WP5 Socio-political Developments and Impacts

Cyprus Report

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> Ideologies work most effectively when we are not aware that how we formulate and construct a statement about the world is underpinned by ideological premises when our formulations seem to be simply descriptive statements about how things are (i.e. must be), or what we can "take for granted".
>
> Stuart Hall

A. Background

The main purpose of WP5 is to examine role of parliamentary extreme right-wing parties on national politics and policies (in areas related to immigration and refugee policy). The particularity of the Cyprus case must be borne in mind, as the terms up which the political parties are divided are not the same as they are other European Countries. It is a tiny society, divided by ethnic conflict and war, which has just acceded to the EU. Historical and structural reasons have so far prevented the emergence of a party based on anti-immigration, although it can be said that there is an emergence of *a new politics of anti-immigration* primarily media-driven and stirred up by a handful of populist politicians and some right – wing trade unionists. Whether this would form the nucleus for a different political formation is yet to be seen; at this point it seems unlikely. The party systems in both sectors of the divided society, the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot political parties are still primarily organised around the Cyprus problem and local issues; immigration is an issue, but political parties do not have clearly policies that may define in a definitively way a political clearage. The emergence of a new party family of radical (or extreme) right-wing populist (RRP) party based pm anti-immigration during the last two decades has not made its appearance, at least so far in Cyprus but there are far right parties which are anti-Turkish in the south and anti-Greek in the north.

This Report concentrates on Greek-Cypriot political parties, whilst some references are made to Turkish-Cypriot political parties. Politics in (occupied) northern Cyprus does not allow for any meaningful comparison with other European countries, as the regime in the north is not part of the EU, it is not recognised by anyone other than Turkey and it is isolated from the outside world. 'Immigration' is a big issue is the northern territories. However, the issue is very complicated and link to the fact of occupation of the north by

Turkey, Turkish policy over Cyprus, economic isolation. It is a product for the Cyprus problem. Persons who move to the north are either 'settlers' and 'migrant workers' from Turkey causing hostility to a significant section of the local Turkish-Cypriot population and the fury and alarm to many Greek-Cypriots in the south, largely inflated by the Greek-Cypriot media presents. The matter cannot be compared to other cases in Europe, as there is a political issue at stake. The Greek-Cypriots official line is that colonising the north and taking over Greek-Cypriot property is a war crime and a policy to alter the demographic character of the island. Turkish-Cypriot political actors seem to be divided amongst the nationalists (Turko-Centrisity) who see the Turkish settlers as a boost to the population and the economy of the TRNC against the numerically superior Greek-Cypriots[1] and the Turkish-Cypriot anti-nationalists (Cypro-centrists) and labour-centred parties who see the uncontrolled number of settlers as an obstacle to the resolution of the Cyprus problem and in the absence of a political settlement in the meantime an immediate threat to Turkish-Cypriot society industrial relations, the way of life and the standard of living.[2]

There are no typical 'far right', xenophobic populist or 'neo-Nazi' parties focusing anti-immigrant populism. Anti-immigrant rhetoric and racist discourse is articulated primarily by individual populist politicians. Also there are hidden or indirect references to this politics in the discourse of the minor parties of far Right (anti-Turkish parties). These are primarily, but not exclusively, right-wing and nationalist politicians. Trade unions have indirect but close links with political parties: PEO is linked to AKEL; DEOK to EDEK and SEK is linked to DESY and DEKO. Particularly in the immediate years that followed the change of policy allowing migrant workers in 1990, there was a 'defensive' and xenophobic response by many trade unionists. Trade unions gave their consent to the change of policy allowing migrant workers under certain conditions but they resented the regular violation of the agreed terms by employers (see Trimikliniotis, 1999). The attitudes of the trade unions have changed over time, as members were drawn by migrant workers, trade unions have become more positive towards migrant workers (see INEK, 2004; Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, 2003). However, within the trade union movement the two opposite trends/attitudes as to the treatment of migrant workers seem to widen

over time: (a) between those who see 'foreign' workers as a 'threat' to Cypriot workers, adopting the typical 'job stealing', 'causing unemployment' and 'welfare abusing' frames and a 'threat to national cohesion', such as the right-wing SEK and to a large extent the social-democratic DEOK[3] and (b) those who stress the need to integrate and involve the migrant workers within the trade unions such as Left-wing PEO, which has set up a 'Migrant Workers Bureau' elected from the first ever trade union-organised 'Conference of Migrant Workers'.[4] It has to be noted that the above two views are many times aired by trade unions in all unions but there is clearly a predominant opinion or dominant frame in each trade union on close examination of their discourse in their position papers and statements.

The farmers associations, whose members rely on cheap migrant labour, have repeatedly protested that they be exempted from paying social security to their migrant staff on the ground that these amounts does not go to the employees anyway, as there are no bilateral government agreements. During the summer of 2004 a collective agreement was signed that is apparently discriminatory on the ground of race[5] and a complaint was been lodged with the authority against racism and xenophobia. There is certainly a constituency amongst the Cyprus public that is anti-immigrant. When examining the party manifestos and the ideological programs of political parties there is no observable combination of xenophobic ethno-nationalism (based on the so-called ethno-pluralist doctrine) and anti-political establishment populism, although there is a stress on other socio-cultural issues, such as more 'law-and-order' and a call to strengthen 'traditional family norms'. Thus we cannot find any political party *explicitly* based its vision on xenophobic anti-immigrant and racist discourse that fits the minimalist definition of a 'RRP party'. The conventional 'core characteristics' (ethno-nationalism, xenophobia, and anti-establishment populism) are not explicitly present in Cypriot political parties as their defining characteristics 'Ethno-nationalism' is certainly in abundance across the political spectrum, with a significant degree of variation. However, ethno-nationalism takes a particular form shaped by the Cyprus political history; *anti-establishment* populism is not apparent but populist politics is the norm. Xenophobia does not feature in *official* party documents, nonetheless it is in abundance in the media and it used regularly by individual politicians,

whose discourses many not necessarily reflect the party line or dominant discourse on the subject. When interviewing the various political actors blatant racist and xenophobic discourses feature very strongly (see table 1c). The political leaders interviewed claim that their views are within the party line, even if the way they are articulated appears somewhat different in tone and volume.

The complexity and the unevenness of the phenomenon connected with the difficulty in defining the 'extreme Right' becomes even more difficult when trying to fit in the Cyprus example. Disparate ideas and 'concerns' are all blended in the ideologies and discourses with various issues taking the lead depending on the context, time and expediency. There is nevertheless some common thread somewhere: they seem to share 'concern', which in practice verges on obsession on issues such as 'immigration, nation security, unemployment, culture, anti-communism, globalization, Europe, corruption, moral questions identity" (Hainsworth, 2000: 2-3). Most of these elements are strongly present in the public discourses over migrants in Cyprus, but there is no party that has taken these elements to make them as central discourses of their political programs.

B. Contextualization

B1. Short political history of Cyprus: *Troubled Past of a Divided Island*

Cyprus is a tiny divided island since 1974 with the Greek junta and EOKA B coup and the Turkish army invasion and occupation of the northern territories. Since independence from the British in 1960, the Republic of Cyprus has had a troubled history. The two main communities of the island, the Greek-Cypriots (78%) and the Turkish-Cypriots (18%) have collided over governance and 'course' of the newly established republic: the Greek-Cypriot nationalist aspiration was to achieve union with Greece (*Enosis*) and the Turkish-Cypriot was partition (*Taksim*). Hence, by 1963-64 there was an inter-communal strife that paralysed the bi-communal consociational Republic.[6] From 1964 the Greek-Cypriots control of the Cyprus Republic, since the Turkish-Cypriot violent reaction to the unilateral attempt by the Greek-Cypriot President, Makarios, to amend the constitution that would take away what Turkish-Cypriot saw as unchangeable against the numerically

superior Greek-Cypriots constitutional safeguards. Efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem have so far failed; the latest failure being the UN effort to provide a comprehensive plan (the Annan plan) resolving the problem on the eve of accession to the EU in April 2004. Greek-Cypriots overwhelmingly rejected it. Turkish-Cypriots on the other hand overwhelmingly accepted it, leaving the issue in a state of limbo.

Since 1974, the southern territories under the control of the Republic have experienced a rapid economic growth, particularly in the tourism and service sector, which is sometimes referred as 'the Cyprus miracle' (see Christodoulou, 1993). By the 1980s the economy was orientated towards Europe, acting as a bridge between the Middle Eastern neighbours and northern African countries (see Wilson, 1993) and taking advantage of the cheap labour provided by the refugee, as well as regional and international factors. In the meantime, Cyprus increasingly began turning towards the EEC and then EU, particularly after Greece accession in 1980 as a means of resolving the Cyprus problem (see Trimikliniotis, 2001a and 2001b). By 1990 the Republic had decided to open its doors to migrant labours to meet the labour shortages (see Matsis, 1993; Trimikliniotis, 1999). This is where the history of 'immigration' begins: currently there are over 50.000 migrant workers and the debates over immigration and modernisation meet (see sections B2 and B3).

Given the specific historico-political context of Cyprus, the protracted 'ethnic conflict' as 'national problem' that maintains this micro-state divided, as well as the fact that the presence of migrants on a large scale is a very recent phenomenon stretching only fifteen years, the political divide over the position of migrants and immigration does not correspond to other European contexts. Whilst it can be safely assumed that those forces on the traditional political Right generally tend to be more xenophobic, racist and anti-immigrant, on closer examination this general observation is not necessarily accurate in all cases.

There are *intra-party* differences of such a scale on the subject of immigration that one is able to observe *within the same political party* variations from staunchly pro-immigrant

rights and positively inclined to the immigrant contribution to economy, culture and society to outright hostility and anti-immigrant sentiments. Generally speaking, the intellectual circles close to political Left whose points of reference are the working class and internationalist solidarity, as well as some cosmopolitan and liberal circles of the centre Left tend to be more sensitive towards immigrant rights. Tolerant sections, Centre-Right and Right-wing parties see them as 'necessary for the economy' reflecting more the employers' positions; however, the Left is divided as to effect on the welfare and employment rights of Cypriots, reflecting the trade union general reluctance over the presence of migrant workers as a source of cheap, docile and unorganised labour to be used by employers against the organised and class-conscious local working class. Nationalists and conservatives on the other hand are generally hostile to migrants, but the actual attitudes and frames with which they articulate tent to vary considerably depending on their constituency, their political leanings and reasons of expediency, as well as ideological grounds as to the 'ethnic cohesion, purity and quality' of 'the nation', 'the city' etc.

The political party system is sharply divided along the Left-Right ideological lines but there matters that complicate and distort the traditional Left-Right divide in the context of Cyprus there are factors that seem to crosscut the divide. We ought to examine in some detail the different dimensions of the political divide between Greek-Cypriot political parties, if we are to understand the newly emerged 'politics of immigration'. We can see these as 'axes of the political divide' in Greek-Cypriot politics.

(a) One axis is **'radical' versus 'conservative' as regards the socio-economic order**. This more or less reflects the international ideological divide between the ideologies of Left (communism/socialism, social democracy, libertarianism, collective/class action), Centre-Left (social democracy, Keynesianism/welfare state, liberalism, libertarianism), Centre-Right (mixed economy, capitalism, Keynesianism/welfare state, but also stress on private initiative and enterprise) and Right (capitalism, mixed economy, private initiative, individualism and enterprise, privatisation, 'less state'). In practice, consensus politics meant that 95% of legislation is passed unanimously and the 'tripartite' system of

industrial relations and advanced social dialogue between the social partners kept some of the rhetoric alive but not much of the actual conflict on in terms of industrial disputes and direct action by workers.

(b) **The Cyprus issue dimension**.   One would assume that generally Left-wing inclined parties, due to their internationalism, or at least their proclaimed internationalism are more conciliatory towards the Turkish-Cypriots and are willing to live in peace with them. Historically, this was generally the case: Left and liberals tended to be pro place, compromise and rapprochement. Matters however, are distorted as the question of nationalism cuts across the ideological and party cleavages: Apart from the nationalist extreme fight there has always been a social democratic and centrist hard line of nationalism attached to the Greek Cypriot controlled state. It is well-known from other contexts that Nationalism is a complex phenomenon and takes different forms, affecting even those who are on the Left of the political spectrum, particularly in anti-colonial and post-colonial contexts where national-liberation and patriotism are motivating forces (see Balibar, 1991).   Furthermore, strands of the Left, who are anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist often see nationalism as a 'tactical ally' to achieve their goal or may even adopt nationalism as part of their program of 'self-determination of the nation' and 'national liberations'.   Matters have become even more confusing since 1990 with the collapse of the USSR and their allies, as some pro-Soviet Left wing parties have taken up nationalism as their ideology to replace their dogmatic ideology they have nothing to pin it on.   In any case the relationship between socialism and nationalism has never been easy or straight forward (Davies, 1978; Nairn, 1979; Hobsbawm, 1989: 119-143; Anderson, 1991: 1-4; Nimni 1991).

Three sub-categories or sub-issues can be identified in the case of Cyprus:

1) The position taken during the historical past in the major turning points that have defined modern Cyprus still operates as an important point of reference (the position as regards the anti-colonial struggle; or the position taken during 1960-1974 the Greek-Cypriot political divide was between the '*pro-Makarios versus the anti-Makarios forces*'; then it was position taken by the political forces over the 1974 coup). This divide appears to be fading away as current politics on the Cyprus issue

are becoming more important for the immediate future, particularly after the 2004 referendum and the accession to the EU.

