is holding the clay lantern waves it over their heads. He then goes around the church, cleansing the air with the blessed smoke before leaving it to burn out in the corner.

After their visit to the church, we sit in the shade in the courtyard and talk about their lives. Mr Mihalis is the village's 'mouhtaris', the leader of the refugee community of the village, now scattered in the 'free areas'. 'When the church was fixed I tried to convince more co-villagers to come back' (άμαν εσάσαν την εκκλησία προσπάθησα να τους πείσω να έρτουσιν). Most of them had not visited since the opening of the crossings, but the restoration of the village church by the international and bi-communal organizations aimed to also restore the links between the place and the displaced. Mrs Soula is one of them 'I didn't want to come and see others living in my house' (έν ήθελα νά'ρτω νά'βρω άλλους μέσα). Her house is the one behind the church and she points at the kitchen window. She continues on to tell me about the many miracles she had experienced living so close to the church. She points to different places in the yard and soon returns to reality. 'We try to come once or twice a year, especially on the saint's day, this year we had many villagers come and we had a ceremony (Προσπαθούμε να ερκούμαστε μια θκιό φορές τον χρόνο, ειδικά στην γιορτή, φέτος ήρταν κάμποσοι χωρκανοί τζαι εκάμαμε τζαι λείτουργεία'). Soula becomes too emotional to speak and asks to take a break.

In religious pilgrimages across the line many such experiences take place as displaced bodies find their way back (Bryant, 2010; Dikomitis, 2013). In the well-rehearsed movements of the pilgrims there is a reassurance of belonging to a place, a religion and a group of people that can understand and repeat the process. The yearning to see and pray at one's village church is respected as a good reason to cross, but this is especially true when some effort has been put into restoring the church, the village's hub. This has been the aim of the UNDP and the TCCH, who as I argue in following sections, have tended to focus on religious monuments and thus on the older generations' relationship to religion and place. Such religious pilgrimages to restored and non-restored churches and monasteries, are some of the few reasons Greek Cypriots justify the act of crossing. It is a sacrifice of morals for their belief, perceived as an offering to God. Individuals, families and village groups make the trip and back, rarely stopping anywhere else but their destination, never shopping for anything and with minimal interaction with 'the other' locals. In this case, the Turkish Cypriot who held the key to the church was a 'friend' of the Greek Cypriot community, as he had showed great respect to the crumbling church and throughout the process of its restoration. In other occasions, the looting of religious spaces and graveyards has created a negative experience that affirmed the conflict rather than relieve it.

In pilgrimage, the body is an offering where the border's relevance becomes minimal. The border is merely a small obstacle in the hierarchy of the wider belief system. As Turner and Turner (Turner, 1974; Turner et al., 1996; Turner and Turner, 2011) have referred to it, considering particularly Christian belief systems and practices around the world, pilgrimage is a '*liminoid phenomenon*'. In the classic book that introduced the study of pilgrimage to the social sciences, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* Turner and Turner consider the institutionalization of religions and the process of pilgrimage as a social phenomenon. Based on Van Gennep's (1960) observations of rites of passage and his proposition of the three phases of each, separation, liminality and reintegration, Turner extended to the idea of liminoid experiences which are not necessarily part of a transformative ritual process but are common phenomena which break free from daily commonality. Pilgrimages, in this sense, are not (usually) transformative experiences but liminoid ones; voluntary and symbolic acts of institutionalized belief. In this state, all reasons holding the religious from their pilgrimage become sacrificial.

The idea of sacrifice in Christianity is central, and particularly so in Greek Orthodox Christianity, where the more difficult the obstacle that one overcomes for pilgrimage, the more religious prestige one can claim. Pilgrimage is respected as a priority and a purpose and pain becomes part of the offering. In some cases, such as at the *Panagia tis Tinou*

pilgrimage where Dubisch (1995) ethnography takes place on the Greek island of Tinos, the tradition for pilgrims to reach the hilltop monument on their knees has led to specific infrastructure. While places to stay are being built very much in the style of tourism, a section of the road has been paved and cut off particularly for this reason. The vow involves the agony of reaching the church on one's knees as a sacrifice to be rewarded with blessings. Thousands of Greek Orthodox believers see Tinos as the ultimate pilgrimage within Greece. In Cyprus, the personal sacrifice of crossing the border to reach a saint's church or monastery grants pilgrims with the prestigious blessings each saint as it is seen as a sacrifice of emotional and moral context. The use of the body within such liminoid experiences is recognisable as a type of offering, displayed in the set movements such as humped backs and tilted heads to express humility, the touching of the lips to the icon as a kowtow, the marking of the cross onto one's body, and even the gendered spaces seen in larger churches.

The sense of belonging challenged in the revisit to a lost home, often becomes comforted in a church space. It is for this reason that international and bi-communal organizations chose to focus on churches and mosques for their restoration projects; not merely for their religious meaning but also for their social role as a village hub where belonging and collectiveness is established. The internal movement created through acts of pilgrimage, is seen here as a cultural trait. Families and individuals traditionally travel across the island to visit churches of saints for various religious reasons, for a *tama* (votive practice), *proskinima* (pilgrimage/prostration) or traveling to the *panigyri* (fair) that takes place around a church in celebration of the saint's day. The circulation of pilgrims around the churches of the island according to the religious calendar created a tradition of mobile fairs that followed the pilgrimages, known as the *panigyri*. Each village would host the fair in the church yard, making it an opportunity for visitors and locals to shop and socialize. In urban environments, it is the church and its community who put up the fair, and anyone may participate, but the celebrations tend to be less enthusiastic. Some of the most important saints, such as those that are namesakes for large proportions of the population, are celebrated more than others, and the *panigyria* may vary in size. During the year I inevitably ended up at numerous *panigyria* but what struck the most was their absence from the social life of newly-restored churches as many were found in the northern areas.

In its prime, the monastery of Agios Panteleimonas had been the largest of the area and it attracted pilgrims from the whole of Cyprus, especially for its well-known *panigyri* on the

week of the day of the saint on the 27th of July. Found in the village of Myrtou, or Camlibel³¹, about 40 minutes' drive north of the Green Line³², it was one of the sites in the process of restoration by the UNDP. During interviews, former residents all spoke of their memories of the *panigyri* with tears in their time-worn eyes, getting lost in their nostalgic narratives of happiness and loss. These colourful and multi-sensory fairs used to be, and still are the largest social event of a village celebrating its patron saint. Pilgrims visit from across the island to light a candle and place their lips on the saint's icon before joining the festivities around the church which include food and drink, live music and dancing, shopping stalls, games and general socializing. The popup stalls that travelled around villages following the Orthodox name-day calendar were a rare shopping opportunity for sweets and nuts, clothing, jewellery and anything one might need or want. At one occasion Ayshe, an elderly Turkish Cypriot woman remembered her mother bringing her to the *panigyri* to buy her new shoes; she pointed to where the stalls used to be, as if she could see it in front of her. The religious nature of the fair, it seems, was irrelevant to bi-communal villages at the time as they were seen as social events and shopping opportunities. Nowadays, *panigyri* is more of an occasion for families and neighbours to return to their village and reunite after being dispersed to cities and abroad, to enjoy traditional sweet and savoury delicacies, and in some areas as a domestic and international tourism attraction. For pilgrims to the northern areas of the island, however, the absence of the fair from the experience of religious pilgrimages is symbolic of the absence of the social life that the church held as the centre of the village.

The Apostolos Andreas monastery, on the north-eastern tip of the island, was known as the furthest trip to make for a *proskinima* (pilgrimage), Sotiroulla, an older Greek Cypriot lady explained. *'We would pack up my father's car to make the trip there and stay for the night'* (‘επακκετάραμε το αυτοκίνητο του παπά για να παμεν τζικάτω να μείνουμε’)- in the past, larger monasteries would host pilgrims on site. The tone of nostalgia was obvious as the changes of time were not just those of the division but also of modernity, including transport technology and religious values. Apostolos Andreas is the namesake saint of a large proportion of men and women in Cyprus, and the monastery would be full of extended families staying in small rooms overnight. The loss of the monastery and its holy spring was a hit to religious Greek Cypriots who made it a symbol of their yearning for return. The stories came alive when visiting the construction site at Apostolos Andreas with the UNDP,

³¹ The official name of the village has been changed since the war from Greek 'Myrtou' to Turkish 'Camlibel'. The UNDP refers to places with both names, in an attempt at neutrality that is discussed in Chapter Five. The issue of toponyms has been discussed to more depth in Chapter One.

³² Figure 2

just before the restoration project was completed. This iconic monastery was one of the most high-profile and controversial projects, and the one most anticipated by the public. Set in a rough terrain which was now a donkey sanctuary, one could only wonder how long it took visitors to travel before modern vehicles. The pristine nature of the area is unique to the island and after one of the press visits in the Spring of 2016 a UNDP colleague had to bribe a donkey with an apple to get the minibus through the narrow road. During the press visit, the almost-completed monastery looked as it had on the Ministry's school notebooks, the image all younger Greek Cypriots had imprinted in our minds since childhood. The UNDP architects and civil engineers were trying to reuse as many materials as they could salvage to produce the most authentic restoration possible. The buildings surrounding the church, presumably the ones that hosted the pilgrims, were facing the Mediterranean, where a spring of holy water formed a small stream in a cave before meeting the sea. The project was finally completed in November 2016 among vast pressure and attention by the press and public, just in time for the day of the saint. For Greek Cypriots it had been a great wish to revisit and use the monastery and on the 30th of November 2016, the day of the apostle, crowds flocked the restored site after 40 or so years of silence. It was as much a religious pilgrimage as it was a pilgrimage to the past.

The movement in the church involved a well-practiced routine that becomes a comfort in a place of memory and trauma. Seremetakis (1996) explains that the memory of the body is separate from the memory of the mind or the conscious use of the body; the movements, feelings and senses of revisiting lost places revive imprinted memories that have informed one's identity. The reaffirmation of identity and belonging to a place is an experience that refugee crossers seek. Bryant (2010) and Dikomitis' (2005) ethnographies follow refugees of both communities as they return to their lost homes across the border. The embodied experience of return is often one of discomfort due to years passed and to new inhabitants in one's home. Bryant considers the memories and experiences of first crossings as part of a renegotiation with identity and belonging to the 'new Cyprus'. Conceptual borders become much more rigid than the physical one as memory and nostalgia are realized. The displaced body as a transporter of memory and a mechanism for the expression of nostalgias is yearning for the 'place of desire' (Dikomitis, 2005) that may no longer exist. Dikomitis describes a post-war child's display of what I consider as 'inherited nostalgia', when he asked if they could stay in 'their' house after a visit. Following years of hearing about his grandparents' house, the sense of confusion as they were leaving encompassed the discourse of the socialization efforts that had raised a child believing in the *return*. To this, his grandmother merely replied '*No we cannot sleep in our house. There are Turks living in*

our house' (Dikomitis, 2005:62). Upon crossing the line, the loss becomes a reality to deal with.

Religious and secular pilgrimages are the main reason Greek Cypriots cross as Dikomitis (2012) argues, while the conflation between secularity, affect and spirituality makes the separation an unnecessary one. The embodied presence in its emotional and political nature is a pilgrimage, and therefore, in agreement with Dikomitis, non-secular visits across the line are here observed as forms of pilgrimage. Non-religious but sacred spaces include as lost homes, ancestral lands, heritage sites and spaces of first-hand or inherited memory. Pilgrimage thus involves a sacredness not necessarily linked to institutionalized religion but in observation of the body as tribute, through its presence despite political beliefs or pain. Dikomitis observes the difference between Greek and Turkish Cypriot crossings. She notes that where Turkish Cypriots will cross for practical reasons such as work, exploration, doctors' appointments and government documents, Greek Cypriots do so mostly as pilgrimage. It must, of course, be mentioned that the practicalities of the government of Cyprus representing the Turkish Cypriot community are a major influence in this. But it does appear that the parallelism between Christianity's reification of sacrifice and the perception of loss across the Green Line creates at least some of this difference. Importantly, as Murat and Hakan had mentioned, the Turkish Cypriot community, though Muslim on paper, is not a particularly religious group and does not practice island as is done in Turkey or anywhere beyond. The understanding of pilgrimage whether secular or religious must therefore be linked to a religious cultural understanding of the body as tribute.

3.4.4 THE PHYSICAL PARADOXES OF A BORDER

In 2016 Turkey's Council of Ministers announced its decision to remain permanently on summer time (DST). This inevitably affected the unrecognised Turkish Cypriot state in northern Cyprus who had to follow along. The contested border therefore became a contested time divide as the island was separated further into two time zones. During the 2016 Christmas holidays, a group of friends decided to satirize the newly-introduced time-zone difference of the two sides of the border by organising a mobile street party which would celebrate the coming of the New Year in northern Nicosia and continue to cross to the southern part on foot to re-live the coming of the New Year an hour later. The use of the border as a symbol to satirize the division and the political meaning of borders is the younger generation's attempt to negotiate with its physical imposition. Through this very action, the group of friends were using their bodies as mechanisms of reclaiming their land and challenge the very notion of 'time'.

In recent years, all along the border, organised and impulsive events have become popular. Though these initiatives, the border becomes a space in which different futures can be envisioned. The Buffer Fringe festival, for example brings together artists from both communities within a protected border space to promote peace and diversity. Such projects are encouraged and supported by international organizations such as the UN who have agreed to allow usage of some specific sections of the Buffer for intercommunal trust building. The liminal space of the buffer also allows sanctuary for activists of both communities to come together, currently the movement called Unite Cyprus is active within the border crossing of Ledras Street in Nicosia. In a similar way, the Buffer Zone was also the space where the Occupy movement became active for a short period in 2011 and 2012 evolving from a radical protest to the Occupy Buffer Zone (OBZ) movement (Foka, 2014). The ideology of collaboration between the two communities comes together under such activity and finds space in the Buffer Zone to explore the possibilities. In these paradoxical uses of the borderland, the line becomes both a division and a symbolic space of Cypriot unity. These paradoxes are further explored theoretically and literally in the following chapter where urban explorers interact with the physicality of the border.

The artificial line manages to impose a division where the loss and yearning for a lost place becomes a need to sense the place and establish a physical link. Upon return, as Dikomitis (2005) points out, the refugees would often bring back memoirs. These are often presented as gifts or cherished as keepsakes. She mentions water from the village fountain, soil from the garden and leaves from trees. In my own family's first visit to a grandparents' village, it had been sand from the beach, sea salt dried on the rocks and wild flowers that were brought back. These physical reminders are symbolic of a lost place brought back for one to keep or to gift to someone who would not cross themselves. They are distinctly natural, rather than cultural memoirs, representing the natural state of the 'other side' of the line. A bought fruit, for example, would be a symbol of foreign cultivation of one's land and would involve giving money to 'enemy' hands, and is thus not an appropriate memoir. To touch the sand or soil from a lost land was to be briefly with it, Nora, an older friend explained, who had lived through the war as a child, and the next time I returned with the gift of a seashell. She was not a refugee, but she ached for loss nonetheless and the sentimentality of touching that seashell filled her eyes. The sense of belonging to a place was not merely rooted in the idea of ownership but also of ancestral connection. The importance of the gift was both symbolic and physical; a valued segment of a lost place was now in her hands. Relationships to place and people are established in the spirituality of the souvenir (Kaell, 2012). In many cases these memoirs involved a literal consumption -water, salt, bay leaves, wild oranges- of a lost place, where things tasted 'sweeter' and more 'pure' because they had been taken

from a lost past. Whether this was a memory of the senses or an idealization of a place and time, it was impossible to tell.

Elena, a post-war child of refugees spoke to me about her grandfather's *'pervoli'* (grove) where upon returning to visit her family went straight for the oranges and mandarins hanging from the trees. It was now tended by a Turkish Cypriot villager who was somehow allocated this section after having been displaced himself. He was welcoming and spoke to them kindly about the trees he had found ready to tend to when he arrived. They claimed never to have tasted anything similar in the south areas and cherished how the grandfather's sweat fell on the soil as he planted those saplings. The thirst for return could not simply be quenched through the eyes, there was a need to taste and consume the place, to feel the soil and touch the house walls, to look up to a new sky, only a few kilometres from where they had looked at it for the past 40 years. There is a parallel here with tourism, between the artefacts and sensory experiences of places that forms an experiential (Wang, 1999) connection with them. In tourism these experiences are valued for their authenticity and the collection of artefacts might be referred to as souvenirs. This comparison is not meant to downplay the importance of loss in this scenario, but to recognise a very basic human experience of sensing places, and the need to return with a physical or metaphoric part of them, to feel their existence and reality within the same reality that one has been living in (Goss, 2005). The paradox, of course in this case is the extreme closeness of the lost land, where by simply crossing a line, the landscape became a sacred space that is believed or remembered to be better in many ways to the southern part of the island.

3.5 TOURISM AND BORDERS

The difficulty in considering cross-border tourism in a place of conflict, particularly when done by displaced persons, has been discussed as part of the politics of crossing. Scott, (2012), however, considers tourism as a peace-promoting mechanism, where contact between individuals may alleviate fear and create tolerance. Considering projects by international organizations such as the UNDP³³, the possibility for a tourism infrastructure that will invite Cypriots of either side across the border seems a possibility. These processes have, in the past failed, a failure attributed by Scott to a misunderstanding of the principle of reciprocity in the Cypriot context. My own analysis understands this as part of

³³ The UNDP features greatly in Chapter Five where similar ideologies of peace-promotion appear in heritage projects across the island, in collaboration with the European Commission and the bi-communal Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage

the process of 'staged nostalgia' where resistance is part of the process of representations of suffering. Both in official and casual discourse, the political implications of being a tourist in one's 'own land' (Dikomitis, 2005) is expressed differently when that land is contested.

In 2016 the Cyprus Tourism Organization (CTO) employed a research company to conduct a quantitative research considering (*endotourism*-domestic tourism) and the '*overall satisfaction of domestic tourists in Cyprus*'³⁴. Several issues stand out in the report that indicate the lack of clarity around the subject of 'domestic' tourism as well as its prioritization within the CTO projects. The problem lies in the very definition of 'domestic' that becomes problematic when quantified in stays and regions. The results of the study are not as much of interest as the approach to domestic tourism by the organization, which does not indicate a sensitivity as to the experience of consuming one's own place. The CTO, as a semi-governmental organization, considers the existence of the Green Line to be illegal and thus discourages Cypriots from crossing for tourism purposes; this is reflected in the report. Crossing is seen as a validation of the border and the authority in control on the northern areas, a fact which explains current policy.

The materiality of the crossings is plastered with images of missing persons and their families, with the victims of inter-communal conflict in the 90s, and with nationalistic text, flags and monuments. Billig (1995) refers to many of these objects as part of 'banal nationalism'; here these are used to enforce nationalistic and victimization discourses for internal and external audiences. In tourism, a border represents the edge of one's own space and the beginning of the 'other' which is to be explored as recreation. The tourism industry which Cyprus has learned to rely on in the southern areas of Cyprus, becomes interrupted at the border, both for domestic and foreign visitors. The border is thus more than a political boundary; it is incorporated as an understanding of the edge of identity. Contested borders and difficult neighbour relations that exist across the world are spaces on which tourism studies may be useful and beneficial, as Webster and Timothy (2006) write. Similarly, in Cyprus, international organizations see mobility and interaction between the two communities as a peace building activity that inspires tolerance within the ethnic divisions. Within the Greek Cypriot community, however, where crossing the border is itself controversial, considering tourism across the line is a provocative idea. Mobility north of the Green Line by Greek Cypriots is almost exclusively considered as pilgrimage, while similar mobilities in the southern areas may be considered as domestic tourism. The

³⁴ CONREAD, 2016

contested border is therefore not merely a limitation in the types of mobility but also perceptions of mobilities across the landscape.

In Cyprus traditional and contemporary tourism practices are shaped by the existence of a contested border. The tradition of traveling for religious fairs, for example, is interrupted at the border but remains active in the southern areas. Domestic tourism in the meantime, has flourished in the 'free areas' through initiatives such as Agrotourism. Although pilgrimages have begun to take place in the northern areas since the opening of the border crossings, they take up very different meanings when done in the contested landscape of northern Cyprus. The term 'tourist' is often used derogatively to express the shallow or ignorant nature of such consumers of place and culture. Cypriots particularly protest the crossing of the border using the term '*tourist in my own land*' (Dikomitis, 2005) as a degrading one. Although this contradicts the current tendency for domestic tourism within the 'free areas' of Cyprus, it is interpreted as an attempt to challenge ownership, not just of property such as homes and fields, but of the land as a whole. Such 'internal' movement is expressed in other terms- pilgrimage, visits and so on, and to refer to it as merely tourism would diminish the deeper meanings that a literally or symbolically displaced people express in such activities.

The paradoxical use of the term 'tourism' in occasions of movement within a home territory (whatever 'home' may mean) offers space for the exploration of the boundaries that the term implies. As an epistemological approach, this opens a discussion on very basic human interactions with place, how they are conceived and what they can produce. MacCannell in 2013 adds a new introduction to his 1976 book '*The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*', identifying tourists as a '*random sample of humanity*' which allows for an '*ethnography of modernity*' to be conceived and specialized (1976:xix). His study was initially sparked by the idea that the tourist was exploring and capitalizing on the possibilities of modernity much better than social scientists were, and that there was much to learn about new forms of social life from them. In an attempt at defining the tourist, MacCannell refers to the subjectivity of human encounters with culture. '*Tourists enter into a pact with culture that appears to favour tradition and heritage - their own heritage, but not just their own*', referring to the concept of a global culture he also touches upon a subject that has escaped anthropological focus over the years since the first publication of his book, that of tourists' encounter with their own culture and heritage.

A tourist is often associated, both in the literature and in local narratives, with foreign status, immoral behaviour and superficial relationship to places (MacCannell, 2013; McKercher, 2008a; Sharpley and Stone, 2009b). However, acts often associated with

tourists are imitated and exaggerated when one finds themselves as a tourist at 'home'. 'Home' of course, is presented in brackets to highlight the subjectivity of what one may refer to as domestic tourism, whether referring to national boundaries, cultural territory, public or private places. Veijola (2006) refers to the equivalent of this in Finland as *Heimat* tourism or *home* tourism as she explains in her search for Self and Place. She sees the emergence or indeed the increase of such mobilities as a search for the local, a preoccupation that is a direct cause of modernity. For her, *Heimat* tourism refers to a return, an encounter with the personal and cultural past. This is in line with what Cypriots are searching for as a return to old ways of life, a concept that has manifest itself in the emergence of Agrotourism as discussed in following chapters as well as within 'staged nostalgia'. Where modernity's effects have delocalised humans, the search for the elementary sense of belonging to place becomes expressed and at times exaggerated through what may be perceived as domestic tourism.

The idea of domesticity becomes central to the use of the term, not only in terms of locality but in the conceptual formation of place within human beings. For Veijola (2006), the distinction between the place and the self becomes impossible. As she passes by Ii, the village of her childhood, she reflects *'I should have pointed at myself and said: here is a part of Ii. Or I should have shown the darkness behind the sign: there is a part of me'* (2006:77). The space of reflection between her childhood and her revisit to Ii allowed her the ability to experience this connection that is lost in daily interactions with places. This is especially important when domestic tourists return to places they have memories of but may also be applied to places of collective memory or cultural significance. This returns to the idea of re-remembering, where places of one's childhood are repetitively remembered until distorted, in this time towards a utopic remainder of memory. Much of the disappointment when revisiting familiar places or places of inherited memory, as described in the case of refugees, is the disappointment that places have not been preserved as imagined both due to decay or change, and due to retrospective re-remembrance.

During pilgrimages to the newly restored monastery of Apostolos Andreas at the northern tip of the island, older individuals are returning to a place of meaning and memory. For the younger generations, the first visit is still a return, as it is seen as their own cultural territory and inherited memory, as the monastery had been a symbol of the thirst for return that they had been brought up with. Pictures of the monastery were a daily encounter for them, as the Ministry of Education's notebooks given to all primary school children were adorned with images of lost places such as the monastery, with a caption that read *'I do not forget'*³⁵.

³⁵ Figure 4

In less tense settings, visits to the natural landscape of the island may also be feeding one's sense of home with smells and views that might remind of childhood, or village life, or other similar places. Visits to historical or cultural sights are also a visit into one's perception of self, and it is this consumption that will be challenged in the following sections. 'Home' is therefore a space of comfort and intimacy whether experienced first-hand or not; it is a space where identities find roots.

If '*tourism is a quest for experiences that are in contrast to, and sometimes an extension or intensification of, daily experience*' as Wang writes (2006), there is very little reason for the label to comprise solely of individuals who travel further than their front door. While the spaces of tourism may be near impossible to define, it is the experiences that formulate a tourist experience. The same may be felt about the term tourist, where the blurry boundaries of its definition deceptively appear to end at the term 'local'. The reasons that people become tourists have been discussed extensively in the anthropology of tourism (Boissevain and Selwyn, 2014; MacCannell, 2013; Urry, 2011a, 1995), but the term has rarely included individuals who adopt the term tourist within their own spaces as Bruner (2005) notes. His own work considers several occasions where domestic tourism is committed as a consumption of one's self. This serves as a reply to Urry's (2011) definition of tourism as a search for '*experiences which are different from everyday life*'. Wang (2006), as quoted above, bridges the two ideas by identifying tourism as an experience that may still be based on everyday life but offers the opportunity of a different viewpoint. Smith and Wanhill (1986) go so far as to claim that '*the bulk of the world's tourism is domestic*', a fact which is based on the grounds that the consumption of place and heritage is an everyday activity and we are justified in considering it as a distinct set of actions (also, Jafari, 1987).

3.6 CONCLUSION

The Green Line as a contested border infiltrates perceptions of identity and belonging as its physicality crosses the old town centre. It is both a rigid edge and a penetrable divide upon which identity is negotiated daily. An entire generation has been raised to both discard its existence as a temporary obstacle to their land, and at the same time as the edge of their identity. Visits to the line before the opening of the crossings were pilgrimages to the very edge, on the 'other' side of which, the 'other' mysteriously resided. Distinctly not considering it a border, and yet treating it as one, this chapter has argued has been a major building block of a sense of belonging. In 2003, with the opening of the crossings, the possibility opened up new debates on the political implications of crossing. But it was the

social implications of visiting lost lands, meeting the 'enemy' and going beyond the edge that became the perceptual struggles. As the changing city has brought life back to the once deserted borderland, these negotiations take place on a daily basis. The divided city continues its life along the path of the line while on either side, persons face it with each turn of the corner.

In the various encounters with the border, the use of the body is an indication of how physicality is perceived and absorbed as part of identity. The trauma and memory associated with crossing the line are negotiated either through the decision not to cross or the need to do so. Religious and secular pilgrimages become the most common and accepted type of crossing, while acts of crossing are divided into moral and immoral ones. The physical paradoxes of a divided city and of a non-border border make for an interesting space for the investigation of tourism. While much of the activity around the border is reminiscent of tourist activities, the contestation around the validity of the border challenges the notion. While domestic tourism is common in the 'free areas', Greek Cypriots cannot consider visits to the 'katehomena' in the same way, and this is reflected in official reports. While Greek Cypriots protest the divide, they have also become accustomed to it and generations have been raised alongside its physical and symbolic existence. The negotiations of each encounter are always personal and collective statements and expressions.

The challenge in incorporating a contested border within a tourism narrative is situated in political and social implications of perceiving the land either as divided or as a whole. For Greek Cypriots, who perceive the border as an edge but at the same time as a temporary obstacle to their own property, the conceptualization of domestic tourism becomes controversial. On one hand, by ignoring the existence of the border they allow themselves to cross freely and thus contribute to the political effects of this, on the other hand, by perceiving the border as the edge, they are accepting its loss and giving in on the struggle of the past half a century. The domestic tourism space allows for the understanding of how the border forces Cypriots to reconsider their perceptions of identity and to observe in how they chose to deal with the practicalities of the contested border in the modern world.

4 LIVING HERITAGE AND THE THREAT OF DECAY

*I am looking at the ruins under the rest of me and I wonder, where am I?
Am I what's looking or what is being looked at
The rest of me, my intact frame looks at the fragile rest of itself on the floor
If I gather myself into a body off the floor once again, I wonder, what body will that
be?
Will it be mine or a foreign, borrowed one which will reveal I was once stronger?
If, on the other hand, I leave my pieces on the floor and remain an empty ruin,
Redefine myself with a new identity, I wonder, will it be me?
Who has the power to dominate a self, untouched by time, winds and God?
I do not belong to me, not while I'm alive,
Change is the only stable thing³⁶*

4.1 INTRODUCTION

'Normative' heritage practices (DeSilvey, 2017) have become prevalent in heritage spaces throughout the world through the interventions of international organizations such as those of the UN and Europe in practice as well as in ideological influence. Heritage-making in Cyprus, as heritage is always 'made' through human intervention or narrative imposition (Meskell, 2015a), is a largely unchallenged procedure. Words such as restoration, conservation, preservation and reconstruction are all part of the narrative of 'Western' heritage that presents itself as a protector of the past. This chapter casts a critical analysis on heritage processes interrogates their effects on existing social and cultural spaces threatened by the status of heritage. '*Critical heritage studies*', according to De Cesari and Herzfeld (2015), '*inevitably confront the conflict between the desire for conservation and corresponding processes of demographic elimination*'. Through this, the political and social uses of heritage are seen as 'essentialist' and harmful to urban communities. Through the observation of the aesthetic and social appeal of the ruin (Dillon, 2011; Hell and Schönle,

³⁶ Angela, 22nd October 2018, for this project.

2010a; Jackson, 1980), the consideration of alternative heritage processes becomes necessary. In a space of abandonment where the small and temporary communities are marginal, sanitization and erasure of negative memory comes in the form of heritage restorations, threatening the possibilities of organic rejuvenation.

The ethnographic data illuminates occasions where the decay and abandonment of conflict become a space for alternative life forms to develop, both natural and cultural ones. DeSilvey's (2017) *'Curated Decay'* guides the discussion towards an alternative understanding of abandoned spaces as living sites and of heritage as a process that might endanger such life forms. The writings of Ruskin (2017 [1849]) consider the ethics of the process of heritage interventions on tangible monuments through an appreciation of the natural life cycle of a building. Where 'Western' notions of memorialization come to the defence of heritage sites to save them from decay and loss, the authentic materiality of the built environment becomes endangered. Kuchler (1987) investigates the impermanence of *Malangan-art* where decay is part of the process and memorialization is temporary, as contrary to perceptions of memorialization in the West. In Cyprus, the power dynamics involved in heritage making represent the hierarchies of wider society and the manifestation of adopted internationalist values. Through a deeper investigation of current processes and alternative approaches to restoration, the emerging voices at street level are able to elaborate on personal values and experiences of heritage that identify current processes as a possible destructive endeavour.

While the following chapter (Chapter Five) concerns itself with the narrative ability of heritage, this chapter remains within the realms of the physical and material aspect of heritage. Of course, the complete separation of the two is unhelpful to any discussion of heritage (Joy, 2011). For Meskell (2015) heritage is 'a supplement to history' where its physical existence is an embodiment of the past in a way that is more concrete than that of memory or text. For anthropology, these links to materiality allow space for interrogation into the local and global conversations on heritage practices and ethics. Establishing a common notion of heritage across the world and within Cypriot society a challenging. Harvey (2001) identifies the lack of a clear definition of heritage in the literature while reconsidering the necessity for such a 'manifesto'. The endeavour becomes a challenge especially when cultural understanding of what heritage is clashes with that of an academic or official understanding, as elaborated in these two chapters in interviews with Cypriot locals. The need to settle on a premise of what the term heritage might entail reflects the epistemological and philosophical questions raised in the discussion on whether to restore it or not. In this sense, what is heritage but a human understanding of it? Lowenthal (2015,

2011) experiments with the term in an attempt to separate it from 'history', identifying it as a new faith that has emerged following a modern preoccupation with the 'self'. The search for Cypriot identity, as such a modern preoccupation, is a post-colonial concern which brings with it the necessity for physical proof of a historical trail that justifies one's existence in the world. Heritage spaces thus become spaces where identity is negotiated, constructed and consumed.

Bakshi (2017, 2014, 2012) has written extensively about the case of Nicosia and how these questions may be approached through the materiality of memory and nostalgia. Her research is informed by her many walks in the old town that investigate how identity is informed by spatialized memory and considers alternatives to normative heritage practices. Drawing on this work, the main questions are formed. How is memory established in a physical form and why is this practice emerging today? Are heritage practices attempting to save too much? Why are new cultural life forms being sacrificed in a desperate attempt to preserve an interpretation of a static past? What can these new life forms tell us about heritage and human/place relations? Why is decay perceived as loss in inanimate objects and how are the life cycles of architecture humanized? These questions drive the discussion through space and time to understand where heritage values are positioned and how social movements have come to understand these as a threat to urban life in old Nicosia. At the same time, Macdonald's (2013) observations of memory infused materiality, through her own embodied experience, becomes another point of reference for the ethnographic interrogation of these questions.

The past, present and future become distinct yet entangled in the observation of history as linear while the notion of heritage is perceived as a modern and capitalistic concern (Gonzalez-Ruibal and Hall, 2015). In the Republic of Cyprus the selective and politicised processes of heritage branding focus largely on religious monuments and archaeologically valuable sites from carefully selected eras of Cypriot history, while beautification tactics also emerge in the old town of Nicosia. This process eliminates '*negative*' (Meskell, 2002) or '*difficult*' (Logan and Reeves, 2008; Macdonald, 2016, 2008) memories and protects those which offer worth to the conceived nation. Such processes taking place in Cyprus are reasoned and criticised on the grounds of varying values, arguably changing the meaning of places. As present values clash, however, so do the ideals that create and interact with heritage. I epistemologically approach the Green Line as a site where these discussions find space and alternative paths, through the eyes of the cultural life forms that have emerged in the current state of things. The issues of heritage and ruination may also be applied to sites of destruction due to the war or post-war abandonment across the island, where national

and international organizations meet in conversation for development. The questions proposed take a step back from current practices and consider alternatives from a grassroots level up.

For the concepts of preservation, conservation and restoration to be examined, they must be scrutinized beyond Western notions of heritage, memorialization and linear time. The writings of Douglas (2002); Latour (1993) and Ruskin (2017) inform a discussion as to the possibility of the built environment to establish human affect beyond visual or static perfection. Evidence of such relationships between humans and places that exist unaware of, but in agreement with theoretical approaches to materiality is presented in the form of informal cultural groups. The concept of ruination is drawn from Navaro-Yashin's (2012, 2009, 2003) ethnographic writings on the Green Line as a space of ruin. Her writing informs this chapter's ethnographic data and leads to the consideration of the ruin as a significant element of heritage. The temporality of the urban fabric then reflects DeSilvey's (2017) approach to heritage and decay. Street-level interactions provoke the reconsideration of the notion of loss as a threat, and the exploration of alternative modes of memorialization through the possibility of a '*curation*' of decay. The very processes designed to protect heritage become the means of destruction of the natural life of heritage sites and the cultures that emerge within them. An observation of the developments of the urban core of Nicosia -the walled city- and its dwellers interrogates the parallels of the natural life-cycle of places with human lifespans.

The imposition of the Green Line divided the landscape of Cyprus leaving each side of the island to develop aesthetic and architectural differences that reveal the influences of each jurisdiction. The differences between the northern and southern areas are mainly of development and infrastructure, attributed to the sudden wealth of the 90s (Christodoulou, 1992), the impacts of EU succession, development efforts by international organization, and Turkish imperialist practices (Navaro-Yashin, 2012). The social effects of the contested border itself have become incorporated into the identities of the people who live with the division. The space within the Buffer zone is emblematic of the memory and loss of the conflict, within Nicosia it is a deserted strip of urban landscape, that has remained untouched by humans for so long that it has allowed nature to take over³⁷. It is not merely a line of barriers and barbed wire, but it is a wild natural landscape that divides two differently treated human landscapes embodying the differences between the two groups. Heritage projects endanger this natural landscape of abandonment.

³⁷ Figure 1

Heritage projects also clash with new forms of cultural life that have found space in the old city's abandonment. In the abandoned urban environment that runs along the Green Line, new cultural life forms have evolved over the passing of years; urban explorers, anarchist groups, activists, carpenters, drug users, 'hipsters', sex workers, entrepreneurs, artists, migrants and soldiers cohabit its unclaimed spaces. Such cultural groups now struggle to maintain their alternative existence in a preservationist regime that values restoration over decay. Opportunities such as cheap rent, artistic freedom or the possibility of alternative lifestyles have inspired a variety of groups to find home here. In recent years, the financial crisis revealed business opportunities and the slow lifting of the veil of fear from the area. Young people have begun to start projects in the area, such as galleries, workshops, cafes and bars, becoming both a new life form within the space but also a threat to pre-existing groups.