2) The model employed by some researchers is that of dividing Greek Cypriot political actors into '*Cypro-centrists' v 'Helleno-centrists*' (Papadakis, 1993; Peristianis, 1995; Mavratsas, 1998), with the two axes as the two extremes and the two main political parties nearer the edges and others taking intermediary position AKEL and DESY respectively. All though these models explain some variations in the behaviour of parties in the past, such binary logics fail to capture the more sophisticated positionality shifts and changes on the ideological level. Stavrinides model (1999: 76) has a '*Helleno-centric Versus Cypro-centric*' axis and a '*moderate v maximalist*' axis which places the parties in the position in this line accordingly. However, this model grossly simplifies complex political positions and logics; it is not dynamic, it ignores the time factor and does not take into account where each party is ideologically coming from. In any case the location of political parties in his map is debatable.

3) The distinction '*pro-federation/ pro- solution' versus anti-federation*' is important in the assessing 'the vision for the nation' as it materialises in the solution of the Cyprus problem: irredentist nationalists are 'anti-federation', whilst accommodating/conciliatory and pragmatists, both nationalists and anti-nationalists, are 'pro-federation'. The two camps could be either 'Helleno-centric' or 'Cypro-centric' as the cultural identity is *not automatically translated* into a *direct political position*; after all, both so-called 'mother countries' gave their blessing to the Annan plan and old 'nationalists' and 'anti-nationalists' found their place in both camps, even if there was a hegemonic *No* based on nationalist rhetoric and discourse. AKEL, the most consistent anti-nationalist, Cypro-centric and moderate party (see Attalides 1979; Papadakis 1993) eventually sided with the *No* camp on procedural grounds and for reasons of security. With the Annan plan however we can go step further: it is possible to distinguish between those who want *minimalist changes* that would not alter the philosophy of the bargain and those who are essentially opposed to a federal solution based on political equality between the two communities.

(c) **Social issues**: On these subjects the distinction is between 'conservative' versus 'liberal/libertarian'. Cypriot society is generally conservative; thus on issues such as homosexuality[7], abortion, freedom of religion etc. the divide is not on strictly on Left-Right divide.

(d) The **immigration** issue becomes an additional factor that is connected to the nation formation, social and economic issues. Moreover it is many times located within the context of the accession to the EU, as well as the perception of a prolonged state of 'national emergency' due to the 'intractable' Cyprus problem. However, this is not yet a 'party issue' as most MPs interviewed suggested that the issue has not been a party issue to be debated in detail.

Amongst the most nationalists are politicians drawn from the political parties whose ideological points of reference vary considerably (the centre-right and power-orientated DEKO, the social democratic EDEK and the far right segments of the traditional Right-wing DESY). Paradoxically, some political actors who are openly anti-Turkish or who in way are opposed to any reconciliation with 'the Turks' on the grounds that 'Ankara cannot be trusted' and 'the Turkish-Cypriots are objectively mere 'extensions' of Ankara' may appear not to be particularly 'anti-migrant'. Individual politicians from other parties such the vice president of DEKO, Mr. Pittokopitis, who is a former SEK trade unionist from Pafos is amongst the most vocal anti-immigrant populists in Cyprus. Established political groups, which are considered to be the far right, such as *Neoi Orizontes* [NEO] and *Europaiki Democratia* [EvroDe] are more careful and reserved when making comments on immigrants but there is a 'hidden racism'. The recently formulated party *Europaiki Democratia*, which split away from the broad party of the traditional Right DESY following the decision of the leadership to support the UN plan to resolve the Cyprus problem in the referendum of 24th April 2004 apparently has not yet formulated a policy on the subject o immigration. In fact, these parties appear to be more focused on the subject of the Cyprus problem, voicing opposition to a federation-based settlement and their rhetoric has anti-Turkish undertones. They have very recently announced that they will merge into one party (see *Phileleftheros* 11/5/05).

A Note on the Media and Press in Cyprus

With the exception of a couple on newspapers and a couple of radio stations, the Greek-Cypriot media (TV, radio and press) is generally conservative, quite nationalistic, alarmist and not very sensitive to minorities, migrants or other social groups. They are generally owned and controlled private media tycoons and there is a strong editorial control over the news reporting and the articles written. Over the years there has been a development of pages devoted 'independent opinions' which host authors from different political shades and opinions, but even for these pages there is strong editorial 'screening'. We can hardly speak of a genuinely 'independent' and 'pluralistic media' in Cyprus. In one of the few studies on the on the role of the press from 1960 until 1984 the author is particularly vivid:

> "The press remains captive in its dependence in the various centres of power, as well as on economic factors. There are rare occasions of newspapers which defy the interests of the group they serve to present an independent stance on the facts" (Christophorou, 1984).

In a recent lecture updating the above study, the same author[8] concluded that although there was some 'evolution', the same perceptions and patterns of behaviour were dominant, never breaking the chain of dependence (see Christophorou, 2005). In any case, it seems that in the Cypriot press there a blurred distinction between reporting and editorial analysis.[9] As for observing the rules on reporting about minorities and migrants, as prescribed by the Council of Europe and the code of conduct for journalism, these are routinely breached.[10]

News reporting is presented as 'independent', 'objective' and 'factual'; however there a strong editorial intervention in almost all the newspapers, as it is the editor decides on the title, the content, the size and whether a report will be published at all. In fact the 'editorial line' can be easily assessed by the study of the headlines of the various 'reports'. On the subject of immigrants and racism, there is only one study that illustrates vividly the overwhelming antiparty towards migrants: out of a total 174 articles only… were neutral or sympathetic forwards migrants (Trimikliniotis, 1999; for an updated version 2001b). The racial stereotyping of migrants into various ideal types was a subject

of a conference and the papers were subsequently published, apart from one presenter no journalist turned up at the well-attended conference (Trimikliniotis, 2001b; Chrysanthou, 2001; Charalampidou, 2001). Very few editorials or 'leader comments' as such can be found on the subject; however articles that were not mere 'factual presentations' of events were selected for this study.

There is only one party newspaper, *Haravgi*, which is owned by AKEL. There are a number of Right-wing papers such as *Simerini, Alithia, Mahi*, which are owned by private companies but are loyal to specific segments of the Right-wing political parties such as DESY and to some extent DEKO. Trade union press (PEO newspaper, *Ergatiko Vema)* and SEK newspaper, *Ergatiki Foni* are also connected to political parties; the editors, authors and journalists are trade unionists are also party members or supporters of political partners (see Appendix 1). For this reason the trade union newspapers were also included in the study. The distinction between 'tabloid' and 'broadsheet' paper is not particularly useful in the case of Cyprus; all papers in the study contain the substantial elements of the classic 'tabloid': they are poorly written and researched, not very reliable and they are populist and alarmist. However, they also present themselves as if they to be taken seriously and thus contain many elements of the 'broadsheet' papers: they are politically motivated, rather boring and have an emphasis on political events. The differences are those of degree rather than quality.

The most established 'broadsheet' is *Phileleftheros* and as such it is taken as the paper to be study as the serious newspaper. *Politis* could have been studied too but it only came out in 1995 (in tabloid format) and it has only half of the circulation of *Phileleftheros*. The two 'party newspapers' selected are *Haravgi* (AKEL) and Right-wing *Simerini* (currently against the leadership of DESY, but broadly expressing segments of this party and beyond). *Simerini* together with *Mahi* are the most anti-immigrant and anti-Turkish (and nationalistic) papers.

The politics of Racism and Nationalism in Cyprus: Turkish-Cypriots, Roma and Migrants

a. The relations between Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots

When one examines the literature on Cyprus and the conflict on Cyprus, one finds that the question of 'race' and racism are either completely absent or merely mentioned in passing. Greek-Cypriot media discourses only refer to racism whenever there is negative depiction of the quota system contained in the Cyprus constitution, and more recently and frequently Greek-Cypriot nationalists' reference to the UN plan to resolve the Cyprus problem (the Annan Plan) as containing 'racist' provisions. Interestingly those who bring in the issue of 'race' are nationalists from both sides: Greek Cypriots arguing that Greek Cypriots being the majority should have a 'unitary', 'majoritarian' state and Turkish Cypriots arguing for the incapability of co-existence between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish- Cypriots.[11] The reason for the historic absence of any debate regarding 'race' and racism as ingredients of the conflict, even though it is apparent that there is certainly an important racialised dimension of the problem, must be sought in the way the 'national liberation' of Cyprus from the British colonialist and historic conflict between Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot nationalism evolved and the formation of the particular 'national aspirations' of the two communities.

One scholar argued that the very concept of 'racism' is perhaps not the most appropriate in describing the kind of problem faced by immigrants and the kind of discrimination faced by Turkish-Cypriots from Greek-Cypriots and vice versa, as the concept of 'racism' is developed in an entirely different context and thus does not properly reflect the specificity of the Cypriot historical context.[12] Whilst the essential point behind this argument is in my view sound (i.e. we ought not take readily available and simplistic concept and 'copy and paste' them uncritically), the concept of racism has acquired such 'universality' and the various mutations this 'gene' make it an extremely valuable, adaptable. Therefore it is accurate to talk of 'racism' in capturing the variety of ideologies, discourses, mechanisms and exclusionary practices in very diverse contexts, including Cyprus.

Whilst it is valid to content that the Cyprus problem but a multi-level conflict of intersecting of a number of forces such colonialism / imperialism, expansionism and nationalism within particular regional conflict and the global political context, and therefore cannot be reduced to merely 'racism', to deny the 'racialised' dimension is to ignore a vital dimension of the problem. If one is to locate one internal force/level (i.e. within Cyprus itself) that is central to the Cyprus conflict, one ought to look at nationalism, the competing and conflicting irredentist nationalisms of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish- Cypriots. There are powerful racial elements in both nationalisms not only at an ideological level but also as historical and political parties. There are also conceptual difficulties examining racism in the context of the political problem of Cyprus.

The first issue is how to access the impact of what many perceive as an underpinning colonial racism, initiated and practiced by the British colonialists during their rule of the island between 1878-1959 in the shaping of 'local' racisms. Even in the post-independence period the UK retains British bases and has international treaty obligation as a 'guarantor nation'. This racism underpins and to a large extent has *played a constitutive role* in the representations of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots shaping the inter-communal relations.[13] The 'distorted' perception of the 'Other' by each of the two communities was certainly historically mediated by the political role of British colonial policy and way one community was 'played against the other'. Also, the role of the two so-called 'motherlands' or 'mother-countries' (Greece and Turkey) in the construction of the two racialised community ethnic identities must be considered.[14] Historical reasons for the emergence and shape of forces are crucial to understand the present; however it would be equally problematic to shift the whole blame however to the past, as it would obscure the current forces at play, the element of political choice, human agency and autonomy of the political action, which may well define 'new' social factors acting as current drivers of nationalism and racism in the perpetuation of the phenomena.

To insist on the multi-dimensional nature of the problem is sound, however to ignore racism issues within the Cyprus conflict would be to obscure crucial elements in the conflict that are present and are operative. The ethnic conflict may have been managed and manipulated

by 'foreign powers', but this, by definition, contains 'racialised relations' whose 'boundaries' are constructed and thus expand and contract in accordance with the particular social, political, economic conjunctures. The levels and intensity of ethnic conflict is by and large regulated by the extent to which the 'racialised boundaries'[15] are internalised by the communities in conflict and inter-ethnic relations take more racialised forms or alternatively solidarities and transformations allow for transcendence of community blocks and identities into *'trans-communal' praxis and identity*.[16] This is not to ascribe some sort of primacy to the 'racial motives' or 'racisms' or to collapse nationalism into racism as they are analytically different phenomena; in Cyprus this kind racism / racialism against the other community *was over-determined by the ethnic conflict and nationalism*. After all racism is ever present in the nationalism as an essential ingredient in the particular dominant nationalist projects, in Cyprus, that of *"Enosis"* (Union with Greece) and *"Taksim"* (partition)[17]. These two ethnically exclusionist nationalist projects are ideological constructions which contain embedded racial discourses and in practice relied on and exaggerated racial prejudice - oppression/ separation, undercutting other type of solidarities and relations that could be build across the ethnic-communal divide.

The 1974 coup[18] and the invasion and occupation by the Turkish military put an abrupt halt and blocked all inter-ethnic relations: only a few hundreds of Turkish-Cypriots stayed in the south and a few hundreds of Greek-Cypriots were allowed to stay in the north.[19] Up until very recently the racialisation of the conflict took primarily a symbolic form over the historical past in history school textbooks,[20] the representations of the 'Other' (i.e. 'the Turk')[21] and the few ethnic 'others' who remained were complete misfits in society or had to assimilate in the respective societies to avoid daily harassment.[22] Moreover, the media has played a crucial role in the maintenance of the stereotypes, the suspicion and images of the other. The first 'new' racism against the Turkish-Cypriots 'emerged' with the arrival of a few hundred of impoverished Turkish-speaking Roma from the north in 2000-2001 (see INEK, 2005a). The opening of the borders in April 2003 made this 'new' racism a mass phenomenon, but also allowed the potential for a 'trans-communal solidarity' to emerge which is the opposite of 'popular racism' (see Trimikliniotis, 2005b).

To properly assess the public discourses and the (hysterical) media 'debates' over migrants, the ethnic and racialised 'Other' in Cyprus one has to bear in mind certain 'key' events which have triggered off a media and political 'concern' over such issues. As outlined elsewhere the racialisation of migration has occurred in the backdrop of the 'national issue' of Cyprus, either as a side-issue which affects 'the struggle for national survival', or as an issue which is thought to have a direct bearing on the way the Cyprus problem is likely to be resolved. In other words, the 'ethno-national frame' always has the Cyprus problem as a point of reference either as an explicit and generally speaking rather crude connection, or a more sophisticated and implicit background that 'informs' the kind of debate and discourses developing during specific times. As 'key events' we have located certain dates/ occasions which appear to have influenced attitudes, opinions, discourses and to some extent policies. This periodization is useful to understand the evolution of discourses, bearing in mind that not all dates/events are of equal importance.

The most important event/ date is 1989-1990 when there was a change of immigration policy allowing migrant workers to work on a temporary basis for specific job and specific employers. This is single most important date and event. It coincides with the collapse of 'actually existing socialism' in eastern Europe and thus we have a twin impact: (a) Migrant workers from south-east Asia, the Arabic neighbours and eastern Europe to be employed in certain poorly paid job to which there was a shortage of labour. (b) Eastern European businesses were set up in Cyprus, particularly in Limassol.

Prior to 1989, an important landmark is the collapse of Beirut as a commercial and trade centre of the middle east following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1983 was the prime reason for the temporary stay of may affluent Arab in the town of Limassol. In the summer of 1986 there were riots against Arab-looking persons in Limassol following an incident reported in the media where two Greek-Cypriot teenagers alleged to have been sexually assaulted by some men of Arabic origin, after two Lebanese women had invited tem to their rooms in the tourist resort of Ayia Napa. We can refer to this as an 'early precursor' of what was to follow, as at the time concerns were raised about Limassol being 'flooded with Arabs', Greek-Cypriot people were 'offended'. This is not a direct

area of research as we have very little records of the events other than two newspaper reports quoted. In any case, the post-1989 situation is a radical rupture from the past as migrant workers and other migrants have become a permanent feature of Cypriot society.

In 1996 there were some 'minor' incidents following the murders of two Greek-Cypriots in anti-occupation demonstrations in the village of Deryneia, with an attack on eleven Bangladeshis students[23] (see *Alithia* 31/8/96). In 1998, there were incidents reported about riots and Police attacks against in Asylum seekers detained at a Limassol hotel.[24] Rioting and other public order offences involving Greek-Cypriot and migrant, generally Pontian-Greek youths in Paphos and Limassol have been regularly reported in the media on various times (see the relevant reports and analyses in the sections that follow on the alleged connection between migrants and criminality, delinquency etc; also see Trimikliniotis, 1999). For the purposes of the study of racism and intolerance, the period 1999-2001 was important for Cyprus as it was a time of 'internal migration' by Cypriot Roma from the occupied north to the Republic-controlled south. This created a climate of suspicion and racism against the newcomers, as is discussed further down. The opening of the borders in April 2003, which allowed for massive crossing by Turkish-Cypriots to the south and employment between 5,000 to 8,000 Turkish-Cypriots workers in southern Cyprus has expanded the scope for racism.

The September 11th 2001 attacks on World Trade Centre in New York have not produced any links with anti-Arab or anti-Muslim public reaction in Cyprus as there is little pro-American sentiments amongst the Greek-Cypriots and Greeks in general.[25] Nevertheless, the 'anti-terrorist frenzy' has produced 'novel' stereotypes and incidents against individuals who suffered as a result of false accusation of 'looking like a terrorist'; incidents condemned after investigation the Authority Against Racism and Discrimination.[26] Finally, enlargement of EU in 2004 which resulted in the accession to the EU on May 1st is another important date, discussed in some detail.

b. The Cypriot Roma

From media discourses in 2000 – 2001 it was apparent there is wide-spread resentment by the local Greek-Cypriot residents to the Turkish-speaking Roma arriving in their neighbourhood in Limassol and 'causing trouble'. Even Turkish-Cypriot residents seemed to want to distance themselves from the Roma population for fear that they would also be targeted and blamed by the Greek-Cypriots. There have been allegations of regular Police harassment.[27] Discrimination against Roma in the Republic is an everyday experience,[28] as they are generally viewed with suspicion by Greek-Cypriots, even Turkish-Cypriots. The arrival of a large numbers in the south was greeted with fear and suspicion,[29] particularly when the then Minister of Justice and Public Order alleged that they may well be 'Turkish spies',[30] whilst the Minister of the Interior assured Greek-Cypriots that the authorities "shall take care to move them to an area that is far away from any place where there are any people living", in response to the racially motivated fears of local Greek-Cypriot residents.[31] Some families were held in Central Prison, when a large number of Roma begun crossing over from the north to the south. Responding to criticism, the Interior Minister at the time alleged that they were being 'hosted there' in order to find suitable housing for them,[32] until the attorney general ruled that it is illegal to detain them.[33]

In 2001-2002 and for a couple of years after the initial hysterical reaction against the arrival of the Roma from the north, the situation seemed to have stabilised and to a large extend calmed down. The opening of the 'borders' in 2003which allowed many thousands of Turkish-Cypriots to come to south was generally greeted by both Turkish-Cypriots and Roma residing in the south with relief and optimism as they thought that they could no longer be singled out, targeted and harassed and there was a general feeling of optimism and rapprochement.[34] However, there was a tense atmosphere generated in the run up and aftermath of the referendum on the UN plan to reunite the island on the 24th of April 2004, the Greek-Cypriot rejection of which gave rise to a new vigour in nationalist sentiments in the south.

The general conditions of Roma population in the south were adversely affected by a murder of the 14-year-old Roma pupil[35] on the 13th July 2004, after he was stabbed in Limassol by a Greek Cypriot, who was allegedly "under the influence of drugs".[36] A human rights organisation, KISA, issued a press release after the incident regretting the attempts by the government and all the political party leaders to interpret this act exclusively as a result of the psychopathic or drug abuse by the murderer, which is directed towards managing the political repercussions of the events rather than their in-depth and objective assessment and criticised the way authorities made use of psychopathologic factors or the drug abuse were invoked failing to condemn the nationalist and racist motives of such behaviour.[37] KISA[38] connected the incident with the situation and attitudes prevalent today and in particular the rise of nationalism in the Greek-Cypriot and that Turkish-Cypriots have been practically abandoned to their fate without any protection and are treated as second-class citizens.[39]

Since then the situation has been calm with no other incident occurring but it certainly left a scar, particularly for the child's family who abandoned the south apparently to live in the north. They buried their child in Morfou / Guzelyurt.

B.2. Transformation processes and crises: Modernisation, Europeanisation and New Migration

Phenomena such as racism, anti-immigrant xenophobia and intolerance are rightly often connected to socio-economic and political issues that affect society. Particularly at times of transformation of society and abrupt social upheavals one may assume that the emergence of these phenomena is likely. In the case of Cyprus, post 1974, when the island was divided a major transformation occurred: urbanization, economic crisis and massive displacement of persons. The late 1970s, the 1980s and 1990s saw a massive economic growth and migrant workers were allowed in 1990 to meet the labour shortages. During the last decades we saw unemployment rising but remaining at a very low level, below 4%, (see Tables 1, 2 and 3) and economic growth to slow down but

always remaining on average above the EU average (see economic tables 4 and 5). Cyprus from an agricultural country became within two decades a country whose economy is based on tourism and services; the small to medium-sized manufacturing industry was downsized as a result of the cheaper labour in Eastern Europe and south east Asia following the opening of the economy.

Table 1: Rate of GDP Growth 1978-2003[40]

Ρυθμός μεταβολής ΑΕΠ στην Κύπρο
(% ετήσιες μεταβολές)
2003-2004: πρόβλεψη Ευρ.Επιτροπής

ΠΗΓΗ: ΕΘΝΙΚΟΙ ΛΟΓΑΡΙΑΣΜΟΙ ΚΑΙ DGII
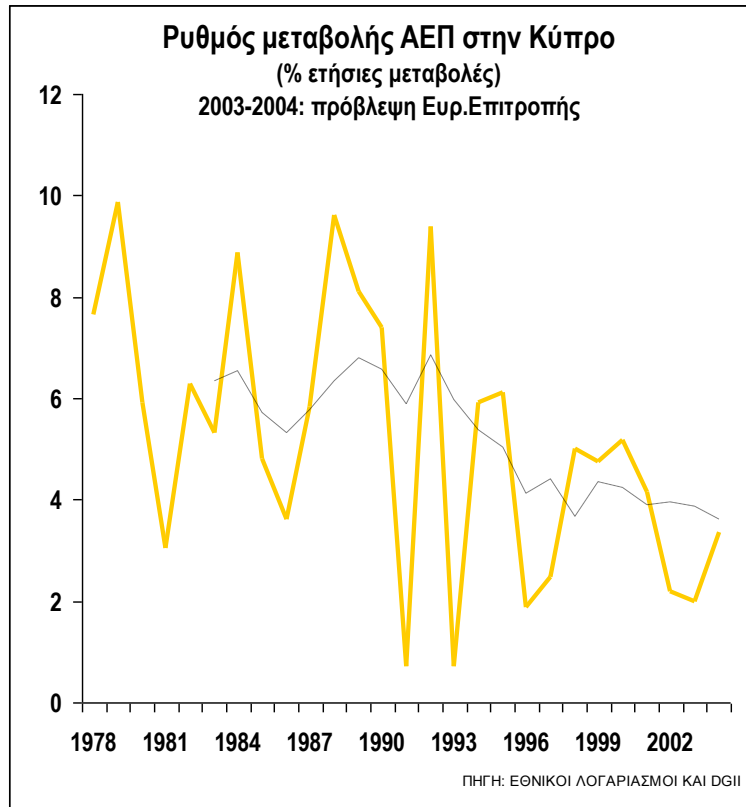
Table 2: EU Average Rate of GDP Growth 1996-2002

Η αύξηση του ΑΕΠ κατά το 1996-2002
Μέσος ετήσιος ρυθμός μεταβολής %

	Rate
EU-15	2,2
UK	2,6
S	2,8
Fin	3,7
P	3,1
A	2,2
NL	2,9
I	1,7
Irl	8,7
F	2,4
E	3,4
CY	3,6
Gr	3,6
D	1,4
DK	2,4
B	2,1

ΠΗΓΗ: SPRING 2003 ECONOMIC FORECASTS / EC ΚΑΙ ΕΘΝΙΚΟΙ ΛΟΓΑΡΙΑΣΜΟΙ
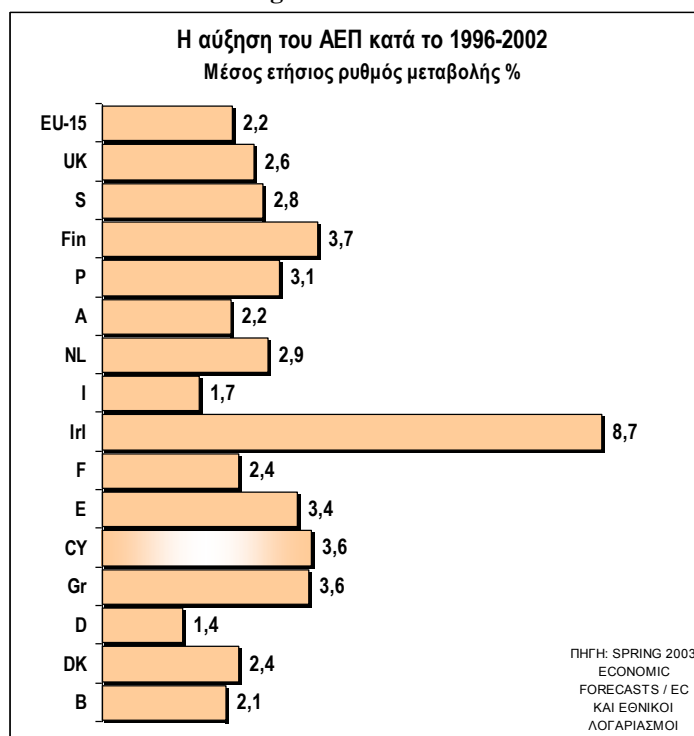
From tables 1 and 3, it is apparent that the rate of growth seems to be falling over the years, but remains higher than the EU15 average.