Embracing the beauty of the ruins as the old pastime that it is according to Hell and Schönle (2010) has inspired artists and explorers with its mystical attraction; ancient ruins have been the subject of art and discussion for millennia. Dillon (2011) and Edensor (2005) both write of the attraction of the modern ruin and the artistic draw to its physicality for artists and explorers. What Dillon refers to as sites of 'artistic and architectural modernism' he sees as an attempt to negotiate destructive pasts and unknown futures. Edensor (2005) observes it as a sensual escape from '*over-designed*' cities and may thus be understood as a search for authenticity. Urban exploration groups bring together individuals with varying interests and values who have become ad hoc archaeologists of the recent past out of interest and curiosity. Adrenaline-seeking and curious, they spend mornings and afternoons exploring, touching, photographing and drawing the beauty of destruction, interactions that reveal the hidden life within the desertion and allow space to consider alternative approaches to ruination and heritage.

4.2 MEMORIALIZATION AND MONUMENTAL TIME

Memorialization indicates the need to preserve something of the past; a distinctly modern preoccupation (DeSilvey, 2017; Lowenthal, 2015; Meskell, 2015). Heritage is the product of memorialization, created through processes of selection and translation and established through various types of protective practices. In the case of Cyprus, the conceptualization of heritage creation relies largely on 'Western' ideology. In terms of a monument's physicality therefore, many levels of intervention are possible, but the aim remains the same; the memorialization of the past for the future. Notions of time are therefore directly

linked to those of heritage. Herzfeld (1991) points out the difference between 'social' and 'monumental' time, identifying social time as the unpredictability of daily experience '*it is the time that gives events their reality, because it encounters each as one of a kind*' (1991:10).

'Monumental time, by contrast, is reductive and generic. It encounters events as realizations of some supreme destiny, and it reduces social experience to collective predictability.' (1991:10)

Within this monumental time, heritage is placed in its creation, through interventions of the present, for an imagined future. And it is in this notion of a static but abstract, inevitable past, where identities are rooted. In Herzfeld's example of a Cretan town's imposed 'monument' status, memorialization intervenes with social time. In the ethnographic excerpt that follows, the threat of a similar situation is imminent. In this case, however, the liminal space between social and monumental time becomes a refuge, threatened by a heritage regime that introduces the concept of '*gentrification*'.

The memorialization of the past as heritage and the perception of a monumental time where destiny is located, results in the creation of monuments. In the linear perception of time in which all of this is taking place therefore, monuments aim to become indestructible and respected elements of a past for the future. The understanding of memory as a fragile narrative of a monumental time enhances the need for heritage monuments to be created. In this way, collective memory may perceive the past as an inevitable and unchanging chain of events. Herzfeld (1991) quotes Anderson (2016) as stating '*it is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny.*' Monumental time thus becomes a powerful narrative in the hands of leaders. Collective memory is inherited through monuments and becomes part of the narrative of the 'self', and the threat of decay becomes magnified. The idea of heritage is the creation and protection of monuments that will in turn protect this fragile narrative of collective 'selves'. The processes of heritage therefore, reveal the very basic human urge to intervene in processes of destruction as DeSilvey notes (DeSilvey, 2017). The threat of loss is a concern beyond materiality. This instinct to protect the physical, extends to a need to protect the non-physical aspect of everyday pasts; memory.

Macdonald (2013) identifies the need for the coexistence of memory and history within narratives of the past. In places of recent or current conflict such as Cyprus, memory is fragile evidence which competes with official histories. As memory fades, memorialization takes its place through heritage processes, aiming to eternalize and protect it in a permanent physical representation. In this process, the material world is sanitized and baptized in meaning and affect, often in metaphysical understandings of the abilities of the material itself (Navaro-Yashin, 2012). The understanding of the material as witness of the

past gives it a metaphysical ability of absorbing even memories which have left no marks to its materiality. In Chapters Three and Five, refugees visit churches where memories of baptisms and weddings come alive in the space where decay has taken over. Through the process conservation, these memories are attempted to be protected, but the materiality that has held on to them for so long is also altered. Heritage monuments then emerge as a representation of the link between memory and material, and thus between people and places.

Riegl (1982 [1903]) (Lamprakos, 2014) identifies three types of monuments based on different 'memory values' which he claims may also overlap; *intentional* (commemorative value), *unintentional* (historical value) and *age-value* monuments. The bulk of discourse for monuments of cultural heritage is the one aiming at memorializing aspects of history that have accidentally emerged as important physical representations of the past. But there are also the monuments which are intentionally created to be heritage (intentional) which are more often focused on within tourism discourse; these include war monuments and statues, deliberately created in long-lasting materials, and often representing intangible forms of heritage, such as persons or stories. The final group identified as the age-value monuments, include places that have gained value through their evident age, making it a link to the deep past. This final group may include old towns, such as Herzfeld's Rethymnos (1991), or the old town of Nicosia for example. These examples could also be considered under the light of unintentional monuments if they are considered to reveal particular historical value. Each of these types of monuments he associated with a particular type of care depending on its value; restoration for intentional monuments, preservation for unintentional ones, and importantly, a type of non-intervention for age-value monuments. As their value is given to them because of their evident markings of time, it is their decay itself which is valuable. This final point will be analysed further on, as the discussion of decay develops. As regards the concerns of this section with memorialization and monumentalization, Riegl's influential writing considers monuments as part of a '*modern cult*' deriving from a concern with the values of commemoration.

For Riegl, any human activity may be considered historical and unique and every monument may be seen as '*art*', but in the case of historical monuments they can also shape current perceptions. The creation of intentional monuments in particular is a method of shaping those perceptions. In Cyprus, the many monuments dedicated to the missing persons of the war of '74, serve as a reminder of their life and loss, in the same way as tombs encase the more impermanent remains of the deceased. Monumentalizing of persons or acts is a matter of respect for the lost and of the protection of official memory. In terms of group memories,

such monuments are built to be consumed, observed, to remind and to teach. The act of placing temporary offerings to a monument intended for eternity is an act of repetitive appreciation by those who remember, and a symbolic representation of the eternal life that they have gained through their sacrifice. The belief in eternity, established in a Christian discourse, applies to the observation of the past and future not only as a matter of cause and effect, but also as drivers of the present. Memory, both official and personal, then becomes the carrier of information and intentional monuments are this embodiment, while those elements preserved for posterity are part of the official memory of the nation. Deemed as heroes, the persons eternalized in the statues become part of the national narrative, adorning school walls and becoming part of the folklore. And yet while personal memory still exists, the contradictions hide themselves in personal discussion and storytelling.

When official memory coexists with life memories, a clash might emerge between the vernacular and the selective one, in which case the official narrative prevails for future consumption. In Cyprus, the official memory of the guerrilla war, or the war for *enosis* (unification with Greece) is a politically charged selection of stories and images, where for a proportion of a population some of these young heroes are considered to be traitors and murderers. The guerrilla organization, known as EOKA's, links to the coup that resulted in the war of '74 are still disputed in daily politics. As generations go by, and those who remember pass on, the statues remain to establish the version of history that has been deemed official. Monuments are what will remain to pass on information while the intentions of their existence may become lost in time. The memorialization of the guerrilla fighters during British rule represents this clash; statues of eternally young men throwing grenades can be found scattered across Nicosia, often with flowers and wreaths at their foot. The intentional memorialization of the past is part of a nation's aims and this has been exploited in extreme cases through propaganda.

Unintentional monuments, are those structures whose original purpose has shifted with their new heritage branding - from being a place of use, to being a place of representation. These are the places most often introduced to heritage interventions such as restoration or conservation. Places such as churches may retain their status as a religious monument, but through the process of its protection as heritage, undergo a series of physical and conceptual changes that may brand them as heritage monuments. The often drastic change of status carries with it a moral decision of whether to interfere with the building to protect its structural integrity, or to risk its loss and thus the loss of what it represents. Concerns with the materiality will be further investigated later on through the writings of Ruskin (2017

[1849]), while concerns with the building's meaning and narrative will be approached in the following chapter (Chapter Five).

Unintentional or age-value monuments may also include another group of buildings that are often the cause for much friction in the social time. '*Listed buildings*' refer to places which are deemed important either historically or more often due to age-value, that are protected through law but not always in practice. What this means, is that as listed buildings are often privately owned, the decision to preserve, restore or conserve them falls onto the individual, while the law protects the building from destruction. Such places are deemed as monuments but often remain in the liminal space between abandonment and preservation. While they are too dangerous to live in because of their ageing structures, they are also very expensive to restore, and therefore remain untouched until they decay naturally. Lena's grandmothers' home in the old town is one of them, she walked me through the first floor noting where you should avoid stepping for danger of falling through. It was not worth fixing, she explained, it would cost a fortune, but also she liked to see the place as her grandmother had left it, and where memories of her childhood were infused in the peeling walls. The Cypriot government subsidises restorations of listed buildings, but these are deemed too large projects for individuals who inherit them to take up, leaving the buildings to naturally decay with time. This, along with the general decay of the area, may be seen as the cause for the current state of the old town of Nicosia, which as will be seen later, becomes a space of liminality in many senses.

Across Cyprus, heritage processes are taking place by national and international organizations, but in the midst of this activity, the Green Line, the unofficial border that divides the island remains untouched. As the old town becomes a hotspot for heritage practices, and the various periods of its life accentuated, the Green Line which cuts through it lies outside of the scope of restoration. It is an untouchable buffer where neither jurisdiction is allowed to intervene, unlike its surrounding area which has been left to disintegrate. In a potential post-solution future, where a buffer would no longer be necessary, the Green Line could not exist in a state of restoration, but to understand this its materiality must be described. To consider the Green Line as a space, a description of its structure is necessary. Bakshi, (2017) Leventis, (2016) and Papadakis (2005) have written extensively about this; drawn in green pencil on the map of the old town, along a road that used to be a river, it incorporates houses, streets, churches and squares. It is a divide that does not fit well onto the built environment, but it absorbs it on its path. As a buffer, its varying thickness creates large spaces of human abandonment³⁸, while its vicinity's eeriness

³⁸ Figure 1

has led to neglect. In this sense, the Green Line is not a physicality itself, it is rather etched onto the material that hosts it, as a destruction. Where the readily built environment did not suit its segregating aims, temporary barricades made of oil drums and sandbags were placed, more as symbolic barriers than built effects. Blocked streets are indicators of its existence, but it is not the temporary blockage that creates the Green Line, it is the abandonment within it.

The Green Line then, in a state of restoration, cannot exist as it is the very destruction that heritage practices 'correct'. Particularly when heritage sites must deal with '*difficult*' (Logan and Reeves, 2008; Macdonald, 2016) or '*negative*' (Meskell, 2002) heritage, the tendency to eliminate the bad and protect the good memories of a place would erase the Green Line completely. As restoration implies a static time in the lifecycle of a building- more often in its younger days- a potential restoration of the area would result in its erasure. If buildings and streets were to be restored to their pre-conflict state, the Green Line would disappear into history. In a post-solution future, there would be little reason for any physical evidence of the line to be maintained. The evidence of the war, such as the watchtowers are unlikely to be preserved as they would not fit in with the narrative of unity that a solution would require. Numerous discussions have proposed the development of the area once the need for a buffer is eliminated as will be mentioned later, but as there is little to save of its physicality it could be argued that there would be little to save, even if this was the desired outcome. Though the speculation is merely a prediction, it is based on evidence of the tendency of heritage practices to selectively protect monumental time while erasing negative history. This has been seen in areas of the old town where buildings with marks of the war, such as bullet holes and ruins, have been restored to an earlier state.

In Berlin, parts of the wall remain standing as symbolic monuments of heritage protected by UNESCO. While most of the wall has been destroyed in a celebration of its fall, what remains is often considered as part of World Heritage (Feversham and Schmidt, 2016). Still standing parts of the wall are used as street-art galleries or symbolic representations of the fall of communism, while questionably authentic segments of the painted concrete are sold as souvenirs. The physical existence of a wall, and the symbolic meaning of its destruction remains as part of the heritage, not just of the united nation, but of humankind. Though it is impossible to predict the fate of the Green Line, some proposals for its utilization have included the use of its spaces as a park or open air museum (Peristianis and Mavris, 2012). As the possible solution of a bi-communal federation implies its possible permanent existence as some type of border. Propositions for the development of the space that covers 3% of the island in a post-solution future, suggest the clearing of the rubble to make open

public spaces such as parks and open-air museums, nature reserves, or urban expansion. Grichting (2014) shares her vision of possibilities based on a comparison with the incorporation of the Berlin Wall into the city space, and other borderlands or 'boundariescapes' still in existence. Hers is a proposal of curation of what already exists, particularly in terms of the natural landscape, without the concern of memorialization of the city's or the conflict's past. Rather, her proposal suggests an elimination of negative connotations that the name Green Line carries, while keeping its name and shifting its meaning as representative of the green landscape; *'from a deep wound to a wonderful scar'*. It is possible that an intentional monument will be built to represent the line, but it is predictable according to other examples, that most signs of conflict and nationalism will be erased (Logan and Reeves, 2008; Macdonald, 2008; Meskell, 2002).

Heritage practices focus on a perception of authenticity and architectural integrity that is prioritizing the structure's original purpose. The Green Line and its surrounding area would therefore escape such intentions and its symbolic protection would only accentuate nationalism and social division. The temporary barricades represent the Greek Cypriot attitude towards its non-official nature as a border, ready to be destroyed and for the town to become one again. There is little to keep but the destruction itself, a *"beautiful destruction"* as urban explorers call it, that is threatened by heritage ideals of saving, beautifying and protecting. Attempts to restore the abandonment to its current state, or even in a post-solution future, would possibly erase its very existence. When destruction and ideologies of heritage meet in an urban environment a further destruction occurs, that of the effect of time and events onto the material. By erasing the negative history of the old town and returning it to a pre-war state, the message left for future generations is that the Green Line was unimportant to the development of social life. As memorialization and decay find themselves on opposing camps of heritage, negative history and peaceful futures form a further opposition within memorialization itself.

4.3 RUINATION'S SPACES OF NEW CULTURAL LIFE FORMS

There is a rusting chain and lock on the wooden door and the sun reflects on the filthy glass panels making it impossible to look inside. Lena covers her eyes against the elaborate metal design that protects the glass 'We have to find another way in'. You can tell that this used to be a manor house, with its tall entrance and ornate balcony, but there is no telling when it was deserted. My undaunted friends go straight to the back of the house, climb a dead tree and jump over the two-metre wall into a small yard. I follow them clumsily, considering the

implications if we get caught. It doesn't seem like anyone would be too bothered, seeing as the amount of deserted buildings has offered space for various groups over the years, but the adrenaline and the nerves are making me lightheaded.

Within the old city walls of Nicosia, a few explorer groups are active, reflecting a global trend of the exploration of modern ruins (Dillon, 2011; Edensor, 2005; Hell and Schönle, 2010a)³⁹. The groups have different perspectives on what they do and why, but at their core they share a common interest in the past lives of abandoned urban environments. While one group shares their motto of *'take nothing but pictures, leave nothing but fingerprints'*⁴⁰, reflecting 'ethical tourism' campaigns across the world, another feels that the spaces explored are not merely static pieces of visual art, but interactive ones where taking and leaving is part of the experience and of the life of the space. The interactivity with the past and its tangibility is a stark contrast with the imposition of 'staged nostalgia'. These spaces open up new negotiations with the past where the younger generations become active participants of what remains of it. Modern urban archaeology in Cyprus is an exploration of imposed identities and a first-hand observation of the recent past.

In the danger of loss of such abandoned spaces due to heritage processes, destruction or extreme exploration, many rely on photography to preserve them, and some groups have facebook pages displaying their findings. The photographic evidence echoes their interest in the physical fabric of abandonment. Close ups of the meeting between nature and the building material stand out, often as obvious comparisons and at times as eerie images of the aesthetic of the place. One such group was recently approached for a documentary on the subject of urban exploration (*Urban Exploration Cyprus*), others have put up exhibitions (*Old Nicosia Revealed*), and others simply relish the memories of places lost to restorations or demolitions. While the idea of modern ruins refers to structures built and abandoned after the 19th century (Olsen and Pétursdóttir, 2014), here they may also refer to structures possibly built earlier but inhabited or populated until that period. Some sites where the explorers have focused their attention beyond the Green Line have been abandoned villages, hotels, homes, army camps, a cinema and a Luna Park.

I have had interaction with a few such explorer groups, some 'official', doing regular excursions and keeping records, and other unofficial, intrepid individuals who simply find themselves wandering into the mysterious spaces of the old town. At least one of the 'official' groups is a bi-communal one which has used much of its material for reunification and 'peace activism'. The particular group with whom I spent the most time was a small one

³⁹ According to them, also inspired by Social Media and YouTube trends

⁴⁰ (City Free Press, 2017)

of about 7 Greek Cypriot individuals of the post-war generation who were semi-organised. They saw the explorations as a hobby and often arranged trips around southern Cyprus with the old town as their basis. Their profiles in this section reveal the social space of the old town which they shape and are shaped by daily. The power of the space that hosts them is a mix of imagination, materiality and what Navaro-Yashin refers to as 'affect'. The dystopias, utopias and heterotopias (Foucault, 1984) created in the friction between imagination and reality become the narrative of belonging that young people seek in the landscapes of conflict.

Lena, a 32-year-old bank employee and collector of antique bicycles, is most drawn to the artefacts that have been left behind. Old coca-cola bottles, used notebooks, leather suitcases, lamps and shoe molds adorn the walls and shelves of her grandmother's home that she has inherited. She collects the 'junk' that has been left behind or discarded, the material culture of past lives, artefacts of no monetary value and gives them a new purpose. She dusts them off-but never washes them before displaying them in the hallway, which now looks like a carefully curated museum. To wash them would be taking away from their story, the authenticity of the circumstances in which they were found or in her words '*If I wanted them looking new I would go and buy new*'. The pair of glasses she discovered in an old place in Kaimakli, she had named 'Maroula's glasses', giving a story to their thick lens and black frame. Her fascination with stories, made-up or real ones -it doesn't matter- give purpose to her travels in the old town and beyond. She knows the area like the back of her hand and she knows shop and home owners well enough to jump of her creaking bicycle every few minutes to say hello. Most people her age had avoided the old town for their entire lives but she was one of those few who never really left. Her grandmother's home, only meters from the Green Line and now inherited by her family, used to be her refuge after school. Although she currently lives outside of the old town, she spends her free time in the old town; her relationship to the area is one of attachment and inquisitiveness. As one of the older urban explorers, she is often the trailblazer of her group, leading them to surprising places; abandoned guard towers and war-time burrows, narrow pathways behind ruins that led into the off-limit buffer, surprisingly accessible rooftops that allow rare views into the buffer zone and to the city beyond. For Lena, the old town is a place beyond what the eye can see, a place which informs and confirms her identity daily.

I have been doing this for a while with them, exploring, taking photographs, finding small treasures. In their illegality they have no bad intentions, they relish the adventure and the possibilities of treasure in a landscape that is human-made yet long derived from human life. Evidence of past lives is everywhere, in the objects we find and collect, in the wear on tiled

floors and wooden stairs. The other day we found a house full of boxes of old shoe moulds, it must have been a shoe-maker's place; the door just needed a small push. We may or may not have kept some of the moulds. Lena has a collection of old 'junk' at home; an old pair of seeing glasses and a dusty old suitcase among them. Objects of no monetary value but valuable nonetheless. Reclaimed from their status as 'junk' into objects of interest; the thrill of finding them and the mystery of their story gives them value.

Navaro-Yashin (2012) writes of the affect that is transmitted through the ruins along the Green Line, considering their own agency against a human ability to make meaning out of object. The interaction between '*affectively charged sites*' and abject human subjectivity, she concludes, creates its own space of energy. The ideas of object agency as conceived in *Actor Network Theory* can lead to a consideration of the abandoned buildings of the Green Line as absorbers and exhalers of social presence over the years. To those who have shared experiences with the buildings, the relationship changes much as that among humans formed by past and present interaction. However, the theory presupposes a bond between the human and place that exists beyond contact. For the bond to perform, human subjectivity must be geared towards a particular understanding of the physicality of the building's space. For those who owned the houses, therefore, the sites will be more charged than for those who have temporary interactions with them. For the latter group, the eerie energy emitted by the objects creates a very different social network. Lena's response to the energy is one of post-fear affect, and yet to the migrant families of the neighborhood it is perceived as an air of opportunity as cheap rental prices allow them to imagine new futures.

Today the very nature of abandonment allows the environment to take over carefully carved sandstone, eroding and cracking it, while bullet holes serve as stark reminders of the moment where the building's status shifted. Interpretations of this shift, however, lie in the individual. For many Greek Cypriots, the memories, trauma, fear and guilt transmitted to and from the physical space explains the public's avoidance over the years. For Navaro-Yashin's (2012) Turkish Cypriots, the space of the northern old town within the city walls has been taken over by Turkish immigrants who negotiate the space differently. The area is avoided by Turkish Cypriots who have experiences of the place, encompassing the social division between themselves and Turkish immigrants. For the Greek Cypriot public in the south, a very similar story is true, the abandonment has allowed marginalized groups, such as immigrants, to take over the space, unaware, unaffected or embracing the energy in a variety of ways. As abandoned places become taken over by marginal constituencies they absorb and exhume new affects.

Evidence of current lives is also present, threatening and ghostlike. The back door is blocked by a dirty mattress leaning against it. We push through and find ourselves in a grand hall with a photogenic staircase. Judging by the smell and the layer of crunch on the presumably wooden floor, birds have made their way in here. We look around and take pictures of peeling paint and empty rooms. There are no treasures on the ground floor but I do step on a skeleton of a rodent; the sound triggers my gag reflex. Unimpressed with the lack of material, Michael is already making his way upstairs and I whisper at him to wait. Why are we whispering?

In the thrill of exploration of the abandonment, what was it that caused us to whisper? It could be the illegality of our actions causing fear, or the possibility of danger or the imagined history of the abandonment. For Navaro-Yashin (2012) it is the influence of the physical place in relation to these expectations. Cypriots raised to see this as a literally and symbolically violent place may be responding to the life experiences of the material. Unable to escape the affective emissions of the Green Line, the first post-war generation was raised trying to escape it. Post-war generations have evolving memories of the area as time passes. Today, 30something year-olds remember growing up with a fear to the Green Line while 18 year-olds' first memories of the area involve shisha, MacDonald's, and frappes. The momentum of fear disintegrates through the passing of time, initially the fear of the 'enemy', and then the fear of 'drug addicts' and 'immigrants' kept the post-war generation away. Driving through the narrow streets of the old town back in the early days of division was like a rite of passage, Marios explained during a group discussion, something one did to prove themselves experienced drivers and fearless individuals. The deeper one went, the closer to the 'Dead Zone' (Νεκρή Ζώνη-Nekri Zoni) and that was a terrifying prospect. In the safety of their car, they would pass by the brothels, then by the lonely soldiers at their posts to say 'hi' or to make fun of them, and then find their way back through the narrow one-way streets, to park in the moat outside the wall and walk to the edge of the town where new cafes and bars were just being introduced. Today, these 'safe' spaces include shopping areas, restored parts of the old town and archaeological sites, that form growing bubbles within the decreasing abandonment. The public's relationship to the old town and its destruction has changed with time, especially after the opening of the border crossing in its heart. The younger generations have been raised with less and less fear, as the post-war generation become parents themselves. This could also be attributed to changes inspired by government led initiatives to bring people back into the old town as well as the entrepreneurship of individuals who seized opportunities. The relationship with the abandonment then is a reflective one, negative perceptions are reflected back as fear; for the explorers the ruins reflect mystery. It is not the ruins themselves that hold agency but the space between them and the humans who interact with them.

The upstairs floor creaks under our feet and there is a rustling noise coming from the roof, it's just birds I say to myself, which I find is not a consolation. The cold dampness of the house is a contrast to the warm sun outside, I blame this for the goosebumps. This must have been a beautiful home, with its now-peeling wooden shutters and grand halls. In one of the otherwise empty rooms there is another mattress, surrounded by syringes. Michael points at a burnt spoon on the floor, but these are not the kinds of treasures we were looking for. There is a wave of horror and sadness in the silence as we walk back out to the blinding sun.

The danger and thrill involved in the explorations is a negotiation with the difficult landscape where the explorers push their own personal boundaries and make links to the past, present and future. The urban explorers include mostly individuals of what may be referred to as first and second generation post-war. A talk with Michael, for example, reveals the generational differences in post-war children of the early days and the post war children of later days. As a 22-year-old male, the relationship with history and place is already drastically different than those of Lena, who grew up with the immediate effects of the war, within that very space. Michael's father fought in the war, while his younger mother came to Cyprus from Greece much later. His father rarely speaks of his experiences of the war which, to Michael, feels like centuries ago. Having had to go into military service straight after school, there is a bitterness in his tone about the two years of his life lost in the military and about the futile nature of wars and nations. The military's nationalistic and patriotic socializing practice does not fit in with Michael's ideologies. Very much in touch with his generation's tendency to question facts and norms, there is a non-political, non-religious, post-humanist basis to his observations of life. For Michael, the explorations were about discovery and authenticity, about global identity and adventure into the hidden places of life, literally and metaphorically.

4.3.1 'OUR' CITY

Veldpaus et al. (2013) suggest that heritage practice has recently shifted from focusing on individual heritage spaces to a landscape-based approach. This becomes evident particularly in old towns such as that of Nicosia where a general sanitization of the landscape is attempted. This is seen as urban development by the agents of heritage while in practice it threatens the natural development of urban life and living heritage. The claim that urban regeneration is both protecting heritage and making society better is a process of gentrification (Smith, 2002). Particularly when conflict has inspired a radical shift in social geography, 'regeneration' implies a return to a previous state by reintroducing a similar shift. This is succeeded largely through fluctuating prices that force marginalized

groups to follow along. The constant shifting of the status of the old town raises questions of ownership of its social space.

Lefebvre's writings on the '*right to the city*' (2010) proposes the right of city dwellers to their own space. Harvey (2013) takes up this concept to consider class and capital struggles across the world to understand how cities become spaces of resistance. Taken up by social movements, these ideas give social agency to individuals and groups to transform the city space and thus shape themselves within that space (Harvey, 2013). The idea of the 'right to one's city' then challenges the heritage processes as attempts at eliminating the agency of its dwellers; this involves cleaning or painting over street art (Zieleniec, 2016), destroying spaces that host social interactions and replacing old material with new. In places of conflict, where the landscape becomes symbolic and contested, the 'right to the city' itself becomes symbolic and contested. Who the space belongs to, who has the rights to the space and how might the space be used in the midst of conflict, are all questions that should be asked before any heritage intervention. Questions of ownership of the city's public spaces become politicized when many, and possibly opposing, groups lay claim to the space. In Nicosia, the divided landscape, the abandonment resulting from it, and the restricted spaces, such as the vicinity and the body of the Green Line become spaces of such interest. Where questions of property come up, the discussion takes the path of political economy that then circles back to the very roots of the division.

As De Cesari and Herzfeld (2015) note, heritage processes introduce '*radical shifts in the real estate value and social geography*' of affected neighbourhoods. This can be observed within the old town of Nicosia as various levels of violence through the radical landscape reformation that the old town has undergone. The rejuvenation of the old town has brought economic and social development to an area which for years hosted marginalized minorities. As external and internal migrants find rentable spaces within the old town, much of the life of the city is a contested version of the 'local'. Much of the 'urban life' of the old city is compiled of persons who may not be considered 'local' to it. Also, many of the city dwellers of old Nicosia are often persons who live outside of the old city walls but have found space within it to establish themselves as locals; soldiers, café regulars and business owners for example. The urban explorers involved in this research do not live within the old town but claim ownership of the old town's public spaces- including those unclaimed spaces of desertion. Many separate groups now lay claim to the city space, where one group has taken over another's, where gentrification has destroyed a group's space and where heritagization has recovered abandoned sites. Heritage practices and development efforts are thus seen as a threat to particular types of urban life, while beneficial for others,

contributing to the creation of social inequalities. The space now shared and claimed by a variety of social groups has become a microcosm of Cypriot society where competing social groups and hegemonies negotiate their existence in physical and social space. The conflicts that emerge highlight the power dynamics of society that are then established in the process of heritage making. The contestation of the 'ownership' of the city is thus much beyond the Cyprus Problem, and it goes all the way to street level through claims at authorship of the city's narrative.

For the social group known as the 'Faneromeni' people, named after the historic church in the surrounding square of which they originally came together, the development of the area is pushing them out of their 'home'. The relegation of the old town had been embraced by individuals who expressed their disregard for the political and economic systems in place, it was the margin of society. The 'Faneromeni' people, known for their unruly behaviour, petty crime, drug use and their secular and anarchic beliefs were some of them. This group of mainly younger individuals who formed the commons at Faneromeni square participated in the life of the old town during its phase of 'abandonment' by mainstream society. Squatting and commoning (Stavrides and Angelis, 2016) had been their response to austerity and capitalism. During the rejuvenation of the old town that was a response to the financial crisis, they were slowly displaced by the restoration of derelict buildings, the removal of public benches and the introduction of mainstream cafes. They attempted to put up a fight for their place with small demonstrations and were joined by other individuals and groups who disagreed with the gentrification. It was a lost battle, however, and they were soon pushed out of the rejuvenated area and temporarily settled into another marginal space of abandonment further down the street. Greek Cypriot society at large has been in support of such changes, seeing the historic church of Faneromeni as reclaimed.

The 'Faneromeni' group came to join grassroots activism groups such as Occupy Buffer Zone (OBZ) that in 2011 squatted in the deserted buildings of the buffer zone (Antonsich, 2013). Claiming the space within the liminal areas of the borderland, they joined activists from both communities feeding on common anti-establishment ideals. The group accessed the UN-controlled buffer through the border crossing of Ledras street and established themselves in the space outside the jurisdiction of either government. Space commoning is considered by Stavrides and Angelis (2016) as a response to a global Occupy movement which called for alternative politics and the right to space (Ilican, 2013). The group protested institutionalized processes of peace-making, capitalist tactics of community making and austerity measures. De Cesari and Herzfeld (2015) see the 'occupy' movements as a response to oppressions due to heritage management (such as spatial cleansing). *These*

movements have in turn reappropriated the language of 'invasion', often used by authorities as an evocative metaphor for squatting.' (2015:173). The irony of the term 'invasion' here highlights the use of the same controversial word in the Greek Cypriot community to refer to what Turkish Cypriots have come to know as a 'peace operation' by Turkey in '74. The idea of the 'invasion of the invaded' is reminiscent of Senova's (2012) paradox of 'occupying the occupied', referring to the case of Cyprus in particular. Greek Cypriots today consider the state of division exclusively as a matter of 'invasion and occupation' (Εισβολή και Κατοχή) by Turkish troops. Senova considers the use of public space to satirise the current static state of cease-fire as a belated response inspired by other types of political movement in Turkey as well as in Cyprus.



Figures 10: Activism at the Green Line. Photos from author's personal archive, 2011-15.

The idea of 'commoning' has become a recent response to capitalism throughout the 'West', reclaiming public spaces and seen as a way of escaping political and social identity division (Stavrvides, 2013). This emergence has created new notions of political 'selves' and new spaces of liminality within urban settings. The 'right to the city' (Harvey, 2013; Lefebvre, 2010) has taken new meaning in this claim to the space, and new types of community and human interaction have surfaced as new possibilities (Stavrvides and Angelis, 2016).

Concerns of heritage and identity may be considered irrelevant and outdated within 'commoning' where the significance of traditional ways of life seems minimal. While the real impact of such social movements globally is yet to be seen, its small manifestation in Cyprus as the 'Occupy Buffer Zone' was considered an urban revolution and soon became a threat to the authorities who ended up violently raiding the squatted buildings.

Though the urban explorers had not been part of this organized activism one of them, Homer, who was extremely concerned with the political and social issues caused by the division decided to create his own form of peaceful hands-on activism. Homer led his own group of explorers within the old town, interested in photographing and documenting the abandonment to highlight the effects of war. Once his photography was picked up by the media and social media he set up an exhibition followed by the organization of photography tours and workshops in the old town. He refers to himself as a Cypriot, rather than a Greek-Cypriot and has many friends and collaborators across the divide. One day, in a burst of idealism he decided to bring down the border himself. He announced his intentions on social media and invited anyone interested to join him as he counted down the days to that Sunday morning. He reported live on social media as he approached the border at a section near the Paphos Gate, close to the Home for Cooperation⁴¹ and Ledra Palace Hotel⁴² where an old coffeehouse called 'Spitfire' had been merged into the border using sandbags and its own rubble. There he began to rip the sandbags open with his bare hands. He was soon approached by the police and media who had picked up on his announcement and the photographs show him raising his arms as he peacefully surrendered. There was a discussion with authorities who retreated within minutes at which point Homer walked up to another section of the border, jumped over the mangled barbed wire and entered the Buffer Zone, joined by some of his friends. Inaccessible to the Greek Cypriot police, they sat on the grass for about an hour, making their point until the UN troops reached them and led them out in what could have been a more dangerous ending.

The idea of bringing down the border is not a new one, but the image of one man physically creating a scar on it and defying its sharp edges, echoes the idea of the 'right to the city'. Within the context of conflict and division, the claim to the city in this case was literally a claim of a Cypriot's right to what he perceives as his own divided city. As more of a symbolic act, the physicality of bringing down the border was a claim to the city's entire physicality and a message of unity. The 'temporary' sandbags that form large portions of the border left

⁴¹ A bi-communal social space within the Buffer Zone mentioned in Chapter Three

⁴² Itself considered as a conflict heritage site by Demetriou (2012) who observes its historical use as a space of negotiation

Homer scraped and covered in dust, in a physical clash that established the power of one person's beliefs against the material and conceptual establishment of the divide. Such acts of contact with the Green Line are attempts to deal with 'difficult' heritage (Macdonald, 2008) and that the post-war generations have been raised with. Homer was not old enough to have known a united Nicosia, the Green Line was part of his experience of his own city, and yet it was a symbol of a division based on his perceived Cypriotness. His ideologies perceived the Green Line as an interruption of the city, but for others, the Green Line has become part of identity, as argued previously in Chapter Two.



Figure 11: Detail on oil-drums reads 'Bring down the wall'. A comment written directly onto the materiality of the problem. Photo by author, 2015

In terms of historical and social importance, as well as in terms of human/place relations, Homer's intervention was heritage in the making. In terms of the material change to the physical symbol of the divide his intervention had left a mark. As political statement little was achieved by Homer's attempt but it reflected on the evolving relationship between urban dwellers and the border. Where so far, the length of the Green Line had been graffitied in a variety of politicised messages and images, the spray cans had remained at arm's length, just off the material of the border. In past decades, the only persons to touch its surface had been soldiers, or painters of ethnic flags -blue and white Greek ones on its south face. The inherited or remembered memories that it encouraged were enough to keep even people's eyesight from touching it for many years. But in this time of change a hand entered its body, a body entered its space, creating a new dynamic in the concept of living heritage. Further down, café owners have planted flowers in its seams and hanged fairy lights from its nooks in an intervention aimed to beautify that also reshapes the meaning of the material.



Figure 12: Looking straight into the Green Line from within the Old town of Nicosia. The oil drums have been painted in the colours of the Greek flag but the National guard, while graffiti art and slurs can be detected. On the right hand side, the sign indicates the restoration of the street with EU funding. Photo by author, 2015



Figure 13: Looking right from the same position into a restored street. Photo by author 2015

The development of the old town both as a centre of entertainment and shopping but also as a space of heritage has paradoxically achieved to reverse abandonment into overcrowding. Cars struggle to move around the narrow streets that were not designed to host them and parking spaces are often created out of the ruins along the Green Line. The

new and the old create spaces where the clash of people is distinct, in terms of race and ethnicity, class and financial status, age, interests, backgrounds etc. Traditional 'kafeneia' compete with Starbucks, and 'tavernas' with MacDonald's. The criticism on the procedures that led to the flash development following the opening of the crossing in 2008 and the financial crisis comes from numerous angles but is generally perceived as a positive development. The loss of the 'authenticity' and of common spaces introduces a new nostalgia, against sanitization and capitalism. In turn, this nostalgia is inherited by the younger generation. The conceptualisation of the past as better than the present becomes central in Chapter Five but here it may be observed in layers of pasts where each past becomes utopic, once it is deemed as past.

Meanwhile, attempts to save the character of the town compete through its different heritage values. The issue of originality, temporality and memorialization clash with social time, living heritage and urban life. Attempting to mediate all of this, a variety of organizations introduces events such as the following example. The Severis Foundation, and its new Centre of Visual Arts and Research, aims for the preservation of historic photography and material culture of the old town. As part of this it has introduced an annual reproduction of the old town market, called Ermou 1900, complete with artisans and costumes. The Disneyization (Bryman, 2004) of the past aims to preserve memory and recordings of history through reconstructions. Upon events such as these, collective identities are reinforced on the basis of a common past while authenticity is challenged. The black and white pictures of the digitized Severis Foundation archive, housed in a newly restored building of the old market area, do not give away the chromatic schemes of the past. But they do reveal a past life of the existing architecture such as the one hosting the foundation. It is apparent in the staged neatness of restored vernacular architecture that what Herzfeld (1991) refers to as '*spatial cleansing*' is taking place, where modern ideas about the past are reinforced and fitted into the existing space. In the surreal experience of recreating a sterilized past within a space of division and ruin, the question of authenticity is constantly revisited. Lowenthal (2015) discusses how the perception of histories, authentic or inauthentic as they may be, form and establish personal and community identity. In this case, the consumption of a sterilized past regenerates perceptions of self in a circular experience of production and consumption. With memory constantly fading and heritage remaining in its place, places are reinvented according to current expectations of past life. These are later consumed and absorbed as collective and personal identities.

4.4 MATERIALITY, DECAY AND THE FUTURE OF HERITAGE

Michael's first touch with the urban explorer group was through his stencil graffiti art, which he liked to place across town at night; he made me a world map with no borders as a gift. Between art and crime, between revolt and peace, between North and South, graffiti art and slurs present evidence of life within the darkest streets of the old town. Leventis (2016) writes of the reappearance of street art and graffiti culture that emerged in the old town in the last decade, affecting both the place physically and the perceptions of the place. Making a canvas out of anything and leaving a mark onto it is not just giving a message but also altering the materiality of the selected surface. This is a reflection on the ability of the built environment to continue to have new lives beyond its original purpose or status, layering meaning as it collects it with interference of the passing of time (Mostafavi and Leatherbarrow, 1993). In a critical heritage observation, the graffiti art is just as valuable to urban heritage as the layers of history beneath it. Current heritage practices become blind and destructive to these meanings as they scrape them off carefully to reach what is deemed as valuable. Ironically, what is often deemed valuable is the graffiti of previous generations (Trentin, 2010). For future generations, the urban life of the 21st century will be lost in the 21st century's attempt to represent itself.

In heritage practice, once a place or artefact is deemed as such, it becomes valuable and protected, while those objects which fall outside of the accepted definition lose any value and are often destroyed in the process. Graffiti, for example, rarely accepted as 'art' by the authorities of the old town is sand-washed from the restored or conserved buildings, protecting their integrity as static representations of a past. The historical developments which have resulted in the creation of street art are thus erased in the prioritization of the 'originality' of a building. There is no place for it on newly painted surfaces, and layers of paint cover spray in a never-ending battle. At the same time, graffiti is left untouched on deserted buildings, directly making a contribution to the link between abandonment, decay and street art. Graffiti, in urban environments, is often attached to marginalized life forms lying outside the spectrum of concepts of art and history. It is understood as anti-social behaviour and urban decline (Schacter, 2008). The liminality of these life forms deems them as dangerous anomalies (Douglas, 2002) and their creators as vandals. In closer observation of the context of such markings, social structures and social concerns of the 'vandals' are revealed, unveiling a form of expression or peaceful resistance, relating back to the global social space. In critical observations of the street art, the contributors to *'Graffiti and Street Art'* (Avramidis and Tsilimpounidi, 2016) observe the many ways in which graffiti is

perceived, including cases of highly valued social interventions and artistic value such as Banksy, of commissioned pieces and of street art as a form of communication. Banksy himself, through his intervention in a 2018 auction of one of his pieces, has reversed the idea of destruction as value adding.

For Michael, messages of art, freedom and peace are most often present in the black stencils he painstakingly cuts out by hand and carefully places on the walls of his own city, and yet its interpretation remains up to the consumer. With mainstream preconceptions of art and street art as destruction and vandalism, the very presence of graffiti reaffirms the stories of illegality and danger in the old town, its meaning lost amongst the effects of its presence. For Michael it is a provocation and a conversation with society, it is also about resistance and statement. Among nationalistic, political and football team related slogans (most often these are one and the same), the ones made for 'art' or 'activism' become challenged. There is evidence of a changing perception towards graffiti, however, where commissioned artists have created murals as beautification, often to be 'vandalized' the next day. One such mural adorns the side wall of a café and depicts traditional costumed Cypriots in everyday activities, linking the past and the future in its context and technique- through a mix of street art and painting. Such examples are creating new perceptions of what art, tradition and heritage might be differently appreciated through the exploration of new mediums of representation.

Such controversial practices as street art often become disputes in the practice of heritage-making. Davis (2007) considers cases of military interventions onto the landscape and how these are largely overseen in processes of cultural or natural heritage making. This he refers to as '*double erasure*' where the social life of a place has been erased by the military and the military life is subsequently erased by further interventions. In the monastery of Agios Panteleimonas where conservation works were under way by the UNDP⁴³, military graffiti adorned one of the outside walls of the monastery. Left over from when the monastery was transformed into a military base for Greek troops around the time of the war, the graffiti was a controversial part of the monument. Depicting a Greek soldier and flag, it also used slurs to describe the enemy troops. The desertion of the site had protected evidence of its darker history. Itself now part of the story of the building and the wider story of Cyprus, the graffiti is in danger of being destroyed in the name of heritage and peace. The military history of Cyprus is being erased along with its negative memories in the name of peace-

⁴³ The monastery is a protagonist in Chapter Five where the narratives of heritage are interrogated

building, but the authors of the heritage story might be intervening with a large part of other stories (Logan, 2008; Macdonald, 2016; Meskell, 2002).

In 'normative' heritage processes (DeSilvey, 2017) the heritage value of a building is often placed at its original state and whatever has come after is considered impure, but this can be challenged. While natural and human interventions are simply considered as destructive to the materiality of heritage, Mostafavi and Leatherbarrow (1993) write of the indefiniteness of a building's final stage, as weathering is just as important as the process of construction. Weathering can then be seen as part of the life of the building rather than its enemy. The attempt to restore a building's originality must therefore be scrutinized as to the values that it imposes with any intervention to its material. If restoration is focused on the 'original' state of the building, it is stripping back layers of its life to a perceived state of newly built perfection. These layers of meaning may involve historic moments or mundane weather conditions, and yet they are part of the building's story. In the case of the Agios Panteleimonas, the wartime graffiti had become part of the building's story and to remove it would be to reduce the building to simply material.

In this line of thinking, another issue that comes up in the practice of heritage is that of buildings which have been built, restored, extended and renovated previously. Yarrow (2018) considers the historic continuity that is halted in the processes of heritage. Agios Panteleimonas, as the restoration architects explain, was built in several stages over hundreds of years. The church itself has been extended to enlarge its inner space, the belfry has been rebuilt after it had collapsed, the monastic buildings were added later on, the walls had been plastered over and over with the passing of time covering, among other layers, a fresco. If weathering is a threat to the structure, these layered interventions and the way in which they are selectively protecting a part of the building's story are problematic. What is deemed 'authentic' and what 'wear' shapes the future of the building. Olsen and Pétursdóttir (2014) pose the idea of the building's own ability to reveal its material through the process of weathering. This idea highlights the building's agency through the new originality that is revealed constantly through wear. In this observation, the constant disclosure can be seen as a recovery rather than a loss.

For Ruskin (2017) and later Riegl (1982) the authenticity of architecture lies in its materiality. The very concept of restoration is a deception, an 'impossible' feat similar to bringing back the dead. Worse so, it is a destruction of the building's truth and a violation of the next generations' right to it. Buildings true to their nature carry with them the past in the most authentic manner; anything removed for the sake of restoration removes a layer of their story. Ruskin proposes that holding up a building is all the interference one is

allowed without destroying it, much like what DeSilvey proposes as a 'curation' of the building's natural decay. Weathered materials, therefore, do not threaten the spirit of architectural structures, but heritage intervention does. As works of art, buildings that have not achieved the permanence they deserve should nonetheless be left to take their own natural path. Loukaki (2016) explains that '*for Ruskin, ruins are aesthetically justified as they are*', offering theoretical support to the urban explorer's fascination with photographing the bare ruin and their disinterest in doing so with restored architecture.

Heritage practitioners often try to counter the inauthentic feel of a newly restored place through the reuse of original materials or authentic techniques. In Apostolos Andreas, for example, the most famous monastery in the '*katehomena*' restored under official and public scrutiny, the UNDP stated that as many original building materials were reused as possible⁴⁴. Whatever could be salvaged of the wooden beams, sandstones, and tiles was removed and repositioned accordingly, to maintain the originality of the building. Sanded and dusted, with a new coat of paint or varnish, the materials now look brand new, while maintaining their historic presence in the space. This decision might have satisfied some concerns but for Ruskin and Riegl the very act of interfering with the original building will have destroyed its authenticity. For them, the maintenance of the church in the state it found itself before restoration would have been the most ethical approach to the building's spirit. The years of desertion due to the division are part of the history of the building and they are part of the history of Cyprus. Erasure of one past in favour of another is controversial both in the materiality but also in the meaning of a selected site. Works could have been limited to necessary maintenance as a safety measure but also to protect what is already there, but the expectations of the Greek Cypriot community and the conceptualisations of Western heritage practices would never allow for such a thing, particularly for a religious building. This reflects discussions within the UNDP over conservation, restoration or preservation of each section, that inevitably lie in the spectrum of UN heritage ethics.

Such heritage disputes can be read to reveal the perceptual binary between humans and nature cultivated within Western society. The tension between human and natural interventions on heritage, reveals a power complex. Where nature is seen as destructive to the meaning of a building, a meaning given to it by humans, human heritage intervention is seen as beneficial (DeSilvey, 2017). In Western heritage practice, therefore, meaning is more important than materiality. The protection of human creations from the threat of nature reflects the need to establish power over natural processes. The distinction between the humans and nature, and the influence of one over the other makes for unique

⁴⁴ Statements during the pre-completion visit with UNDP

observations of abandoned spaces such as the Green Line, for example. Cairnes and Jacobs (2014) consider the life of buildings as living organisms, despite their inanimate nature, comparing them to biological beings. This tendency of anthropomorphism in architecture, they explain, is a common observation throughout time and cultures. In this sense, human material creations are also given human characteristics of life and death. Decay, then, is something reminiscent of the end, a final stage in a life cycle. And yet at closer observation there is as much life in decay as there is in life itself (DeSilvey, 2017).

In the tendency to observe decay as fearful, dangerous or sad for example, and the abandonment of such spaces, nature thrives. Davis (2007) considers militarized landscapes as often spaces of environmental importance where the existence of the military shapes the natural environment. In this sense, the constructed and contested border has created very different natural spaces, where nature is seen as danger. Desilvey (2017) explores the interaction between the materiality of human lives, often sterilized and protected from any interventions of nature, and their reincorporation into nature through processes of decay. Maggots, for example, come to life in decay, and weeds thrive in the absence of human intervention. Interestingly, the abandonment of the Green Line's buffer zone which runs across the island at varying widths, has created a strip of land where the absence of humans has allowed nature to take over. Research funded by the UN on the natural environment of the land within the Green Line indicates that numerous new species have emerged in the desertion (Constantinou and Eftychiou, 2014; Grichting, 2014; Gucl et al., 2008). Among deserted remains of human life, nature has created new ecosystem, a landscape of biodiversity that is still often considered as decay in a paradoxical observation where humanist and preservationist debates come to play. This raises questions as to the importance of heritage interventions that are seen here as a need to establish human power over nature. In terms of understanding identity through the dichotomy of human and nature in Cyprus, the hegemony appears to be disseminated throughout society, as Jepson's (2006) research on the use of gardens establishes. Through the sensorial interaction with nature, in the cultivation and curation of a garden, a physical link to place is created. The domination of the natural environment becomes the attachment to place in this sense, where territoriality and affect become 'rootedness' (2006).

Decay and nature are often seen as synonyms and as opposition to heritage. Though Cairnes and Jacobs (2014) admit to their own omission of investigating the decay in architecture due to conditions of war, there is much to be derived from their metaphors that may be applied to the current relationships between humans and architectural decay along the Green Line. Here much of the decay has been a direct response to war conditions (Gonzalez-

Ruibal and Hall, 2015), such as bullet holes in stone, mine and bomb related ruins and balconies and windows ruined by sand sacks, but most of the decay has been a direct result of the desertion that followed the war and division. Within the Green Line, buildings and roads have stood unused for decades, street signs have rusted, streetlights have fallen apart as their wooden poles rot, and paint peels off wooden doors and shutters. The stone and asphalt, as stronger materials of urban architecture become defeated by weeds. The decay taking place along the Green Line then, has been one of war but mainly of abandonment, and of a lack of interest in the surrounding area, and it has informed identities for an entire generation. In an observation of decay, the forces that take over in the lack of human interference and the speed in which they do so brings perspective to human observations of urban landscape as an opposite of nature.

Angela, an independent urban explorer, once posted set of pictures of debris on Instagram. She is a photographer, filmmaker, poet and writer, and had entered an abandoned house in Larnaka to explore. Her Instagram pictures were of a building's material scattered on a floor followed by the following hashtags: #leftovers #storytime #whoareyou #whoami #details #location. The relationship between social media and urban exploration was unsurprising, but the use of the tag #whoami related to a connection I was attempting to understand. I enquired about this and received the following response *'Because it doesn't stay, after abandonment. A deserted house is a deserted soul, an empty body'*. Her poetic response displayed a humanization of the building, and a connection between decay and death. If identity might be formed in relation to the physical landscape, this response encompasses the identity perceptions of an entire generation of Cypriots growing up alongside the Green Line. Causing a reflection into the self, explorers are not merely interested in the ruin in artistic ways, but are searching for answers in the ruins, relating the material of abandonment to their perception of 'self'. For Angela, every deserted building is part of the past which has a story to tell, and that story challenges her notions of place and time. Following our conversation, she wrote a poem for me which has opened this chapter.



Figures 14: Insects and flowers: the life of decay and abandonment. Photos from author's personal archive, 2011-15.

In a Western understanding of heritage, decay has legitimized the heritage intervention. But heritage practices, at their various levels of intervention (conservation, preservation or restoration) aiming to protect from decay, can also be considered to endanger the life within decay. What DeSilvey (2017) attempts through her writing is an observation of decay as simply an alternate stage of a building's life, often involving living organisms such as moss and worms, that might be considered beyond their connection to decay. For DeSilvey (2017) *'it is possible to see a fullness in the current state of the structure as it sheds one arrangement of matter to adopt another'* (2017:3). A decaying structure may therefore be perceived as a whole when contextualizing its story and life cycle. Along these lines, in the case of the urban explorations bird excrement, rodent remains and rotting floorboards were all part of the building's current vibrant life. Of course, as Douglas (2002) explains, *'matter out of place'* is seen as a threat to the norm. In the case of buildings such as homes, where the protection from the elements and from the dangers of nature are the very purpose of the structure, the invasion of the outside inside of the building immediately turns it into a place of danger. This is also perceived as a failure on the part of the state to protect.

The idea of the ruin as a valuable space where life and identity continues to develop, raises issues of authorship in the case of heritage restorations. The decision of what should be saved never involves the rot and debris, even in the case of minimal intervention such as *'arrested decay'* (Desilvey, 2017:32) where the ruination of the building becomes protected, further decay is not permitted, and evidence of ongoing life is eliminated in the static presentation of the ruin. Decay, in the logic of heritage preservation, therefore is different than simple decay; it would develop into a *'staged decay'*. Heritage practices are involved in what is called by Meskell as *'past mastering'* (Meskell, 2015a, 2002), where changes to buildings are not merely done to protect them, but also to restore them to a perceived past. Whether this is done to save memories infused in material from decay and loss, or whether done to protect the future from what may be perceived as negative heritage, is to be further discussed in the following chapter on the various narratives that accompany heritage sites. But in this occasion it is useful to observe the vocabulary of heritage and its roots in a western understanding of linear and temporal lifespans. Restoration, preservation and conservation practices all involve a desire to return to a prior state (DeSilvey, 2017). DeSilvey therefore proposes the use of terms such as *'stabilization'* or *'consolidation'* to focus on a future-oriented practice. Sandler (2016) on the other hand proposes the idea of *'counterpreservation'*, where a building's ruination becomes part of its treatment. In this way, decay and change is shaped by the citizens themselves through the appropriation of the ruins. This anti-gentrification, participatory proposal is parallel to Lefebvre's (2010) social production of spaces. In practice, though many spaces in Nicosia have been used in

this way, it has been done out of necessity rather than purpose and they are slowly being assimilated into the process of either restoration or destruction. Such spaces include carpentry workshops, art galleries and coffee shops, which have embraced their structural status and made it part of their character.

4.5 RUINATION AND BEAUTY

The beautification of the old Nicosia town centre reveals the priorities of heritage processes and their agents. The intervention to buildings is not merely to protect them but to impose a sanitization and beautification. *'It is just on the front'* Lena explained while looking for a back entrance. *'They got money from the EU to fix the town but they can't fix whole houses so they just do the front'*. It was true, the back was just as derelict as other places we had visited. In such cases, the work is limited to a protection of the structural integrity of the building and a restoration of its façade as it would have looked when originally built. For the explorers this is a surface beautification for superficial relationships to place, but for heritage agents it is a case of imagined futures, or the first step into new ones. As an alleged aesthetic restoration project, it does little to encompass the true life of the building and its meaning, becoming reminiscent of tourism processes known for their superficial treatment of places and landscapes (MacCannell, 2013; Urry, 1995). A common practice (Makhzoumi, 2016) this is perceived as a insincere development effort by the explorers who find inspiration in the authenticity of the rustic rather than the relevant beauty of the freshly painted. The excitement by the explorers that the original building was still intact encompasses the fear of gentrification of the area, the loss of its character (Basu, 2007). While the facades are meant to present the original state of the buildings, using colourful paints and new wooden doors and windows, upon a closer look, they are staged and forged. The explorers see this practice much as Ruskin (2017) does, destruction of authenticity, though less concerned with the architectural structure itself than the stories it holds. The lack of story behind the new image is reminiscent of a theatre stage similar to MacCannell's observation of tourism practices, comparing a clean front facing the audience while the chaotic and intriguing backstage is hidden from view. The explorers relate to these buildings in a similar sense, they see the opportunity to delve into the backstage as a privilege of the few, as immersing into the truth that few get to experience. The front set is for those naïve or shallow enough to accept them as truth, such as tourists.

On the other hand, to the people who live and interact with the area daily, this attempt at beautification is an improvement on the area. It becomes more attractive and begins to draw

some tourists who have, for many years avoided drifting outside of the Laiki Geitonia, the tourist area at the edge of the old town. It is also an opportunity to rid it of such illicit groups as the explorers, who lurk in the darkness and feed the urban mythology. Literal and figurative pests are eliminated in the processes of cleaning and beautifying the old town; the life that thrives in ruination is considered unimportant or dirty in modernity. This explains local beliefs on the need for heritage restorations and the general support that these projects receive as feedback. For mainstream society, the beautification of Nicosia's old town has been a positive development of recent years and they have responded in large numbers. The need for beautification, sanitization or heritagization is an idea linked to the feeling of security and modernity. While the response of the public has been inspired by small businesses and new ways of reflecting onto the decay of the old town, the state has successfully established its presence through the infrastructure, creating the sense of security within this space. In terms of representation, if a space may represent its people, particularly to tourist audience, a restored site may be presented with more pride than a space of destruction and decay. Even if it would mean a loss of the spirit or atmosphere, the negativity that a ruin creates is heavy on a space.



Figure 15: Detail of the contested border where the materiality of war and daily life come together. Photo by author, 2016

Heritagization and beautification processes aim to either restore the ruin, or destroy it as its current state is a danger and a threat to the 'normal'. The balance between the fear of 'dirt' (Douglas, 2002) and the fear of loss is encountered in the decisions of governing bodies to

either save or destroy. Where neither is possible due to lack of accessibility, as in the Buffer zone within the Green Line, for example, previous discussions have shown the existence of general avoidance. Jackson (1980) explains this by drawing a line between the building's use and its elevation to heritage status, identifying a liminal time between the two states where the building must go through. The 'interval of neglect' as he refers to it is a rite of passage for a building to be identified as heritage, and it is at this stage where the building becomes fearful and dangerous. The interval may vary in length when places are contested or in conflict such as in Cyprus. In the observation of the physical landscape as a direct influence of identity perception, the 'interval of neglect' is a substantial period of an entire generation's life, which has seen permanence in the danger of the ruins. The interval is the very space of attraction for urban explorers and dark tourists alike, who value the authenticity of the pre-heritage spaces of loss.

Heritage-making is thus a destruction of authentic experience and expressions of loss in the built environment. DeSilvey (2017) proposes an experimental heritage policy that involves a *curation* of decay. In this post-preservationist perspective, change is not a loss but an introduction of new and unpredictable states that involve human and non-human lives. Considering the possibilities of this, DeSilvey suggests the '*uncoupling*' of memory from '*the burden of material stasis*'. The imposition of memory onto material is an attempt to protect its fragile temporality from loss, infusing the material with meaning and thus leading to an instinctive urge to protect it. Instead, DeSilvey proposes, the acceptance of heritage as a process will allow for an acceptance of change and mortality. When it comes to the Green Line, the ecosystems that have developed in decay become part of the story in danger of being destroyed in the name of heritage. This would also embrace new types of tourism and serve as a negotiation with difficult pasts.

Making space for '*neglect*' or '*decay*' as an alternative to restoration carries with it a set of problems that render its application difficult. Firstly, it expects public participation as it would not merely be a project of an authority but of the people of the area themselves. This agency comes with responsibility and would need common agreement. For the process of decay to take its course, human interaction with it must be controlled, and this therefore becomes a further intervention. As seen with the different groups of urban explorers, the ethical implications of such processes would need to be outlined. The urban explorers have different opinions as to their intervention onto the life of the ruin. If ruination is to be embraced and worked with, then what are the consequences of its intentional destruction? This reflects questions of heritage, where the ability for restoration may be perceived as justification of destructive behaviour. And what interference is acceptable when 'curating'

its decay, or implementing safety measures? Practical issues of safety, legislation, organized tourism and public money and property will all be challenges to such experimental heritage methods. In that case, a 'curated decay' could be justified on environmental grounds; framing it as biodiversity, rather than a heritage process. This indeed would be a post-humanist heritage ideology.

Amongst all of this discussion on whether to interfere or not in a building's life, and why such spaces are of interest to some groups and not to others lies a fundamental set of terms; beauty and art. Dillon (2011) has observed how the ruin may be considered as 'art' through modernism's interest in self-reflective pieces. Leventis (2016) then considers the existence of street art as an equally controversial sect of 'art'. Hell and Schönle (2010) consider the seductive beauty of ruins as 'ruin gazing'. In Nicosia, photography and art becomes inspired by what others refer to as dirt and decay. The nostalgia for lost pasts produces polished surfaces which claim beauty. But beauty is then a cultural perception of things that are, in Douglas' (2002) line of thought, pure. The relative nature of beauty thus comes from different schools of thought, ideologies, and cultural understandings of cleanliness. It is through these arguably 'Western' or 'modern' perceptions that heritage is correlated with beauty and assumptions of the past create identity crises.

4.6 DARK TOURISM

Robinson (2015) proposes that the activities of urban exploration may also be considered as 'anti-tourism', interpreting it first as a type of tourism and then considering its undertakings as 'beyond' normative tourist activities. If urban exploration may be considered as a type of tourism, might the ruin then be considered a tourist attraction? In normative tourist practices, whether a ruin becomes a tourist attraction depends on its given narrative. Tourists who visit the old town have been contained to small areas where 'traditional' tavernas and ancient or cultural sites kept them busy, before a visit to the checkpoint where they would read the historical narrative on the Greek Cypriot community. The liminality (Turner, 1974a; van Gennep, 1961) or the anomaly (Douglas, 2002) of the ruin does not fit into the modern dichotomy of 'ancient' nor 'new'. The modern ruin is therefore not part of a normative tourist narrative as it is an indication of dirt and temporality. Ironically, ruins that are understood to be ancient are expected to be protected for posterity and become tourist sites simply due to their age value (Riegl, 1982). The modern ruin is therefore understood as a paradox, as dirt and ugliness, as a temporary stage in either destruction, restoration or beautification. What drives tourists to dark places is

perhaps what drives urban explorers to do what they do; the search for authenticity or for existential authenticity (Rickly-Boyd, 2013) that the shock of a ruin or a dark story provides.

This could also be an insight to history for diasporic tourists (Chatzipanagiotidou, 2016). The acts and values of the two groups also lie parallel in terms of their interaction with places and the questionable ethics that accompany their endeavours. In the negative connotations that often accompany 'tourists', 'dark tourists' and 'urban explorers', an opportunity exists to understand the exploration of human's need to understand and deal with the past. There is also the parallel of the extreme, and the sense of being alive that danger evokes (Laviolette, 2011). There is a possibility therefore to understand urban exploration as a parallel to dark tourism and to interrogate the curiosity as part of a wider identity crisis than the one established in Cyprus.

Across the world, the emergence of dark tourism has persons visiting sites of loss, death and destruction as 'attractions'. (Biran et al., 2011; Kaul and Skinner, 2018; Lennon and Foley, 2000; Sharpley and Stone, 2009a; Sion, 2014; Tezenas and Lennon, 2014) The mystery and danger emitted by ruins becomes an attraction itself in this sense. As a newer subject within tourism studies and the anthropology of tourism, the literature on dark tourism often presents it as a voyeuristic and individualistic endeavour. Tourism is often considered merely a passive and recreational activity and dark tourism is criticized for schadenfreude and sadism (Seaton and Lennon, 2004). A seemingly self-conflicting term, 'dark tourism' involves both death and entertainment within its conceptualization. The act of deliberately or recreationally engaging with a place of conflict and ruin reveals much about human approaches to violence and history. Along these lines, war-zone tours emerge as a new tourism practice (Bowman and Pezzullo, 2009). The 'mourning sickness' (West, 2004), often perceived as a postmodern concern (Sharpley and Stone, 2009a), becomes central to community-building need to mourn loss. As with 'staged nostalgia' the collective mourning becomes a bonding space for humanity against loss and death. It is not merely as voyeurism that these visits emerge, often individuals who share part of the history become dark tourists as a way of paying respects to a family's past (such as in Auschwitz for example), in a similar way as the urban explorers of the Green Line try to deal with a difficult history of their own. Sites of dark memory could thus be considered either tourist or pilgrimage sites



Figures 16: Remains of conflict on the edges of the Green Line. Photos by author, 2015

Varosha, the modern section of the city of Famagusta where tourism flourished in the late '60s and early '70s (Sharpley, 2001) has been caught in the Green Line. The eerie cityscape can be seen from afar on a clear day, from the tourist resort of Protaras, or up close from the northern side of the Line. For the explorers this would be the ultimate space to explore, Michael explained; a whole city where they imagine hidden treasures and the dystopian attraction of empty urban landscapes. Varosha recently featured in a Netflix documentary series called *Dark Tourist* (2018), which exoticifies the landscape of destruction without a real appreciation of its context and meaning. The presenter was unsuccessful in his attempts to enter the 'ghost city' as he was intercepted by the Turkish Cypriot authorities and UN troops. Dobraszcyk (2015) identifies three imaginative tropes that emerged out of his own experience at Varosha that serve to explain both dark tourism practices and urban exploration within the context of modern concerns; urbicide, first/last witness and disanthropy. These three refer to the trend of apocalyptic fantasies of experiencing urban destruction, being the first/last witness of a ruined world, and the possibility of a post-human world. Dobraszcyk considers these fantasies as negotiations with modernity, collectivity and trauma using a face-to-face approach with the ruin rather than an avoidance of it.



Figure 17: The Green Line as it reaches the Mediterranean on its northern side. Behind it, the ghost city of Famagusta (Varosha), caught within the Buffer Zone and abandoned since 1974. Photo by author, 2016.

As Dark Tourism's concerns parallel those of the urban explorers, the idea of *Thinking through Tourism* (Scott and Selwyn, 2011) emerges. As MacCannell (2013) observes tourism as a microcosm of modernity, much can be understood about the contemporary world through the concerns of the tourist. By thinking through tourism, the urban explorers, can be understood as fantasy seekers whose preoccupation with the past is a negotiation with their own identities through its ruination. Robinson (2015) has observed urban exploration through the tourist literature identifying common themes with heritage tourism, adventure tourism and themes of authenticity. Robinson has then proposed the term anti-tourism as it presents a contradiction to the common tourist experience in that it seeks to intentionally find the darkness of places.

4.7 CONCLUSION

The threat of decay and loss drives heritage processes towards different methods of protecting or recreating the past. As a modern preoccupation, heritage is a selective process of memorialization driven by the need to leave behind what is deemed important at the time. Jackson (1980) identifies a paradox in modernity's obsession with protecting from decay, while at the same time producing materials which are so resistant to decay that they become permanent discarded artefacts. Having conceptualized decay as a form of loss becomes contradictory to the creation of so much permanent garbage. While we strive to save aspects of life from destruction such as the built environment, the appearance of plastic opens up a further discussion of post-humanist ethics that DeSilvey's (2017) work has introduced. Scanlan (2004) then considers society's tendency to make garbage out of things it does not want; from literal material garbage, to knowledge, concepts, ideas that do not fit its needs. This line of thinking could further challenge notions of memorialization and could provide interesting insight in the future. Matters of representation and narrative that arise from this discussion are approached in the following chapter.

What heritage is and what its processes entail become interrogated upon a close investigation of urban cultural and natural life forms. As a selective protection of the past, heritage processes are often found to interfere with the present where heritage is alive and in the making. Interruption of such processes aim to beautify and cleanse, displacing groups and districting processes of decay. Among the abandonment of the old town of Nicosia numerous groups have found home, taking advantage of the liminality of the space; urban explorers, artists, entrepreneurs, activists, tourists and marginal groups. This reveals the

possibilities of the liminal space as a space of exploration and expression of various identities. It is no coincidence that this space is also the closest space to 'the other' and physically dense with memories and material of conflict. Decay threatens cultures of memorialization but allows cultural and natural life forms to emerge. These are often perceived as dangerous, threatening and anarchic. Contested ideas of beauty and authenticity are balanced out with the narrative of 'staged nostalgia' which imposes values such as those of memorializing pasts and valuing certain histories over others. In this scheme, it makes sense for young Cypriots to seek and explore their identity here; the appeal is exactly the possibility of exploring identity and conflict, it is a Rite of Passage.

5 HERITAGE NARRATIVES

'A monument is where old and new memories meet to develop feelings of common belonging and understanding'⁴⁵

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In December 2018 Costas Mavrides, a member of the European Parliament (MEP) announced through on Facebook that the monastery of Agios Panteleimonas in the village of Myrtou/Camlibel in northern Cyprus had been vandalised. The MEP reported to the European Commission that that the vandalism has been ongoing since the monastery's conservation works were completed six months ago using European Union funds. The doors to the church have been broken, one of the bells stolen, and the inside is covered with graffiti slurs. The MEP's facebook page invited an uproar of comments, one of which reads: *'The Greeks and the civilized world restore our monuments and the Turkish invaders destroy them. There must be a way to stop this. As a first step, the pseudostate must restore the damages and then protect the Monastery until the return of the legal residents of Myrtou...'*⁴⁶ This chapter uses the case of Agios Panteleimonas to explore the use of narratives in heritage processes and to understand the power conflicts that exists within such spaces. Reflecting on fieldwork at the same monument, it appears that heritage conflicts are ongoing throughout the process of selection, conservation/restoration, and also following completion. Heritage, as a (re)presentation of a landscape's identity, is a space of negotiation between memory and history, public and private, important and unimportant monuments, as well as issues of territorial contestation.

Scott (2002) perceives the narratives of heritage in Cyprus as coming from two contrasting sides; that of international organizations and world heritage, and that of nation-making localized heritage. These competing heritage ideologies then meet the localized conflict of establishing historical links to the land, and 'difficult' memory (Macdonald, 2008). This case

⁴⁵ UNDP Programme manager speech on 18th April 2016

⁴⁶ 'Οι Έλληνες και ο πολιτισμένος κόσμος ανακαινίζει τα μνημεία μας και οι Τούρκοι εισβολείς τα καταστρέφουν. Πρέπει να υπάρχει τρόπος να σταματήσει αυτό. Σαν πρώτο βήμα πρέπει το ψευδοκράτος να αποκαταστήσει τις ζημιές και μετά να προστατέψει το Μοναστήρι μέχρι την επιστροφή των νόμιμων κατοίκων της Μυρτου...' 6/12/18 on Facebook

study of Agios Panteleimonas explores this full of contradiction space where heritage narratives are currently being created and imposed onto the materiality of the past, identifying the various agents involved and the hierarchies of heritage-making. Heritage, as a representation of the past that informs identities in the present (Macdonald, 2013), is a dynamic narrative in identity formation. In Cyprus, where literal and symbolic conflict is key to identification (Bauman, 2000), heritage spaces become arenas for their legitimization (Constantinou et al., 2012; Constantinou and Hatay, 2010). Heritage therefore, in its disputed creation, is a narrative with an aim and purpose where conflicts of narrative arise (Papadakis, 2003, 1998).

The space of heritage is one where narratives are selected and negotiated to be imprinted onto monuments for the foreseeable future (Butler and Joy, 2013). What this creates, is a space where narratives compete for validation, as they offer justification for political disputes. However, narratives are also subject to interpretation and their aims can be lost in a space of conflict. The public facebook comment above indicates the lack of clarity when it comes to heritage preservation processes, both of the narrative they were attempting to realise (in this case tolerance, peace and diversity) but also of the heritage agents themselves. The commenter is unaware of the processes of restoration that Agios Panteleimonas has been subject to, which involve the intervention of international rather than national organizations, and paradoxically also the participation of Turkish Cypriot scientists, but assumes a politically charged stance. The case study is an observation of the agents of heritage and the voices of resistance to the various ideologies at play around the particular site.

The power dynamics of the heritage space have infinite value to social and political schemes resulting in its own political economy involving managing, governing, translating, producing, consuming and capitalizing (Geismar, 2015; Meskell, 2015). Heritage is an industry as well as a narrative that attaches itself to other larger ones; tourism is a major part of this as will be seen in Chapter Six, as is the involvement of major international organizations for 'development'. Within these political economies heritage consumption involves the constructions and commodification that shape and are shaped by identity. The domination of the international organizations in these spaces is considered as neo-colonial (Schuerch, 2017) uses of resources to control the landscape of conflict in Cyprus. The use of heritage narratives as soft power allows for political validation and economic benefit but most importantly it essentializes a cultural identity in space and time.

Geismar (2015a) notes that heritage, as a representation of history, legitimizes identities through a claimed ownership of the past. This is achieved through the articulation of the

past as objective and static. The use of the term '*narrative*' throughout refers to the use of linear storytelling, the attempts at history-making through material evidence, and the use of language within these processes. Interventions to the materiality of heritage (restoration, conservation and so on) form the background for this discussion, but the use of '*narrative*' as an analytical approach understands heritage as a story. The use of language is perceived as a soft power in spaces of conflict. As generations pass and language evolves, either organically or intentionally, its use and transmission shapes perceptions of self and other, of conflict and peace. To illustrate the use of language and narrativity in analytical approaches to heritage, the example of the case of Macedonia serves as a useful framework and it is of note that Cypriots feel passionately about the case of the Macedonian toponym, indicating a number of connections. This is a result both of the close connection with Greece as a 'motherland' and of the personal struggle of place-naming in a place of conflict.

The space where these conversations take place encompasses the contradictions and tensions within the seemingly peaceful spaces of heritage. This is also a play on the perception of Cypriot political space as a peaceful conflict, where non-violence may be perceived as a state of peace though no Cypriot would claim they live in peace (Bryant and Papadakis, 2012). In the spaces of heritage, resolution is attempted to be found for these layered conflicts through a peaceful dominance. The discrepancies of the many parties result in a hierarchical decision making process where inevitably economic and political power take over. In a paradoxical way, the UNDP, a main actor in this case, represents the notions of the United Nations as a carrier of peace, but in the process causes its own conflicts. Heritage, as currently practiced in Cyprus, is a top-down process that is often contradicted by living memory of places, as in the case of displaced people in Cyprus. The case study elaborates on this using ethnographic material such as interviews and images to show the malleability of the past through heritage processes. The identified conflicts are based on the perceptual dichotomies that cause conflict in the symbolic landscape of Cyprus in general; old/young, traditional/modern, Greek/Turkish, left/right, local/international, religious/secular, populism/cosmopolitanism. The narratives that accompany such highly politicised and political acts are a reflection of the dynamics between the various agents and the voices which are lost in the process. The case study offers insight as to how some of the internationalist narratives might be imposed onto heritage spaces and reveal occasions when this is unrepresentative of street-level perceptions and memory.

The materiality of heritage and its adopted narrative have the power to mobilize communities towards certain futures, and it is these possible futures that the various agents of heritage-making are attempting to control. The landscape of local and international

agents of heritage is interrogated as a space of conflict where the identity crisis identified in Chapter Two becomes evident.