Table 3: The rate of growth in employment across the EU15 in 2002

Η αύξηση της απασχόλησης κατά το 2002
Ετήσιος ρυθμός μεταβολής %

EU-15	0,4
UK	0,7
S	0,1
Fin	0,3
P	0,2
A	-0,4
NL	-0,8
I	1,1
Irl	1,4
F	0,6
E	1,3
CY	1,1
Gr	-0,1
D	-0,6
DK	-0,7
B	-0,1

ΠΗΓΗ: SPRING 2003
ECONOMIC
FORECASTS / EC
ΚΑΙ ΕΘΝΙΚΟΙ
ΛΟΓΑΡΙΑΣΜΟΙ
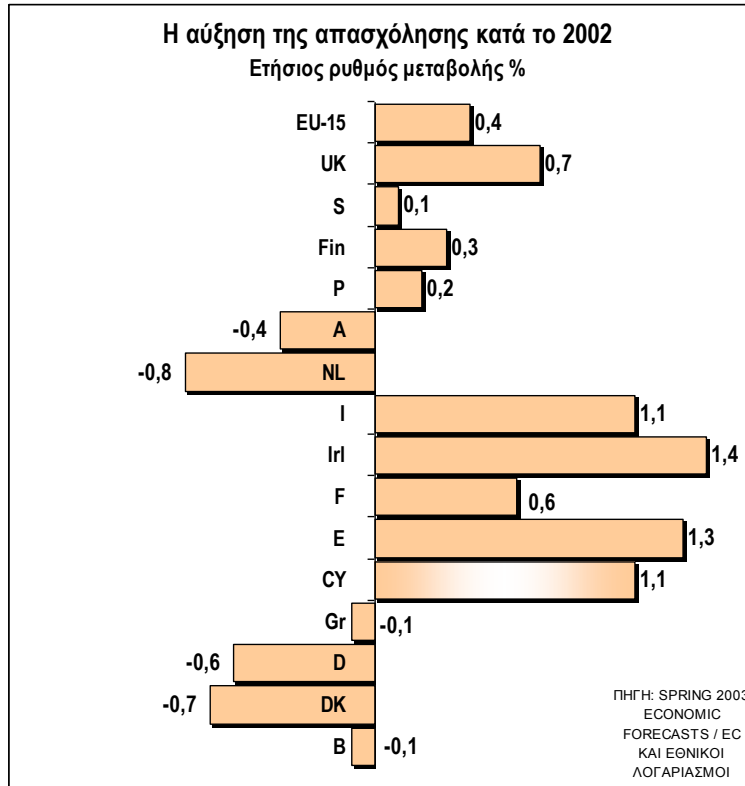
Table 4: The rate of growth in employment across the EU15 in 2003-4

Η αύξηση της απασχόλησης κατά το 2003-2004
Μέσος ετήσιος ρυθμός μεταβολής %

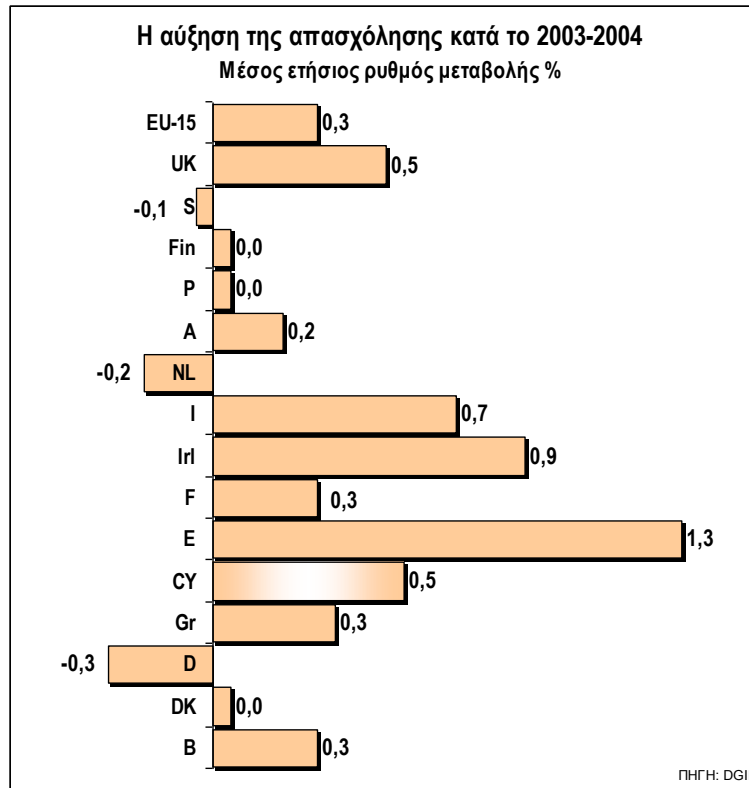| Country	Value
EU-15	0,3
UK	0,5
S	-0,1
Fin	0,0
P	0,0
A	0,2
NL	-0,2
I	0,7
Irl	0,9
F	0,3
E	1,3
CY	0,5
Gr	0,3
D	-0,3
DK	0,0
B	0,3

ΠΗΓΗ: DGII

Table 5: The rate of growth in employment across the EU15 in 1996-2002

Η αύξηση της απασχόλησης 1996-2002
Μέσος ετήσιος ρυθμός μεταβολής %

EU-15	1,2
UK	1,2
S	0,9
Fin	1,9
P	1,6
A	0,6
NL	2,0
I	1,0
Irl	4,7
F	1,1
E	2,7
CY	1,4
Gr	0,4
D	0,5
DK	0,7
B	0,9

ΠΗΓΗ: SPRING 2003 ECONOMIC FORECASTS / EC ΚΑΙ ΕΘΝΙΚΟΙ ΛΟΓΑΡΙΑΣΜΟΙ
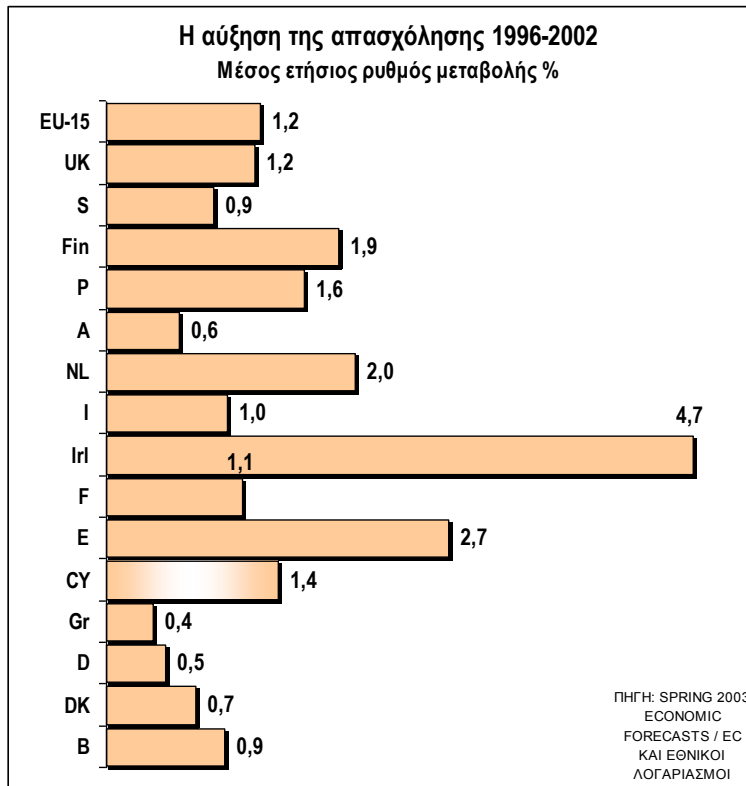
The rate of growth in employment in Cyprus is slightly higher than the EU15 average (Tables 3, 4 and 5).

The next three Tables deal with the rate of unemployment when compared to the EU15.

24

Tables 6: Percentage employment participation of Population 1975-2002

Ποσοστό συμμετοχής (% του πληθυσμού) 1975-2002

Legend:
- ΕΕ
- ΚΥΠΡΟΣ

ΠΗΓΗ: DGII
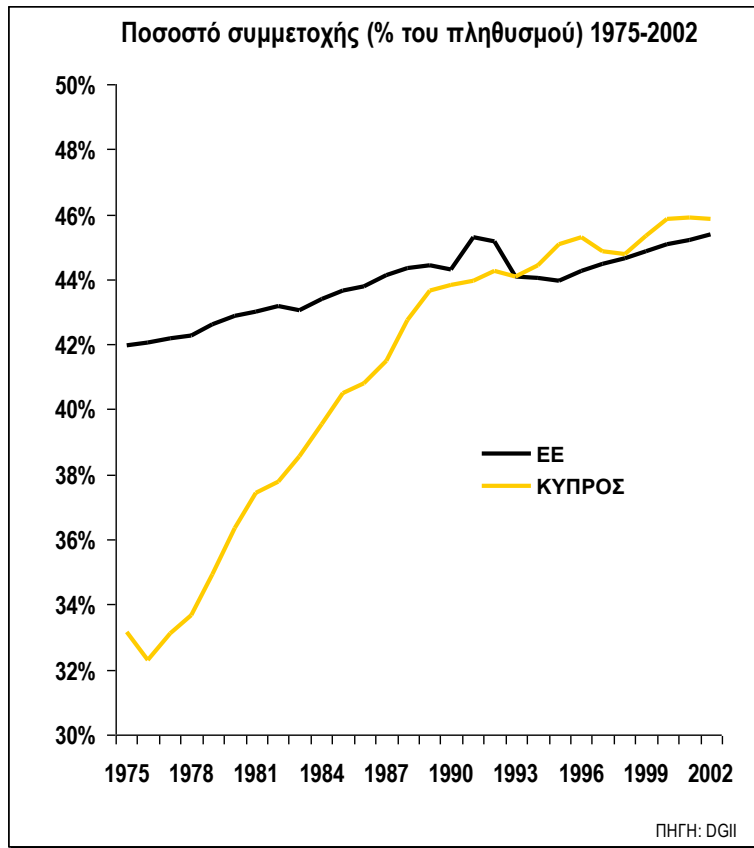
Tables 7: Percentage of Unemployment 1975-2002

Ανεργία (% του εργατικού δυναμικού)
2003: Πρόβλεψη Ευρ. Επιτροπής

EE

ΚΥΠΡΟΣ
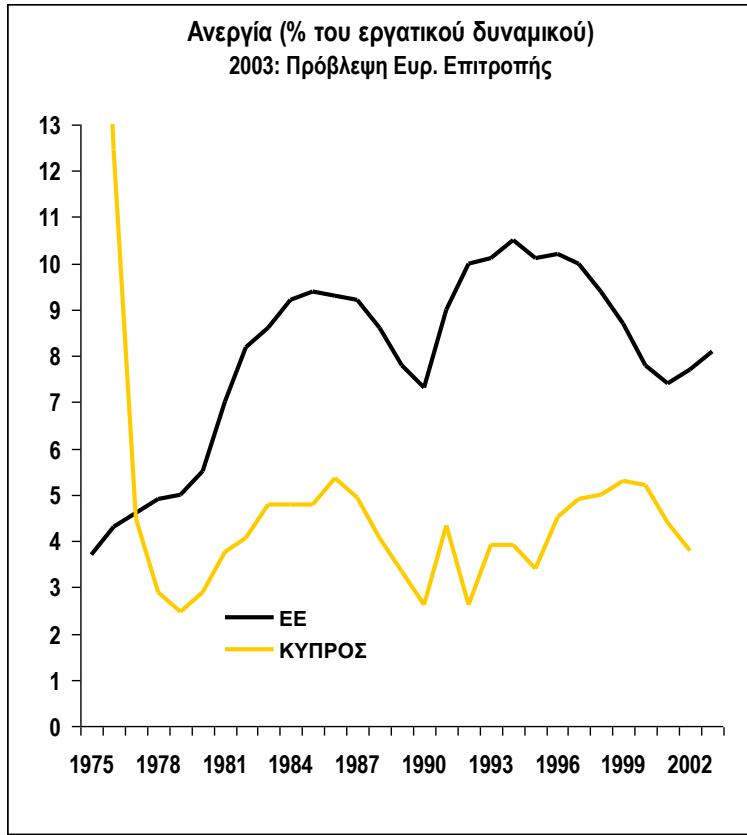
Tables 8: Unemployment EU /Cyprus 1985-2003

Αναλογία ποσοστού ανεργίας στην ΕΕ-15 / Κύπρου
2003: Πρόβλεψη Ευρ. Επιτροπής
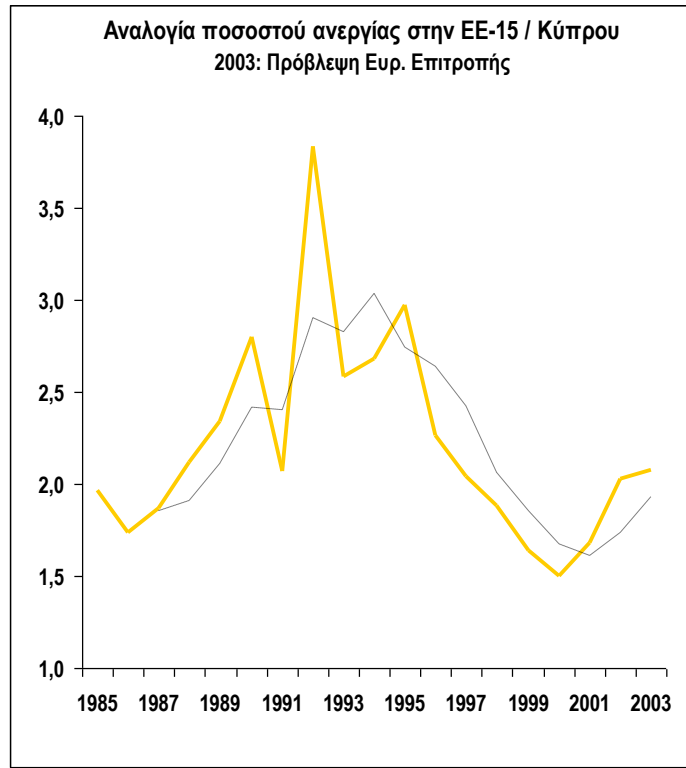
From Tables 6, 7 and 8 indicate that Cyprus has enjoyed a particularly low percentage of unemployment over the years; in fact the shortage of labour in specific sectors of the economy was the determining factor that allowed the change of policy in 1989-1990 with the consent of the trade unions.

By the end of the 1990s 'temporary' immigrant workers had already transformed sectors of the economy into viable sectors and have introduced a new ethnic dimension to the island. It is estimated that there are over 80,000 non-Cypriot residents in Cyprus, most of whom are migrants workers from 'third countries'. Moreover, the transformation was accelerated from the opening of the sealed cease-fire line in April 2004, which has meant that an estimated 7000 - 10000 Turkish-Cypriot workers cross over to work in the area controlled by the Republic and a few thousands Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots cross over for leisure or business on a regular basis. As accession to the EU was approaching from the late 1990s to the actual accession day on Mayday 2005, the Cypriot 'debates' over immigration and the arguments for 'tighter control' appeared to become

increasingly 'Europeanised' (see Trimikliniotis, 2001a). Cyprus has, for some time, been in the process of transformation, not only as a result of economic factors; the state legislation and policy harmonisation with the Community acquis and the political, social, cultural and inter-personal influence of accession has become more immediate. Debated issues appear assume a more European twist and there are direct European 'imports' in the everyday political debates, particularly as regards racism, minority rights, anti-discrimination, immigration control, trafficking etc.

Cyprus ought to be properly located in the southern European context, in periphery of the EU, if we are to view more clearly the kind of issues to be addressed and to appreciate the politics of Cyprus (see Trimikliniotis 2001a). The apparent deficit in the 'social modernisation', the failure to critically engage in rethinking of the social structure of Cypriot society[41] must be understood in this light. Migration policy is no peripheral matter; the need to modernise immigration policies and practices is acknowledged by the Cypriot authorities since 2000 (see Second ECRI Report, 2001). However, Cyprus seemed to have imported what one major called the '*European apartheid*'[42] in to Cyprus, as *Europeanisation* appeared to be one-sided and lacks a proper *social dimension* so as to incorporate and develop those elements of European traditions that enhance tolerance, understanding and human solidarity.

B3. The Politicisation of Immigration issues

The political context of Cyprus has not produced, at least so far, a political party whose defining characteristic is anti-immigration, nor has immigration policy become a great dividing line between political parties. Immigration has nonetheless become politicised particularly since accession to the EU and with the increasing process of 'Europeanisation' of immigration policy is bringing the issue more to centre. Already some views are being heard that link the accession of Turkey to the EU to the 'danger of being flooded by migrants' giving a new 'Europeanised' twist to anti-Turkish sentiments.[43] Many politicians invoke EU policy and even call on the EU to help in the

management of immigrants and asylum seekers who stop over to Cyprus on their way to the heart of Europe.

The debates in Europe over the rise of anti-immigrant xenophobia and racism have focused on a number of social factors and political developments that were associated with the economic stagnation in Europe, following the 1950s and 1960s economic boom and the 1970 and 1980s 'crises' in the fortunes of both the Keynesian consensus over the welfare state in Europe, rising unemployment and inflation as well as ideological and political difficulties of social democratic politics. In the 1980s and 1990s deeper roots are also sought; thus are related to both structural factors and the process to policies aimed the maintenance of hegemony, law and order, as well as 'cohesion' of the crisis-ridden nation-state form. Moreover, globalisation, European integration and the growth of international migration connected with the tightening of 'control' on entry and exit into European countries have intensified the rather hysterical reaction of many governments. Following the collapse of the so-called 'actually existing socialism' which released populations fleeing the unstable and impoverished societies subjected to shock therapy of economic liberalisation as well as a new vociferous neo-nationalist ethnic conflicts. Political and economic crises in the 'third worlds' was also produced new migrants. The response of many panic-stridden governments and politicians was anti-immigrant racism and xenophobia which in turn opened the political space hence the 'rise' of xenophobic populist parties of different types. European societies however, were 'well prepared' to shift in this direction: structural institutional racism was well in place as it is a long-term process.

Balibar (1991) alludes to the structural causes that provide the fertile ground upon which the politics of racism grows connected to the idea of 'crisis'. Of course he aptly subjects the term 'crisis' to a critique distancing himself from *mechanistic* approaches, such as 'economic crisis, thus unemployment, thus rise in competition amongst workers, therefore hostility, xenophobia, racism as well as *mystical* interpretation such as 'crisis', thus stress connected to decadence, attraction of masses to 'irrational beliefs' of which racism is one expression. There are according to Balibar deeper connections between

deindustrialization, the impoverishment of life, disintegration of the welfare state, the disarticulation of the 'social state', law and order politics and the propaganda against blacks depicting them as 'criminals' are factors that interact, complement and intensify the phenomena in a rather complex manner rather viewing them as a 'cause and effect' relationship. We see the same logic in certain contexts in micro-states such as for instance in the reaction to concentration of poor migrants in inner cities[44]. Racism as an ideology is generated as a 'defensive' reaction or 'emergency exit' as the seeds are already there: if "ideology is a function of the relation of an utterance to its social context", as Eagleton (1991: 9) maintains, then there is plenty of scope for a racist re-articulation of the contexts of transformation, insecurity and uncertainty about the future of work in the current climate. Paradoxically, 'race' then becomes 'ordinary', to borrow Gilroy's words (2002). The 'moral axis of politics', as Mouffe (2004) calls it, is squeezed out of modern democratic processes and this is very much already apparent in Cyprus politics. The increasingly 'procedural' content of politics, with no substantive or fundamental difference amongst the political elites other than the contest for power, the crisis in ideologies and the corruption of political elites is creating an increasing frustration amongst poorer sections of society, which bare the brunt of insecurity, uncertainty and see no future.

B4. Alliances with mainstream parties: The 'RRP party' Cypriot Style and anti-immigrant populism within parties

Given the absence of a RRP party in the classic western European style we examine ethno-nationalism as the core characteristic, which define which party is the most right-wing political group. There is no little doubt that along this axis the extreme Right refers to NeO [Νέοι Ορίζοντες] and Europaiki Demokratia [Ευρωπαϊκή Δημοκρατία] as well as ADYK [ΑΔΥΚ]. The discourses of DEKO [ΔΗΚΟ] and EDEK [ΕΔΕΚ] also contain ethno-nationalist elements so do discourses of DESY [ΔΗΣΥ]. We can divide these as 'hard' ethno-nationalists and 'soft ethno-nationalist': The soft ethno-nationalists would have elements of both 'negative' and 'positive' in Frame 1. However DESY is primarily a conservative and increasingly a pragmatic party orientated towards the EU and a

settlement; in other words today DESY is primarily for right elements. AKEL [ΑΚΕΛ] stretches from the far Left to the Centre Left, and rarely, it will even strength further into the centre right via its support for state institutions, legalism, the police etc.

The Left/Centre Left and migrant workers: AKEL and the Popular Movement caught between Internationalism and Indigenous Working Class Unity

The largest political parties are those of the traditional Left and Right. **AKEL** is party that evolved from the Communist Party (KKK- Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα Κύπρου) in the 1940s and is the oldest political party. It has consistently polled from one quarter to a third of the votes. Its' communist ideology has not prevented it from acting as a moderate centre left party in practice, as this is justified on the grounds that the Cyprus problem requires that it plays a constructive role in the 'national liberation phase' which has not ended. AKEL is cited as the Cypriotist party par excellence (Attalides 1979; Panayiotou 1993; Mavratsas 1998; Papadakis 1993; Peristianis 1995; Stavrinides 1999). It is the only party with historic bridges between the two communities and via the labour and trade union movement, it has an in-built tendency and vested interested in Cypriot independence. There is little doubt that AKEL has historically been the main supporter of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriot reconciliation, and indeed it still has a few Turkish-Cypriot members and allies in the north.[45]

AKEL, as the oldest and best-organised political party is both incredibly adaptive to 'new conditions' and at the same time its policy shifts appear as a 'natural progression', without ideological ruptures. It is very interesting that the policy of AKEL seems to retain a degree of continuity in terms of its analysis of the 'nature of the Cyprus problem', but this is flexibly applied in the changing conditions and the language is modified according to the conditions. Sometimes a change in the emphasis of the various 'aspects' that make up the Cyprus problem and the way to resolve it is enough for a party to claim that it was with hindsight 'essentially correct' in its past policies. AKEL is the continuation of the Communist party of Cyprus, KKK, which was formed in 1926[46].

On the question of immigration AKEL takes a rather cautious approach on the subject reflecting the position of the Trade Union PEO. During the 17th Congress saw some concerns were raised about the new policy migration policy. It gradually became more concerned about the issue. In the 17th Congress AKEL pledges its support the Position of PEO. At its 18th Congress, pledges that it "will work so that foreign workers employed in Cyprus get the same treatment as their Cypriot colleagues and will decisively fight against possible phenomena of racism and xenophobia" (AKEL, 1995: 40). AKEL explicitly pledges to fight racism; however the reference to 'possible phenomena' and not 'actual phenomena' implies that the phenomenon racism and xenophobia are something to guard against in some distant future, se if they were not already present. Also AKEL does not refer to the ways in which it will fight racism and little initiative was taken by the Party to further elaborate its policy support migrant workers or organise them. Furthermore, 'illegal foreign workers' are referred to as 'a problem' and AKEL calls upon the Government to take "drastic measures to put an end to the illegal employment of foreign workers" (AKEL, 1995: 40). The phrase 'drastic measures' may well in practice mean violation of the fundamental human rights of undocumented workers, as well as other migrant workers, who may come under any heavy handed Police action. However, these were some initiatives by AKEL MPs illustrate that AKEL is taking up the issue of racism more seriously primarily based on humanitarian grounds.

The political and trade union left have come some way form the mid 1990s to today. The 2004 Congress of PEO has shifted decidedly into taking an active anti-racist position with a class solidarity point of reference moving away from the xenophobic defensive positions which adopted the 'job stealing frame' and anti-immigrant frame that views migrants as a cultural threat to the cohesion of the nation.[47] Whilst the statements by PEO and its' newspaper had always referred to "defending the rights of 'foreign' workers, whenever there are problems" insisting that "PEO is not against foreign workers" (*Ergatiko Vema* 8.9.93), the tune and argument was very different: PEO regularly called upon the government to take all necessary measures to put an end "illegal employment of aliens" (PEO 1995: 64; 66). The harsh criticism against 'illegal' and 'unprotected labour has not softened; however there is a distinct shift in the emphasis as to who is to blame

PEO started speaking about 'illegal employers, not illegal workers' and the 'job stealing frame', which featured regularly in the past (*Ergatiko Vema* 8.9.93; 17.7.96) has been certainly toned down from the trade union newspaper.[48]

PEO still does not see the connection with calling for 'harsher measures' against undocumented migrant workers and repression, which may violate the rights of all migrant workers. However, they seem away that repression does not actually work in reducing the numbers (see INEK, 2004); they just feel that they cannot argue for an amnesty and legalisation as the PEO Labour Institute does. The shift of PEO is apparent from the wording of the last congress decision as regards migrant workers. After referring to the need to ensure that all workers enjoy the same rights so that migrants or any other vulnerable groups are not used as 'cheap labour', the Congress decision refers to the presence of third country nationals and states that "the regime of controlled system of granting of work permits on the basis of strict criteria must continue." The basic criteria such as "the shortage of supply of labour by Cypriots, the compliance by the employers with labour law and collective agreements" ought to remain.[49] After referring to the need to properly evaluate the experience of the last decade or so, the Congress Report makes its strongest case for protecting migrant workers from exploitation and racism and 'fighting against the use of migrant workers as cheap labour power that undermines the terms of the collective agreements."[50]

The Contradictions of the Traditional Right in Opposition: DESY – From 'Hard' to 'Soft' Nationalism and the 'Ghosts of the Past'

DESY is the party of the traditional Right and was set up in 1976. It encapsulated both a pragmatic/conciliatory wing and a far Right irredentist nationalist wing. It was organised from the remnants from the EOKA associations, the anti-Makarios nationalist segments and others on the Right, but its leader, Glafkos Clerides had for years been an associate of the first president of Cyprus, archbishop Makarios. Essentially he is a pragmatist and tactician and has been quite happy to play the nationalist card to gain power. In 1976 he found himself out of favour with Makarios and formed a party with 'disaffected'

populations mainly drawn from the extreme Right. It has links with both the employers associations and SEK. Like AKEL, it also polls about one third of the votes.

DESY, under Clerides came to power in 1992 and stayed in government for a decade. He was elected twice on a hard-line nationalistic line. Towards the end of the second term in office it shifted to a more conciliatory policy on Cyprus, dropping its earlier hard line stance.[51] In 2004 the new DESY leadership, with the blessing of Clerides,[52] supported the Annan plan for solution. As a consequence a small but significant segment of the party has split away to form Europaiki Demokratia (which means European Democracy).

Placing DESY on the side of 'pro-federation' political actors or on the 'moderate side' of the model Stavrinides (1992) proposes must be approached with caution, even if this appears accurate today after the party's support for the UN plan in April 2004. This is because of the internal contradictions of the party, the different shades of opinion within and the legacy of its links with the EOKA-B Machinery have not been totally severed. The hard-line nationalistic fraction of the party is organised around the newspapers Mahi and Simerini and has local EOKA ex-fighters clubs throughout the country.