5.2 THE CASE STUDY OF AGIOS PANTELEIMONAS

April 2016

The monastery appears to our left as we drive the UN registered car along the swerving road. This area in the north looks and feels like Cyprus, but also foreign somehow. The rolling green hills I've never touched I know won't be like this for long, they will soon turn a golden colour, the colour of Cyprus. 'There is a valley here that cuts through the mountainside, leading to Kyrenia on the other side', this is the closest I have ever been to the mountain that forms the background of my home city. I am being given a tour in English by a 'foreigner', my UNDP supervisor, Sara. She has been in Cyprus for over 5 years and I often tell her she has become very Cypriot in her mannerisms. She has been translating the village names for me throughout the 45-minute drive before spotting the belfry to our left, just past an army camp. She knows it is my first trip this deep into the northern part of the island and I can feel her observing my reactions. We are here to plan for this week's UNDP events. Sara drives up to the gate and someone runs to let us in, nobody questions a UN car.

We meet our Turkish Cypriot UNDP colleague, she is the architect for the conservation project of the monastery, let's call her Emine. Emine is pregnant, just showing, and she is wearing more appropriate shoes for a construction site than we are. She walks us to the monastic buildings explaining where the walls have crumbled and how they are trying to hold the arches up with wooden support frames. She suggests a route for the visitors to follow during the events, round the church and through the side door, able to observe but have minimal contact with the building for safety reasons. My colleagues have become immune to the irony of a Turkish Cypriot architect working on a Christian monument in Cyprus. The interior of the church smells of mould and bird excrement; the broken windows have allowed for what seems like hundreds of pigeons to colonize. Comfortable among the flutter, the chief conservationist is climbing down the scaffolding to greet us. The empty church echoes his broken English. He is a Greek-Cypriot and, together with his son, describes the painstaking process of preservation, identifying where they have found small sections of wall paintings under the plaster. There has been an uncomfortable dispute in the office on whether these are worth preserving at all or whether they are hindering the process.

On the occasion of the International Day for Monuments and Sites in April 2016, a UN-initiated celebration, the United Nations Development Programme- Partnership for the Future (UNDP-PFF) office in Cyprus organized a set of visits to one of the heritage sites it had been working on. This was part of the 'peace development' efforts of the organization, to encourage interaction between groups through evidence of tolerance and respect. This was an attempt at transparency for the large amounts of funding that the organization was handling, sourced by various EU funding schemes. The EU had funded €6.7 million through the European Commission in Cyprus since 2012 specifically for the projects of the bi-communal Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage (TCCH), channelled through the UNDP⁴⁷. The UNDP office had completed 18 projects by 2015, with another 14 to be undertaken in the foreseeable future. In the spring of 2016 a number of projects were under way, with each being at a different stage, and one of them was the monastery of Agios Panteleimonas in the village of Myrtou/Camlibel⁴⁸. As each project was completed, celebration events that brought the two communities together became the ultimate proof of their success. On this event, one of the most high-profile projects invited architecture students, press and former and current residents to visit the site before its completion. This and many similar events are published on the organization's media as well as through direct contact with the village's current and former residents who have links to the site. The events are photographed and reported on the UNDP's communication and social media and become success stories for the UN's development efforts.

The UNDP has been active in Cyprus since 1979 when the Nicosia Master Plan was being initiated to protect the old town of Nicosia, an ongoing project (Marangos, 2015). As part of a US funded project on heritage, the UNDP-PFF programme was originally one of two sister projects along with ACT which later closed down. The PFF office is currently funded by the European Union and other donors to support the '*peace and confidence building process in Cyprus through different levels of interventions*'⁴⁹. Their many projects have focused on the bi-communality of the island's population and the support of projects with the same values. They have been working closely with the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus (CMP) to search for, excavate and identify the remains of the thousands of persons who went missing during the war of 1974. They have also been involved with de-mining projects and crossing openings through the border with the Technical Committee on Crossings (TCC). Its largest projects, however, have been focused on heritage -what they refer to as common cultural heritage. These have been funded by the EU '*Support to Monuments of Great*

⁴⁷ Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage publication, January 2015

⁴⁸ The UN always refers to both Greek and Turkish village names, in that order, and separated by a slash

⁴⁹ UNDP-PFF website, accessed 21st October 2018

Importance for Cyprus' fund and have been a collaboration between themselves and the appointed bi-communal Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage (TCCH). These projects have involved a selection of monuments across the island, done by the TCCH, and their conservation/preservation/restoration accordingly, before handing them back to the community. The collaboration between the two communities in these projects results in a mixed group of people, Greek and Turkish Cypriots and international employees of the UN and EU organizations involved.

The TCCH represent the Cypriot people as a whole (Greek and Turkish) in the use of resources from international organisations regarding heritage projects. Themselves Greek and Turkish Cypriots, they have a claim at representation that allows the observation of heritage narratives to be observed as self-representation. And yet the conflicting political climate of Cyprus does not allow for such representation to be possible. Cypriotism (Mavratsas, 1997a) as the conceptualisation of a common Cypriot identity is contested, particularly through the social processes of 'staged nostalgia'. Within the landscape of representation therefore, the claim of a common identity between Greek and Turkish Cypriots is a contested one.

The assumptions that undermine projects such as these are also based on a number of contested details. First, that Cyprus has a national and colonial history that is multicultural and smooth, and the evidence of this must be preserved. This is problematic in terms of interpreting history under the circumstances of conflict, perceptions of common identity between the communities that form the official Republic and the very idea of a Cypriot national and ethnic identities both of which are contested. Second, the fact that Cyprus currently finds itself divided and in conflict, renders the need for international interventions necessary. The presence of UN development organizations in a European nation is rare and this is attributed to the need for peace development. Such efforts have been largely focused on 'the developing world' which leads to the assumption that Cyprus is seen as a marginal European nation. Thirdly, the assumption that 'Western' heritage processes are the ideal intervention to salvage both the physical and social space of division can be observed as an imperialistic and neo-colonial tactic by European hegemonic powers. Finally, the fact that Cyprus, as a member of the European Union currently finds itself in an identity crisis, becomes a main concern for Europe who appear to have made the decisions as to its identities and fund the relevant projects to highlight these. The funding of heritage projects and the subsequent control of their narratives, are the very form of neo-colonialism identified as a substantial power within the Cypriot socio-political space.

The internal structure of the UNDP office reflected the ideologies of the organization of neutrality and diversity. It was comprised mainly of architects and engineers, three Greek and seven Turkish Cypriots and two foreign employees, one of whom was the project manager. It was a space of collaboration where colleagues of both communities, who believed strongly in their common Cypriot identity, worked together on community building projects across the island. The office was found in northern Nicosia, in a carefully selected building that was not involved in any property contestation. Greek Cypriots had to cross the line each day to come to work by showing their IDs to Turkish Cypriot guards. The fact that the project worked on monuments that represented both communities, and very often religious ones, was a reflection of the ideology of tolerance and diversity promoted by their projects. As part of the projects' visibility, the UNDP looked for a communications intern with skills in photography and filmmaking to create a set of short videos, which is where I found an entry point for my research⁵⁰.

The purpose of the videos was to establish a presence on the UNDP's social media platforms and be able to share the projects within the wider UN network. In research done during that year by the UNDP itself, it appeared that not many Cypriots were aware of the UNDP and its projects, or even of the TCCH. Though restored monuments bore the logos of the project managing and funding organizations, these were rarely part of the narrative of the locals who were not as interested in the actors as they were in the actual restored buildings. The more recent events of the vandalisms to the church and the uproar also indicates this. The videos would involve interviews with visitors on their emotions on seeing the conservation process and the wider meaning of this for them. The process of preparing questions for these were to prove themselves indicative of the subtle dynamics on the heritage field. Questions were worded to retrieve specific replies that would fit the video's purposes. Upon pointing this out, the good intentions of the organizations were brought to their defence. In an end-justifies-the-means way, the interviews selected for the video would present the positive effects of the heritage making process, such as its peace-promoting work, its bi-communal character, its ability for community making and the ideals of global heritage. The invited guests for the events were expected to express thankfulness and excitement for the conservation/restoration. The interviewees were already selectively picked out of the larger population as they would have learned about the visit through existing links to the UNDP and they were, after all, prepared to cross the border for the event. On this occasion, some funding had gone into publishing advertisements in newspapers and contacts with

⁵⁰ Images and videos taken as part of my collaboration with the UNDP have been copyrighted by the organization. The website www.cy.undp.org, YouTube channel UNDP in Cyprus and Instagram page [undp_cyprus](#) feature much imagery of interest.

former and current community groups were made to ensure participation. The group of visitors then, was already a very specific portion of Cypriots, the interviewees were selected from the larger group, presented with the scripted questions, and filmed replying. The editing process that created the UN narrative of a successful heritage story included those local voices who expressed the desired narrative.

The relationship between the organizations is a collaborative one where economic, practical and social factors come together to form decisions. Interestingly and despite this, the booklet named *The Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage in Cyprus (January 2015)*⁵¹ states in the back: *'This booklet has been produced with the financial assistance of the European Union. The views expressed herein can in no way be taken to reflect the official opinion of the European Union and the United Nations Development Programme'*. While projects are executed in collaboration and opinions are shared, the international organizations feel the need to protect themselves from the relationship. Within the projects, the space in which one organizations' narrative ends and the other one's begins is much more complex. Particularly when funding is assigned towards particular projects, the narrative must be representative of the EU's views. To understand the collective efforts of the organizations, links must be made between common ideological views and practices that are referred to later as 'regimes'. It must be stated, however, that this clarification is important as to the positioning of the international organisations within the heritage space in Cyprus.

The Agios Panteleimonas monastery was one of the selected monuments for conservation, an Orthodox Christian monastery and church complex, found north of the Green Line, between the cities of Nicosia and Morphou, in a village called Myrtou for Greek Cypriots, or Camlibel for Turkish Cypriots⁵². As part of the UNDP's ongoing collaboration with the TCCH this was one of many similar projects focusing on mainly religious structures, but also some archaeological and cultural ones, with the most high-profile one, the Apostolos Andreas monastery due by Autumn 2016. For the UN, these sites found across the divided landscape are places of importance as common heritage. The contestation of land ownership aside, it was the loss of common spaces that was being tackled through these projects. This explains the decision to focus on mainly religious monuments; through their conservation and/or restoration, the aim is to promote tolerance in diversity, but also importantly to promote mobility and mutual respect. Religious monuments are also spaces of community building and collectiveness. As a first stage, Agios Panteleimonas was to undergo conservation,

⁵¹ TCCH publication (2015)

⁵² Figure 2

which as explained was much less interventionist than a restoration that could possibly come after⁵³. As the monument had been disintegrating since the war, symbolic of the two communities' relations, conservation of its materiality aimed to protect the monument from further damage and eliminate any reminders of war and destruction. The ulterior aim was to re-establish lost links with the place and broken relationships between its communities.

The previous chapter discussed the materiality of heritage, touching upon the differences between various types of heritage interventions considering both Riegl (1982) and Ruskin's (2017) observations, and the literature that derived from them. In relation to materiality therefore, the questions that are asked here are share similar concerns. Which state of the building's life is most valued and why? In the building's lifetime, the interactions that have shaped it to its current state may be considered equally important as the state that such efforts are aiming for. The story of Agios Panteleimonas as will be seen through the interviews of former and current residents, includes religious ceremonies, village fairs, army camps, children's hiding places and natural rejuvenation. The half-collapsed stone arches responded to the weathering of their material before presented with newly cut wood to lean on. In terms of safety, this was a necessary measure if the site was to be officially opened. It was also able to recreate an image of the monastery out of the unshaped rubble that had been laying beneath weeds. The layer of bird excrement crusting and eating at the material with its chemical properties is arguably also part of the building at this stage. For the religious, this is a form of disrespect towards church but for the post-humanists it is nature's way. In terms of prioritizing one history over another, the four layers of plaster that have been placed on the wall at some stage in the church's life to refresh its look, are equally important to protect as the wall paintings, or the stone wall beneath them. Each stage is equally authentic to the building's life, and yet the decision on which one to protect and which to disregard in this case lies between the priorities of a conservationist, a contractor and an architect, but most importantly those of the organizations involved. Western notions and practices of heritage deal with the materiality in very particular ways, and this is the case with Agios Panteleimonas.

This case study offers the space for the exploration of the narratives that accompany heritage sites based on three main strands, representation, power and conflict. Before such a site is given its official narrative, the one that intends to remain for the future, conflicts arise as to what the narrative should be and what it should represent (Macdonald, 2013; Meskell, 2015b, 2002; Smith, 2006). The individuals within the case study represent the many conflicting voices that can be heard in this process, the split national voices,

⁵³ Information presented at introduction by site manager on the day of the event

international voices, the local voices of differing generations, the official and unofficial voice of the authorities and the many influences which shape these. Heritage is capital in places of conflict, where power relations become apparent and identities are negotiated. Through the various actors of heritage processes, the narratives may always be contested, but what remains for the future is the one that manages to be established. The authority to control the past and future, comes with financial and political power, making heritage into a top-down process. The dynamic role of heritage within Cypriot social life today reveals links between social conflicts and heritage processes, where heritage is observed as a negotiation with the past and as an interactive negotiation with identity.

5.2.1 AGENTS OF HERITAGE

The UN's presence has never been loudly (or deeply) questioned by the islanders but can only be discussed within the UN's own pre-set terms and conditions... in spite of the good and sincere intentions... the UN as an entity simply cannot allow for any diverse voice or discussion on the island. Hence, some basic imperatives of control have been articulated and re-articulated by the public without question. (Senova, 2012)

The presence of international organizations within the landscape of conflict features greatly in any investigation of heritage narratives in Cyprus (Constantinou et al., 2012; Constantinou and Hatay, 2010; Scott, 2002a; Welz, 2017a). Senova (2012) refers to the existence of a UN peace-keeping force on the island as a hegemonic presence. The various departments, offices and projects of the UN hold a prestige that remains largely unchallenged in the public space, although trust in UN values has never been established. The EU becomes a major power within this space as it supports financially the projects of the UN. As will be seen from the case study, grievances remain in the private sphere, partly as part of 'staged nostalgia's' display, and partly due to hierarchical decision-making processes. Responses and resistances to this power are lost in the result that is guised in 'good and sincere intentions'. For such discussion to take place, the processes of heritage making must be observed to reveal the selective and interventionist power of heritage narratives. The various sources of these narrative reveal the hierarchical decision-making process neo-colonial domination (Schuerch, 2017) that is often contradicted by perceptions of the Cypriot 'self'. This results in clashing motivations as international organizations attempt to 'develop' the landscape of war-trauma and memory while locals continuously attempt to renegotiate their identity within it.

Mallinson (2005) uses the metaphor of a poker game to tell the modern history of Cyprus, indicating the many influences that have shaped its current state. The analysis of the events of a single day of fieldwork in Cyprus reveal a similar subtle political 'game' in the heritage space. Questions emerge as to the use of power within the heritage landscape and the private resistance from within the communities as part of 'staged nostalgia'. Dynamic heritage narratives are part of the society's use of the past and of the present as a time of rough negotiation of identity. This creates a package of heritage that informs identity from different, and often conflicting, angles, explaining the crisis of identity in Cyprus today (Papadakis, 2003, 1998). The relationship between heritage and identity is an interdependent one, informing and informed by the idea of a collective self (Eyerman et al., 2015; Papadakis, 1998). Heritage thus informs collective identities through processes that attempt to find a balance in the past, present and future for a peaceful existence in the landscape of conflict and division. At the same time, heritage may be shaped according to the identities it aims to represent. In Cyprus, the physical and symbolic landscape is scattered with contradictions to its selected historical narrative. The power of the narrative becomes central to an ethnography of Cyprus and any ethnography of modernity and especially one concerned with heritage.

DeSilvey (2017) notes that as humans interfere with the life cycle of a building, they leave behind 'an imprint that then *informs their own identities*' (2017:13). This process of giving and receiving identity markers becomes central in the discussion that follows. As the built environment encompasses the conflict at a physical level, the selective consumption of certain sites as monuments informs identity in a structured way, and the careful narrative that accompanies them becomes a statement. The power of heritage spaces to inflict meaning upon material becomes entangled in processes of identity-making. The formation of identity is a circular notion of representation, production and consumption, where at each stage stories are renegotiated and absorbed. Heritage processes are therefore informed by identity but in turn become part of a process of identity production. Once the narrative of heritage is fixed in place, it settles into a sense of permanence, and becomes a static representation of the past.

5.2.2 HERITAGE IS A NARRATIVE OF THE SELF

The sparkling wine is going straight to my head; it has been a long three days under the warm April sun. The week's events are deemed a success and the team is dusty and cheerful. As communications intern for the UNDP I have been filming for a short video that will be used to promote UNDP projects. I awkwardly strike up discussion with one of the members of the

Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage. As I slowly get to know them better, their internal structure and individual motivations are becoming more apparent. 'She is trying to stir up trouble' he says about the lady in pink who had been crying since she got here 'Don't pay attention to her'. I sense a tone of disapproval about the fact that I approached the particular visitor for an interview, and an insinuation that I am not to use her footage in the official video. Taken aback at this blatant rejection of an opposing opinion, I do not challenge it.

The multilingual chatter continues for a while, while the contractor's team collects our orange neon vests which separated us from the yellow-vested visitors. In a hierarchical manner, the organization leaders were also wearing blue hardhats as opposed to our white ones. Shaken by the realization of my editing power⁵⁴ I replay the interview back in my head while I pack up my gear. In the background, I can hear one TCCH member trying to learn Turkish from another one- somehow, they all end up in laughing fits.

'I am happy that our church is being fixed now. I hope that one day we will be able to use it for services. (welling up) What can I say? I will be very happy to see it finished, because it makes me very emotional... As you know, we were born, raised, this used to be our church. We were baptized inside it... I don't know if you know this, but Agios Panteleimonas is thaumaturgic, he made a lot of miracles happen. Things we know, things we have seen, things we can mention in another occasion, of course. Because now we are here only to see what is happening with our church'

Evdokia, the lady in pink, was a Greek-Cypriot of the war generation. Originally from the village, she and her family had been moved south after the invasion, she explained. She had been emotional all day and was excited to speak about her memories. She was the voice of the monument's past; presumably, it was for her that the conservation was taking place. Before the interview, she talked about memories that tied her to the place, though she had been away from it for 40 years. She described the stone bench that surrounded the church, on which children used to sit waiting for the ceremony to end so they could play freely. She recited stories of the fair that attracted villagers from all over the area, where young people would meet other young people and flirt. Her memories kept the place alive all of these

⁵⁴ There was a parallel in my roles as a video editor and an ethnographer; on occasions such as this one where my authority to edit and represent weighed on me. In this case, my personal opinions, ethics and professional position in the UNDP became different filters upon what material would and would not be used in the final video and then my thesis. As the video was made for the UNDP, I followed the instructions of my supervisors and edited out this interview. As an ethnographer, I felt that her voice had a place in my understanding of identity and representation in relation to heritage. On either occasion, the authority to tell a different story out of the same events was proof of the subjectivity of ethnographic research (Gullion, 2015; Hegelund, 2005) as further discussed in Chapter One.

years. Other interviewees had given similar descriptions from memory but none as expressive. When the camera turned on, however, it was no longer about giving her long descriptions, it was more about passing on a message. Her voice changed, her back straightened and her head tilted back and chin forward. She took the interview as an opportunity to express her patriotism but her emotions took over and her voice trembled. She only managed to give a short statement and we were soon politely interrupted; this was not of interest to the organizations involved. Crying was not part of the narrative, loss and trauma, nostalgia and patriotism did not belong here. Peace, diversity and tolerance were the preferred narratives, not the past but the future, both for the video and for the event.

At first, Evdokia's narrative appears to be positive towards the conservation works, but her tone implied notions that the organizations were working against, such as pain and loss. The TCCH members discretely suggested editing her out completely. They were building something and could not afford risk. Behind her words, could be detected the tone of moral disapproval, that of a person who is not prepared to move forward, and the attitude of being on the right side of an argument. Her initial positivity was due to a feeling that it was owed to the refugees or 'former residents', as the international organizations prefer to call them, to have their church restored. There was an element of bitterness along with that of longing, of a religious faith that was beyond tolerance, and of a righteousness that was not negotiable. This, however, was the narrative of a person who remembered the church as it was before the war. It was the voice of a local, a refugee or former resident of the village, it was as true a voice as could be asked for on this day. And yet this voice was filtered through political, social and religious beliefs that did not support the video's aims. Evdokia was unable to represent herself at the church of her youth, now a 'monument', in which case who was the conservation project being undertaken for?

Giulia, a foreign friend one day told me *'I don't understand why Cypriots are like this, don't they want to move forward?'*. As Greek Cypriots tend to do (Bryant, 2004), Evdokia presented herself as victimized and mistreated by the war, which was not in the spirit of moving forward that the organizations were going for. Though she had experienced the war first-hand, mention of wrongdoings by either side were not suited in the internationalist environment in which the monument found itself today. The difficulty in moving forward is partly rooted in the memory and first-hand trauma, and partly in the divisive socialization of the past half century. Through Evdokia's eyes, the answer was clear, she was not fixated on the story from a history book, she was fixated on her own story. Moving forward for her meant dealing with a painful past, not ignoring everything for the sake of unity. Her own memory of the war had become part of her life experience and of the personality that had

evolved from them, to try and reshape the narrative for her would mean to try to reshape her own memory. For Evdokia, the church was not a monument that inspired peace and tolerance, it was a reminder the loss of her community and home. The relationship between history and memory and the need for a more interlinked relationship has been discussed by Macdonald (2013) who considers the materiality of memory as part of the changing nature of identities (also Bryant, 2012; Cassia, 2007; Galatariotou, 2012; Nora, 1989; Papadakis, 1993). To separate memory from history, and particularly negative memory, tampers with the meaning of the heritage space and with the identities attached to it.

The church had been the centre of the village, the hub of the community, a space of sacredness and respect, a place of fairs, music and family, of baptisms, weddings and funerals, while today it is becoming a sanitized reconstruction with an altered meaning of peace promotion. While the church might look similar to a past self, the possibility of the community's return is out of the question while the division remains. Instead, a new community, surrounds it which relates to it in a very different way. This once again raises the question of who these conservations are being done for and who the heritage is meant to represent. The TCCH claims a '*shared Cypriot heritage*' with all of its diversity is what will unite the two communities. Cypriotness as a contested identity (Mavratsas, 1997a) is once again employed to create a notion of a united community that could be represented by a single national identity. However, the attempt to bring the two communities together under the current circumstances and during a time of living memory becomes highly problematic. Promoting peace and tolerance through such spaces of loss and trauma, perceived by the organizations as a cleansing experience, does not erase the past, particularly for those who have lived through it. This may be observed in the light of generational differences, where the memory and first hand trauma competes with changing values of post-war generations. Evdokia represents a certain portion of the population that most often avoids such events or crossing at all, the voices of which remain private. For the organizations involved, the choice to erase these voices is part of the fight against intolerance and is therefore not conceived as an immoral or controversial decision. However, it does indeed reveal the power dynamics involved in heritage processes.

When memory and nostalgia find themselves in the same space as peacebuilding efforts, a contradiction of values takes place. Mehmet, a young Turkish Cypriot man expressed this contradiction when interviewed on the meaning of the restoration. '*I remember used to play in the ruins as a child, now I am happy to see the church restored*'. His 'happiness' to see the restoration could be interpreted in a variety of ways: perhaps it was the presence of official organizations such as the UN and EU in the space of the interview that influenced this, or

perhaps it was the mind-set of development for peace that was shaping his opinions. Perhaps even it was development itself which he found positive; for a village to have a newly restored church versus a deserted ruin of one could bring positive economic and social change. And yet, Mehmet's own fond memories of the ruins did not focus on the ugliness or danger of the ruin, neither did they involve the original purpose of the building (i.e. its religious aspect). His childhood experiences were directly linked to the ruin itself and the nature that had taken over. Its restoration to a previous state of existence would mean the destruction of his childhood play area. For the current Turkish Cypriot residents of the village, the religious side of the monument had little meaning, but they were, perhaps through discussion with the UNDP, appreciative and respectful of its meaning for Greek Cypriots. It is apparent that in the heritage restorations that are taking place under such circumstances, there is an encouragement by international organizations to see the positive effects of such actions. Heritage processes in this way prioritize the selected narrative and its power over the real-life experiences of spaces, or more importantly, they prioritize certain experiences and certain times involving a monument to others. The place of Mehmet's childhood was being destroyed and he could only be glad.

Marangos (2015) considers the intervention of the UN and in particular the UNDP as a positive effort towards salvaging endangered heritage monuments, specifically in the northern areas of the island. The creation of an idea of 'common' heritage was essential in this mission where current locals had to be deployed to actively protect the heritage spaces of the 'enemy' community; Turkish Cypriots protecting Christian churches, for example. The ideology of a diverse but common Cypriot heritage, that could be perceived under the light of Anderson's (2016) writings on 'imagined communities', is therefore an essential mechanism to the process of protecting heritage in a space of conflict. While the very root of the division lies in the inability of the two communities to perceive themselves under a common identity following their recent history, insistence on endorsing this ideology for a peaceful future drives the organizations' work. The challenge of promoting peace through common heritage is therefore a project of reversing long held opinions of identity and belonging that are products of a parallel divisive socialization. While this is attempted as a noble effort, issues such as those of ownership remain very literal and tangible concerns. The idea of common heritage, for example, requires a simplification of the complexities that emerge in places of conflict and contested histories. Much of the distrust that people have in otherwise highly respected organizations such as the EU and UN, lies in the attempt to erase memories of conflict and promote common spaces of peace within the same spaces. In a landscape divided for lack of 'commonness' and additional war trauma, this effort is perceived as a superficial one. While the northern areas are still referred to as *katehomena*

(occupied) by Greek Cypriots, the idea of a common heritage is contradictory to the idea of a temporary conflict that should be solved by a return of occupied lands- *epistrofi*.



Figure 18: Poster seen in the old town quoting Foucault indicates the distrust in the international organizations. Photo from author's personal archive, 2011-15.

The efforts to restore religious spaces in Cyprus are mainly a step to restore a community that has been dispersed following its displacement. By having restored the monument where the community comes together, being religious or not, the organizations are luring Cypriots back to their former villages to promote interaction between communities. Such visits are expected to be done with respect to the current residents of the village however, those that the refugees perceived as having literally taken their house from them (Bryant,

2010; Dikomitis, 2012a). These expectations by the organizations are erratic attempts to erase the conflict from memory, and impose a peace narrative in its place. The interactions between former and current residents of villages are diverse, as recorded in ethnographies by Bryant (2010) and Dikomitis (2012). Similarly, during my visits with former residents to their villages there were different reactions to the current community, but there were always tears and nostalgic storytelling. It is notable that on the occasion of the events of Agios Panteleimonas, the 'current' and 'former' residents were scheduled to visit at different times.

The representation of suffering as displayed by Evdokia is an important element in community making amongst Greek Cypriots. The thirst for justice is rooted in controversial but fixed interpretations of history and in memories passed down from the older generation. For those who have lived through the war, and especially those who have been displaced by it, an emblematic link to the land is expressed, and a pain of loss that does not allow for the option of a future with any solution that does not fully restore the past. A large percentage of the Greek-Cypriot population, have a similar demeanor to Evdokia when approaching the social aspects of a possible solution. While Bryant (2012) points out the common use of '*narratives of victimization*' by both communities, Sant Cassia (2007) identifies the differences in the approach by Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots when it comes to the representation of their suffering, where Greek Cypriots conduct it in abstract and symbolic manner versus the more 'realistic' one of the Turkish Cypriots. The abstract nature of Greek Cypriot expressions of suffering is based on conflicting observations of fault within the community itself. Collectivity is then created through 'staged nostalgia', alleviating the conflicts within the Greek Cypriot community and directing them towards a common enemy. The use of metaphors, imagery and sensory recollections of place are employed, often in hyperbole, to express the 'staged nostalgia' that is then incorporated as part of one's identity as a Greek Cypriot.

When representation is a hegemonic process, the link between the projected identity and the identity felt at street level is inevitably unbalanced. Evdokia's case illustrates this imposition of narrative onto heritage spaces that are unrepresentative of local perceptions. Alexander et al. (2004) write that '*If conflict is active, the production of heritage will vary accordingly*' (2004:153). Where conflict is still unresolved, the existence of heritage processes becomes a pawn in the resolution game. This indicates the lack of a '*master narrative*' (Alexander et al., 2004a), a commonly accepted story that could illuminate both the heritage space and the Cyprus Problem's political conflict. This 'master narrative' is what 'staged nostalgia' replaces within the Greek Cypriot community, but this not only

excludes the Turkish Cypriot community, it perceives it as an opposition. The powers that use heritage as political capital attempt to take control of the common 'master narrative' but fail to incorporate the memory and trauma of both communities. The emotional links between locals and places of heritage are lost in future-gazing, leaving shells of places as heritage monuments. As identity is shaped by both negative and positive memory, removing one cannot compensate for the other.

The intensive attempts at a 'master narrative' of Cypriotness (Mavratsas, 1997a; Papadakis, 1998) are certainly making their way to the public in some forms. This is largely being achieved through leftist political narrative and practice, inspired by the uniting narratives that the organizations are also employing. Evidence of this is seen along the Ledras street border crossing where a diverse group of people have started a grassroots initiative called Unite Cyprus Now. This narrative represents a portion of the population that the events of the UNDP are also attracting.

'I believe it is very important for a people to protect and respect their heritage, their culture and their history. I hope that very soon Cyprus will be reunited so both communities can appreciate this history of ours, our common elements in our history and our culture, and enjoy this beautiful island and everything it has to offer and show it to visitors/foreigners, why not, with safety'

Mrs Mary's voice made it into the final cut of the video, revealing the desired narrative of the international organizations. This narrative certainly represents a portion of the population; it is however seen at a very different scale than the organizations present it. This unedited translated quote by another Greek Cypriot lady presents a more detached view of the monument, a more rehearsed narrative that may have applied at any heritage monument. It does not include any subtexts of victimization or excessive attachment to the past, but a forward thinking view of heritage that parallels the narrative of the organizations. This voice is now on YouTube as posted by the UNDP.

The organizations involved in these projects have the power to erase negative memory though their influence. Meskel (2002) writes about '*negative heritage*' and the attempt to '*master*' the past through the processes of heritage making. This power to change negative pasts into something that represents unity is identified in the efforts of international organizations such as the UNDP to promote a peaceful future. Restoration to an earlier state of existence removes physical marks of natural and human-made destruction, seemingly erasing the last half century from the building's physicality. In this case, the constructor made it clear that the project of Agios Panteleimonas at this stage was about conservation with '*minimal intervention, if we have to put for example a stone, it has to be absolutely for*

constructural reasons and safety reasons' ⁵⁵. A distinction between restoration and conservation must be made, where the level of intervention varies greatly, however both are powerful in selecting narratives. In the case of the monastery, if a battle has knocked a wall down, is that not part of the building's story? The symbolic meaning of these monuments makes these efforts problematic under the current circumstances of division. Even by erasing the physical remains of negative pasts, the current state of division and displacement is the reality of loss among the narrative of unity.

'The insistence on simply rejecting war, which is promoted at many heritage sites, serves to negate the political symptoms of conflict and offers to clean the conscience of nations and supernational organizations. In seeking this outcome, commodified heritage obscures the specifics of violence and conflict, transforming every war and every violence to the same war and the same violence. This naturalizes what is in reality historically and culturally specific.'
(Gonzalez-Ruibal and Hall, 2015:152)

The ability and power to change narratives can oversimplify very specific problems into general negative pasts. In a striking parallelism to tourism practices, heritage may also be manipulated in such a way that 'somewhere' becomes 'anywhere' as Sharpley (2001) notes. The loss of histories of violence and conflict and the preservation of seemingly peaceful pasts is a manipulation of history. The incident with Evdokia triggers a discussion on the power and origin of the narratives of heritage, and the efforts to impose meaning under different sets of ideologies. In the power dynamics of heritage, the negotiated product is identity.

All of the influences and conflicts of the heritage space in Cyprus raise the question of whose heritage is being referred to. The answer to this question lies within the conflict itself- heritage is dependent on each agent's perception of identity. Contested identities lead to contested heritage spaces and contested heritage spaces lead to contested identities. If heritage is evidence of identity through links to the past, contested past result in contested identities. As the international organizations are aiming for a common Cypriot heritage, they support the idea of a common Cypriot identity, and thus observe heritage as representative of both communities. At the same time, nationalist organizations such as governments and ministries, highlight the differences between the communities, resulting in two separate heritage spaces. In their case, heritage represents each community and its

⁵⁵ Introduction to the site by site manager

links to the past. This, in turn, legitimizes the group's existence and justifies its position in the conflict.

5.2.3 CLASH OF POWERS

One of the prevailing debates on competing heritage regimes has been that between internationalist versus nationalist values as organized sets of narratives imposed onto heritage sites (Colwell and Joy, 2015; Geismar, 2015). Geismar (2015) explains the use of the term 'regimes' as an understanding of heritage concerning governance and policies rather than an 'entity' on which governance is exerted. Internationalist, or Eurocentric regimes, call for the preservation of what is considered global/world heritage or that imposes Western heritage values. In Cyprus these are largely endorsed by organizations such as the UN and EU as seen through their many smaller incarnations. The two mother organizations are preoccupied with promoting their ideologies which often clash with those of the local public particularly in places of recent or ongoing conflict such as Cyprus. In the meantime, the two jurisdictions in Cyprus offer different versions of history based on selective interpretations of heritage and history, shaped by their connections with Greece and Turkey (Constantinou et al., 2012; Constantinou and Hatay, 2010; Welz, 2017a). The narratives that accompany heritage are in a state of 'monumental ambivalence' (Breglia, 2006), where locals claim back cultural patrimony from external agents such as corporations. Heritage is therefore a space of power contestation. In Cyprus, the nationalist and internationalist heritage regimes create a clash of powers that continues to exclude local voices.

Through the subject of representation, it becomes evident that the mistrust between internationalist regimes and the local public is based on clashing values, uses of memory and perceptions of identity. While Cypriots see themselves as cosmopolitans and have embraced the identity of Europeans (Philippou, 2009, 2005; Welz, 2017a), they are tightly attached to their perceived ethnic identity (Altinay and Bowen, 2017). The division has long been justified as an ethnic difference although efforts to consider a distinctly Cypriot ethnic identity, attached to the Cypriot nation, are also present in the political space (Mavratsas, 1997a). The division is re-established daily through the use of heritage in socialization and the presence of nationalist heritage regimes. The nationalist narrative of heritage is engrained in education and popular culture, as argued in Chapter Two. The attempt to balance cosmopolitanism with nationalism falls mainly on the younger generations who feel they have to let go of the past. With their parents and grandparents resisting this because of their own experiences and memory, many young people in Cyprus today prefer to remain

detached or find alternative routes of expression. This is reflected in the lack of interest in politics, seen in the drastic decrease in voters in the past years. Those who become political are torn between their socialization experiences and their life experiences. The younger generations therefore find themselves struggling to fit in between the internationalist and nationalist narratives of heritage and its uses as a representation of their identity.

The United Nations refer to the cultural diversity of humanity as a way of promoting unity and peace, seen for example through the implementation of UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001). This, much like the 'development' efforts in areas identified as needing economic or peace development processes, often ends up as an imposition of ideologies that do not fit in with the social space they are introduced to. UN organizations, in this case the UNDP, work close to the Cyprus problem, through collaborations with local organizations, dealing with endangered heritage sites (Marangos, 2015) and reunification efforts through heritage. The European Union also employs a cosmopolitan view of heritage, with the idea of unity in diversity as its motto since 2000⁵⁶. This means the prioritization of the indigenous cultures of its jurisdiction as representative of the diversity within the conceivable Europe. In past heritage decisions, British colonial influences had prioritized either the colonial or Hellenic heritage of Cyprus (Welz, 2017a). This results in a heritage landscape that has emerged in the past century where layers of history have been selectively exposed at different eras, resulting in a multi-heritage representation of Cyprus that struggles to fit in with current preoccupations of multiculturalism and world heritage.