DESY is certainly the 'traditional' conservative party of the Greek-Cypriot nationalist Right. It served as a vehicle for pragmatic Glafkos Clerides, who founded the party and subsequently his successor, Nicos Anastasiades, who although comes from a hand-line faction of the party, he has turned out to be a pragmatic and vehement supporter of the UN plan. The greatest shift of DESY has been its attitude towards the Turkish Cypriots and Turkey. DESY under Anastasiades has made decisive move towards cooperating and engaging in a dialogue with the Turkish Cypriot left, he is the only political leader to visit Ankara and meet with the Turkish Premier, Tayip Ertogan and has consistently followed a time of reconciliation. This creates contradiction for his party and constituency, as the population it is based has been irredentist nationalistic and hard line. This contradiction is apparent in the approach the path takes firstly, on the question of multicultural education, which is obviously divided among those who insist on a national(istic) education and are mighty critical of the reform program to make Greek Cypriot education multicultural as

'endangering and dehellenising education'[53] and those who support the need for multi-cultural reforms.[54] Secondly, the 'ghosts form the past' appear whenever there is a dispute about the past and in particular whenever the issue is raised about the murders of left-winger, who murdered by EOKA in the 1950s, alleging that they were 'traitors'.

On the question of immigration the official line is that of the employers associations, but there are MP, who take an anti-immigrant line close to SEK. Immigration is not a major issue for DESY at its interested in the Cyprus problems and other economic, social issues. Therefore, we can speak of the Government policy when DESY was in power (1993-2003). This was a highly contradictory policy and the discourses of DESY Ministers in charge (Interior, Justice and Public order, Education and Labour and Social Security) were often anti-immigrant and xenophobic adopting various frames, as will be seen.

The Smaller Parties of 'Centre Left 'and 'Centre Right': Pragmatic Power-orientation, Populism and Ehno-nationalism

DEKO is the party that emerged to serve as vehicle centre-right forces and was set up by Spyros Kyprianou, the succession of President Makarios, who died in 1977, Kyprianou ruled throughout the 1980s until was replaced by George Vassiliou in 1988, with the backing of AKEL. It has always been rather intransigent and hawkish on the Cyprus problem but at ideological level it was a pragmatic centrist party, generally socially conservative, close to the Orthodox Church and orientated towards power. It polls about 15% of the vote. The current leader of DEKO, Tassos Papadopoulos, is the President of Cyprus, supported by AKEL and EDEK. There is no definite policy on immigration other than continue with the current policy. Within DEKO there are disparate, often opposite views on the subject; the current vice president, Mr Pittokopitis is among the most populist anti-immigrant politicians: a former SEK trade unionist from Paphos, he takes chance to criticise immigrants in Pafos.[55]

EDEK is a small social democratic party in ideology and amongst the most nationalistic and hawkish party in Cyprus. It polls about 7-10% of the votes. It was founded by Vassos Lyssarides, an associate of archbishop Makarios, who blended nationalism and socialism in a particularly populist doctrine. For many years Lyssarides had 'third-worldist' populist outlook but since the 1980s, with Greece's accession to the EU and Andreas Papandreou ascent to power in Athens, he turned the orientation of the party towards accession to the EEC. Although the party is now officially led by Yiannakis Omirou, the veteran Lyssarides, as honourary President is still said to pull the strings. The Left-wing fraction of EDEK, which was internationalist and class-orientated (thus anti-racist and pro-class solidarity) was ousted from the party in the 1980s and 1990s. There is no official party position on immigration but the party leaders generally adopt a sensitive approach to migrants. Nevertheless, the small trade union attach to the party, DEOK has regularly blame migrant workers for the rise of unemployment,[56] even though the union has taken different initiatives for 'integrating' migrant workers.

NEO (Neoi Orizontes) is small party with only one MP and they base their existence primarily on being the first and only party that is openly anti-federation. The Turkish-Cypriots are perceived as a minority. Evropaiki Dimokratia is a split away group from the large traditional right-wing party DESY following the decision of DESY to support the UN plan. It has three MPs. It is a party with a nationalistic stance on the Cyprus problem, anti-Annan and covertly anti-federation. The two parties have decided to merge in the light of the next Parliamentary elections in May 2006.

ADYK is another one-man party in Parliament. It was set up by a former Minister of Interior from DEKO, Dinos Michaelides. It is a party with a nationalistic stance on the Cyprus problem, anti-Annan and covertly anti-federation. There is also one MP from the Green Party, which is socially on the broad left of the political spectrum; it is centred around ecological and environmental issues, but it is nationalistic and hawkish on the Cyprus problem, which places it in the ethno-nationalist comp.

Neo-nationalism, Rapprochement and Perceptions of the 'Other'

With the exception of the three one-man parties, all major Greek-Cypriot political parties represented in Parliament officially at least back a federal solution on the basis of 1977-1979 Agreements and there has been a consensus reached by the National Council on 30th January 1984[57] and as reaffirmed in 1995. In spite of the Greek-Cypriot political party consensus on federation and the policy of rapprochement and reconciliation with the Turkish-Cypriots, EDEK and DEKO however, set pre-conditions for 'effective' and 'correct' rapprochement. In practice it falls on AKEL, some intellectuals and 'conflict resolutionists'. Recently smaller parties EDEK, DEKO and NEO see little role in rapprochement; they state that it is good that G/Cs their political discourse on the subject is centred on countering ridiculing blithering and often it is hostile to any such initiatives as they see no internal dimension to the Cyprus problem. DEKO and EDEK are usually opposed to these meetings as 'inadequate' or as 'a diversion from the essence of the problem', which is 'international in nature and not inter-communal' or they fear that by doing so they are "recognising the 'TRNC'". DESY as well its youth and student branches participate in bi-communal initiatives but little else. The basic tenet of AKEL's pro-federation stance is that of supporting Federalism as the goal that would unite Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots given the current conditions, to resolve the internal-constitutional aspect to the problem. Practical support for a federation is seen as the primary means of opposing the partition of Cyprus.

From the late 80s onwards, significant ideological changes have taken place in Cyprus in the make up of 'nationalism' and the shape of the wider political landscape. The old irredentist nationalism of 'Enosis' was transformed into something new. A Greek-Cypriot or Helleno-Cypriot nationalism emerged which centred around a Greek-Cypriot controlled State in Cyprus rather than union with Greece, irredentist nationalism had mutated.[58] The global changes with the collapse of eastern European Socialist States did not affect the electoral fortunes of the Communist AKEL; in fact since 1989, AKEL's share of the vote has on the whole grown. However, significant shifts of opinion have occurred. One Cypriot sociologist, Peristianis (1995), borrowing the concept from

Hobsbawm (1990) referred to "the rise of neo-nationalism" in Cyprus from 1988 to 1994. This has occurred in the aftermath of the massive economic growth, the subsequent changes in communications as well as cultural, social and political transformations of Cypriot society (Peristianis, 1995: 140-142).

Moreover, Cypriot society, particularly the area under the control of the Republic, has seen changes as a result of the presence of migrant workers there and it is transformed into a net importer of migration from an exporter. However, this rise of these 'new' nationalistic tendencies in Cyprus must be viewed in the light of the wider political, social and economic changes in the region and the globe. Furthermore, has created the conditions for a new type racism to emerge, connected to, but not originally part of the old ethno-nationalism of Greek-Cypriots. At the same time the presence of migrants on a massive scale emerges the potential for a multicultural Cyprus (Trimikliniotis, 1999). These changes are affecting both communities; Turkish-Cypriots living the north however are affected in a different way because they are under a different regime. They are less exposed to the climate of massive economic development and 'Western influences' than the tourist-flooded Greek-Cypriots and the ideological debates are primarily structured in opposition to Turkish mainland nationalism and the inflow of Turkish settlers and in an effort to resist to large scale Turkish-Cypriot emigration abroad (Mehmet Ali, 1989).

There is little doubt that there is a resurgence of nationalism since the 1990s; this has led some to the conclusion that the post-1974 demise/marginalization of nationalism has proved to be both temporary and rather shallow (Mavratsas, 1998: 99). The social basis of this 'new' nationalism is younger, more middle class, particularly from professions such as teachers, journalists and lawyers, who were predominantly educated in Greece and some of whom were 'radicalised' through mass action in the immediate post 1974 period (Peristianis 1995: 142; Mavratsas 1998: 99-12). Student years seem to be particularly important in the politicisation of professionals. The strength of support of right wing and 'new' nationalist student groupings in the Cypriot student elections studying in Greece is indicative of the rise of nationalistic opinion in the 1980s.[59]

Originally some of these intellectuals come from Socialist EDEK and other more 'radical-libertarian Left' circles (ex-anarchists, ex-Maoists, former neo-Marxists etc.). Disillusionment and ideological transformation following the collapse of 'actually existing socialism', the collapse of smaller groups based on international solidarity which has gone out of fashion led some in the 20s, 30s and 40s this brand of new to nationalism resulting in "the meeting of the new waves of neo-nationalism and neo-Orthodoxism," Particularly those from Greece (Peristianis, 1995). Youngsters whose parents and friends come from traditional right-wing and nationalistic backgrounds appear to have been 'radicalised' during the student years. No surveys have been conducted to know whether we are referring to masses; but we can say for certain that this applies to 'strategic elites'. There is certainly some popular shift in the direction of more nationalistic-orientated approaches. The elites are 'influential', primarily due to their easy access to the mass media, which are as a rule owned and controlled by the tycoons who generally come from the Right and extreme Right in Cyprus,[60] also due to their own networking and social position. In any case, almost all the opinion polls conducted recently on different subjects indicate that amongst the persons between the ages of 15 to 35 in the highest incidence of nationalist ideas.

There is a question as to whether there is a significant difference between the 'old' and the 'new' to constitute a rupture from the past. One scholar argues that the 'old' nationalism is essentially conservative and traditional, whereas the 'new' is characterised by an anti-Western feelings, "strong socio-political sensitivities" or even "anti-conformism and radicalism" on issues such as equality and liberties Peristianis (1995: 142). What is certain is that there is a sense of 'urgency' about issues, especially in their critique of the 'establishment', the party system and the Cypriot state (clientelism, bureaucratic practices and nepotism). Above all they present an 'activistic' approach with regards to the Cyprus problem. Their relative 'success' in influencing opinion lies, apart from their key position in the limelight of 'news-making' in other factors. These include 'cashing' on the frustration generated by the absence of a solution to the problem; the ageing leadership of the Centre and Right, the ideological crisis and collapse of the political party of the Centre (DEKO) in 1990s and stagnation of *"Socialist EDEK"*; the

general rise of ethno-national and cultural identity concerns and the rise of nationalism, following the collapse of the USSR. The fact a marginal number of about 2,000 votes at the end of the day determines whether to back the Presidential candidate of the Left-Centre or the Right-Centre gives the media people all the great significance. Post 2000, there is a new reality with new leadership of the DEKO, which is more agentive in its landline position. Since the rejection of the UN plan to resolve the Cyprus problem in 2004 and the accession to the EU, the process of Europeanisation has now intensified. Rather than reconciliation on the basis of the Annan plan, those on the extreme right claims that they want a 'European solution': a rather nebulous concept which is essentially repackaged a version the old Greek-Cypriot domination based on 'majoritarian' rule, rather a community-based federation and power-sharing system, as agreed since 1977 and 1979 (known as 'the High Level Agreements').

There are crucial continuities/commonalities between the 'old' and the 'new' nationalism to such an extent that the so-called 'new' are in reality but a fragment of the wider nationalist phenomenon. The centrality of 'Greekness', the Helleno-centrism makes them very much part of the 'old'. In the 1980s and 90s the 'new' nationalism asserted itself via the concerted attack on 'Cypriotism', Cypriot consciousness and a general dislike of Cypriot State and symbols. The Right-wing media generated a media based the 'new' nationalists, the mere 'vanguard' of the nationalist hegemonic block. This is best illustrated in the hysterical attacks on 'neo-Cypriotism', which is blamed for aiming to 'de-Hellenise' Cyprus and surrendering it to 'the Turks' (Peristianis 1995: 144; Papadakis 1993; Mavratsas 1998). By the time of accession to the Right and extreme Right had already begun to appropriate the very symbols they had opposed in the past: The Cyprus flag, the Cyprus Republic and State symbols etc were all the points of reference these people were now willing to oppose the solution proposed by the UN in 2004. The explanation for this is that although in paper the Cyprus Republic is 'bicommunal', since 1964 it is effectively a Greek-Cypriot controlled state. Rather than having to cooperate and share power in a bizonal, bicommunal federation under the Annan plan, they were all keen to retain the (Hellenised) Cyprus Republic within the EU.

The process of reconstruction of the 'national' space in Cyprus is the constant battleground for hegemony. The 'acritic' (ακριτικό) part of the nation (i.e. Greek-Cypriotism or Hellenism of Cyprus, which is situated at the 'edge of Hellenism', requires a mirror to identify and an 'other' to distinguish itself). The 'Other' takes the form of the Turkish-Cypriot, the Roma and the migrant worker. The reproduction of the 'other' is thus a process that occurs by specific institutions: the education system (see for instance Spyrou 2001; 2002/3 and Trimikliniotis 2004b); the media and the political system itself.

Institutional patterns are thus being reproduced as a structural racism and the representation of the 'other' is mediated, articulated and reproduced / legitimized by the politics of nationalism. This happens by locating   immigrants within the Cyprus context and pining or anchoring the arguments over the presence of migrants to specific conditions related to the survival of the nation and the 'struggle of national liberation'. Immigration policy then from an 'economic function' (i.e. the requirement for labour), which is by the way itself part of the 'national question' based on the needs of the national economy moves further to the centre of the construction of the nation itself.