The official stance of the Republic of Cyprus is to concur with the internationalist narrative of the donors, and yet internally the narrative remains highly nationalistic, with a tension between cosmopolitan ideologies and populism. Herzfeld (2016) understands the separation between the 'public' and 'private' as 'cultural intimacy'; the contrast between the public and private display of cultural selves. This has been identified on several occasions throughout this research. Herzfeld (2015) has also observed heritage and corruption as the very basis of nation-making, with the private self of the nation-state hidden behind local perceptions. The Department of Antiquities, under the Ministry of Transport, Communications and Works, has collaborated with the international organizations on externally funded projects, and appears positive towards the internationalist narrative. However, upon closer investigation, the difference between their public and private narrative becomes clear. The Department of Antiquities on its website follows the national narrative in making clear that 197 of its registered sites are now under Turkish occupation

⁵⁶ https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/motto_en

'unfortunately, due to the Turkish invasion of 1974, the Department cannot exercise its authority in the occupied areas of Cyprus'. As discussed in the Introduction, the selected vocabulary is never non-political. Terms such as 'justice', 'reunification', 'return' or 'invasion and occupation' are commonplace within official representations of heritage spaces. During a visit at the Folk-Art Museum in 2016, the language and narrative were distinctly nationalist, religious and selective through the use of terms such as 'katakites' (κατακτητές- invaders), 'katehomena' (κατεχόμενα- occupied) and 'patrida' (πατρίδα- motherland - referring to Greece). While the economic and political power of international organizations is diplomatically accepted with gratitude but once internalized its meaning shifts. At one UNDP event, for example, the Greek Cypriot village *muhtaris* (μουχτάρης- community leader) gave a touching speech thanking the international organizations for their work at the Turkish Cypriot village monument, following which he turned to me as a fellow Greek Cypriot and blurted '*Dirty Turks*' (βρωμότουρτζοι- vromotourjoi). The contrast between the official public stance and the internal private reality of heritage management is located in the failure of international organizations to deal with heritage at street level, where the trauma still exists. Instead, the imposition of a top down process is instinctively resisted, as in the case of Evdokia. Particularly when heritage is close enough in time to be part of memory and first-hand experience, the imposition of an alternative narrative is externally accepted but internally ridiculed as cultural misunderstanding. The performance of acceptance with parallel internal resistance, based on Herzfelt's (2016) 'cultural intimacy' model represents a collective understanding of the past that unites the community under the common 'secret'. In this case, the Greek Cypriot community becomes united in the common resistance to external impositions of history, sticking to its private understanding of 'self' through 'staged nostalgia'.

Cannadine, (2002) explains that heritage is whatever is passed down from the ruling elite of an earlier era. It is a game of power where the powerful shape the past and the future, while the voices of the powerless are lost in time. Cannadine refers to 'national heritage' in particular, as a cult '*frequently blinded by nostalgia and distorted by snobbery*' (2002:xi). Nationalist heritage regimes aim to establish the nation in time through the use of heritage and scholars tend to correlate the rise of heritage preservation with the rise of the notion of the nation (Geismar, 2015b; Lowenthal, 2011; Smith, 2006). Archaeology and heritage is employed to tell national stories and to serve nationalistic purposes. In Cyprus, especially following the war, the interpretative nature of the past leads to conflicting uses of heritage and archaeology for contradicting national histories (Knapp and Antoniadou, 1998). Nationalistic uses of heritage feature to a large extent in the socio-political space of Cyprus.

Nationalist narratives are opposite to international ones in terms of their values and ideologies though they may often appear parallel in their public display.

Hell and Schönle (2010) describe how heritage narratives have been used in the recorded past as a mechanism for establishing power '*Catherine the Great had fake ruins erected to legitimate her imperial ambitions, allowing her to claim a lineage back to Greek antiquity*' (2010:6). With the command of the narrative as a weapon Catherine the Great justified her political choices as rights. This same anecdote also brings the discussion closer to Cyprus where in a colonial past where connections to Hellenic heritage were promoted as eligible and prestigious by the British as the inhabitants of Cyprus became Greek and Turkish (Bryant, 2004). Derived from the West's interpretation of history at the time which named Greece as '*the origin of civilization*' (Papadakis et al., 2006), the Greek origins of Cypriot populations were highlighted in a historical narrative of conquests and multiculturalism. Based largely on language and historical facts particularly selected for this purpose, these 'myths' (Papadakis et al 2006) became what fuelled the Greek Cypriots to rebel for '*enosis*' (ένωσις-unification with Greece) and have today become the undisputed history of Cyprus. The Greek Cypriot heritage narrative thus emphasises ancient Greek settlements, years of oppression by the Ottomans, the Orthodox Christianity that survived, and undeniable blood ties to the 'motherland'.

The conflicting histories and heritage narratives produced by the two groups over the passing of time have created a conflicting heritage landscape (Constantinou et al., 2012; Constantinou and Hatay, 2010; Hatay and Papadakis, 2012). On either side of the island, governing bodies have their own strategy for Cypriot heritage; political validation, justification of acts, credibility within international political circles, prioritization of history within the conceptualization of a nation. The power of intervention that Greece and Turkey have in Cyprus derives from the perspective of both communities who perceive the two powers as the two 'motherlands' as well as from the Cypriot constitution that relies on them as guarantors. Both have evidence of a historical presence on Cyprus that the related authority aims to bring out in the heritage space. The tensions between Greece and Turkey throughout history are directly linked to the historical developments and events on the island. Greece and Turkey, however are not individual actors as they are also part of international organizations and wider political and economic systems, thus following their own strategies based on much wider political and economic conflicts. The heritage space in Cyprus is therefore not only shaped by the 'Cyprus Problem' and the political aspirations of the motherlands, but as part of the European and international political space they become shaped by a variety of economic, political and cultural influences.

Outside of the geographical boundaries of Cyprus, current global conflicts are shaping the dynamics of heritage within Cyprus; the case of Turkey becomes highly relevant. The relationship between Turkey and the EU has escalated in recent years, with the 'Cyprus problem' finding itself used as a bargaining tool, while internal uprisings have intensified the government's need for control. In northern Cyprus, The Republic of Turkey's imperialist tactics have been attempting to highlight the distinctiveness of Turkish Cypriot culture, something that Turkish Cypriots themselves are not widely supporting as my friends Murat and Hakan explained earlier (also Navaro-Yashin, 2012). De Cesari and Herzfeld (2015) interrogate the case of Gezi Park as the Turkish imperialist method of alleviating nationalistic and traditionalist tactical decisions as urban regeneration. President Erdoğan's policies of urban transformation are reflected in his influence in the northern areas of Cyprus where new grand mosques are being built to establish an Islamic presence. As a small community, Turkish Cypriots are currently outnumbered by Turkish immigrants who import their cultural norms in the north of the island (Hatay, 2015). Turkish Cypriots, like Murat and Hakan, who largely consider themselves '*not really very religious*' perceive this as an attempt to '*Turkify*' their Cypriotness as they said. Luke (2013) identifies the ability of heritage to influence 'symbolic geographies of power' through the investigation of The Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency' (TIKA)'s efforts to rehabilitate Islamic heritage in the Balkans. TIKA has been open about its religious, political and cultural motivations in its work while partnering with US and UN projects as an aid organization (Kersel and Luke, 2015).

Greece's influences in the south are equally present but much more incorporated into the culture, as Greek Cypriots had more to gain from willingly adopting Greek status. This is not seen by Greek Cypriots as an attempt at imperialism or colonialism, but rather as a 'brotherhood'. Hellenic identity in its Christian manifestation (Papadakis, 1998) is accepted as an accurate representation of Cypriot culture by the wider public. Cypriot heritage monuments are therefore expected to reflect this relationship that is perceived as a historic one. Beyond ancient Greek archaeological sites, Greek Orthodox churches and monasteries are the largest concerns of the Greek Cypriot public for protection of the sacred bond with religion and with Greek culture. Greece is more of a perceptual influence than an economic or political one in the heritage game, being represented by the Cypriot government; the narrative of Greekness is willingly used by Cypriot heritage authority with no need for Greece to impose itself. Hellenic heritage is understood as the roots of the entire Greek community (Tsoukalas, 1999), while 'conquerors' are perceived as merely obstacles in the island's attempts at retaining its Hellenism and Christianity through the ages.

The tensions between the two ethnic 'parents' and 'children' were mediated, somewhat unsuccessfully, in the space of heritage preservations through the introduction of the bi-communal Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage (TCCH). The TCCH was established to collaborate on heritage projects across the island as an outlook onto the future of Cyprus' political identity where collaboration would be established under the status of Cypriotness. This, at the time of the committee's establishment was indicative of the previous government's aims for the possible solution. In the meantime, the current government is much less willing to prioritize the Cypriotness of heritage which would possibly assimilate Greek and Ottoman histories on the island, as well as other influences, and thus justify the developments of the past century. State governments such as that of Cyprus look to heritage as support of a national narrative, as historical evidence of the links between people and places. This becomes evidence upon which to make claims to the land and to justify actions. As Mavratsas (1997) has explained, the internal national mission has been shifting its priorities from a Greek Cypriot nationalism to Cypriotism at different stages since independence. The two national ideologies, now mostly supported by opposing political groups, form the basis of internal dispute of heritage and history. Greek Cypriot nationalism focuses on Greek heritage, and on the ethnic difference between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, while Cypriotism focuses on the common Cypriot identity of the two groups and therefore is closer to the current narrative of international organizations on heritage for unity. The conceptualization of Cypriot heritage appears to be a challenge for Greek Cypriots who understand the relationship with Turkish Cypriots as an opposing one, mainly through the contrasts of language, religion and ethnicity (Argyrou, 1996; Papadakis et al., 2006).

Heritage is a form of capital, always created and shaped for particular reasons. The heritage space in Cyprus is contested, depending on differing internal and external ideologies and values. This is reflected in the heritage space through prioritization, narrative and funding. The hierarchical decision making processes on heritage reveals it is a top-down practice which often lacks the support of the local populations it is meant to represent. While international and local organizations negotiate the narratives of heritage, locals, such as Evdokia, find their memories also competing to be represented. Resistance in the private spheres is lost in the public result of a heritage monument, and yet personal and official narratives still persist until one of the two is lost.

5.2.4 CONFLICT IN CONFLICT

Upon returning to the office on Monday morning, I discover that there was a sub-text to the Agios Panteleimonas events that I had been completely unaware of, but that has now gained

the attention of the press. The archbishop of the Church of Cyprus has gone public with complaints on the 'supposed' 'development' attempts by the UNDP, claiming that they have been disrespectful towards the Church and the Greek-Cypriot public. According to him, 'all churches on the island, even the ones in the occupied areas belong to the Church of Cyprus' and the conservation works being done to save the monument from collapsing did not have his approval. The archbishop is furious that the works were not undergone with the 'appropriate respect' that a sacred monument requires. Further, and more challenging to my own thoughts is the following statement as seen on the news: 'the monastery of Agios Panteleimonas is not a monument, but a religious place'⁵⁷.

The dogmatic stance of the Archbishop is justified by his ability as head of Church to intervene in Cypriot politics since the nation's creation; the nation's first president was indeed Archbishop Makarios. Current Archbishop Chrisostomos, is known to make controversial statements on social, political and even economic matters with much less political power but strong influence on the opinion of the public. Though his power has decreased over the years, the Christian Greek Cypriot community relies on the Church to find answers particularly in ethical dilemmas. This is mostly true for the older generations. Since the trust of the public is of importance in the projects of the organizations involved, the Archbishop's statements are harmful to the process. The clash between the Archbishop and the UNDP was rooted in 2008 on the high profile restoration project of Apostolos Andreas where the UNDP named the Church of Cyprus as a 'donor' to the project rather than the 'owner'⁵⁸. In 2016 the project of Apostolos Andreas was due to finish, following a major donation by the Church who agreed on a 'multi-donor partnership'. Under circumstances of conflict, the tensions are directed towards the international organizations both as mediators between two conflicting sides, but also as supporters of their own ideology.

The Archbishop's grievance was ideological; it was referring to the transformation of a place of worship into a monument. By referring to a building as a monument, one is not only giving it the status of heritage, but is at the same time stripping it of its 'sacred' status. Though a restored church may still be used as a church, the interventions to its integrity and the secularity of heritage management are seen as an insult if not done in the Church's way. In this sense, the very idea of heritage is challenged along Riegl's concept of 'use value' (1982); if heritage processes undermine the original purpose of a building, the very idea of conservation becomes a destruction to its role, a mere material facet for a preservationist ideology. Heritage is therefore a simple recreation of the past. In this case, the Church could

⁵⁷ As seen on the news April 2016

⁵⁸ "Cyprus News - Greek church will fund monastery restoration in TRNC," 2013

not control the circumstances in which the restorations and conservations were taking place, whether the appropriate respect was being given to the sacred spaces of a church, whether the icons of saints were handled with the appropriate care, whether the gendered space of an Orthodox church was respected in these processes. The archbishop's disapproval was rooted to the inability of the Church to control such places and projects in the northern areas. The fact that the churches and monasteries were out of his control diminished the power of the Church on what he considered its own religious monuments. The archbishop's statement was therefore parallel to the nationalist narrative and also parallel to that of Evdokia, basing its grievance at the root of the problem: 'the occupation' and its consequences. Contact with the northern areas has to be mediated by the international community and its 'technologies' – in this case, heritage.

Within the projects, despite the selection of mostly religious monuments as heritage projects, there was little religious aspect to them. The tendency of observing religious spaces as spaces of culture, diminishes the power of the Church as an ultimate power and equates it to archaeological and art monuments. This raises the question as to why such religious places are at the forefront of heritage practices in the first place. Highlighting the differences between the two communities is a paradoxical way to promote unity. The UNDP insists that this was done to promote tolerance and diversity, but in conversation with former and current villagers, the monuments became reminders of the conflict instead. On occasions similar to that of December 2018, vandalisms indicate a form of resistance. In March 2016 the first project of the restoration programme by the UNDP and TCCH, a mosque in the village of Deneia, was attacked by arsons. Rather than a symbol of unity it had become a manifestation of difference and the vandals had seen an opportunity to express their hatred. Such extremism is not common and for a while the term 'religious freedom' became popular in the media.⁵⁹ Though the vandals were never caught, the act was condemned by Greek Cypriot authorities, including the President and the Archbishop. The UNDP's statement was that the opposite of what the vandals wanted was achieved, the arson was instead turned towards a discussion on tolerance.

De Cesari and Herzfeld (2015) point to the '*heritage violence*' that emerges with resistance by '*domestic, collective, common and public*' spheres that lay claim to the heritage. The violence between the international organizations and the Church of Cyprus is therefore one of power and control. The TCCH perceives itself as representative of the local population and mediators with the international, religious and political organizations for the benefit of Cyprus. Their attempts to incorporate religion into cultural heritage are met with

⁵⁹ On the News and articles ("Anastasiades condemns arson attack on Denia mosque," 2016)

resistance, but for them both Christianity and Islam can coexist as Cypriot heritage. In their own words during one of our filmed interviews:

'We actually love our monuments regardless of their origins, we don't think that they are just monuments of the Greek Cypriots or the Turkish Cypriots, they are common heritage, and I think this common feeling, common thinking, common approach paid very [well] for our fruitful cooperation.'

For the Church and its followers, the loss of the claim of Cyprus as a Christian nation and land, is a betrayal. The conflict, for the Church, is not merely a conflict between ethnicities, but one that finds itself within the larger historical conflict between Christianity and Islam. The conflict between Christianity and Islam is the conflict between the West and East, Europe and the 'other' which all find space to be performed in Cyprus due to its contested landscape. Islam is a contemporary threat to the 'West' resulting in the rising power of right-wing political parties. The Green Line as a contested border creates a symbolic space for this wider conflict.

The narrative of common heritage is thus resisted by the Church as both a spiritual and a territorial loss, and by the government in much more diplomatic ways. For the TCCH, the issue of representation is one of pride and they take their role seriously as a voluntary contribution to the peace efforts. Appointed through a collaboration of the two jurisdictions, they represent the very first attempts at peace through the conceptualization of Greek and Turkish Cypriot heritage as a common Cypriot heritage. This is met with caution by locals who may not perceive a monument of another religion as their own heritage. As seen in the case of the arson in Deneia and the vandalism of Agios Panteleimonas, these attempts at formulating a common heritage narrative are at times actively resisted. The claim of representation is treacherous, but the committee, realizing this, aims to set an example through its collaboration of both communities that such communication is possible.

'We represent really the feeling of the people. The Cypriots, both Greek and Turkish Cypriots love their country, love their culture, of course we had our bad times during the confrontation, who has not passed such an experience in history, but fortunately now we are in the situation to put aside all this confrontational conditions, and by working together we indicate that we can work, we can produce and we can give positive messages to the people.'

This is perceived by the committee and the international organizations as the narrative of the future; moving on from the past and into a collaborative future with a fresh start. But as the following section will show, leaving the past behind is not a plausible expectation for a

culture which has used the past as justification for its existence for many generations. Uses of the past in the present indicate the difficulties in incorporating the narrative of moving forward, and why the TCCH and the UNDP have failed to attract the masses through their efforts. In the many ways that heritage becomes a call to action, a single narrative becomes an impossibility.

5.3 THE PEACEFUL CONFLICTS OF HERITAGE

Meskell (2015) writes that *'the creation of heritage is also the creation of heritage conflict'*. This statement introduces two important ideas. First, the claim is based on the observation that heritage is a creation, it is a process of identifying and protecting elements of the past that are deemed important for a group of people; it is thus a subjective memorialization of the past. This leads on to the second observation, the fact that each claim to heritage comes with its own conflict. This observation is based on Meskell's argument that heritage, as an interpretation of the past, is always contested. In the case of Cyprus, a 'peaceful conflict' is manifested in processes of heritage making which rely on contested interpretations of history, clashing heritage values and differing motivations; symbolic violence. In the heritage environment, the old school competes with the new school of heritage as localized ideologies of identity compete with cosmopolitanism, embodied as a generational clash. In Cyprus, opposing heritage regimes clash in a display of power where the disputed 'local' and the Western 'global' compete for legitimization. Heritage places become symbolic battlefields for coexisting ideologies on the basis of different interpretations of the purpose of heritage.

Geismar (2015) notes the dissimilarity between the use of the term 'heritage' in everyday speech and in academic terms. In its daily use, heritage refers to *'objects, practices, knowledge, and environments that sustain cultural worlds across generations'* (2015:1) while within academia it is a complex of ideas, observations and perspectives. The term, therefore, is difficult to define when crossing a line between vernacular and academic circles. Within anthropology, heritage is an amalgamation of policy, practice and philosophy that makes it a useful means of observing complex notions, such as that of identity. In Geismar's own words,

'Heritage... is a tangle of ideology and expectation; an analytical term and a tool of governance; a category that allows us to understand the power dynamics involved in the selective recognition of identity, often in material form. It is also a foundational category for a political economy, the 'heritage industry',

drawing, often exploitatively, on languages of value, resource management, production, consumption, and profitability' (Geismar, 2015:1)

The quote is particularly useful as the many facets of heritage appear within the case study as different layers of conflict. These different manifestations, interpretations and techniques of heritage interconnect to form the end result. The analysis done at an academic and professional level on heritage practices and their consumption is distanced from the understanding of heritage that the locals represent. The use of a single event funnels the complexity of the data through the philosophical, political and practical issues that emerge.

The definition of the word 'heritage' is a further challenge in spoken Cypriot Greek. Translated as 'politistiki klironomia' (πολιτιστική κληρονομιά- literally meaning cultural inheritance), it is a term not often used in spoken word, but mostly in official and intellectual circles. In interviews conducted with villagers, they struggled to reply to questions referring to 'politistiki klironomia' as the term escaped their daily vocabulary. Instead they preferred to talk about culture, ancestors, history, the past (παλιά-palia) and again in different conceptualizations of the word than the academic ones used in the literature. This translation and interpretation issue was an initial problem, purposely mediated through the use of the term 'heritage' in more flexible ways than its academic definitions. Heritage involves the material and immaterial manifestations of the past within current society, the narratives and interpretations of their origin and importance, and the attempts for its protection for a perceived future. It is thus at the same time a cultural artefact, a theory and a practice. Much of the conflict between the local population and internationalist perceptions of heritage may be attributed to a loss in translation, but mainly a conflict of values beyond those of heritage.

Harvey (2001) insists that heritage must be observed as a process, rather than an event, this becomes evident in the constant shaping and reshaping of heritage narratives to accumulate capital. In this way, the linearity of the process may also be punctured by events, such as in this case, war. However, as the previous chapter has shown, institutionalized heritage is an interruption of natural heritage processes and living heritage. In the normative processes of memorialization through restoration or conservation, for example, heritage becomes static. In a parallel process, identity making is also in need of escaping the static; a process rather than a fixed narrative. The use of 'staged nostalgia' as both a display and a building method of collective identity relies on particular static aspects of the past and present to be able to perform. In the process of establishing identities within this space, therefore, various stories collide and create conflicts of narrative.

Macdonald (2013) writes that '*heritage has been entangled with attempts to forge and maintain bounded, homogeneous identities, especially of the nation-state...*' encompassing, in the case of Cyprus, where much of the conflict is situated. The idea of the nation-state and the common identity it creates becomes particularly contested in places conflict. Heritage has been used in the case of Cyprus to establish ethnic identities onto the landscape as a way of legitimizing a group's presence. What Macdonald is touching on is the ability of heritage to create new narratives of identity and place them historically. The challenge lies in the many agents' conflicting values.

In places of conflict and post-conflict, heritage becomes both capital and subject to '*sustainable development*'. Heritage conflict in Cyprus is further complicated by the existence of literal physical conflict which in many cases has imprinted itself upon the materiality of heritage but in all cases has created a further need for the use of heritage in identity politics. The negotiation of the many uses of heritage becomes a space of further conflict itself. Heritage sites are geographical and material places where the symbolic and physical conflict is tangible. What is lost or gained in the materiality of a place through *heritagization* (the process of making places into heritage monuments) makes the process controversial, as was previously argued. In Agios Panteleimonas, the narratives imposed onto the material, are presented as evidence of -subjective- histories. These histories inform the 'Western' heritage process that involves preserving, restoring and conserving the materiality of the past for the future. As the materiality is tampered with, so is the accompanying narrative and so is its incorporation as identity. The narratives that are employed to support heritage processes are parallel to those used in the wider socio-political space that identity perception is based upon. Their use as implements of ideology reveals the hegemonies of contemporary Cypriot society.

Contested histories result in contested interpretations of heritage. Meskell (2002) refers to the processes of heritage as '*past mastering*', where the 'masters' hold the power to shape the present and influence the future. The relationship between the past, present and future is materialized in heritage monuments and contested pasts become absorbed into identity. The uses of heritage within the '*binary scholarship*' of Cyprus (Bryant and Papadakis, 2012a) fight to conceptualize a cohesive narrative of a common Cypriot heritage. In places of conflict, post-conflict, or contested territories, the labelling of places as tangible heritage monuments carries additional weight. '*Heritage involves a dynamic process where multiple pasts compete to become sanctified*' note Knapp and Antoniadou (1998). The tension lies in the selective process of identification and preservation, memorializing subjective histories and conceptualizing identities prone to manipulation and politicization. The selective

protection of the physicality of the past affects the production, marketing and consumption of places both for local as well as international audiences. Herzfeld, (2010) considers the use of heritage processes such as conservation, to justify gentrification of urban areas, as part of a neoliberal attempt at commodification of history.

The case of Macedonia offers a helpful comparison to heritage conflicts in Cyprus. Recent developments have brought the case of Macedonia to the forefront of daily news, with a referendum deciding on the future of the war over the toponym. Today, and to the displeasure of many Greek national groups, the name has been officially changed to North Macedonia. Greece has been fiercely opposing the naming of what is known as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) since its independence, to Macedonia, based on the historical connotations of the word (Papavizas, 2006). The Hellenic nation is proud to claim the name Macedonia, the northern region of Greece as the birthplace of Alexander the Great. Kotsakis (1998) identifies the association between ancient Greeks and ancient Macedonians as a *'post hoc fabrication'*, as the idea of a united ancient Greek past is a creation of the current state. Macedonia was added to the Greek state in 1913 but had been perceived as a Hellenic area for centuries before that (Kotsakis, 1998). The historical validation of a nation is crucial to its existence, and especially such a nation as modern Greece which is often perceived as the *'cradle of western civilization'* (Herzfeld, 1991). The danger of such glorious heritage now being absorbed by another state along with the place-name has been cause for conflict. The current prime minister of Greece, Tsipras, has been deemed a traitor for accepting a deal for FYROM's renaming to North Macedonia, to finally settle the conflict. This case indicates that the battle for territory, known as the ultimate definition of a nation, is not in all cases as important as the claim to its heritage. In the case of Macedonia, the heritage lies mainly in the name, as the historical territory is already mostly part of the Greek nation (the tomb of King Philip II in Vergina for example). Similarly, in Cyprus, the loss of territory is linked to a loss of heritage where, as has been noted in the Introduction, the renaming of places has been an equally heated debate. The example also offers an understanding of modern borders as impositions on historical and cultural landscapes, as in the case of the Green Line. Finally, this case indicates the international value of heritage narratives, particularly involving Hellenic heritage, as a basis for Greek identity. For Greek Cypriots, the validation of their Greekness is largely based on heritage monuments authenticating their existence.

Welz (2017) considers Cypriot heritage as a *'European product'*, a *'standardized economic resource'* that has shaped itself through the market and property regimes of Europe. If the processes of heritagization may be divided into two paths, practice and narrative, the force

that is Europe has managed to involve itself in both. Highlighting the process of becoming European as the major cultural influence of contemporary Cyprus, Welz identifies the shift from national ideologies of heritage, to a European ideal of '*unity in diversity*'. This means the reconceptualization of modernity as it had been established in Cyprus, as an evolution that leaves tradition behind and is parallel with global concerns, to a process that values the past in particular ways and exists in harmony with it. The theoretical backdrop of Europe as an establishment of identity and a lens through which to observe the past, drawn from Macdonald (1993) allows for the observation of the Europeanization of Cyprus as a directed and structured phenomenon. The cultivation of European thinking though the years is a neo-colonial attempt of integration, in which Cypriots have participated actively. The influence of European ideologies of modernization is apparent more so in the lives of the younger generation, resulting in a wider gap between the old and young (Argyrou, 1996). The perceived dichotomy between tradition and modernity that began to form following independence has been reversed into a perception of modernity that embraces tradition, partly through heritage processes. The separation of the practice and narratives of heritage is key to understanding the clashes that take place at heritage sites.

In Cyprus, heritage is used as a political tool internally and externally to negotiate its existence in the frameworks of the EU as well as in history. The political power of heritage is employed by both communities and by political sub-divisions within them to support often contrasting stories. The resulting amalgamation of heritage discourses can be held responsible for what I refer to as the identity crisis of Cypriots, who struggle to find equilibrium within nationalist and internationalist ideologies. The shift towards Europeanization, though undoubtedly existent in official heritage processes, has yet to reach street level where the older generation is still largely active. In Cyprus, tradition and modernity, still perceived as dichotomies, are the opposing ideals that drive perceptions of identity. This results in contrasting schools of heritage, the old and new, with different ideologies as to heritage processes as well as heritage narrative. The old school's ideology of heritage contradicts that of the new school in the level of intervention. Traditional 'Western' heritage processes involve the sanitization of spaces from the influences of modernity and a reconstruction of the past. In Cyprus these processes follow narratives of postcolonial Hellenic identity, using the past as a call for action for the younger generation. The new school of heritage thought is identified as the post-humanist understanding of the material environment (DeSilvey, 2017b; Sandler, 2016b) and the value of untouched material (Riegl, 1982; Ruskin, 2017). Within such alternative schools of thought, the past does not become monumentalized and reified but is a process of becoming.

Hell and Schönle (2010) argue that European modernity emerged partly through a confrontation with the ruins of the pre-modern past. While ruins of previous lives have always been present, modernity's preoccupation with the past has created a need to protect, recreate and value it. This is mediated through many ways, one of which is heritage making in which the EU participates actively. In Cyprus much of the financial support for heritage projects comes from the EU, accompanied, of course, by its ideologies. The political economy formed in this process is identified as a neo-colonial domination, which Cypriots resist privately. Macdonald (2013) then identifies the preoccupation of European thinking with memory, on which heritage is built and memorialized as a trace of identity. Cypriots become informed Europeans and part of a collective history. The packaging of memory into heritage, however, is inherently problematic. European ideologies of 'unity in diversity' can only be based on subjective memory or its selective reconstructions, much as nationalistic observations of heritage are. Being in the margins of Europe (Argyrou, 2017a) has created an identity dynamic in Cypriots based on the liminal space of European and 'other', 'West' and 'East', 'modern' and 'traditional'.

5.4 THE PAST IS ALWAYS IN THE PRESENT

Relations to time have been written about through different analytical lenses, considering the relationship between history and memory, as well as the emergence of identities (Appadurai, 1996; Galatariotou, 2012; Lowenthal, 2015; Nora, 1989). For Lowenthal (2015) uses of the past are prevalent in validating the present as stories we tell ourselves. This, he explains as a negotiation with the 'foreign country' that is the past, where it seems that people did things differently. This concept may serve to explain the generational dichotomy that is prevalent in Cypriot society, where the pre and post-war generations find themselves existing across a gap attempted to be bridged by reiterations of history. The evidence of the past lies in memory which is fragile and time-sensitive, and it is here where monuments of heritage become beacons of identity. The contestation that accompanies places of heritage relates to the narratives of individual and collective histories. As all perceptions of the past in the present are political, then what happens with the materiality of the past is predestined to be contested. Nora (1989) refers to the acceleration of history that has created the need for *lieux de memoire* (monumentalized sites) to help modern persons deal with the lack of *milieux de memoire* ('real environments of memory') that modernity has created. In this sense memory and history differ in their place within modernity; history is displayed in monuments, while memory is embodied in the landscape. As the *milieux de memoire*

disappear in the passing of time, humans rely on monuments to protect the past in modernity's tendency to accelerate time. The past may therefore be perceived either as memory or as history, while the overlap of the two creates the spaces of conflict identified at Agios Panteleimonas.

Wright (2009) makes the link between the past and identity through seemingly unrelated historical events as recorded in memory and language. For Wright, these events come together to create a national identity. In Cyprus, where similar processes are taking place, while the idea of the 'national' is still torn between Cypriotism and Greek Cypriot nationalism (Mavratsas, 1997a). Language has been identified as a political and informational source within the social space of Cyprus, through which one learns to define 'self' and 'other' (Arvaniti, 2006; Georgiou, 2010; Goutsos, 2004). As a socialization method, both language and descriptions of history through memory are essential parts of the processes of 'staged nostalgia'. The trauma attached to the memory of war and displacement becomes inherited as part of personal and collective stories that inform identity.

Appadurai (2001) identifies the past as a '*boundless resource, endlessly open to variety, elaboration, reinvention and social empowerment*'. In identity making, these subjective and interpretative processes of relating to the past become powerful in efforts to support collectiveness. Heritage becomes the materialization on which these processes rely for validity and for message transmission through generations. The past is an infinite source of (subjective) knowledge, though it is often perceived as an objective one, used as an educational and socializing tool. As Nora explained to me when I picked her up for an interviews: '*we must learn from the past*'. Learning from the past involves both negative and positive aspects of it so as to build a better future, however in practice, much of the 'negative past' is being sanitized and lost through processes of heritage that aim to preserve only what is perceived as positive.

Papadakis, Peristianis and Welz (2006) use historical accounts to support the argument that one of the problems with Cyprus throughout the years was '*the overwhelming presence and influence of history*'. (2006:5). This particularly close attachment to the past is part of the self-identification of Cypriots. They go on to state that '*history is regarded more as part of the present than as something past*' (2006:15) which becomes central in the processes of heritage and identity making. With the extensive presence of the past within society, through education, life stories and trauma, contradictions between various historical accounts become further intermingled with individual memories to create a landscape of contestation. Generational dichotomies are rooted in relationships to the past, particularly when history and memory collide. In an omnipresent existence of the past, personal and

collective identities are formed in relation to it. As a fundamental building block of collective identity, the past is the basis upon which values, motivations and morals rely. The tendency to reach into the past to justify one's existence creates the need for spaces of heritage where the stories become real.

The danger with contemplating the past as 'a foreign country' is that it exoticises and idealises previous ways of life. This is identified in uses of the past in both heritage and education, to pass on nostalgia for better times. Similarly, the exoticization of the past can be seen in interpretations of rural life particularly for the tourism industry, as will be seen in Chapter Six. The exoticization is embodied as 'staged nostalgia' through which the past is seen as a place of unfinished business. The younger generation is called to vindicate an inherited past, by an older generation which feels disappointed in the loss of interest to do so. The conflict lies in generational perceptions of time; the distinction between past and present is based on interpretations of time and of self within time. Those with living memory of it are therefore much more attached to it than those who have been raised in a later time. Lowenthal (2015) explains how the idea of a separation between the past and present is a relatively recent development, and that heritage debates are largely a result of this emergence. In Cyprus, the definition of the past remains unclear, though it is distinct from the present. The word '*palia*' or '*prin*' (before, in the old times) is often used to describe a past way of life, and older individuals will use it in their comparisons to '*tora*' (now) meaning 'modern' life which is often in the air of disapproval. However, much of the *before* and *after* refers exclusively to the war as a defining interruption of the timeline of Cyprus' past. As the comparison between present and past is generally perceived within one's lifetime, and the older generation has living memories of the war, the age gap between living generations of Cypriots brings the past and the present crashing together.

The generational dichotomy in Cyprus becomes accentuated through uses of the past. Gonzalez-Ruibal and Hall identify that '*memories of conflict tend to blur the duality between the recent and the deep past. It is usually assumed that the closer events are in time, the more they matter to people*'. (2015:163). When living generations have gone from turbulence to peace the generational gap between memory of violence and the inherited memory of it, evidently causes an imbalance of values. The dichotomy of old and new, of tradition and modernity, of past and present lives within the older generation who might be perceived to have experienced multiple presents within their lifetime, rather than just one continuing present. In Cyprus, historical events puncture the linear timeline of a lifetime. The war of '74, the postcolonial struggle of '55-'59, the opening of the borders in 2003, the economic crisis of 2012 (Theodore and Theodore, 2015). The negotiation between what is deemed as

the past and what is the present in Cyprus is often placed at the time of the war, where events are perceived to have taken place either before or after the 'invasion'. The separation between memory and history is established in the pre and post-war generations. However, the trauma of the past is so recent that it becomes inherited memory, a nostalgia for the foreign country that is the past (Lowenthal, 2015).

Gonzalez-Ruibal and Hall continue to point out that *'traumatic events can be extremely resilient... and the suborn materiality of the past collaborates to this resilience'* (2015:164), identifying where heritage comes to play an important role. For the ageing generations, the trauma of the past is still on the surface, and by passing it on to the next generation there is an expectation of justice, even after their passing. The past in its manifestation as heritage, is a call for action. This weight is evident on younger generations who inherit both the trauma and the need for justice. Through the passing down of heritage as justification, of education as a tool and of inherited trauma as a motive, they are giving future generations the responsibility to vindicate the past. What it is that the younger generation is expected to do with this call, is unclear as different influences come together as they do at heritage monuments. The fear of betrayal lurks above the younger generation that is burdened with their parents and grandparents' thirst for justice, whatever shape this is understood as.

'We must learn from our past... Humans have to learn from their mistakes so as not to repeat them', Nora insists. This concept, engrained so deeply in Cypriot mind-sets, overlooks the major element of subjectivity. What a mistake is, and how its repercussions shape the present is highly subjective and this is evident in the political developments of the recent past. A specific 'mistake' often referred to within history is the coup against the government that is perceived to have led to the Turkish invasion. In political debates today, right wing political parties are still accused of perpetrating the 'mistake' of 1974 by victimised left-wingers. Another, is the lost opportunity at a solution with the Annan plan in 2003 which the majority voted against. These 'mistakes', perceived as such through reflection of their effects, are seen as lessons to not repeat but also remain as stigma on future generations. Learning about the past prepares individuals and groups for the future where similar choices will have to be made, and they must be made with an 'educated' mind. This is taken literally in education, where teaching younger generations about the past is not a matter of creating critical individuals but most importantly a matter of giving them the 'knowledge' of what happened and how (Christou, 2006; Papadakis, 2008a, 2008b).

For the territorial needs of nation-making in contested territories, monuments serve as physical map of a nations validity as a link between humans and land, and in the same way, of humans belonging to land. Gonzalez-Ruibal and Hall, (2015) consider the role of heritage

in places where violence and conflict are still prominent focusing on heritage that has come out of violence but also heritage that has been touched by it and is changed forever. For them the ability to deal with such sites post-conflict is the way for communities and for the global community to move forward with a perspective of past mistakes. This supports the efforts of the international organizations that force communities to deal with 'difficult' heritage (Macdonald, 2008). In places where violence and conflict are constants, however, there is much more at stake; heritage becomes a central player in the justification of political, social and economic actions. Where territory is contested as it is in Cyprus, the narrative of heritage monuments is also contested. These are selected and used in two conflicting ways as seen in the case study; as a means of establishing ancient claims to the land by one community, or as a way of reuniting two communities under the concept of a common peaceful past or potential future. In the case of Cyprus, the latter has been part of the sustainable development efforts of international organizations who promote 'unity in diversity', and a more recent development, while local bodies tend diplomatically towards the former. In Cyprus' current state of 'peaceful conflict' both practices are taking place in parallel within different contexts and under differing influences creating a landscape of misrepresentation. In the process of dealing with 'difficult' heritage, sanitization of the negative past takes place, leaving the 'past in pieces' (Bryant, 2010).

Greek Cypriots have, since the division, been concerned about the state of valued sites in the northern areas which might not have been deemed protection-worthy by Turkish Cypriot authorities; areas of religious importance, gravesites, and archaeological spaces might not have been in the priorities of the Turkish Cypriot jurisdiction (Knapp and Antoniadou, 1998). Şevketoğlu et al. (2015) discuss the problematic 1954 *Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of an Armed Conflict*, in relation to this. The contestation of authority and the consideration of illegality of the state has left archaeological and heritage processes frozen. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs' website states that illegal excavations taking place in the 'occupied' areas has led to the loss of cultural treasures, while the sacred buildings of churches and monasteries have been mostly converted⁶⁰. In conjunction, the bitterness between the two communities has led to vandalisms of sacred sites on both sides. In the 2003 opening of the crossings when Cypriots were allowed through the Green Line for the first time since 1974, these fears came true as many returned with images of derelict churches and looted tombs, which beyond the occupation of their own houses became an insult to their values. International organizations

⁶⁰ www.mfa.gov.cy accessed November 2017

and the TCCH working on '*development for peace*' are aiming to protect endangered heritage sites on both sides of the island to smooth the pain of loss.

5.5 CONCLUSION

Beyond the pragmatism of its process, heritage legitimizes identities through establishing a link to the past (Geismar, 2015). Where pasts are contested, as they are in Cyprus, heritage and its materiality becomes equally contested. This is further complicated by the parallel existence of different heritage regimes that value certain narratives over others. In the space of 'peaceful conflict' that heritage is created, versions of the past such as history and memory are negotiated. At the same time, collective and personal identities are represented, constructed and consumed. The power to control the narratives of heritage is thus strong enough to shape identities in the past present and future. Monuments remain static in time, as permanent representations of a selected version of the past for a future that will know little about the conflicts of its creation.

At the site of Agios Panteleimonas, where international and local organizations participate in the making of heritage, voices clash as different narratives compete for legitimization. In the good intentions of '*development for peace*' negative memory and divisive ideologies are suppressed and come up as resistance in violent and non-violent forms. As voices of the monument's past are lost, and nationalistic ideologies of the present suppressed, the top-down process of heritage creates a peaceful version of the past. In the subjectivity of history and memory, monuments are created as objective evidence of certain pasts. This is more than an effort to change the present; it is an effort to erase negative pasts and shape the future in a certain way. In a community where the past has been the centre of identity, this alteration of pasts, presents and futures challenges identities. The social fabric of the Greek Cypriot community receives the introduction of new ideologies in a variety of ways, resulting in internal clashes; mainly political and generational ones.

The previous chapter interrogated the normative processes of heritage as a physical intervention, here, the narratives imposed onto the materiality of the past are an intervention to history and identity. The following chapter observes similar processes of narrative making, this time in the context of tourism. Dealing with perceptions of the past and legitimising it in the present becomes a major point in the observation of identity negotiations. Considering the social mechanism of 'staged nostalgia' within such spheres serves to explain how collectivity is maintained within spaces of peaceful (or non-violent) conflict.

6

MAKING A (DESTI)NATION

'Smell the jasmine and the wild thyme

Taste one of the oldest wines of the world

*Walk in pine scented forests, or ski on the snowy peaks in the
morning*

*Take a dip in the warm blue waters of the Mediterranean Sea in the
afternoon*

*Wonder at Greek temples, Byzantine churches and ancient artefacts
thousands of years' old*

... Look beyond the sand and sea

In Cyprus there is much to enjoy, see and do.

It's a whole world condensed in a small area

Experience it all!⁶¹

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Tourism involves a display of identity that attaches itself onto the landscape. Attempts at self-representation reveal much about the priorities and motivations of collectives similar to the processes of heritage and nation-making. Place become branded and culture essentialized in this process and the tourist materials are appropriated by Cypriots themselves as an understanding of their identity. Heritage becomes a commodity used within the tourist market for economic and political gain, reincorporated by Cypriots as perceptions of their identity. Tourism, as an industry and practice, creates spaces to reaffirm identities through their production and consumption. In a place of physical and symbolic conflict, the tensions over the selected image and narrative of what Cyprus is, reveal a hierarchical power relation with local and international influences. The power to create a tourist narrative that is consumed by millions each year (Sharpley, 2004) is parallel to that of making a heritage and a national narrative. The distinction between Cypriot life and its presentation for the internal and external tourist audience is diminished in the process of production and consumption. Authenticity may be challenged on the grounds of a historical narrative, and yet where tourist spaces become part of daily life, authenticity exists in the

⁶¹ Cyprus: a place to discover, (no date) Marketing publication by Cyprus Tourism Organization

very experience. It is where the performance and the lived experience become one, when the real power of the tourist industry reveals itself.

Destinations include narratives, images and materials that aim to represent a place and its people in tourist experiences and memories. The process of making a destination is a matter of self-representation and self-identification (Smith, 1989). The complexity of identity in Cyprus is illustrated in this process. As one of the major industries in Cyprus, the tourist market is a competitive one that pushes for a constant re-imagination of one's own place and culture as a commodity. Following the war, when the natural assets of the island became a focus for a quick solution to economic stability (Sharpley, 2001), the narratives employed to promote the destination incorporated mainly nationalistic discourses (Ioannides and Apostolopoulos, 1999). The official processes and bodies which make Cyprus into a destination, seek to establish the national historical narrative and the role of the Greek Cypriot community within the conflict. The use of the goddess Aphrodite within these processes aims to establish the notion of Greekness onto the island (Papadakis, 2006b; Giorgos Papantoniou and Morris, 2014; Paphitou, 2015). Similarly the idea of Cypriot hospitality is employed as 'tradition' becomes a commodity of interest within the market (Eftychiou and Philippou, 2010b; Polemitou, 1981). The use of history through tradition and heritage, is thus one of political and economic benefits.

Tourist narratives are most often directed towards external tourists, however their consumption by domestic tourists creates interesting dynamics. The expectation of authentic representation indicates the conceptualization of Cypriot identity. This is particularly true for rural tourism, what is known as Agrotourism. As tourist narratives are inscribed onto the physical and symbolic landscape, their performance as well as their consumption by 'locals' becomes part of the narrative of self. Cypriots are all part of the tourist narrative, whether tourist professionals or not, they all play along in the performance and they also consume it. This links back to the construction of collective identities such as that of the nation and the use of 'staged nostalgia' as a method of identity negotiation in Cyprus.

6.3 TOURISM IN CYPRUS

The narratives of tourism involve a simplification of history and an essentialization of culture for mass consumption. This becomes politically charged in places of conflict where contested territories and identities compete for validation. The duty of performing these narratives, falls onto employees of the industry but also partly on the general population

who observe an essentialised version of their culture as representation (Welz, 2017b, 1999). The narratives of tourism in Cyprus serve two major purposes: 1. making a destination and making it attractive according to the targeted audience and international tourist trends, for maximum economic benefit 2. establishing an identity for the destination and thus for the nation that will be circulated in influential circles, for maximum political benefit. As seen above, the strategies for these aims have varied across the years depending on the leading authorities, the economic status of Cyprus, political changes and international tourist trends, and have had varying success. This section investigates some of the strategies for the implementation of these aims through the tourist narrative.

The process of making a destination is similar to the process of making a nation. For Smith *'The process of self-identification and location is in many ways the key to national identity'* (1993:17) where in the process of identifying selves, places, and selves in places, nationhood becomes established as the link. Billig (1995) then refers to the 'banal', the everyday artefacts that are constant reminders of a nation, or in this case a destination's, identity. The emergence of tourism pushes for a packaged place of holistic and rigid identity, what is referred to as the 'destination'. In the process of its creation, a 'destination', very much as the 'nation' reaches into historical accounts to provide a linear and valid explanation for its existence in the world, drawing out what might be appealing and leaving behind what is not of interest. In the case of destinations, interests include sights and stories as attractions whereas for nations these sights and stories become historical accounts and political tools. In many cases, the establishment of nation is enough for the establishment of destination and, possibly, vice versa. This process is further complicated in the case of contested places such as Cyprus. The island's coast offers a natural border for the geographic entity of Cyprus to be perceived as both a destination and a nation, it must be recognised, however, that the contested border creates a new dynamic for both, and that the struggle to create one also benefits the other. Through establishing a destination, the idea of what Cyprus is as a nation is also shaped in millions of minds.

In 2016 the Cyprus Tourism Organization (CTO) is a semi-governmental organization under the Ministry of Energy, Commerce, Industry and Tourism of the Republic of Cyprus, and rumoured to soon become a separate ministry itself. Established in 1969, 9 years after Cyprus' independence from British colonial rule, and 5 years before the war that divided the island, it states its responsibilities as *'regulating and monitoring the tourist enterprises and professionals based on the relevant legislation'*⁶². It is housed in a plain government building with fluorescent lighting, white narrow corridors and small offices looking out to a

⁶² CTO website

sunny concrete Nicosia. Ironically, its walls are plastered with colourful tourism posters from past campaigns, like windows to the destination, reminding employees of the Cyprus that they are creating. Leaflets are stacked on every surface, at hand when needed to refer to a specific wine route, the origins of a church or an approved hotel in Limassol. An analysis of the discourse of these materials later sheds light on the processes of making a destination as a bureaucratic and narrative procedure that arguably undermines elements of the lived experiences.

In an interview with Mr. B, a former director of the CTO, during the first months of this research it became apparent that 'tourism' emerged in Cyprus within the space of a single generation. It has since developed as an industry, a social space, an economy, a practice, a field of study and a space of liminality. For the CTO in particular, tourism is a market of economic and political power. The former director spoke passionately about initiatives and programmes that tour guides and hotel owners must go through to get approval, and about how Cypriots themselves have been officially and unofficially 'trained' over the years to be nicer to 'foreigners'. He talked about tourism in numbers of hotels and rooms, in percentages and statistics, and handed me documents full of quantitative research. The role of the CTO is justly seen by locals as a bureaucratic one, focusing mainly on tourism laws on accommodation and other tourist establishments. As my relationship with the CTO developed over the course of the year, I conducted interviews with its members, was given access to the organization's library and research, and got a position as an intern for a few months. The institutionalized tourism of the CTO provided a background for the street-level processes and perceptions that provided personal and emotional experiences of the top-down process. The translation and commodification of culture for tourism becomes a representation which in turn shapes perceptions of identity and belonging.

Andronikou (1986, 1993) another former director of the CTO, describes the process in which post-colonial Cyprus became a Mediterranean destination for European tourists and how the island nation learned to depend on the income. The rapid touristic developments of the 60s were interrupted in the war of 1974 but quickly recovered with new resorts capitalizing on its two major attractions, the sun and sea. However, with one of the major tourist resorts, Famagusta, caught within the buffer zone, the areas south of the Green Line became a hotspot for flash development. Sharpley (2001) reports that by the 1980s the industry had fully recovered and the coastal areas were flourishing. Witt (1991) analyses how post-war Cyprus managed to recover through tourism, using the employment opportunities and financial income of the industry. Lenz (2011) explains how the expanding industry then brought about a need for labourers, shaping the entire migration policy of the

Republic, made easier following its accession into the EU. The developments not only meant that the labour force as well as the natural environment was being unsustainably exploited, but also that rural areas, particularly those in the mountains, were disregarded and remained underdeveloped (Eftychiou, 2013a; Sharpley, 2002; Ziakas and Boukas, 2014). This is recently attempted to be tackled by the Cyprus Tourism Organization through the introduction of Agrotourism.

As an industry, tourism is a large part of the Cypriot economy, especially in the years following the war (Sharpley, 2004), and most recently the financial crisis (Theodore and Theodore, 2015). The benefits of this large source of income failed to find balance with its sustainability as well as the protection of natural resources- Sharpley (2004) explains that it was a process of chasing after oneself as the industry was developing without the appropriate regulations in place, getting out of hand fast, while the organization was still trying to establish guidelines. Having been established in a past of 'little limitations' (με λίγους περιορισμούς), as the former director explained regretfully, the tourism industry had not only been able to exploit guests but the very environment on which it was relying as well; a cannibalistic existence with a questionable future. The unsustainability of the building blocks of the industry ripples to this day. With no infrastructure in place, hotels were initially built too close to the shore, locals were exploiting tourists for more money and the quality of services was questionable. Sharpley (2004) discusses the evolution of Cyprus as a destination as developing in '*direct opposition*' to official policies as the development plans indicate. Even with official policies finally put into place, the tourist sector had a life of its own, with locals aiming for short term results and the organization being unable to impose itself. This tension was intensified following the EU accession, with new policies on economic, cultural and environmental sustainability in place (Anastasiadou, 2006).

Though not always loyal to new policies, and with much of the damage done still in place, the tourism industry is still suffering from unsustainable practices. Large tourist corporations have seized opportunities in Cyprus to provide such products taking away the agency of the locals. The 'destination' is lost in such examples of tourism practice, where representation of a cultural identity becomes irrelevant to the interests of the tourist. With a large number of tourists exclusively interested in sun and sea tourism, the product is packaged for them is an 'anywhere' (Sharpley, 2004). Sharpley identifies a shift in the tourism history of Cyprus where went from being '*somewhere*' to being '*anywhere*' (2004: 24). At a tourism conference that took place during my research year⁶³, hospitality

⁶³ Mosaics conference on Leisure and Tourism, Paphos 2015

professionals debated on the sustainability of the tourism industry and on new possibilities. Some were concerned with the ecological impact and began recycling and water saving campaigns in hotels, others were more concerned about culture and the promotion of traditional products, a concern which started the idea of the 'Cyprus breakfast'⁶⁴ scheme and the rebranding of traditional wines, and yet others were concerned with the introduction in recent years of all-inclusive holidays. A popular practice, these types of holidays involve minimal contact with the people and culture of a place, and are designed specially to keep tourists within the bounds of their resorts, consuming its offerings such as the food and drink but also the sun, beach and pool, activities and entertainment. *'None of the money from an all-inclusive holiday says in Cyprus. Maybe a very little amount for products but even many of those are imported cheaply'*. The professionals at the conference agreed that this type of tourism was not only passive towards the destination but actually harmful as it created an unsustainable cycle of consumption and waste, the benefits of which largely remain within the (often foreign) hotel chain. As a result, local businesses and producers cannot benefit from the large numbers of tourists, and the destination becomes typified as an 'anywhere' with good weather, mediocre 'continental' food, and no appreciation of local life. Even the employees, as one hotel owner argued, are mostly Eastern European seasonal workers with hardly enough pay.

Mass tourism and rapid developments that have developed largely in parallel with the rest of the world have had dramatic impact on small coastal communities in particular. As the former director of the CTO mentioned, Cypriots have been 'trained' to handle tourists. In that context, he had been referring to taxi drivers in the tourist resort of Ayia Napa, a fishing village which became a clubbing destination very rapidly. Other than official training that tourist professionals had to go through, the locals were left to handle things themselves, often leading to cultural clashes and extensive stereotyping on both sides. Some, like the local taxi drivers, were eventually given courses on how to appropriately approach tourists. An awareness of cultural differences was difficult to achieve both on the side of the hosts and of the guests. Issues identified in tourist guides, such as a tendency for close physical proximity during interaction, or that of excessive touching, warn tourists are cultural norms in an attempt to avoid the culture shock. On the other hand, locals will often refer to tourists

⁶⁴ The Cyprus Breakfast scheme was an initiative by the CTO aiming to promote Cypriot culture and products. It took up the idea of English Breakfast buffet which had been most popular in the industry thus far and replaced the products with Cypriot alternatives including: halloumi, traditional sausage and deli meats, olives, tomatoes and pitta bread (www.cyprusbreakfast.eu) Cyprus breakfast would involve products traditionally considered Cypriot, establishing both an economic benefit and one of belonging through gastronomical links. Halloumi, as Welz (2017) explains has been subject to much contestation regarding its identity and the process of safeguarding the geographical name of the product.

as behaving precariously, dressing inappropriately and having bad manners. Sharpley writes of the attraction of islands as tourist destinations where the perceived isolation leads to '*excessive liminal behaviour*' (2004:23). Ayia Napa and subsequently Cyprus as a tourism destination has been branded as such a place of extreme tourist behaviour since the 1980s as a consequence of international trends as well as the (at the time) recent division which called for new resort areas to be developed speedily for economic benefit. Tourism management that benefits local communities has been the subject of extensive research in Cyprus (Apostolopoulos and Gayle, 2002; Eftychiou, 2013a; Ioannides, 1992; Sharpley, 2001; Witt, 1991).

For locals, tourists are an '*ambivalent blessing*' as Herzfeld writes on Crete (1991:191) echoing the opinions of tourism professionals at the conference. They bring money but not enough, they take over the landscape and leave it worse than they found it, '*they are disrespectful but they expect to be treated as kings*' as one hotel owner stated during our group discussion. The cultural clashes between locals and tourists in mass tourist destinations make exploitation and mistrust possible. For an industry that relies on good relationships, the tourism industry was failing both locals and tourists. When the unsustainability of sun and sea tourism was realized, the aim of the CTO became to diversify tourism, and to package and promote other types of activities that would draw quality tourists to Cyprus. The packaging of place as a single product already being a complicated concept in Cyprus, it is intriguing to observe how it can also be manipulated and presented accordingly for different audiences. While Cypriots perceived their attractiveness to tourists to be relying on the natural landscape, the idea of a natural paradise of sun and sea had been enough. In this shift towards more quality tourism and more sustainability, tourist professionals have had to reinvent the destination, packaging its culture, food, rural life etc. The CTO have special publications according to interest, aimed at particular groups- for example a package on conferences, another on wedding opportunities, one for wellness and one for adventure activities, wine routes or gastronomic experiences. Each presents Cyprus in a different light, shifting the narrative accordingly, with Cypriots following along.

In an attempt to make Cyprus back to '*somewhere*'- a specific cultural destination- and attract quality tourism, the idea of 'traditional' Cyprus was reinvented (Dashper, 2014; Sharpley, 2002), and it is this reinvention that has become part of the narrative of the past. Cypriots today perceive their own identity as it has been packaged for tourism, while tourism narratives have drawn on the 'interesting' and politically important parts of the past to produce its narrative. This does not undermine the agency of Cypriots or their ability to separate themselves from the performance of tourism, but rather reveals that in the

process of reinvention of a tourist 'self', the 'self' becomes interrogated. The commodification of the 'self' involves a new type of reflection onto culture as not merely a daily experience but as capital. The turn towards a 'traditional' and 'cultural' tourism, for example, has allowed Cypriots to reembrace rural pasts which had been discarded in the efforts towards modernization (Eftychiou, 2013a). This will be illustrated in the case study in the second section of this chapter, but first, a further investigation into the processes of making a destination in Cyprus are essential.

An analysis of the marketing materials issued by the CTO, reveals the structured transmission of narrative within tourism. Widely circulated publications of recent years indicate the support of the CTO to local tourism initiatives such as localized festivals as well as its own enterprises. There are numerous publications on specialized tourism activities such as a map of wine routes, diving opportunities, short organized tours, nature hikes, cycling routes, religious and historical routes such as the Byzantine route, the Antiquity route and the Aphrodite route, a guide to rural Cyprus, a green guide to Cyprus, a gastronomy route, an authentic guide/Agrotourism, and a list of festivals and events of interest. These materials emphasize the variety of seasonal events and activities in an attempt to promote it as *'the year-round island'* and *'a place to discover'*⁶⁵ as opposed to the unsustainable summer destination. The *'Cyprus: in your heart'* campaign revolved much of its product as oppositions to emphasize the diversity of opportunities within such a small island. For this, it presented on posters were two very different views of Cyprus with a slogan such as: *'From the purity of nature... to the warmth of hospitality in no time'*, *'From business... to pleasure in no time'* *'From the bottom of the sea...to the top of the world in no time'*. Interestingly this reflected a friend's comment one New Year's Day when he showed me pictures of himself in the snowy mountains and at the sunny beach on the same day- *'this is why Cyprus is unique'* Andreas told me, sounding very much like one of the CTO leaflets.

Beyond the text, the design on such materials reveals the subtlety of a politicised marketing discourse. The logo of the campaign, features a statue of Aphrodite over the sea, and with the sun as a background in the shape of a heart. The yolk yellow, orange and navy-blue colour scheme of the campaign is a very specific selection of colours. The yellow-orange of the Cyprus flag and the navy blue of the Greek flag is an intentional choice delivering a nationalistic message. On the other hand, an observation of the equivalent logo that represents 'North Cyprus' follows a similar colour scheme, seemingly drawing on the blue of the sea and sky and the orange of the sun. In this case, the orange fades into a darker red-

⁶⁵ Quoting from CTO Marketing publications (undated)

a forbidden colour in any of the Republic's materials due to the connections to the Turkish flag. Notably, this logo includes an image that forms an amalgamation of a sea turtle and the sun rather than Aphrodite. Marketing, as part of the tourist narrative is political and intentional, revealing the power of the industry within the Cyprus conflict.

6.3.1 A CONTESTED (DETI)NATION

The Republic rebuilt itself from a war ridden island into European succession (Christodoulou, 1992; Sharpley, 2004) but its contested northern territory has suffered from a lack of tourist mobility resulting from the international boycotts (Ioannides and Apostolopoulos, 1999; Lockhart, 1994; Warner, 1999). More recently, ways around the boycotts, such as flights through Istanbul and Turkish investment, have increased tourism in the northern areas. Discouraged from crossing the contested border, the tourists often remain on one side of the Green Line. Where the Republic's official rhetoric speaks of a Cypriot unity with some compromised areas, the equivalent narrative of the Turkish Cypriot jurisdiction refers to a 'North Cyprus' as a destination and a separate political entity. The northern areas of the island are known by some as the '*occupied areas*' and by others as '*North Cyprus*' or as Ioannides and Apostolopoulos (1999) refer to it as '*the Turkish-Cypriot part*'. The very contestation of its naming illustrates some of the area's problems in tourism development, where the definition of territory is disputed by a much more developed destination next door. Warner (1999) claims that the slower pace in which things have moved in terms of tourism in the northern areas have actually been beneficial to the community. The flash development in the south has been an example of unsustainability, a pit-fall which Turkish Cypriots may have avoided. On the other hand, Altinay (2000) describes how a federal solution to the Cyprus problem could open up opportunities for the Turkish Cypriot community who will be able to share the benefits of the industry. Where the southern areas have been forced to abide by European policies, the northern areas have escaped the structures sustainability this has aimed to create. The ability of the EU to enforce guidelines is not merely a sign of power but also an indication of Cypriot self-Europeanization energies. Ioannides and Apostolopoulos (1999) then consider how a solution to the Cyprus Problem will have community-building and beneficial economic effects through the marketing of Cyprus as a single product.

There is a clear avoidance by both jurisdictions, of dealing with the contested border and the possibility of entry, exit or temporary visit across it. Not only are guests '*discouraged from using the border crossings*' as I was told at CTO, they are directed to read about the war atrocities before deciding, in a narrative constructed specially to discourage. Considering

the land border to be unofficial, and with a surprising lack of access via the coast, the main focus is on incoming tourists flying through the two official airports of the Republic. Marketing materials speak of Cyprus both as a geographical and a political entity, with territory that has been compromised illegally and violently. In contrast, equivalent materials in northern Cyprus communicate the concept of two distinct destinations within the same island, and certainly a more oriental and exotic destination than that advertised in the European south.

There are many accounts of Cyprus as a destination that predate its conceptualization as a nation, particularly those informed by the 'colonial gaze' (Wells et al., 2013) which may be conceived as a predecessor to the 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 2011b). Tourism research in Cyprus today, and in particular ethnographic research, is unavoidably preoccupied with the current state of division. Not only is the natural landscape divided and treated differently for almost half a century, but most importantly, the political division creates two separate governing bodies that control the tourist industry, its income and narratives. In the case of Cyprus, the division established over the passing of years has created two drastically different landscapes, packaged in the narratives of two rival nations. On one hand, a structured industry supported by the ease of access that the EU offers, an emphasis on Greek influences, established on grounds which allowed for the exploitation of natural resources, but established nonetheless. On the other hand, a place where marginalization has allowed for the claim of an unspoilt rural environment to be shifted as tourism marketing, while Turkish influences are building casino resorts and grand mosques. At travel shows around the world, 'North Cyprus' has begun to appear at stands separate from those of Cyprus, as seen in the last few years at *Destinations Show London*⁶⁶. A potential tourist, possibly with little or no knowledge of the reasoning behind this will rely on the marketing material mentioned previously to make a decision. On one hand, '*the island of Aphrodite*' on the other hand '*the exotic and unspoiled oriental island*'⁶⁷.

6.3.2 APHRODITE'S ISLAND

The idea of making a destination is a capitalistic concern that, as discussed, runs parallel to the processes of making a nation. These processes involve selective historical narratives and their physical counterparts to create sights and attractions, while mythology and legends are also employed to seduce tourists (Boissevain and Selwyn, 2014; Cartier, 2005; Coleman et al., 2002). Production, performance and consumption are daily experiences of

⁶⁶ Destinations Show January 2017 and 2018

⁶⁷ CTO Marketing materials (undated)

this process which raises questions on authenticity. In the case of Cyprus, the contested histories and landscapes of the island are fitted into a tourist narrative that reveals much more than an attempt at the economic benefits of becoming a tourist destination. Making a tourist destination is also a political act of infusing identity into places and people, and rooting these in mainstream society's perceptions. Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty has been used as a vehicle by which to observe how the processes of making a destination also become processes of making a nation (Daskalaki, 2017b; Papadakis, 2006b; Giorgos Papantoniou and Morris, 2014; Paphitou, 2015). Her appearance in the history and mythology of Cyprus coincided with the birth of the nation as well as the emergence of a tourist industry; influences that shape and reshape identities in the process of representation and self-consumption.

Aphrodite is used in a self-identifying efforts in Cyprus to negotiate its status at the margin of Europe as well as its historical links to Hellenic culture. in the literature, Aphrodite has been used 'to think with' (Levi-Strauss, 1993) by a number of social scientists as an approach to the relationship between myth and history, East and West, Greek and Cypriot, primitive and modern (Daskalaki, 2017b; Papadakis, 2006b; Giorgos Papantoniou and Morris, 2014; G Papantoniou and Morris, 2014; Paphitou, 2015). Said to have been born out of the sea foam on the coast of Paphos, '*Kyprogenes*' (Cypriot born) Aphrodite of the Greek dodektheon has become the iconic symbol of Cyprus and Cypriot tourism campaigns. Her image features on the logo on the CTO website, in posters and flyers, and marketing materials dispersed around the world. As the literature notes, Aphrodite is unseen and unfelt by locals (Papadakis, 2006b; Paphitou, 2015) who only come across her when they become tourists themselves. She adorns tourist products, postcards, souvenirs and 'traditional sweets' such as packages of Aphrodite's delights (or Cyprus delights), commonly known elsewhere as Turkish delights. Papadakis (2006) notes that these are rarely consumed by locals who know them as *loukkoumia* from the Turkish word *lokum*. In Turkish Cypriot versions of the same 'traditional' sweet, packaged and designed in the same exact way, the Latin name of the goddess is used; Venus.

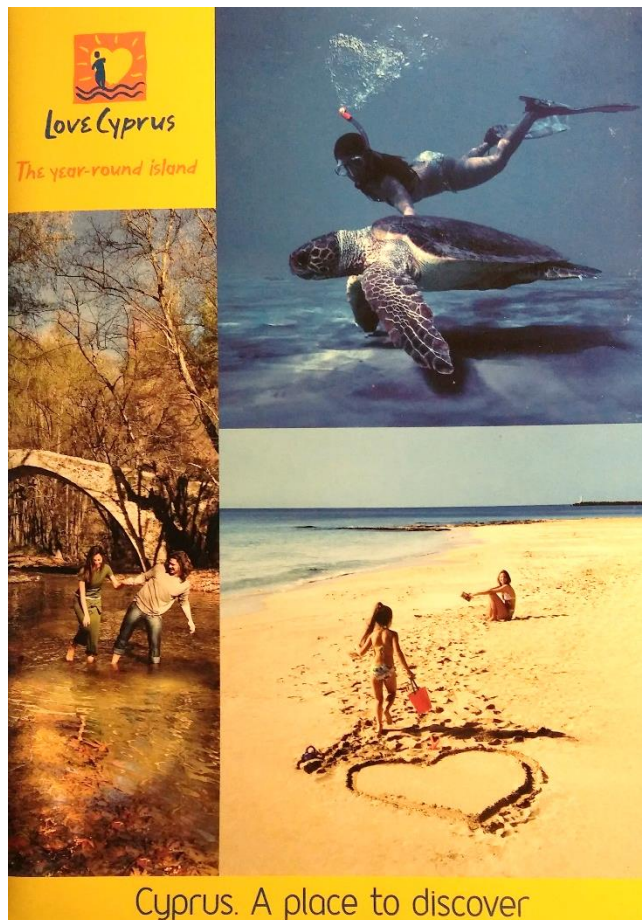


Figure 19: CTO brochure featuring the image of Aphrodite on the logo, 2016

In a deeper investigation of the mythology, Papadakis identifies the selective nature of the tourist narrative. For example, more than one rumoured birthplaces are reported in historical narratives that have been selectively forgotten for the sake of a clear tourist narrative. Greek mythology offers multiple benefits to the creation of a destination. Most notably, the fact that Greek culture is an attraction in itself as classical history and its sites are an instant success within the market. In this case, the use of Aphrodite becomes a vehicle for the legitimization of Greekness on the island. As Papadakis (2006) points out, the myth itself is yet another a selective interpretation of the role of Aphrodite itself. Where she is interpreted in modern society as the goddess of beauty of love, in reality she was also known as the goddess of war and sex, both aspects which would not benefit a tourism campaign. There is also an omission in referring to her violent birth within the use of the mythology, paralleling the intentional omission of the Cyprus conflict within tourist campaigns. Papadakis (2006) observes the irony in this, referring to the fact that in reality, Cyprus has actually been a sex tourism destination as well as a place of war and violence. Papantoniou

and Morris (2014) suggest a parallel with Orientalist discourse where sexuality and femininity is associated with the East (Said, 2003). Attempts to escape an oriental identity become politically important due to an association with Turkish culture but are also a major element in the attempt to be accepted as modern and European. Aphrodite is therefore tamed to balance between the East and West, between modernity and barbarism, between male and female.

The origins of Aphrodite as found in ancient figurines across the island, and as used as a campaign logo by the CTO are also largely controversial. Papadakis argues that she is a transformation of Astarte, an eastern goddess, then Hellenified and given a new pedigree. Capitalizing on the attraction of archaeology and mythology, but not wanting to associate her with Greekness, Turkish Cypriot tourism professionals have preferred to refer to the destination as the island of Venus- the Latin personification of the deity (Papadakis, 2006b; Papantoniou and Morris, 2014). The material culture of Cyprus indicates a historic relationship with Aphrodite as the goddess of the island (Papantoniou and Morris, 2014) where the relationship between ancient gods and Christianity is tense as in Greece. For Paphitou (2015) the appropriation of Aphrodite is representative of the wider identity politics in the southern part of Cyprus. In the symbolic struggle of dealing with and legitimizing their identity, Greek Cypriots have to balance their place between Europe and the Orient, through the conflicts of East and West, modernity and tradition, history and myth, as well as negotiating their relationship with Hellenic culture, Europe, Christianity and nature.

The links of Aphrodite allow for a prestigious association not just with modern and ancient Greece but with western heritage. The location identified as her very birthplace on the coast of Paphos called '*Petra tou Romiou*' (rock of the Romios- meaning Roman or Greek) features an enormous monolith said to have been thrown off the mountain by Digenis. Digenis, according to the legend, had been one of the guardians of Byzantium and his heroic feats feature in many local legends and demotic literature. The legend establishes Cyprus as the very edge of the Byzantine empire where battles with invaders took place. The margins of Byzantium and the margins of Europe give Cypriots the Western status that they feel they deserve. Papadakis (2006) draws attention to the irony of the hero's name which when translated means '*born of two races*' a fact which is never referred to. What the relationship between Aphrodite and Digenis establishes is the union of Hellenic and Christian ideals that is prominent today (Papadakis, 2006). In linking itself to ancient and modern Greek culture, Cyprus legitimizes layers of history and legend as an indication of its Western and Hellenic identity.

Aphrodite becomes a signpost of Greek identity by official bodies, rediscovering Greek mythology as part of the attraction (Papadakis, 2006). The mythology is reinforced by the material evidence of its validity through the archaeology which for Hamilakis (2007) links physicality to national imagination. 'Western' reification of science and evidence allows for the authentication of ancient and modern mythology through archaeology- modern mythology referring here to the idea of the nation. As in Greece where Hamilakis focuses his arguments, in Cyprus the display of archaeology for tourism is a matter of selectivity with the direct purpose of supporting a national identity. Daskalaki (2017) identifies the roots of selective archaeological focus in the establishment of the Department of Antiquities in 1935 by the British, who were interested in highlighting European historical influences as opposed to Hellenic ones, to counterbalance the Greek Cypriot nationalistic discourse that they themselves had inspired but was becoming dangerous to the crown. By focusing on colonial pasts, the British were attempting to tame the spirit of *enosis* (unification with Greece) (Daskalaki, 2017).

The bounds of the destination, much as the bounds of the nation, are contested in Cyprus. Establishing Aphrodite is thus a patriotic duty that falls on all Greek Cypriots irrespective of her real role in their daily life. Locals become enrolled in the performance irrespective of their role in the industry as it becomes part of their negotiation with national and ethnic identity. The agency of the locals in this constant negotiation is part of the process of 'staged nostalgia' as a link between the people, the place and the past. Staged nostalgia becomes part of the performance for tourists and Aphrodite is today part of the past at a much larger scale than ever before.

6.2 THE CASE STUDY OF AGROTOURISM

In Cyprus, one of the major interventions of recent years in the tourism sector has been the introduction of Agrotourism (Welz, 2017b). The Cyprus Agrotourism Company (CAC) was introduced as an agency in charge of marketing and booking under the Cyprus Tourism Organization (CTO) in the 90s. The CTO itself as a semi-governmental organization had focused on mass and mainstream tourism soon realizing the unsustainability of the product. Agrotourism has since become a niche market where issues of identity are constantly at play at the highest levels of society. It demonstrates the meeting of tradition and modernity or past and present that Cypriots attempt to negotiate within their own understanding of identity across society. Agrotourism's popularity across Europe (Dashper, 2014; Kaaristo and Bardone, 2014) indicates that this is not an exclusively Cypriot preoccupation, but in

the Cypriot case it is part of the negotiations that come with conflicting histories and contested identities. Agrotourism is a negotiation with 'tradition' and 'authenticity' that feature so boldly in tourist narratives, and yet upon closer investigation reveal the anxiety of representation and performance of identity. The concept of hospitality, for example, becomes a defining characteristic of Greek Cypriot identity through its conceptualization as 'traditional' in interpretations of the past and manifestations in the present.

Eftychiou (2013) identifies the idealization of the rural landscape as an aftereffect of the introduction of ideas such as 'environment', 'sustainability' and 'heritage' in the 1980s, following years of a perceived binary opposition between the urban and rural that hierarchically valued urban modernity over rural tradition. This has slowly developed in the idealization of 'traditional' ways of life as an opposition to modern life, reversing past narratives. Eftychiou proposes the concept of 'reflexive tourism' to involve the response to this transformation; self-critical practices opposing mass tourism- agrotourism, ecotourism and cultural tourism for example. Mowforth and Munt (1998) have referred to it as 'new tourism', arguing that it is not less interventionist than mass tourism. For the CTO, Agrotourism has been a way of approaching rural sustainability and battling seasonality in tourism. Indeed, its bureaucratic processes are very much similar to mainstream ones. As part of the 'reflection' onto tourism practices and onto modern society (Latour, 1993), agrotourism becomes the alternative to mass tourism in a market where distinctions of tourist types may fall into one of two larger categories; mass tourism and 'new' or 'reflexive tourism'. Agrotourism, is thus part of the critique of mass tourism practices and may often involve other alternative practices, ecological concerns, certainly rural sustainability concerns, but also cultural and nature interests.

Agrotourism's appearance in Cyprus in 1991 was not initially met with enthusiasm (Welz, 2017b) but in recent years, and more so following the crisis, urban Cypriots have become increasingly interested in it both as hosts and as guests. It is also an attraction for foreign tourists who wish to go beyond the mass tourism resorts, looking for a more 'authentic' experience. Across Europe, similar types of tourism are gaining attention revealing the 'Western' concern with tradition is not exclusive to the case of Cyprus. Welz (2017) notes that the addition of Agrotourism to the tourist product of Cyprus is an attempt at validating the nation as a European one, following the footsteps of other European nations. The growing interest in immersing one's self into a past way of life indicates a romantic desire to experience life outside of modernity, and agrotourism offers embodied experiences of rural pasts that are popular with audiences of a wide social background. In Cyprus, these are usually taken as family adventure holidays or romantic escapes, that seek an immersive

sensory experience including food, excursions, music, nature walks, fireplaces etc. As a product of modernity, the concept of 'tradition' is incorporated back into daily life as a constant, repositioning the past within the present. Identity and belonging are negotiated as 'traditional' and 'authentic' experiences become established within Agrotourism.