Parliamentary Debates

We cannot claim that there has been any proper debate on the subject of migration that is recorded in a manner that it is possible to take the party positions. In fact the major points of change in the legislation were unanimous and were presented to the House of Representatives (Parliament) as unanimously agreed proposals by the relevant committees (the Home Affairs Committee, the Committee for Employment and Social Insurance and the Committee for Human Rights) after the Government manages to obtain a consensus in the 'tripartite' committees (Government, trade unions and employers associations). Even the major change of policy in 1990 that allowed immigrant labour in Cyprus was agreed by consensus on the basis of the 'criteria' set out in the tripartite agreement.

The Reports by Parliamentary Commissions on Employment and Social Insurance (House of Representatives 1997a) and the Parliamentary Commission on Human Rights (House of Representatives 1997b) recognise that legislation is anachronistic and must be reviewed.[61] The Report by the Employment and Social Insurance Commission has as a title precisely this issue:

> "The problems that are created as a result of the absence of a relevant legal framework which must regulate their presence in our country".

The two reports put into perspective, from the point of view of the policy makers, a number of problems with government and other administrative policies on migrant workers and they indicate the need for debate on the subject and a concern about the rights of migrants. The emphasis of the same Report however, in line with other public discourse, is dominated by the question of how to minimise the presence of migrant workers, and in particular undocumented workers.[62] In its conclusion the Report (1997a: 11) places emphasis again on the one hand on combating "illegal Immigration" on the one hand and on the other it "recognises the problems of inclusion in the Cypriot Society, as well as their needs such as practising their own customs, cultural, religions etc. that derive from their culture and their country of origin". It recommends that information be sought from abroad on the ways in which to deal with problems from European countries, which have more experience in dealing with theses issues (1997a: 11-12).

Furthermore, there are problems to do with administration and law enforcement in Cyprus.[63] Part of it is due to inadequate staffing and training. The Report of the Parliamentary Commission on Employment and Social Insurance, (House of Representatives 1997a) notes the "inadequacy of staffing" the relevant section which means that *the* "control is not that which is expected". The Report of the Parliamentary Commission for Labour and Social Insurance notes that this as one of the main problems on the matter (House of Representatives 1997a). The Parliamentary Commissions Reports refer to ways of enhancing the rights of migrant workers. In particular, the Report by the Human Rights Commission is very critical of the existence of racism and xenophobia in Cyprus and calls for measures, including legal responses, to the question (1997b). However the Report by the Employment and Social Insurance Commission,

whilst referring to the need to enhance migrant rights, also contains racial stereotypes and construes the presence of migrant workers as a problem. For example it refers *to* 'the negative aspects of employing foreigners' such as 'marriages of convenience to ensure presence', 'committing crimes', 'inadequate raising up of children', 'xenophobia and racism' (even racism seems to blamed on migrant workers themselves), and 'extra-marital affairs' (1997a: 7).

C. Frames used by the ethno-nationalist political parties and individual anti-immigrant populist politicians

As discussed earlier, unlike other countries where one is able to locate a distinct ethno-nationalist party based on anti-immigrant and xenophobic populism, in Cyprus we can only locate some important individuals within parties and some small far Right and ethno-nationalistic parties, whose main rhetoric is primarily directed towards the Cyprus issue, rather than their anti-immigration position (NEO, ADYK and European Democracy). If one is to make sense of the issue as an institutional pattern, which generates a distinct politics of racism, we first ought to examine the evolution of the ethno-nationalist and anti-immigrant discourses of the defensive reaction of the trade unions, and in particular right-wing SEK. From that point of departure one is able to locate not only the evolution of trade union positions but also the discourses of certain established individual politicians and the recently formed and smaller political parties. Since we do not have enough party documents, statements, position papers, speeches or public discourses on the subject of immigration from the parties, we had to rely on extra interviews conducted. Individual politicians and small party groups sometimes refer to the issue of immigrants but generally as a side-issue rather than as a full-blown argument. Therefore, the conclusions and classification drawn derive from the range of the selected articles, but also from their political orientation, ideology, rhetoric, stance and political decisions in the general Cyprus political spectrum.

The main actors and agents used to drawn the survey conclusions are classified in four main categories: (a) mainstream press; (b) trade unions; (c) political parties; (d) and

individual politicians that adopt an anti-immigrant approach.[64] Despite the fact that some articles may fit in several alternative frames, in order to avoid inconsistencies and overlapping, it is classified in what might be considered to be 'the dominant frame' accompanied with relevant comments giving the overall picture. Due to the absence of political parties or politicians that construct their policies mainly on anti-immigrant approach the newspaper articles, speeches or public discourses on migration were very limited.

Mainstream Press

<u>*Phileleftheros*</u>

This is the 'broadsheet' newspaper of Cyprus. Out of a total of 20 articles chosen from this paper one (1) was used for table 1c (published speeches) and 19 for table 1a (Mainstream press). According to the analysis, *Phileleftheros* is grouped under Frame 1 six (6) times all of which had an anti-immigrant tone, Frame 2 (2) twice as a negative employment impact, Frame 4 once (1) arguing that migrants are in force criminals and corrupt, Frame 5 once (1) arguing of the negative civic values/virtues migrants convey, Frame 8 six (6) times, twice as anti-racist and four (4) as racist and Frame 9 five (5) times, mainly connecting Cyprus problem with migration, three times the approach is classified as neutral, twice that migrants have 'a negative impact' on the Cypriot people anti-occupation struggle.

In general, the conclusion that can be safely extracted is that *Phileleftheros* mostly adopts an anti-immigrant, ethno-nationalist approach; in fact it was never possible to classify a single article as having a pro-immigrant approach. Another interesting outcome from the study reveals that the paper is five times categorised under Frame 5 (negative civic virtues) out of a total of twenty (20) articles, whereas this frame is one of the less used in the mainstream press when approaching the migration issue.

<u>*Simerini*</u>

Simerini is certainly a 'mainstream newspaper', but it is also 'right-wing tabloid' that is one of the main proponents of Greek-Cypriot nationalism and one of the main supporters

of right-wing political parties. For the purposes of this study it was thus used twice: it is the second/ third most popular newspaper (adopting a populist nationalistic line), whilst it is simultaneously one of the most right-wing papers.

Out of a total of twenty two (22) articles selected, three (3) were used for Table 1c (Speeches), 13 for Table 1a (Mainstream press) and six (6) for Table 1d (Party media). According to the analysis findings *Simerini* is categorized in Frame 1 three (3) times as anti-immigrant, Frame 2 six (6) times, twice as arguing on a positive economic contribution and four times as negative, Frame 3 once (1) as arguing on a negative welfare impact, Frame 4 four (4) times picturing migrants as criminals and corrupt, Frame 7 twice (2), once as 'anti-establishment' and once as 'pro-establishment', Frame 8 once (1) as having a racist approach and Frame 9 three (3) times adopting a negative attitude towards migrants due to the negative impact their presence has on the national problem. The language used by *Simerini* is indicative of its stance on migrants; it regularly uses certain descriptive words its headlines when speaking about migrants, such as 'nightmare', 'cancer' and 'gangrene'.

Haravgi
AKEL's paper is rather cautious on immigration, but it has occasionally taken both 'anti-immigrant' as well as 'pro-immigrant' positions; migrant workers are sometimes referred to as a 'necessary evil'. In the aftermath of 1990 with the new immigration policy, there were outbursts of xenophobic and ethno-nationalist reactions expressed by all trade unions, albeit the PEO trade union expressed such views to a lesser degree and it avoided connecting these issues to the Cyprus problem.

Out of a total of 27 items collected from *Haravgi*, four (4) were used in table 1a (Speeches), 13 were used to extract results on the mainstream press (Table 1c) and ten items for the party media table (1d). The paper's approach is mainly classified under Frame 2, eleven (11) times in total, arguing that migrants have a ' negative employment impact' on the national economy; frame 1 is not so often used by the paper (nor is it used regularly by any Left or centre left parties and groups), yet three items were included in

Frame 1, twice arguing that there is a negative impact on the collective national identity; and once arguing that pluralism is positive in building a multi-cultural society, and preventing tension in societal relations. Under Frame 3, there were three items, arguing on that there is 'a negative welfare impact since migrants are unfair competitors'. Frame 4 is only once used presenting migrants as 'corrupt and criminals'. Frame 7 was used once arguing against the improvement of the migrants status; and finally under frame 9 two items were categorised calling upon the Government to implement restrictions on migrants' entrance.

Haravgi is mainly concerned on the negative employment and economic impact from migrants' presence; the paper generally avoids using an ethno-nationalist approach linked to the Cyprus issue. Although, PEO and AKEL discuss the 'dangers' related to the presence of migrants on Cypriot workers' rights, they generally avoid connecting their presence with the Cyprus issue, 'national purity' and 'collective identity'.

Neolea
On an overall of 5 items selected from *Neolea*, frame 2 is used once arguing migrants have a positive economic impact on the national economy since they perform jobs nationals refuse to; frame 5 is classified twice, referring to pluralism and multi-culturalism as positive civic virtues and values; frame 7 is used twice arguing that the state's and society's role is to integrate migrants through education, jobs and participation in the civil society. Finally, Frame 8 is used once to reflect the anti-racist approach of the organisation it speaks for (EDON), by analysing the way people perceive, think or act towards migrants through a Marxist, internationalist approach.

Mahi
The two articles selected from this paper reflect the paper's general political orientation, ideology, stance and rhetoric in the Cyprus political spectrum that are relevant to the issue of immigration and migrants. The paper is classified under Frame 1 once for table 1d (Party Media) arguing that the 'huge inflow' of migrants has a 'negative impact' on the collective national identity and cohesion; under Frame 4 is classified once arguing

that criminality rates have increased because of migrants and characterises their presence as 'cancer'.

Ergatiko Vema

Seven articles have been chosen from this newspaper that mainly reflect PEO's diachronic political stance and approach on the migration issue (*Ergatiko Vema* is seven times classified under Frame 2, six times using an anti-immigrant discourse and once retaining a balance). Between 1990 - 1995 a 'defensive' approach was expressed by and this can be partly explained by the fact that PEO had not formulated its political approach on the issue. The initial arguments concerned mainly the negative employment impact of migrants presence on native workers and secondly, their presence constitutes a threat to 'the social and moral values'. During 1996-97 there was a shift towards more anti-immigrant approach and unsympathetic rhetoric. They argued that migrants are a 'threat to national workers rights' and 'more severe entry restrictions' should be imposed to them. The argument that started to appear more regularly was the linkage between increased unemployment and the rise of criminality. This approach began to fade out by the 1990s.

Ergatiki Foni

Eleven items were collected from this paper (Under Frame 1 the paper is classified four times negatively, under Frame 2 six times negatively as well and under Frame 4 once in a negative manner). *Ergatiki Foni* expresses the policy of SEK. From the beginning the paper used a harsh language, words like 'cancer' and 'gangrene' were many times recorded. SEK and *Ergatiki Foni* not only used economic arguments (Frame 2), but many of their statements and opinions expressed were classified under Frame 1, arguing that migrants are a threat to locals national collective identity.

Political Actors and Parties

Given the absence of a RRP party per se, ethno-nationalism (and the resulting exclusion of migrants and others) is used as the prime criterion to locate arguments against or in favour of the immigration and migrants. The findings here are extracted from all tables

used, especially Table 2 (Political Agents use of Frame over time) that gives the overall trend, in connection of course with their general policy stand in the Cypriot political spectrum. The evolution of their approach is analysed through the examination of the debates over migration issues and the arguments for stricter controls, especially after EU accession.

Central Government

Depending on the political parties in office and the dominant political environment, the rhetoric and discourses shift in different directions. It may be argued that EU membership and the obligation to comply with the EU acquis may have influenced officials to be more 'restrained' in their statements. However, it may well the case that it is local factors that are more influential. In particular, the change of government and the election of Mr. Papadopoulos as President in February 2003 and AKEL's role in the government coalition may have influenced the 'tuning down' the Government's rhetoric against migrants to the extent that Government positions are held by AKEL ministers.

The debates over immigration controls have become increasingly 'Europeanised'. The politicisation of the issue takes a particular form in the Cypriot case. The Europeanisation of immigration policies can be analysed through two distinct ways: firstly, many officials and politicians call upon EU to 'help in the control of migrants inflow', since Cyprus is the bridge between EU and migrants Asia, Africa and Arab countries to their way to Europe. There may well be elements of a hidden racism and xenophobia in a novel form of nationalism-irredentism that attempts to legitimise itself by referring to EU policies. Secondly, some political actors and media argue that Turkey's membership to the EU would mean the inflow of a great mass of Turkish migrants, a danger that will have negative economic, employment, cultural and religious impact.

Overall, out of eleven (11) items gathered to analyse the central government approach on the issue, three were classified under Frame 1; once (1) revealing a pro-immigrant approach (PL) and twice (2) using an anti-immigrant tone (PL). Under Frame 2, three (3) articles were classified, twice (3) reflecting the negative belief that migrants indeed have

a negative impact on economy and employment (MM, PL) and once (1) arguing that migrants' presence resolves the shortage of labour on certain economic domains that indigenous workers refuse to work in. Frame 4 is used once (1) arguing that migrants have a negative impact on the society's law and order; Frame 5 is once (1) used to demonstrate the governments' negative perception regarding the values and the culture of migrants and the negative influence they have on society. Frame 8 is twice (2) used to reflect the racist approach government official adopted and lastly Frame 9 in a neutrally tone, arguing that EU policies 'should be followed'.