Agro-tourism or Agri-tourism as it is better known internationally, epitomises a nostalgia for the rural, and for a past way of life through the safe looking-glass of the present. In Cyprus, it is the manifestation of 'staged nostalgia' as a reification of peaceful pasts and their incorporation into the present. To elaborate on this, a sort of definition is necessary, noting that the term is used in a variety of ways depending on where it is practiced. Agricultural tourism in Europe involves farm activities for leisure, hands-on experiences with land and animals, consumption of local produce and a depiction of rural life that forms an attraction for modern individuals (Welz, 2017). Agri-tourism is understood as a supplement to existing agricultural businesses rather than an introduction of an entirely new business- as is done in Cyprus. In Cyprus, agrotourism has been introduced to resurrect, rather than to enforce rural communities, by using converted abandoned buildings as accommodation, for example. The idea of farming activities was never introduced, and is thus not expected as it is in other European destinations. The very term 'agro-tourism' as it is used in Cyprus may be translated from Greek as 'farmland tourism' indicating the difference with 'agri-tourism' which is more often linked to 'agricultural tourism' internationally. Most interestingly, Agrotourism is locally perceived as a mainly domestic tourism project.

'In Cyprus the term is misunderstood' Kostas told me when I expressed my interest in doing research on the subject. Kostas works at the office for tourism development of the Paphos region and is able to compare practices across Europe. Unsurprisingly, following the trend identified across employees of the sector, he has a cynical view of tourism and tourists which could also possibly be translated as disappointment. Most importantly, the characteristic that Cypriot tourists seem to share in the eyes of the professionals is entitlement. Kostas went on to explain: the expectations of local agrotourists are much higher than those of foreigners, Cypriots want to have a modern experience of rural life, not an authentic one. They paradoxically expect what they perceive as 'authenticity' as long as it does not compromise their comfort. This is not only a matter of adjusting comfort but also an issue of representation, as the depiction of Cypriot pasts is already a contested discourse across social platforms.

Welz (2007) explores the dynamic between the two types of experts involved in Agrotourism, the bureaucrats and the local entrepreneurs. While the latter feature more prominently in research as the main heroes of the enterprise, in the case of Cyprus the

former are more active than elsewhere in Europe in promoting the official idea of Cypriot hospitality. The CTO is the governmental and infrastructural influence in the background of funding policies and guidelines for eligibility, though indeed the main protagonist is the entrepreneur who carries the daily processes through. In the backstage of tourism performances, the bureaucratic procedures support the implementation and conceptual existence of Agrotourism as part of Cypriot tradition that is later performed by the entrepreneurs. Lenz (2011) proposes that the hotel itself becomes a space to study the social interactions involved in tourism that challenge the ideas of host-guest relationships (Smith, 1989) as well as the much used idea of traditional Cypriot hospitality (Welz, 1999).

The clashes between 'traditional hospitality' and the 'hospitality sector' are manifested in terms of the political economy; financial exchange, migration and labour, host-guest relations, modernity and tradition. The idea of 'philoxenia' (hospitality) is observed later on as a reflection of this contradiction between tradition and industry; the main question being whether one must be able to feel 'at home' in order to provide hospitality. In the contested landscape of Cyprus, where 'home' is difficult to define, two jurisdictions claim the land as 'home' and compete within the market. All of these separate aspects could be investigated independently to reveal the networks of tourist production. For the concerns of this research however, these aspects become part of a wider narrative of self-commodification and consumption that becomes the discourse of identity. The staging of cultural traits for tourist audiences, whether local or foreign, is a careful curation of cultural commodities attempting to link the industry to traditional practices.

Argyrou's (1996) analysis of the CTO strategies of recent years refers to the realization by the organization that 'modernity does not 'sell' and its current aim has been to 'alter the impression that the traditional and the exotic face of Cyprus has been lost' (1996:181). This evolved into the idea of Agrotourism as the rediscovery of 'traditional' Cypriot rural living as a modern leisure activity. The term 'tradition' is understood under the conditions of its construction as Hobsbawm (2012) proposes. 'Traditional' life has in this way seeped back into modern life after years of repression in the steps towards modernization. This has been achieved through the reinvention and reincorporation of certain cultural elements, or through their performance through a rehearsed narrative of a 'staged nostalgia'. Agrotourism has elements of both reincorporation and performance, but through traditionalization the essence of the past is impossible to recreate.

Eftychiou and Philippou (2010) have written about 'traditionalization' in the Cypriot tourism space, particularly in relation to village coffee shops. These coffee shops, known as the '*kafeneio/a*' have also come to be an identifiable characteristic of Cypriot culture

through colonial photography. As Wells et al., (2013) note in their examination of photography in Cyprus throughout the ages, the 'colonial gaze' is an era of exoticization and orientalism in the Cypriot context. The resulting archive of photographic evidence of this practice fails to convey the social, cultural and political importance of the spaces that Eftychiou and Philippou (2010) refer to as '*institutions*'. Currently, recreations of the *kafeneia* for tourist audiences aim for the recreation of a static past as found in colonial photography of men playing backgammon on the street but have removed the semiotic value of the space. The resulting tourist spaces are a sanitized version, symbolic of cosmopolitanism and modernity, that remove the political agency of the space for the sake of a staged tradition. The commodification of rural life for tourism has made the *kafeneio* into a coffee shop supporting romantic perceptions of rural life and people as simple. The subtle narratives of tourism and their capitalist concerns are hidden in such spaces which claim tradition with no real attempt at its recreation.

An Agrotourist hotel, much like the *kafeneio*, offers the space for approaching the traditionalization of Cypriot culture that has come to be representative of the destination. As a clear-cut tourist activity, Agrotourism is a stepping stone for understanding the production of tourist spaces and their consumption. The daily friction with guests and with the process of hosting allows for an immersive ethnographic experience that comes with its own complications of terms like 'local' and 'authentic'. At the same time, the access to guests and employees provides the space to understand the drive that leads people to be tourists and the mechanisms that allow it. A first-hand observation of the production of the experience is essential for an understanding of its consumption. The ability to reflect on the Agrotourist experience both as a guest and a host, and both as a researcher and a local, becomes an invaluable position within this study.

As a representation of how identity is negotiated and performed for tourism, Agrotourism offers spaces for a physical exploration of such productions. While not exclusively for internal tourists, Agrotourist establishments in the southern areas of the island rely largely on their Cypriot customers, especially in the off-peak season during the winter. Domestic tourism in Cyprus has been understudied in terms of its significance in identity making. The case study on Agrotourism contributes to a better understanding of the experience both from the side of the guests as well as the hosts. The expectations and perceptions of both parties clash in their different perceptions of authenticity, tradition and identity.

6.2.1 THE LITTLE AGROHOTEL BY THE RIVER

'I will make you a deal', he said, smiling intelligently with shiny eyes and a greying moustache, *'if you like it here, I will give you half of the hotel'*. Overwhelmed at this abrupt proposal I laughed nervously. He did not seem to be joking. A tall man in his fifties, Aris had converted his mother's village house into an Agrohôtel, taking advantage of funding by the European Union. I would later understand his proposal as an attempt to hold on to permanent Cypriot staff and to break away from a business that had become a burden. He wanted to find someone that would love the hotel as he did, but nobody seemed to want to run it as he wanted them to. The rural demographics in Cyprus, as in the rest of the developed world, indicate the threat of urbanization that leave such rural businesses lacking labour permanence (Sharpley, 2002; Ziakas and Boukas, 2014). *'Cypriots love to visit, but nobody wants to stay'*, the hotel is a temporary break from urban life, but the realities of living a rural life are too much for city folk to handle, Aris explained. Found in a village with an ageing population, the hotel has struggled to find Cypriots willing to live and work here permanently. The result in this as in many other cases is to reach out to Eastern Europe for a labour force that is reliable and cheap. This reverses the host-guest relationships of Agrotourism and tourism in general and ruins the illusion of traditional hospitality that is implied with the experience, as will be explored further on.

In the entrance of the hotel, a small glass plaque displays a European flag. EU funds are allocated to the Cypriot government with intentions for sustainability in rural areas (Welz, 2017). They are then filtered through to the CTO and then to the Cyprus Agrotourism Company which promises a discovery of the *'real Cyprus'*⁶⁸. There are many funding opportunities for someone who is proactive and innovative as Aris explained; he spent hours attending seminars and applying to the various funds that could be claimed for his case. He is a true entrepreneur and he seeks the same characteristics in someone who will stay and run the hotel. In the early days of my research, I had visited the hotel as a guest and approached Aris asking for permission to conduct research, in exchange for any work. He was eager to participate but even more eager to attain an extra pair of hands for no pay. His enthusiasm would lead to many hours of discussions, though the relationship would not always be an easy one. As both a volunteer employee and a researcher, to Aris I was naïve (O'Reilly, 2008), I was constantly asking questions and had no previous background in hospitality leading to mistakes and anxiety. To Aris I was here to learn the job, but to me it was learning *about* the job that was also of interest, something he found irrelevant to his

⁶⁸ Agrotourism website 30th August 2018

running of the hotel. Our personalities clashed on some occasions but the relationship was generally amicable, much like that of family, and increasingly so due to the isolation. I have problematized in Chapter One the issue of intimacy within ethnographic research, where the balance between professionalism and personal feelings as well as between representation and reality, become intermingled. The dynamics within the social space of the hotel were complex but fruitful in the analysis of my themes and research practice. Over the period of 3 months, the production and performance that is Agrotourism would reveal itself to be a microcosm of Cypriot society and its efforts to deal with the past, present and future. In that first discussion with Aris, the terms and purpose of my stay appeared to suit both parties and I soon went from being a guest, to being a host.

In the short time I had stayed as a guest, I had met a young Hungarian man who had welcomed us warmly at arrival. Gabor had the largest smile and sweetest manner, and was distinctly foreign with his blondish hair and blue eyes. He was here as a 'work-away', he said, and was happy to elaborate when prompted. He had applied to work at the hotel voluntarily in exchange for accommodation and sustenance. In this travel subculture, individuals can travel the world in exchange for any work they might be able to offer. Though this sounded like an unfair deal to many of the guests who asked, they were never as surprised to see an Eastern European working in this remote location as they were to see myself as a 'local'. I would later learn that Bridget, the introverted Scottish lady who was helping with cleaning, was here under the same conditions. Aris did not hesitate to offer me the same deal. He was excited to have a Greek-speaking person on board, though he preferred someone permanent. The lack of consistency with volunteer employees and the fact that Cypriot professionals were not willing to live and work in rural areas was a serious concern for a hotel business with a mostly Cypriot clientele. Guests often complained and left reviews about the fact that they were greeted in English, a language some of them (albeit a minority) could not communicate in. We settled on a temporary few months, during which I would train and work at reception and bookings. I also offered to help at the restaurant where breakfast and dinner was served as I was interested in the concept of traditional gastronomy as an intangible cultural heritage element. The subject of food became central to many discussions on authenticity, practicality and cost that revealed the reality of running a business as a negotiation with the expectations of the tourists for quality and authenticity.

The hotel is built into the mountainside which Gabor and I would hike to pick mandarins and enjoy their eye-watering tanginess under the trees. A river flows at the foot of the mountain, and across the valley the village faces the hotel, close enough for the echo of

voices and dogs to be heard. On each walk, he would take a bag with him to collect garbage while complaining about the ecological damage that Cypriots were imposing onto their own land. These are the mountains of Pitsilia, a large area within the Troodos mountain range in the middle of the 'large island' (*megalonisos*) as Greek speakers refer to it to compare with the other Greek islands. The larger villages of the area are known for their apples and roses, and they have a tradition of domestic tourism especially in the summer months when the altitude provides relief from the heat (Ziakas and Boukas, 2014). Rural villages suffer greatly from the effects of urbanisation and the summer months are their liveliest period. Our hotel is found in a smaller village, unknown to many and with very little to see or do. There are no shops or restaurants, just homes of an elderly population who have little appreciation for the potential of tourism, as Aris liked to complain. The way up the hill to the hotel is steep and narrow, following a drive of an hour and a half for those arriving from Nicosia or an hour from Limassol. For those traveling without a car, as I was for much of my time there, access to and from the main cities was almost impossible, with small buses running once a day at irregular times from the larger villages. *'If you are lucky and you estimate what time it will come by, you can signal it down on the side of the road'* Gabor explained after I gave up on trying to figure out the bus network online and on the phone. I would soon find out that some of the difficulties of living in such a place contrasted with the relaxing experience that a few days here were meant to offer guests.

In the winter months, the snowy mountains were a stark contrast to the sun and sea tourism Cyprus is known for. During weekdays, the hotel was mostly empty and dark, with one or two rooms booked out. Unfortunately for us, this meant that the central heating was not worth turning on. Hot water and heating were luxuries that came with the guests, the staff relied on small gas heaters for the slower days. Seasonal tourism is one of the issues attempted to be tackled by the CTO, and Agrotourist hotels offer a winter tourist opportunity because of the aesthetic appeal of fireplaces and snow. Still, there were days where elderly villagers were the only sign of life in the area. I woke up one day to gunfire and shouting outside my room, where hunters illegally roamed the hills and Aris threatened that the police were on their way. They were not, he admitted to me while continuing to cut fire wood, he had to pester them for months to even add a 'no hunting' sign. Weeks went by, guests checked in and out, the seasons changed, and the hotel remained static, both geographically and in its distinct 19th century design.

6.2.2 THE HOTEL'S SOCIAL SPACE AS A PERFORMANCE OF TRADITIONAL

HOSPITALITY

On my first day, Aris had given me the grand tour of the place. It used to be his mother's house, built out of '*plithari*' (earth and straw), and it was falling apart when he inherited it. He bought the surrounding area and extended the original dwelling into what was today the hotel. He built the entire complex with his bare hands, all 17 rooms, he explained, he knew every nook and sound in a seemingly spiritual connection with it. But he was not a businessman, he wanted to control the hotel but not run it, he preferred to spend his days on his new project, an eco-farm further down the road. For most of the day, he ran up and down fixing things, cutting firewood, shopping, and arguing with the Romanian cleaning lady who had been working there for 5 years. At some point he had rented the hotel out, but he was not happy with the way they were running things either. While I was there, the entire hotel had one employee- the cleaner/cook Violeta who lived in the main house with Aris, and three volunteers, Gabor, Bridget and myself who took up three of the less-guest-appropriate rooms. The hotel cat was a rescue that Aris only accepted as pest control, but it was a member of the unconventional group. The guests would come and go and in its remoteness, the hotel was a social space of itself.

The dichotomy of host and guest roles becomes assimilated to that of local and foreign both in academic circles but also on the ground, however as Lenz (2010) notes this is based on assumptions of geographically limited cultures and persons- far removed from the reality of the tourist experience. In Cyprus, for example, a large proportion of workers in the tourism sector are non-Cypriots and a large proportion of tourists are domestic ones. At the Agrohôtel all of the workers and volunteers prior to my arrival had been non-Cypriots apart from the owner, and none of them spoke Greek. For Aramberri, (2001) the host-guest paradigm is far removed from the reality of modern tourism, proposing the alternative use of '*service providers and customers*'. With this in mind, the very idea of *philoxenia* or 'traditional Cypriot hospitality' advertised as an asset of Agrotourism by the CTO and CAC becomes challenged.

Lenz (2011) describes how hospitality is seen as a characteristic of Cypriot people that Cypriots fear is under threat by the presence of foreign workers with no links to the culture. On the other hand, the difficulty that Aris described in finding Cypriots who would like to take up the jobs at the hotel indicates the reality of the situation. The contradiction based on the dichotomy of 'guest' and 'host' is infused deeply in the existence of Agrotourism as

advertised in Cyprus. The concept of Cypriot face-to-face hospitality (Welz, 2017), '*philoxenia*', is based on premodern social norms linked to ancient Greek society (Zarkia, 1996). Welz (2017) explains that the idea of *philoxenia* is essentialized and reinterpreted as a specifically Greek characteristic, and thus Greek Cypriot as well. Argyrou (1996:181) interrogates the CTO discourse that selects phrases and ideas such as '*traditional Cypriot hospitality*' and the '*friendliness*' of the natives. *Philoxenia* according to its display, comes naturally to hosts whose relationship with tradition is a straight-forward and easy one. In practice the challenges of this are more than the tourism narratives would like to present. Even if *philoxenia* is taken to be a traditional cultural characteristic of Cypriots, its very commoditization changes its nature to a capitalistic one, automatically making its authenticity irrelevant in the context of tourism.

On occasion Gabor would hand me the receiver to deal with customers who requested to speak in Greek. This was not only a matter of language, but a matter of expectation as well. My Cypriot status was an asset that Aris recognised, as I could speak both the language and the culture of the place. The illusion of traditional hospitality reveals itself in the exposed backstage (MacCannell, 2013) of its labour force. Cypriots often complain about having to speak in English to communicate in their own country (Lenz, 2011). In response to this, the CTO has been calling on establishments to refrain from employing non-Cypriots to interact with tourists, also to preserve the 'authentic' appeal. In larger hotels, immigrants mostly hold the backstage service roles of cleaners and cooks, while Cypriots hold the front facing stage at reception. One customer from Nicosia mentioned a '*Greek-speaking foreigner*' in another agrohôtel, who ruined the experience, because of her accent. Although she spoke in Greek, this was not enough to mask the performance of hospitality, she was unconvincing as a Cypriot and thus was not perceived to be as culturally appropriate. During and following the economic crisis, this stance is attributed to the turn towards local employment that was seen as beneficial to sustaining and empowering the local economy.

At the hotel, language was part of the performance of hospitality. The guests were often surprised to see a young female Cypriot working there. In their eyes, my knowledge of the area, the language and the fact that I was working and living there identified me as a local, possibly descended from the village, or related to Akis. This was contradicted by my accent which revealed that I was not raised in rural Cyprus, indeed I could not have been further from what I would consider 'home' within the island. The ongoing CTO policy to '*cover needs in human resources mainly by Cypriots*' (Lenz, 2011), is intended to support this idea that only Cypriots may perform Cypriot hospitality convincingly. As a way of representation, the front face of tourism is more appropriate to be a Cypriot lady in traditional clothes, than an

Eastern European. This idea, of course, is indicative of the essentialization and idealization of tradition over modern life, cosmopolitanism, or globalization. The idea that tradition is more representative of Cypriot culture than an insight to its labour force indicates the type of 'authenticity' searched for. It is not reality that people seek in Agrotourism but its idealized version.

The Agrohôtel's microcosm was a mirror into the labour force that produces and performs Cypriot hospitality. When non-locals are performing the role of hosts, and locals are performing that of guests, the dynamics shift and the narrative becomes a literal performance. In the sense of Cypriots consuming Cyprus, the paradox of local guests and foreign hosts becomes challenges local perceptions of identity and belonging. Gabor's enchanting nature fit in well with the natural environment surrounding the hotel. In this case, he used his charisma and experience in hospitality to approach guests and online reviews recorded a positive response to them, but Aris was not convinced with his performance. He translated cultural difference as ignorance and lack of culture, slowly causing a brink in their relationship. Gabor would at times establish temporary friendships with some of the guests while guiding them to the many trails he had discovered in the surrounding areas. Being given a tour of the Cypriot mountains by a Hungarian further challenged the dynamics of host and guest statuses, which the guests reacted to in varying ways- with pride that a foreigner had such interest in their land, with caution as they did not trust his foreign ways, with touristic curiosity or with indifference. Through this discussion, the very concept of the 'local' becomes a major question to be posed onto tourism literature.

Veijola, (2006) problematizes the experience of being a local and a tourist at the same time where the separation between the 'self' and the 'place' becomes an impossible one to make. In this sense, locals who are returning to or visiting places they consider as their own, are consuming parts of their identity. Eftychiou (2013) has considered the dynamics of being a local in rural areas in terms of a class struggle between 'elites' or 'bourgeoisie' and 'peasants' who see tourism as an opportunity to represent the identity of their villages.

In the hotel space, the permanence of the employees contrasted this temporariness of the guests. This provided a new eye to tourism literature which refers to tourist places as temporary spaces, or even non-places (Auge, 2009a), where engagement with place is minimal, staged and shallow. While it might have been so for guests, the space had a permanence for the small social group that lived and worked there. Unseen and unheard, Violeta and Bridget had access to the most secret spaces such as the laundry room, the kitchen, and the booked-out rooms themselves, where they would often emerge from with

stories of mystery about the habits of the guests. Gabor, Aris and myself, as more visible representatives of the hotel had our own stories to tell about romance, reviews and payments. The permanence of the staff was not only a practical issue that Aris had to deal with, it was also part of the illusion of the historical presence of the hotel building. The ability to perform linear connections to the past was one of the strongest attractions to Agrohotels, which is why many of them are named after the families or persons whose houses they are now found in. It was true that guests craved these connections, they were mesmerized by the old pictures and artefacts scattered around the lobby and in the rooms, and basked in the 'authenticity' of the creaking metal frame of the bed. The subject of authenticity deserves its own section later on, but even its illusion makes the point that historical and literal permanence was a strong selling point.

The idea of illusion is an expectation in tourism's '*experience economy*' as Pine and Gilmore (2011) refer to it. Tourism is a contract whereby one is purchasing experiences, making the performance of the illusion an important part of each experience. Tourists are not unaware that tourist spaces are created for them, but they need to be convinced. Much like a theatrical production, MacCannell (2013) argues, there is a front and a back stage to tourism. Of course, at times, the interest lies in the revelation of the difference between the two, or in the revelation of some apparent aspects of it simply as proof of authenticity. At the Agrohotel, the front stage was starkly different to the backstage. These spaces did not just look different in terms of their design and upkeep, but also encourage different behaviours. The industrial kitchen seemed out of place compared to the rest of the hotel, the stone and earthen material of which was exposed as an indication of its authenticity. Aesthetically, the design, lighting and technologies of the backstage, revealed the staged 'ruralness' of the front. Of course, guests were not allowed in the backstage for fear of too much revelation destroying their experience.

Social relationships also played out differently depending on the space. Aris clearly felt more at home outside, and would take every opportunity to leave his small office. When attempting to 'discipline' the staff, Aris often described the guest or the customer as the most important person in the hotel; as representatives of the hotel, the staff were expected to perform their role as hosts. This contrasted with his approach to some of their requests or payment difficulties, about which he would become frustrated and critical daily in the backstage. While on stage himself however, at the reception desk, he would be pleasant and welcoming in the expected Cypriot manner of rural hospitality, speaking to them as old friends and treating them to drinks. There was certainly a performance that accompanied the staging that was both spontaneous and encouraged. He was very aware that this

performance was crucial to the experiences of the guests, seen from their feedback on online reviews.

A sepia picture of Aris' young parents hang behind the reception as if welcoming guests to their home. Fixed on the wall much higher than my own head, they held a hegemonic presence in the hotel. Aris, a very tall man himself, stood at a similar height, observing every movement from above. He would often lean on the counter to explain things to me, his hands torn up from work and exposure. His father, now a small old man, would pay daily visits where his mere presence automatically ignited the gas stove for his '*sketo*' (plain, so sugar) Cyprus coffee. The neighbours were, unsurprisingly considering Cypriot cultural links between kinship and property, also relatives. They were regular visitors, bringing treats for the volunteers and kindly offering rides to the city with the produce truck as local transportation links were virtually non-existent. The rest of us were under Aris' orders; Gabor would set the fireplaces in the rooms, Violeta and Bridget would clean them in constant conflict and confusion as they did not share a language, I would be at reception trying to figure out the many online booking systems, and Aris would check that everything was running smoothly, throwing out instructions as he went. Guests, of course, were unaware of these daily rituals and hierarchies. They were the metaphorical kings, blissful in their ignorance, disappearing into their rooms only to reappear for breakfast or off to an excursion. We would welcome them and bid them farewell, performing our role, before heading to our rooms to escape ourselves.

6.2.3 GUEST EXPERIENCES OF AUTHENTIC RURAL PASTS

In one of the rooms, Aris' favourite one and admittedly one of the nicest ones in the hotel, a yellowing picture calendar from the 90s still hang on the wall. It could have been mistaken as part of the décor yet it was several decades, if not a century apart from the rest of the design, which commonly to most agrotourism hotels was taken from the late 19th century. I made note to ask Aris about it on one of my first days there and he laughed out loud at my suggestion that perhaps it didn't fit in. The calendar had been a marketing gift for customers of a known brand of deli meats that still exists today, '*It started in this very fireplace*' he said. This area of Pitsilia on the Troodos mountains was known for these types of delicacies- *loutza* and *chiromeri* (cured and smoked pork) and *loukanika* (traditional sausages), it was one of the attractions of the area listed in the gastronomic map of Cyprus by the CTO. On my first visit to the hotel, I had witnessed an older neighbour, who I later found out was Aris' cousin, starting a fire in a makeshift smoker on the hillside; it was the drum of an old washing machine. This was a common sight, as I would come to understand, during the

winter. In the cities, such delicacies are either bought packaged in supermarkets, requested in delis, or gifted by relatives from the *chorio* (village), immediately raising its sentimental and quality value. The fact that one of the largest companies of deli meats had been started in this very spot became an anecdote we told guests many times when showing them to their room, a personal touch they usually appreciated. The historic feel of the hotel was enhanced with the real-life story of something they could relate to so well, adding to the authenticity of the experience.



Figure 20: Agrotourist lobby as seen from behind reception. Photo by Author, 2016

The authenticity that the space inspired, both with its look and with its real life stories, was a power that soon came full circle to haunt the process of hosting Cypriots. Aris' need to keep costs low and income high, did not benefit of this either. Cypriot hosts coming to the Pitsilia area as Agrotourists had certain expectations. For many of them, the most important part was the experience of authentic rural Cyprus, which they described as: *'warm and cosy'*, *'good and plentiful food'*, *'local drink'*, *'traditional atmosphere'*. This, of course, was the perception of authentic rural Cyprus imposed onto an image of the 19th century, rather than the reality of rural life today. Aris, having been born and raised in the area, wanted to provide the guests with a good experience but was at the same time aware of the inauthentic nature of performing for their expectations as well as the cost. Excessive wood, for example, the most important element of the *'traditional atmosphere'* and the *'warm and cosy*

experience' that the guests were looking for, was not only a costly commodity, but an unrealistic expectation as well. *‘Νομίζεις παλιά είχαμε αναμμένες φωθκιές ούλλη μέρα; Ανάφκαμε φωθκιούες όσπου να βράσει το σπίτι τζαι να ψηθεί το φαί τζαι μετά εντυννούμασταν με τρικά να μείνουμε βραστοί’-*(*In the past do you think we had open fires all day? We would light small fires to warm up the house and make food and then wear thick clothes to stay warm'*) he explained while stacking wood to dry in a mouldy storeroom under the lobby. He preferred to scavenge for dead wood in the area and chop it himself that buying it in bulk; a labour-intensive process that saved him money but also inadvertently provided the experience for the guests of seeing their wood being chopped. Bedrooms that included fireplaces and firewood cost 30 euros more than those using electric heating- the embodied paradox of favouring traditional experience over modern comfort.

Wood cutting was the least of Aris' problems, his gastronomical selections were challenged even more, both on the hotel's reviews but also orally through myself as both a researcher and a waitress at the taverna. One upset customer turned out to be a hospitality professional himself vacationing with his large family and after several complaints he summoned me to list some of the issues. *‘Έλα να σου πώ τι εν το πρόβλημα με τον μάστρο σου. Τούτον εννεν λούτζα, τούτον εν για πέταμα, γοράζει τα στο σούπερμαρκετ σε κομμάθκια τζε σερβίρει μας τα για παραδοσιακά. Εννεν έτσι η παραδοσιακή λούτζα. Πέ του ότι εν απαράδεχτο’-* (*Come here and I will tell you what the problem is with your boss. This is not loutza, this is rubbish, he buys this at the supermarket in huge blocks and then serves it as traditional. Traditional loutza does not look like this. Tell him it is unacceptable.*). Even those guests not being hosted in the room where *loutza* was being made in the past, had certain expectations when coming to the area. As Cypriots (though not all Cypriots were necessarily connoisseurs) and professionals, they could tell the difference in quality of the mass production versus the local made. As agrotourists they were expecting local produce, after all how can it not be better for the host to support the local community and to establish a deal where the cost would be low, he explained. Aris knew he was cutting corners to reduce the cost, but he justified himself simply by saying they had no idea what they were talking about- this of course he only did in the kitchen, backstage. When challenged to face these *idiotropoi* (capricious) guests, he avoided engagement and brought with him a jug of house wine (poured into a jug from a box). He responded in similar ways when challenged about not having roaming fires in the lobby to keep guests comfortable throughout the day, or when the halloumi was not to a guest's liking. *‘You can't have everything'* he explained, meaning both low cost, best quality and 'authentic' experiences.

On many occasions the guests wanted to use the fireplaces in their rooms for cooking. *‘Εβαρέθηκα να τους καθαρίζω τες λαθικίες τους, τατσωνουν έφκολα τα πλακάκια. Τζαι έν το κάμνουν με σωστά τζαι βρομεί μετα το δωμάτιο φαγια τζαι καπνούς. Τζαι έντζε φέφκει η μυρωθικιά’*- (*I am sick of cleaning up after their oily foods, the terracotta floors stain easy. And they don't do it properly and the room smells of food and smoke. And the smell does not leave*) he told me once after I pursued a guest's request *‘Πέ τους πως έν γίνεται, τζαι αν το κάμουν εν να τους χρεώσουμε’* (*Tell them it is not allowed and if they do it they will be fined*). Sometimes the guests ignored our instruction and cooked on the fireplace anyway, after all it was part of the authentic experience they were looking for. Those staying in the historic fireplace room did not understand why they could not use it, since it is the way it was used in the past. This reversed the ‘authentic’ experience of staying in that historic room. Much like in museums, the change of status meant to preserve the materiality of objects, removes their agency. A fireplace that is used for aesthetics rather than practical reasons is a touristified version of the past, and then the guests felt the loss of this authenticity, the illusion was challenged. One group of friends who arrived with bags of meat and beer requested their money back when they found this out. Aris offered to cook their food in the kitchen for them but they left upset leaving a bad review on tripadvisor the next day. For Aris, the fact that people used to cook in the fireplace in the past was clearly a matter of necessity- why would one do this today with the existence of better technologies? The guests on the other hand, were looking for an escape from modernity, not simply as a rejection of its luxuries but as an understanding that modernity's sensory experiences are not as authentic, and thus not as satisfying as the past's. Food cooked on open fire has a different taste, the process of its preparation is an experience itself, and both of these go well with the atmosphere that they chose for their escape.

The shared characteristics of Agrotourism establishments are largely based on their design according to guidelines (Welz, 2017:43). The materials- some used in the building process and some used over cheaper and easier building materials -most often consisted of *plithari* (earth and straw), stone and wood, exposed rather than plastered to form an authentic feel. The chunky wooden furniture very much follow the style found in the Cyprus Folk Art museum, carved window shutters and curtained bedframes, intricate embroidery on all surfaces (hand crafted or factory made in china- depending on capital), clay and wood artefacts as decoration, wooden beams and terracotta floors. The characteristic atmosphere is that of an earthy coloured, dark and cool room, ideal for hot summers and fire-lit winters. Aris had salvaged a large number of artefacts during the restoration of his mother's home which now formed the look of the hotel, furniture and kitchenware decorated the reception area, a display cupboard held smaller artefacts such as thimbles, silverware, old pictures

and toys. In the inner yard which served as a sitting area for the restaurant during the spring and summer, the *pithari* (a large clay storing vessel) stood in a corner unused, while smaller ones became pots for plants. On the walls hang curious metal gadgets which Aris' father was stunned to find I had no idea about. The old man picked one off the wall and with what seemed that an enormous amount of strength pulled its rusted sides open, he then placed it on the floor and threw a stick at it, to which the gadget snapped closed with a loud force. It was an animal trap.

Though the use of the artefacts had changed entirely they still held a value and a purpose. Their life purpose shifted from being used to being observed, much like that of museum items, they regained worth as physical representations of a past life. Through the course of their life, the objects went from being everyday needs, to garbage, to their revival as decoration. Similarly, the building itself changed drastically from being a home where children were raised and where a business started out of a daily practice of cooking, to a tourist place of temporary stays and minimal attachments. Jacuzzis were installed in rooms where previously washrooms did not exist indoors – the jacuzzi rooms cost an extra 30 euros. All of this change in status and modern rearrangement could have been seen as an automatic elimination of the authenticity of the place. But the status was never as much a concern as the performance that the place allowed. As a perceived authenticity of the past, the life circle of the building and the artefacts displayed an image of a static past with the luxuries of the present. The more convinced the guests were of the authenticity of the place, it seemed, the happier they were, and yet they would not want the experience to be an uncomfortable one. If authenticity is an observable aim, the very history of the building and its artefacts could fulfil that purpose. It could also be argued that the place was now serving its purpose, though different than what it was in the past, it had evolved with time to become a reflection of a past reality. The fact that Aris had been raised in the home and then rebuilt it with his own hands, added to the authentic – something that was often lost when they were greeted by foreigners.

Aris' father, Mr. A, who was often around, lived in the village; his parked truck could be seen from across the valley. There was a book on the reception counter with a post-it serving as a bookmark that he was always checking. The cover of the book was a picture portrait of one of the most recognisable figures of Cypriot anti-colonial struggle, a guerrilla fighter considered the most heroic member of EOKA. Much of the fighting during the 50s against British rule took place in the surrounding mountains and Afxendiou, the man on the cover, had been burned alive in his hideout in Macheras after he refused to surrender. It was a chilling face to see when one entered a place that looked like it was taken out of history

itself, and customers often asked about it. Mr. A, always with the same patience and excitement told his story as it was recorded in the book by a local historian. He had been a bus driver back in the 1950s and had often secretly taken up missions for EOKA, hiding fighters and driving them under '*British noses*', and one time his secret passenger had been Afxendiou himself. The post-it marked a page where the bus was pictured. '*We donated that bus to the village municipality*' Aris told me one day, not hiding his bitterness, '*they let it rust in a garage. It's part of the history of the village, imagine if they made it into some sort of monument or if they made a small museum, many people would come to see it*'. Aris understood the processes of tourism and had fought for change in the village, but the aging villagers did not want change, they were already unhappy with the hotel being built. The attraction of a heritage museum or monument from the 50s could put the village on the tourist map, and Aris recognised the opportunity. For the time being, the book sat on the reception counter, adding along with all the other artefacts, another story to the place, another layer of authenticity.

During the fieldwork year I visited several agrotourism establishments in search of the common elements that made them characteristically agrotourist and not just tourist, to find that the main similarities were in their appearance. Small hotels that all looked like they had been snapped out of a recent past, found in rural areas, as opposed to the larger, modern hotels more commonly found on the coast and cities. What was it about the late 19th century that caused such a nostalgic attachment to it that agrotourism was so fiercely connected to? When Cypriots refer to tradition or traditional, most cases will refer to practices of this time period. Traditional clothing, traditional food, celebrations, music and so on, are mostly depicting life in the 19th century. Many of these 'traditional' practices are, in reality, very recent inventions and often introduced with a purpose. The 19th century was a difficult time to live in rural Cyprus, older locals insist, but the fascination with it is apparent beyond Agrotourism- in the popularity of period TV series, for example. This nostalgia for the past is also indicative of a misconception about the carefree life of the past. It is often recited in the context of the division as well; (Papadakis, 2003) refers to a new historiography of a 'peaceful coexistence' that polishes the past. The weight of the identity crisis, as well as its causes, feel heavy on the modern Cypriot and perhaps the modern human in general, who longs for times where identity concerns were non-issues. The emergence of Agrotourism is a negotiation with these concerns, based on a modern understanding of the past.

6.4 AUTHENTICITY OF THE (DESTI)NATION

Authenticity as a modern value (Appadurai 1986) may be understood as the expectation of a perceived truth in things and daily experiences. In tourist contexts it is the expectation of originality, of a 'real' (rather than a replication of) objects and experiences, but also of the 'traditional' (rather than its modern version). The problematic coexistence between the perceived binary of tradition and modernity is where tourist spaces are at play. When the 'real' and the 'traditional' do not fit well together, a performance is often employed particularly for tourists, as Bruner (2004) describes as 'authentic reproduction'. This is attempted to be mediated through the use of selective stories and artefacts to offer a clear image of a place and time, such as the use of Aphrodite in the case of Cyprus. Linear and simplified narratives therefore become the basis for tourism, and are replicated and performed by tourism professionals and often by non-professional locals as well. Generations of these performances and narratives have caused a saturation with the story that it has become part of the narrative of the self.

Social science literature has investigated the links between authenticity and tourism in a largely negative way, as Steiner and Reisinger (2006) remark. This is perhaps due to the relationship between tourism and colonialism that haunts Western academia. The expectation of authenticity by Western tourists is reminiscent of colonial encounters where the stark difference of the exotic 'other' was both a fascination and a revulsion. For anthropology these links, as well as an initial tendency to dismiss modern cultures as subjects of interest, have only recently allowed tourism into its spectrum and this was seemingly inspired by the idea of authenticity following MacCannell's influential *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* in 1979. In the observation of the tourist as a typical representation of the modern human (MacCannell, 2013), tourist concerns of authenticity reveal themselves as everyday concerns. What is considered authentic is debateable within the various literary circles. This can be broken down to three main strands; an absolute reality and truth, an 'authentic reproduction' (Bruner, 2004) or a Heideggerian existential authenticity (Steiner and Reisinger, 2006).

In the case of the Agrohôtel the concept of authenticity is based on the collective imaginary of the past and its recreation as recreation. Agrotourism is seen by Cypriots as the most possibly 'real' experience of the past, whereas mass tourist narratives such as Aphrodite's stories are accepted as simply stories from the past directed towards foreigners. As self-representation, the narratives of Agrotourism are expected to be parallel with the narratives of collective identity and 'staged nostalgia' - this is what deems them authentic.

Where alternative histories or modern influences come in, Agrotourism is no longer accepted as an accurate representation of Cypriot life. Such interventions are seen to lower the quality of the experience as they destroy the illusion. The dichotomy of past and present becomes accentuated in these expectations of performance which is contradicted by the expectations of hotel comforts. 'Authentic' cooking methods are expected, but 'authentic' hygiene and comfort technologies would be unacceptable. The contradiction is part of 'cultural intimacy' coined by Herzfeld (2016), where the private collective 'self' hides matters of embarrassment and displays the public 'self' for other collectives. The hotel space is therefore a space of negotiation between authenticity and performance, between tradition and modernity, between public and private tourist narratives.

Tourist marketing trends followed in Cyprus use terms such as '*authentic experience*' '*traditional culture*' or '*real Cyprus*'⁶⁹ to attract visitors, but even if such things exist, the presentation of authenticity for the tourist market is really a paradox. How is 'traditional culture' possible within a world where tourists consume it- tourism is an economic and cultural influence of modernity that inevitably shapes the 'traditional'. This challenges the very notion of what 'tradition' is in terms of its temporality, validity and value. The idea of tradition as an anchor of originality, cultural values and collective identity is a construction that shapes daily experiences of place and self. In tourism marketing, 'tradition' is branded as a static set of practices that represent an original culture, forcing locals to participate in the performance. This is not only problematic in the context of tourism but also in daily life where such narratives fuel the reification of traditional practices over modern ones, resulting in a clash of values. As seen in previous chapters, Cypriots find themselves caught in the conflict of a perceived traditional past and a modern present. The reification of tradition may be attributed to modernity's own obsession with the past (Lowenthal, 2015); after all, if the past is to be preserved, protected and consumed as a tourist product, it must be better than current daily life. The evolution of culture with influences such as tourism and technology is not always seen as a natural, linear one, thus creating a conceptual binary. Tourism manifests the paradox of a coexistence of modernity and tradition that navigates efforts at identification.

Hobsbawm and Ranger (2012) observe how the sharp distinction between 'modernity' and 'tradition' is often invented. They distinguish between the 'invention' of traditions that claim to be old, and the 'starting' of a tradition which does not claim the same. The process of inventing traditions is one of '*formalization and ritualization*' with reference to the past. According to them, this is not necessarily a modern concern but modernity is certainly an

⁶⁹ CTO Marketing materials (undated)

influence, as it destroys the social patterns on which traditions were based, and therefore creates the need for new ones. These new traditions are supported by ancient materials making them difficult to separate from the narratives of the past. Invented traditions are not necessarily inauthentic, but their links to past life is very much questionable. This sheds light onto the experience of Agrotourism, for example, where perceptions of the past are not necessarily based on the reality of the past but its interpretation by modern Cypriots. The expectations of tourists for an authenticity are not so much based on the 'real' past, but on their perceptions of it and its selected attributes that are deemed characterful. The very existence of private bathrooms in each room, for example, is not negotiable, but their design must be convincing and suitable to the time period. This type of invented authenticity selects elements of the past and present to create a leisurely experience that satisfies the search for identity and belonging.

Object authenticity in tourism is more concerned with the materiality of things (Wang, 1999)- the selection of building material and its use and appearance, the handmade souvenirs, the homecooked local food. The very introduction of Agrotourism in the European market was very much based on this fascination with the materiality of the past. In its Cypriot incarnation, agrotourism owners must follow strict regulations to obtain licenses, based on EU policies and the CTO's prioritization of building conversions using traditional architecture and materials (Welz, 2017b, 1999). But to return to a Ruskinian (Ruskin, 2017) understanding of authenticity, once a piece of stone is removed from a building its authenticity is already lost. Even if the stone is restored and replaced, authenticity may never again be achieved once an intervention is made. The very expectation of authenticity of a rural past is an illusion that every possible replication will never achieve. Agrotourism is a performance of the past, and the balance between modernity and tradition that must be achieved to maintain the illusion is itself a very modern preoccupation.

The 'traditional lace' that is often bought as a souvenir from the rural village of Lefkara has claims levels of authenticity, depending on the style, make and material, an indication of which is evident in its price (Polemitou, 1981). Said to be inspired by the Venetians, it has become a folk art claimed by both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities that initially shared the village of Lefkara. A UNESCO world heritage protected practice of intangible cultural heritage since 2009, lace making has very specific designs, materials and techniques, and time spent on each piece determines its artistic and monetary value. Of course, across Lefkara, factory-made lace from China is on sale as a cheaper alternative (Latter, 2006), but a picture of an old lady making lace outside her shop is enough to give some authenticity to the factory-made version as well. For the village economy which relies

almost exclusively on tourism for its survival, the decision is a much more crucial one. Generations of women have supported their families through this time-consuming practice that was excruciatingly passed down to younger ones. Today, young women have lost interest in not just the practice, but village life in general endangering the practice further (Kokko and Kaipainen, 2015). Many shops are rumoured to employ old ladies to perform lacemaking as an attraction- I was greeted by one such lady in English while passing by in the summer of 2016, it appears that they are also trained to attract foreign tourists. Following the intercommunal conflict of the 60s when the Turkish Cypriot population of the village was displaced, each community has since claimed the Lefkara lace as their own (Miralay, 2018).

In the case of the village of Lefkara today, recently made into a municipality, proactive locals and entrepreneurs have taken tourism into their own hands, stretching the abilities of authenticity in many ways. As its attraction is an endangered living tradition, the village is attempting to maintain its unique architectural character as an added attraction, as well as its gastronomical delicacies, including the 'Cyprus delights'. The mayor explained to me his efforts to make it into the UNESCO list of intangible heritage, and how this would not only protect a dying practice, but would attract more tourists who want to see more of tradition. Lacemaking, according to the official narrative dates back to the fourteenth century but this recognition of the attraction of crafts also introduced the more recent tradition of silversmithing (Polemitou, 1981). Adding to the authenticity and attraction of the *Lefkaritika*, is the legend of the visit of Da Vinci in the 14th century. Reiterated in tourist guides and marketing, the story describes how Da Vinci was mesmerised by the lace and bought a large tablecloth as a gift to the Church of Milan.

In the attempt to present authenticity, tourist narratives, much like heritage narratives, freeze time and place at a particular moment of apparent interest. This becomes problematic for locals who are expected to play along and particularly in tourist spaces where the performance of authenticity could not be further from the daily experiences of the performers; Herzfeld (1991) has written extensively on this clash between monumentalization and everyday life. Cohen (1988) proposes the term '*emergent authenticity*' to refer to the traversable nature of daily experience as 'real' in contrast to the expectation of a 'primitive' authenticity. The daily performances for tourism may therefore be perceived as part of the authentic as their incorporation has been established. However, these are dismissed as simple performances of a past authenticity by both the performers and perhaps even those consumers who are critical of their experiences. Theodossopoulos (2012, 2012) investigates how the Embera incorporated tourist processes as part of their

own contemporary culture, as it is now their livelihood, by returning to their traditional attire as a deliberate adjustment to the opportunities for representation that tourism has brought. This has been an organic adjustment indicative of the agency of the indigenous culture to take exoticization into their own hands when modernity's effects have seemingly taken them a step 'back' towards the attire of their ancestors. Whether locals end their performance and rush to change into their daily clothes or remain in the 'traditional' straw skirts, is beyond the point, instead what matters is the self-representation that they are empowered to perform daily and how that is perceived as part of their contemporary identity. As Cohen adds to his idea of 'emergent authenticity', '*commoditization does not necessarily destroy the meaning of cultural products*'.

Cohen (1988) explains that tourists are accepting of commoditized products as long as at least some of its traits are understood to be authentic (its material for example). With this in mind, there is a distinct difference in the expectations of Cypriots consuming their own culture and foreign visitors doing so, not simply in terms of expected quality but in terms of expectations of what authenticity is. Cypriots see their very identities represented and can be critical of it, often favouring the positive over the negative elements of the representation rather than the authentic and inauthentic ones. As the ethnography has shown, they are open to the inauthentic as long as it fits in well and is convincing. The decoration of the Agrohôtel may be observed as an example of this. The customers were never concerned whether the building's structure was made out of concrete or *plithari*, as long as it appeared to be *plitharenio* as the earth and straw were exposed in sections of the wall. This image they have seen in old homes that have started to lose their wall treatment, and is thus a common sight. Similarly, the furnishing in the lobby could be said to have different levels of authenticity- some were originals from Aris' family home, others were made and bought for the hotel in the traditional look. On the walls hang wooden bread shapers, and animal traps, authentic objects but in very different uses to their original purpose. The terracotta floors fit in well with the style, but very few village houses would be able to afford such flooring in the time period that is being performed here. The computer and telephone were hidden behind the wooden bench of reception which masked the backstage somewhat. Altogether, the hotel had a mix of original objects, traditional techniques and styles, new and old artefacts, coming together to create the illusion of authenticity. Tourist flyers sat on Aris' mother's dressing table which was now part of the lobby and its drawers full of more flyers was an acceptable intervention as a tourist space.

Local and foreign tourists, therefore, will accept the performance of authenticity as long as it is convincing for them, but the production of the performance becomes entangled with

ideas of self-representation and cultural appropriation. Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos (2004) argue that *'every cultural performance entails a statement about collective identity'* and it is part of the community's cultural property. Self-representation is therefore a process of identity expression that becomes a tourist commodity. The agency of the locals in this process is essential to any consideration of an authentic performance. In the landscape of conflict and identity crisis in Cyprus, such representation may always be contested. The contestation of tourist and heritage narratives is therefore parallel to the narratives of making a nation.

An authentic representation of the past and present of a community implies a consensus which does not exist, creating the need for a hegemonic process. In terms of local perceptions of identity and the processes of tourist commodification, it is important to consider that much of the understanding of the past is largely based on such tourist spaces and other recreations in the media and museums, and very rarely on real experience of the past. As generations pass on, knowledge of the past is merely an interpretation of the stories and evidence of its existence. This is the circular narrative of production and consumption that creates cultural elements in turn incorporated as part of identity. Control of this production is a powerful mechanism which makes links between the past and present to establish both the Nation and the Destination. In the case of Cyprus, much of the power is held by the state who aims to represent its contested national narrative. Despite hierarchical decision making processes and disputed narratives, in the tourism space, representation falls in the hands of Cypriots themselves.

6.5 CONCLUSION

What is created for tourism is re-appropriated as part of the identity of Cypriot culture. It is not merely a matter of representation, therefore but a matter of interaction with that representation and a progression towards the performed image of identity. This can be observed both in cases where Cypriots are hosts but also where Cypriots become guests. The agency involved with performance and participation becomes part of the collective 'staged nostalgia'; in this case, nostalgia refers to the past as a 'peaceful' and 'simple' time. The dynamic of Cypriots being both guests and hosts in the context of tourism in Cyprus creates a circular motion of production, consumption and expectation based on the collective imaginary of the past, that is then incorporated as part of identity. This may be observed as the organic development of culture, but is more often seen as an external influence of modernity that disrupts 'traditional life'.

The presence of archaeology and its selective display that favours Greek influences within the abilities of the Republic identifies the island's historical links, serving a political purpose as well as an economic one. Belonging and trauma are displayed clearly where possible, to highlight the illegality and illegitimacy of an Islamic presence on the other side of the Green Line. Hosting becomes a challenge when there is more than one host competing for legitimacy. This links back to Chapter Three where tourism is interrupted by the presence of the contested border where official bodies within the Republic present their case for not visiting through uses of victimizing imagery. How a destination is defined within these conditions is equally complicated to the definition of the nation that claims it.

What is seen as an 'authentic' part of culture, and what is an 'in-authentic' one becomes central to the understanding of identity formation and (re)presentation within the tourist space. Whether these influences are perceived as authentic ones relies on how the idea of authenticity is translated- within tourism, authentic is often seen as the traditional rather than the modern. The case study of the Agrohôtel offers insight as to the expectations and performances that label a place or an experience as 'authentic' in official and local discourse. The expectations of the EU, of foreign tourists and of Cypriot tourists for authenticity vary somewhat, but are all based on the ideology that the past is and should be valued. When pasts are contested, claims to authenticity become power in the negotiation of identity. As the collective imaginary of the past becomes a commodity, expectations of representation become central.

7

CONCLUSION

On my flight back to Cyprus for the holidays I know what image to expect; the 'golden-green leaf' will seem peaceful from the sky, as if drifting along in the dark blue sea. I have seen the resilience within, in many forms, but each return is a surprise as local and global developments bring daily change. I will be back exploring the spaces in-between, where friends have found peace within the conflicts of society, and with each other. I will look for the olive tree saplings planted at heritage sites as a sign of peace, see where they have taken and where they have dried out. I will look for Aphrodite, feel the warm winter sun across the Green Line, and keep on walking to the edges of identity to find the possibilities of Cypriotness.

7.1 SUMMARY

The concept of 'staged nostalgia' has considered the discursive uses of nostalgia, loss and trauma as a community building mechanism in Cyprus. In a space where identities are products of conflict, collectivity is formed around public and private expressions of suffering and longing. The personal search for identity within this system becomes a struggle between perceptual dichotomies of 'self' and 'other', dispersed across the social landscape but also evident on the physical landscape of partition. 'Staged nostalgia' refers to conceptualizations of the past as better and more peaceful by identifying the enemy at different fronts; the obvious 'enemy' to the North, but also modernity and change, the loss of values through the generations and conciliation with the passing of time. As each of the chapters has shown, these negotiations with the landscape become processes of identity making in a space of contradictions and power clashes.

In the landscapes of conflict in Cyprus, continuous identity negotiations are daily struggles. The Cyprus Problem forms the background of much of this, creating dichotomies between

and within the two ethnic groups but also dividing the physical landscape of the island. Internal conflict within the Greek Cypriot community is often interrelated to the Cyprus Problem; in the use of histories in education and socialization, in politics and their infiltrations in social life, and in ideological clashes regarding a possible solution to the Problem. Further dichotomies between nationalist and internationalist ideologies, modernity and tradition, normative heritage practices and urban cultural life forms have all been identified as part of the conflicting landscape. As products of this space, identities are contested, internally and externally, making necessary the social mechanism that is 'staged nostalgia', dispersed across the social landscape.

Encounters with the very physicality of division, the Green Line, reveal the perceptual edge of identity. At the border the use of the body becomes a negotiation with this edge and the paradoxes of constructed divides become most evident. Collectivity, constructed for 44 years against a contested border is articulated politically and socially through these encounters; this is the very expression of 'staged nostalgia'. When the border becomes penetrable these rigid perceptions are challenged in the possibilities of crossing, and whether one decides to cross or not becomes a controversial decision. Visits attributed to pilgrimage are most commonly accepted, while memory and trauma competes with the reality of loss. While the capital city reinvents itself towards a European and modern persona, memoirs that encompass these affects cross its scar from its one side to its other.

The post-war landscape maintained by the borderland is a space where new cultural and natural life forms emerge. Abandoned spaces are host to marginalized groups who find refuge or inspiration in the destruction. Processes of beautification and heritage endanger these cultural and natural life forms which through their existence challenge notions of decay and loss. Landscape and identity once again prove interconnected through the observations of one puncturing the other, and a new possibility emerges where monumentalization and memorialization are interrogated as destruction themselves. The exploration of such spaces is a negotiation with the past, present and future, as understood through similar processes parallel to Dark Tourism.

The official display of identity as part of representation in heritage and tourist narratives provides insight as to the public and private spheres of identity construction. Here, power relations reveal layers of dominance through Western hegemony, the idealization of modernity, humanist practices, nationalistic discourses and economic power. While nostalgias are 'staged' partly through official heritage processes, ideological conflicts take place at the sites where heritage is being created. Nationalist and internationalist regimes compete with local memory to establish heritage narratives in a hierarchical process of

representation. The memorialization of some histories and the loss of others is unavoidable in the practice of heritage, while decisions of value are made from the top down. In a parallel space, tourist narratives are created in much the same way. Bureaucratic processes create narratives full of intrigue to attract tourist audiences, based on contested and selective histories and mythologies. At the same time, Cypriot tradition is negotiated through the emergence of rural tourism known as Agrotourism where Cypriots themselves participate as consumers. The commodification of tradition, or *invented traditions* (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012), reveal the cultural attachment to the past and the search for authenticity as subjective processes. These elements of the contested past are incorporated selectively back into identity through 'staged nostalgia'.

The many nostalgias that inform the thesis question, those of an imagined and idealized past, of a peaceful coexistence, of better times, become elements of a collective identity that struggles to maintain itself. In its encounters with modernity and loss, collective identity is challenged. In the display of official identities through processes of 'staged nostalgia' or 'global heritage' local voices are lost, and the purpose and audience of heritage is challenged. Power is identified in the ideological position of funders, while nationalistic discourses persist through the narrative creating spaces of contestation. Generational, political, class and ideological divisions form the conflicting landscape attempted to be mediated by 'staged nostalgia' for the public display of the Cypriot national identity. Internally, however, 'staged nostalgia' is an imposition onto socialized individuals who include first-hand and inherited trauma in their expressions of identity.

7.2 INSIGHTS

The thesis has provided a multi-layered approach to understanding the relationship to landscape that could only have been achieved through multi-sited research within the same social space. Emerging out of the nature of ethnographic research, this structure has allowed the contextualization of conflict within various layers of society. Each layer has revealed new relations and influences between landscape and identity that the chapters have observed individually and in relation. This discussion brings together some of the key findings and observes them as part of the wider question of identity negotiation.

The generational conflicts identified throughout the social landscape have become central in the discussion of Greek Cypriot society. Alienation between generations is identified as part of a wider crisis formed by the presence of war in the recent past, but also influences of modernity. This results in major differences between contemporaneous generations

regarding possible futures and attachments to the past. The optimism of younger generations is seen as a betrayal in the older generation's need to display suffering. This resignation is a loss of the past that memory has preserved, and a loss of identity. Relations to heritage and tourism processes are therefore perceived differently by each generation, but ever more prevalent.

The idea of a frustrated hospitality that Chapter Six introduced can be understood as part of the wider problem of contested landscapes. The conceptualization of being a host depends on the ability to define a 'home'⁷⁰. Much of this difficulty is mediated through the parallel creation of a destination and a nation- what I have referred to as the Desti(nation)- where the definition of one becomes the narrative of the other. Then, the need to become more selective with guests, by turning 'sun and sea' tourism into 'quality tourism', becomes a process of rebranding. Tradition is revisited and renegotiated, while the past remains a source of both embarrassment, for its peasant rurality, and pride, for the peaceful near past and glorious Hellenic distant past (Herzfeld 2016). This conflict is once again negotiated collectively through the forces of 'staged nostalgia' which provides the evidence to support communal identity. The thesis has shown that to break free from the social mechanisms of 'staged nostalgia' is a process of challenging authenticities and inadvertent Dark Tourism.

The link established between identity and landscape might hold the secret to the possible futures of Cyprus. Evidence from the diasporic communities of Cyprus (Chatzipanagiotidou, 2012) indicate that peaceful coexistence between the Cypriot communities outside of the landscape of conflict is possible. What this means, is that the landscape of Cyprus itself does not allow for the same sense of collectivity due to its structures. Further research on international diasporic communities could provide insight as to the possibility of a positive future. The questions that remain, however, concern the definition of Cypriotness and whether such definition is possible and necessary.

7.3 CONTRIBUTION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This thesis makes a contribution to the anthropological literature of Cyprus through the critical examination of the multiple landscapes on which identity is negotiated and (re)produced. Anthropologists have recognised the state of conflict and power dynamics that persist on social landscapes of 'peace' (Bryant and Papadakis, 2012) and 'symbolic

⁷⁰ The definition of 'home' has also been problematized in Chapter One as part of the examination of the term Anthropology at Home, where the term was deemed subjective and abstract.

violence' (Argyrou, 2005) and this thesis is in agreement with them. The landscapes that host this, however, have not been observed through the social mechanisms on which identity is disseminated and negotiated. 'Staged nostalgia', proposed through this research, provides the conceptualization of a discourse and practice that encompasses uses of the landscape as socializing instruments. The original contribution of this thesis is therefore the proposition and analysis of 'staged nostalgia' as it relates to the discussion of Cypriot identities.

This notion of a social mechanism that is created out of, and expressed as a nostalgia for lost pasts, becomes the focal point for an observation of landscape-based identities. Deriving from the locals' own conceptualizations of their social space as one of extreme contradictions, the concept indicates the theoretical and political approach to identity within Cypriot society. As Levi-Strauss (1992) discerns, the theory does not come from the researcher, but the reflexivity of the 'researched'. The conceptualization of 'staged nostalgia' can therefore be attributed to the agency of Cypriots themselves in their search for identity.

The influences and ideologies that concern Greek Cypriots today have been at the forefront of this study. It fits well within the multidisciplinary literature of Cyprus, as seen in the literature review in Chapter One, that has indicated nationalism and Western, or European hegemony as some of the major influences in present day Cyprus. The project has provided an anthropological observation of Cypriot society today as shaped by these, and other, influences. The discussions raised from across the landscapes of conflict are current and ongoing, providing a most contemporary ethnography of Cyprus. Wherever political developments might lead in the future, and however these struggles might find resolution, this research stands at a point in time where war and post-war generations of Cypriots lived in 'peaceful conflict'. As any ethnography this is one of a place in time and of a people's concerns within that time.

This is also a contemporary ethnography of modernity. As part of wider anthropological literature, this research has observed the case of Cyprus as a contribution to the study of borders, heritage and tourism. Modernity's encounter with physical and social landscapes has been central to this approach as an influence derived through relationships with the West, the Global and Europe. Whether these influences have been political, ideological, financial or all of the above, they feed the gap between perceptions of the past and present, modernity and tradition, old and young. Ideas of agency, authorship, (re)presentation and (re)production have been explored through the essentialization and commodification of cultural groups as part of touristic and heritage narratives. Normative processes of heritage

and tourism have been interrogated, and possibilities for further discussion opened up; for example, encounters with the symbolic and material presence of the Green Line.

This study of Cyprus offers the possibility for other disputed territories and identities to be considered in a similar focus - places of contested or shifting borders, for example, or ones where the past and future collide in heritage and tourism narratives. This study has offered a set of landscapes that have been prominent in Cyprus, but further landscapes could be identified elsewhere through ethnographic research. A landscape based identity becomes a challenge in the case of displaced persons as seen in this case and could be further observed as part of the migrant crisis and European identity. The use of borders becomes central to incorporation and alienation. Turkey, at the forefront of the migrant crisis and a European frontier is a dynamic power within the landscape as well as the conceptualization of Cypriot identities. Turkish identity in this space embodies the 'other' in the wider sense but also the 'other' within. Cyprus, as part of the global political space features the contradictions and concerns of Europe within its own, very small, landscape; a microcosm of global politics.

As a contribution to wider anthropological literature, this thesis establishes the need for perceptions of identity to be at the forefront of political discourses that currently find themselves as top-down impositions. With the passing of time and political developments, a revisit to this study will provide interesting temporal explorations of its contemporary themes. As the urban spaces of abandonment are developed rapidly, political developments may lead to some sort of resolution to the Problem, and tourism trends may provide new opportunities for the exploration of representation, there is much to be expected out of a future revisit. In Cyprus, further study could be done cross-border or in institutions where the themes are identified, and where the theoretical approach of 'staged nostalgia' could provide insight. This research has provided an analysis of a collected set of data as related to the main concerns of the thesis questions. It has provided insight to its themes through a long-term ethnographic research and may be used within or outside of academia to understand the social landscape or implement new ways of thinking about current processes.

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APPENDIX 1

PSEUDONYMS

The use of pseudonyms, a common practice in ethnographic writing (Kaiser, 2009; Saunders et al., 2015), is a result of attempts to safeguard the privacy of those friends who have informed this thesis. While many opinions expressed may also be publicly discussed, and while participants were always made aware of my intentions, it is a major responsibility to guard the privacy of a one to one conversation. Beyond the use of pseudonyms, on occasion, personal information has been slightly altered or masked (where not influencing the meaning) to protect the professional position of employees or to protect personal relationships. I have returned to the 'do no harm' ethic to decide this though Murphy and Jeorlmack (2016) worry that in the current world of data transparency even this process will be inadequate. On this occasion this has been done with much care both to those participants but also the integrity of the research. Having stated this, I will note that some ethnographic material that has informed my understanding has been left out of the final result where I felt it would be exposing. While I had anticipated that discretion would play a large part in my analysis, I admit that the amount of contentious material and their sources was an unexpected one, and that this would be a process of care.

Below is a list of pseudonyms with a short profile to guide the reader through the thesis knowing some background information and the relationships between individuals. The selection of pseudonyms was intentional so as to create a profile of the individual. This involved the use of common Greek, Turkish or foreign language names where appropriate, to ensure an appropriate representation and the selection of pseudonyms that are age-appropriate (some names are distinctive of certain times). This was an attempt to allow analogous imagery for the reader. The decision to include classifications of gender in the short descriptions, based on normative categories and expressions, is mainly due to gender perceptions within the community and the effects of this; normatively gendered Cypriots will have different experiences due to cultural gender norms but also memories of fighting in the war and undergoing military service, for example. Information such as class, sexuality and profession has been excluded for privacy, though much can be said about the relationship between these and the opinions expressed on political matters (Argyrou, 2005; Papadakis, 2005a). The ability of qualitative research to understand persons holistically is filtered through what the researcher understands and what they chose to disclose. For the integrity of the research, on occasions where this extra information mattered as ethnographic evidence it has been discretely disclosed.

LIST OF INDIVIDUALS USING PSEUDONYMS

Alexandra	Female, 50s, Foreign, UNDP employee
Andreas	Male, 24, Greek Cypriot
Angela	Female, 35, Greek Cypriot, independent explorer and writer
Anna	Female, 76, Greek Cypriot, Widow, Refugee, Housewife, crossed to see her house once in 2004
Aris	Male, 60s, Greek Cypriot, Agrohote! owner and manager, craftsman and entrepreneur
Ayshe	Female, Elderly, Turkish Cypriot, met at UNDP site
Bridget	Female, 40s, Scottish, work-away hotel cleaner
Charalambos	Male, 33, Greek Cypriot, family is non-refugee, Nasia's boyfriend
Eleftheria	Female, 31, Greek Cypriot, crossed once
Elena	Female, 25, Greek Cypriot, Petros' girlfriend, Crosses for shopping
Emine	Female, 30s, Turkish Cypriot, architect
Gabor	Male, 24, Hungarian, work-away at hotel
George	Male, 31, Greek Cypriot, father is a refugee, active in right wing politics
Giulia	Female, 20s, Foreign
Hakan	Male, mid-30s, Turkish Cypriot, Murat's friend, crosses regularly
Homer	Male, early 30s, Cypriot, urban explorer and activist
Kostas	Male, 50s, Greek Cypriot, tourism professional
Lara	Female, 26, Greek Cypriot, Mother is a refugee, crossed to see her mother's village once, and crossed again with me to explore the town
Lena	Female, 33, Greek Cypriot, urban explorer and collector
Leonidas	Male, 35, Greek Cypriot, Father fought in the war, has never crossed
Maria	Female, 31, Greek Cypriot
Mario	Male, 28, Greek Cypriot, has never crossed
Mehmet	Male, 30s, Turkish Cypriot
Michael	Male, 22, Greek Cypriot, urban explorer and graffiti artist, mother is from Greece, father fought in the war
Mr A	Male, 80s, Greek Cypriot, Aris' father
Mr C	Male, 50s, Greek Cypriot, CTO employee
Mr Michalis husband	Male, 70s, Greek Cypriot refugee, mouhtar! of lost village, Mrs Georgia's husband
Mr. B	Male, 60s, Greek Cypriot, Retired former director of the Cyprus Tourism Organization

Mrs Georgia	Female, 70s, Greek Cypriot refugee, Mr Mihalis' wife
Mrs Mary	Female, 50s, Greek Cypriot, visitor at UNDP site
Mrs Soula	Female, late 60s, Greek Cypriot refugee, Mrs Georgia's cousin
Murat	Male, 37, Turkish Cypriot, met through UNDP, crosses regularly
Nasia politics	Female, 34, Greek Cypriot, family is non-refugee, family history in right wing
Nora	Female, 50s, Greek Cypriot, crosses regularly but careful not to spend money, likes to visit renovated sites
Petros	Male, 29, Greek Cypriot, Elena's Boyfriend
Sara	Female, 30s, Foreign, UNDP employee
Stella	Female, 40s, Greek Cypriot, tourist
Sevket	Male, 50s, Turkish Cypriot, Masonry worker
Sotiroulla	Female, 79, Greek Cypriot, non-refugee
Evdokia	Female, 60s, Greek Cypriot, refugee
Violeta	Female, 50s, Romanian, hotel cleaner and cook

APPENDIX 2

TRANSLATIONS:

CHAPTER 4 - POEM BY ANGELA [ORIGINAL GREEK]

‘Κοιτάζω τα συντρίμια κάτω απο το υπόλοιπό μου και αναρωτιέμαι, που βρίσκομαι?
Είμαι αυτό που κοιτάζει ή αυτό που κοιτάζω. Το υπόλοιπό μου,
Ο αθικτος κορμός μου κοιτάζει το εύθραυστο στο πάτωμα υπόλοιπο του
άραγε αν απο το πάτωμα σε σώμα πάλι μαζευτώ τι σώμα θα είναι αυτό?
Θα είναι δικό μου ή ένα ξένο δανεικό που θα προδώνει πως κάποτε είμουν πιο δυνατό?
Αν στο έδαφος απ’την άλλη τα κομμάτια μου αφήσω και παραμείνω ένα ερίπιο αδειανό
με νέα ταυτότητα μου αναπροσδιοριστώ θα’μαι άραγε εγώ?
Πιος έχει δύναμη να εξουσιάζει εαυτό ανεπηρέαστο απο χρόνο, ανέμους και θεό?
Δεν μου ανοίκω όχι όσο είμαι ζωντανό,
η αλλαγή είναι το μόνο σταθερό.’

-With many thanks

CHAPTER 3 - ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ - ΑΛΚΙΝΟΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΔΗΣ [HOMELAND- ALKINOOS IOANNIDES]

<p>Λοιπόν, αγρίεψε ο κόσμος σαν καζάνι που βράζει σαν το αίμα που στάζει, σαν ιδρώτας θολός Πότε πότε γελάμε, πότε κάνουμε χάζι και στα γέλια μας μοιάζει να γλυκαίνει ο καιρός</p> <p>Μα όταν κοιτάζω τις νύχτες τις ειδήσεις να τρέχουν ξέρω ότι δεν έχουν νέα για να μου πουν Ήμουν εγώ στη φωτιά, ήμουν εγώ η φωτιά είδα το τέλος με τα μάτια ανοικτά</p> <p>Είδα τον πόλεμο φάτσα, τη «φυλή» και τη «ράτσα» προδομένη από μέσα, απ' τους πιο πατριώτες Να χουν τη μάνα μου αιχμάλωτη με τ' όπλο στο στόμα Τα παιδιά τους στολίζουν σήμερα τη Βουλή</p> <p>Κάτω από ένα τραπέζι, το θυμάμαι σαν τώρα με μια κούπα σταφύλι στου βομβαρδισμού την ώρα είδα αλεξίπτωτα χίλια στον ουρανό σαν λεκέδες Μου μιλούσε ο πατέρας μου να μη φοβηθώ</p> <p>«Κοίταξε τι ωραία που πέφτουν! Τι ωραία που πέφτουν...»</p> <p>Είδα γονείς ορφανούς, ο ένας παππούς απ' τη Σμύρνη στη Δράμα πρόσφυγας πήγε να βρει βουλγάρικη σφαίρα κι ο άλλος, Κύπριος φυγάς στο μαύρο τότε Λονδίνο στα είκοσι επτά του στα δύο τον κόψανε οι Ναζί</p> <p>Είδα μισή Λευκωσία, βουλιαγμένη Σερβία</p>	<p>So, the world has gone mad, like a boiling cauldron Like dripping blood, like opaque sweat Sometimes we laugh, sometimes we joke And in our laughs it seems time gets sweeter</p> <p>But when I see the news running at night I know they have no news to tell me I was in the fire, I was the fire I saw the end with my eyes open</p> <p>I saw the war face to face, the 'race' and the 'breed' Betrayed from within, from the most patriotic Having my mother prisoner with the gun in her mouth Their children today decorate the Parliament</p> <p>Under a table, I remember it as if it was just now With a bowl of grapes at the time of the bombing I saw a thousand parachutes like stains in the sky My father talked to me so I wouldn't be afraid "Look how nicely they are falling! How nicely they are falling..."</p> <p>I saw orphaned parents, one grandfather from Smyrni He went to Drama as a refugee and found a Bulgarian bullet And the other, a Cypriot fugitive in -then black-London At twenty-seven cut in half by the Nazis</p> <p>I saw half a Nicosia, a sunken Serbia In Belgrade a ghost in an empty hotel American bombs and I am asleep</p>
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<p>στο Βελιγράδι ένα φάντασμα σ' άδειο ξενοδοχείο Αμερικάνικες βόμβες και εγώ να κοιμάμαι αύριο θα τραγουδάμε στις πλατείας τη γιορτή</p> <p>Είδα κομμάτια το κρέας μες στα μπάζα μιας πόλης είδα τα χέρια, τα πόδια πεταμένα στη γη είδα να τρέχουν στο δρόμο με τα παιδιά τους στον ώμο κι εγώ τουρίστας με βίντεο και φωτογραφική</p> <p>Εδώ στην άσχημη πόλη που απ' την ανάγκη κρατιέται ένας λαός ρημαγμένος μετάλλια ντόπας ζητάει Ολυμπιάδες κι η χώρα ένα γραφείο τελετών θα σου ζητήσω συγνώμη που σε μεγάλωσα εδώ</p> <p>Τους είχα δει να γελάνε οι μπάτσοι κι απ' την Ομόνοια να πετάν δακρυγόνα στο πυροσβεστικό Στο παράθυρο εικόνισμα, άνθρωποι σαν λαμπάδες και τα κανάλια αλλού να γυρνούν το φακό</p> <p>Και είδα ξεριζωμένους να περνούν τη Γραμμή για μια πόρνη φτηνή ή για καζίνο και πούρα Έτσι κι αλλιώς μπερδεμένη η πίστη μας η καημένη ο Σολωμός με Armani και την καρδιά ανοιχτή.</p> <p>Δε θέλω ο εαυτός μου να 'ναι τόπος δικός μου ξέρω πως όλα αν μου μοιάζαν θα ταν αγέννητη η γη Δε με τρομάζει το τέρας, ούτε κι ο άγγελός μου ούτε το τέλος του κόσμου, με τρομάζεις εσύ</p> <p>Με τρομάζεις ακόμα, οπαδέ της ομάδας του κόμματος σκύλε, της οργάνωσης μάγκα</p>	<p>Tomorrow we will be singing in the squares</p> <p>I saw flesh in pieces in the debris of a city I saw the arms, the legs thrown on the ground I saw them running in the streets with their children on their shoulder And I, a tourist with a camera</p> <p>Here in this ugly city which hangs on for need A ravaged people asks for dope medals Olympics and the country is a funeral home I will beg your forgiveness for raising you here</p> <p>I saw them laugh, the cops, and from Omonoia Throwing tear-gas to the firetruck On the window an icon, people like candles And the channels turning the lens elsewhere</p> <p>And I saw uprooted people crossing the line For a cheap whore or for casinos and cigars Either way our poor faith is confused Solomos in Armani and his heart open</p> <p>I don't want myself to be my place I know if everything was like me, the earth would not have been born I am not afraid of my monster, nor my angel Nor the end of the world, I am afraid of you</p> <p>You scare me still, follower of the team Dog of the political party, organized bully Interpreter of God, Guru cleric High/created Tsolia soldier, lost scout</p> <p>You are praying and you are killing, you stutter anthems of rage You have fear as a homeland, you are looking for parents</p>
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<p>διερμηνέα του Θεού, ρασοφόρε γκουρού τσολιαδάκι φτιαγμένο, προσκοπάκι χαμένο</p> <p>Προσεύχεσαι και σκοτώνεις, τραυλίζεις ύμνους οργής έχεις πατρίδα το φόβο, γυρεύεις να βρεις γονείς μισείς τον μέσα σου ξένο κι όχι, δεν καταλαβαίνω δεν ξέρω πού πατώ και πού πηγαίνω</p>	<p>You hate the foreigner inside you and no, I don't understand I don't know where I am stepping and where I am going</p>
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