During Presidency of Clerides (1993-2003), several Government Ministers used xenophobic rhetoric regarding the immigration issue. The statements of the Interior Minister, Christodoulos Christodoulou (*Simerini* 10.11.03) are classified in frame 5 when he argued that migrants have a negative impact over 'our liberal values and national identity'. He argued that whilst paying lip service to the need to protect the rights of 'foreign workers', he expressed grave concern about the "our children and grandchildren", who are raised by foreign domestic workers (who are also forced into being nannies). Labour and Social Insurance Minister, Mousioutas, (*Simerini*, 10.11.03) accused a NGO involved in supporting migrants of 'encouraging migrants to blame their employers', in many cases purely as a means to extend their residence permit. Minister Mousioutas also spoke about 'criminality' and connected it with the presence of migrants; he congratulated the Police campaign aiming at control migrants number and said that illegal migrants employment is a 'cancer' for 'society and economy' (*Simerini,* 17.03.1997). Minister Christodoulou replied to accusations by the Council of Europe that racism is widespread in Cyprus, as alleged in the second ECRI Report saying that CoE has no valid evidence towards this, noting that many migrants create false accusations aiming to extend their residence permits (*Simerini,* 27.07.2001). Moreover, on television he called the ant-racist activists masochists' and said they 'do not offer a good service to the country' (*Simerini,* 27.07.2001).

Between, 1992-93 and 2004-05, fifteen Government officials' statements have been collected and analysed. Particularly, in 1992-93 Labour and Social Insurance Minister

Aristidou is classified in Frame 2 with a rather positive tone regarding the employment of migrant workers, as long they are only employed in certain domains of the economy in which Cypriots refuse to work and as a temporary solution. Labour and Social Insurance Minister Mousioutas statements were classified twice during 1996-97 under Frame 1 with an anti-immigrant approach; a top official of the Immigration and Aliens Department (Director for Ministry for Interior), during 2000-01 period used the words 'cancer' and 'gangrene' to characterise migrants' presence. In 2001 Minister Mousioutas statements were classified in Frame 1 twice arguing that foreigners' presence brings problems to social cohesion and 'purity' of the nation. Recently, similar statements have continued to be made by Justice and Public Order Minister[65] and the Chief of the Police, who was subsequently critical by the specialised body against racism and xenophobia for alleging that 'more than half of the crime is committed by foreigners'.

In 2003, Justice Minister, Doros Theodorou's statements are both categorised in Frame 4 and 8. Moreover, in a rather shocking statement transmitted through out the Cypriot media and without showing any sense of 'political correctness': he alleged that '50% of women coming to Cyprus dreamed of becoming prostitutes (*Phileleftheros* 27.11.2003; Politis 27.11.2003). Frame 5 is used once in 2002-03 to classify Judge's Kalogirou statements that migrants have a 'negative impact on our liberal values'. During 2004-05 Finance Minister Makis Keravnos (classified in frame 9) argued that EU accession should not be seen as threatening national workers' rights. Under frame 8 two items are recorded, using a racist tone on the issue when the then Interior Minister Christodoulou statements in 2000-01 period which depict migrants as a threat to the 'national identity' and 'a source of social problems' and a threat to 'national purity'.[66] Under Frame 9 one item is included in a neutral way. The statements of Interior Minister Christodoulou in 2000-01 were classified under Frame 9. It was about a response to the criticisms based on the Second ECRI Report on Cyprus.

AKEL (Progressive Party of the working People): Left/Centre and Left
AKEL is the only Cypriot party that appears to have a more developed policy on migration and migrants. In its 17th Congress some concerns over the issue were raised, in

its 18th Congress the party in cooperation with PEO formulate a policy and pledged to work towards equal treatment of migrant workers as their Cypriot colleagues and that will fight any phenomena of racism and xenophobia. PEO initiated the creation of a bilateral Committee (composed of migrant and PEO trade unionists representatives) to discuss problems and for their societal integration. Nevertheless, AKEL refers to 'illegal immigrant workers' as a problem and calls upon the Government to take measures to combat the phenomenon. During its 19th Congress the party referred explicitly to the need to combat racism.

AKEL's approach is generally classified under Frame 1. MP Eleni Mavrou interviewed for this study can be categorised both under Frame 1, taking a pro-immigrant and pluralistic approach, as well as under Frame 7 for the pro-improvement of immigrants status approach that adopted. Mavrou's views point to the need to understand and efforts to integrate migrants in the local society. However, the same cannot be said for the Party's daily, *Haravgi*. One article in *Haravgi* did argue for solidarity and tolerance towards foreigners. The bulk of articles in *Haravgi* are classified under Frame 2: six articles, all arguing on the basis of a 'negative employment impact' that migrants have on the economy (19.09.1989, 25.06.1991, 20.05.1994, 25.10.1996, 22.07.2001, 10.11.2002) and only twice for their 'positive economic contribution' for performing jobs Cypriots refuse to. Frame 3 is used twice arguing that migrant workers have a 'negative welfare impact' and referring to migrants as 'illegitimate job competitors' (11.02.1997, 17.11.1996); Frame 5 is also used twice to depict a negative influence on the Cypriot society's liberal values (22.07.2001, 22.04.2005). Frame 7 (anti-immigrant) is used twice arguing that migrants should be kept out (31.10.1999, 10.11.2002). On two occasions articles in *Haravgi* are categorised under frame 9, condemning the employment of migrants instead of Cypriots, arguing that 'Cypriot workers' rights are under threat' (25.06.1991, 25.10.1996). Nevertheless, at times and particularly more recently, the tone of *Haravgi* tone appears to be more 'balanced' (20.05.1994, 22.04.2005), on the one hand arguing that 'national workers should be preferred' and on the other, that racist phenomena should be combated. The newspaper of EDON, AKEL's youth, *Neolea* has

carried articles classified three times as robustly anti-racist, under Frame 8 (10.1996, 7.02.1997, 10.01.1997).

The Right and Centre Right

Regarding the immigration issue it can be said that DESY has not yet formulated an official and comprehensive policy line; hence intra-party variations can be observed if one examines MP statements. An incoherent approach is apparent when DESY was in power (1992-2002). Statements by Government Ministers have little consistency[67]; nonetheless the actual policy followed by and large reflected the employers' wishes for 'flexible approach' allowing migrant workers when employers requested (with the consent of the trade unions of course). In opposition however, DESY does not seem to have a policy on the matter as parliamentarian's statements differ according to the individual MP, from who with a more of an ethno-nationalistic and conservative leaning (the conservative Right) and those who adopt a more pragmatic, liberal and pluralist position. The interviews taken by the two DESY MPs to an extent reflect this division. On the one hand, Tornaritis MP, although cautious and rather positive about the presence of migrants in Cyprus, when asked how much and what rights should be given to them, supported that those should be 'limited' so as not to have 'severe consequences' on the 'nation's identity'. On the other hand, Cleridou MP, who generally adopts a pluralistic and tolerant attitude on the national issue, argued on the basis of solidarity and tolerance and of the societal value added by the presence of foreigners.

The Ethno-nationalist Right-wing Parties (EuroDi and Neo)

These two political groups have merged into a single party, EuroKo (Evropaiko Komma − European Party) but a small group of EuroDi chose to continue on its own. They are considered to be the 'ethno-nationalistic' Right, as they have the hardest line on the Cyprus problem and how they perceive relations with Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots. Nevertheless, they on the whole appear rather 'reserved' in their public comments regarding immigration. On closer reading however, their public statements and their discourses in interviews are illuminating about their attitudes.

The main sources of conclusions were the interviews taken from two party officials (Nicos Koutsou, then Leader of NeO and Taramountas MP, Party then Spokesman for EvroDe and now Deputy President of Euroko).[68] Taramountas MP stated that "immigration is an open wound" and characterises migration issue as a serious problem. Through the narrative of specific everyday events he allowed for sweeping generalisations referring that crime is somewhat everydayness, part of the culture of specific migrant groups. By innuendo, he let be known that their cultural attitudes and traditions are an obstacle for their societal integration. Part of his interview is categorised under Frame 5, illustrating that 'migrants cannot share the same values as locals' and argued for 'more policing'.

Koutsou on the other hand was very cautious in the characterisations and narrative he used during his interview. Nevertheless, on a closer examination of his political orientation, rhetoric, stance and ideology within the Cyprus political context reveal an underlying hard core of ethno-nationalism in his ideology beneath the 'pragmatic' talk. For Koutsou immigration is 'a problem, but nonetheless unavoidable'. He explains immigration as a result of the location of the island at a cross-point to the EU, which therefore requires that, the 'EU assists in the control on migration flows'. Migration veils many social, economic problems in the societies that accept people, nevertheless though education and jobs people should be integrated. Part of the interview is classified in frame 7, when he argues that the issue of migrants' integration is very broad, including religion, culture, family, therefore social problems of integration should be implemented, whilst migrants on the other hand should make their own effort to be integrated the society

Individual Politicians

Pittokopitis MP (DEKO) is the most prominent individual politician with an explicit anti-immigrant line. When we compare one of his speeches/ article, while still a SEK official in 1989 with his later Parliamentary speeches and his interview in 2005, one may observe a remarkably similar rhetoric. His statements in *Ergatiki Foni* in 1989 are

classified in frame 1 as they represent an anti-immigrant perception, arguing that migrants are a threat to the national collective identity.

Left Wing Trade Union – PEO

After 1995, PEO's approach and rhetoric appear to have changed significantly: more recently this trade union primarily speaks about the need to protect migrant rights and equal treatment for all workers irrespective of origin, colour, religion, etc.; however, some of the earlier negative and defensive rhetoric has not totally eclipsed. Out of a total of nine items gathered, six were classified under frame 2, five argued that there is a negative employment impact and once speaking more neutrally argue that migrants may contribute positively to the economy's development but this ought to be seen as 'a temporary solution' and 'their numbers should be limited according to the economy's needs'. Frame 1 is used once referring to a negative impact migrants' presence has on the collective national identity; frame 7 once adopting an anti-immigrant approach and frame 9 is used once neutrally.

Right Wing Trade Union- SEK

After the change of policy in 1990 SEK adopted a defensive attitude regarding migration and the migrant presence in Cyprus. Out of a total of 21 items gathered relating to SEK, seven are classified in frame 1 with an ethno-nationalist approach arguing that migrants are a threat to national purity and cohesion; under frame 2 ten items are classified arguing on the negative employment impact and the fact that Cyprus economy should be based on national workers hands in order to have a strong negotiating tool to solve the national problem; frame 3 is used twice and argues that migrants are illegitimate welfare competitors; under frame 7 one item is categorised to reveal the negative influence migrants have on the Cypriots liberal values; lastly, frame 8 is used once in a rather racist tone.

C.1. Ethno-pluralist frame (diagnostic/prognostic)

The ethno-pluralist frame as associated with the Cyprus problem appears to be the dominant frame. Out of an overall of 133 items used for the survey, 28 of them were classified in frame 1. Specifically in Table 1a six items were classified under frame 1; in Table 1c seven items were included in frame 1 and in Table 1d twelve items were used.

<u>Politicians with a negative orientation</u>

The conclusions and classification drawn for MP Pittokopitis derive from the three items selected, one article in *Ergatiki Foni*, his statements during a parliamentary debate and his interview. He asserts that the migrants' presence will not solve any economic problems, but it would rather create a series of other more serious problems (in ethics, culture, religion and bad habits):

> "I honestly believe that we will destroy the Greek Cypriot society and this is totally unacceptable since on the one hand we struggle for national survival in this country, standing by our roots, ethics and traditions and on the other hand we allow the entrance of foreigners. We will mine-lay our society which will result in our eventual extinction" (*Ergatiki Foni*, 04.10.1989).

During a Parliamentary debate Pittokopitis MP characterised the presence of 'illegal migrants' as a "social problem" and linked it with the rise of crime. Political refuges according to him are an "additional problem"; and calls upon the state to create shelters for those people; not because of humanitarian sensitivity, but rather so that they are not 'let loose' or 'unleashed' using a particular Cypriot expression usually used to describe animals on the loose («ξαπόλιτοι»). His interview is more or less a repetition of his diachronic perceptions; he links the presence of migrants' with the rise of crime and claims that use of drugs is an 'inherent characteristic of their culture and tradition':

> "They have developed a certain way of living; crime is in their blood".

Taramountas MP (Interview 22.02.2005) follows an ethno-nationalist approach in regards to the national problem, the issue of immigration, as well as Turkish Cypriots and settlers from Turkey. Part of his interview is classified under frame 1, arguing that settlers are a tool in Turkey's hands to put pressure on the Greek Cypriot side by changing demographically the occupied areas. He conceptualizes collective identity in an ethno-

nationalistic way conceiving migrants, and especially settlers, as a major threat. According to Taramountas, the colonisation of the occupied territories and the resulting settlement is not only are a war crime, 'our society cannot absorb them culturally, as they are so different'. The same rhetoric is repeated regularly irrespective of his public, in speeches, interviews or TV programs.

Tornaritis, who is to be located on the more pragmatic and pluralist wing of DESY appears to adopt a more 'multicultural conception' as regards identity, arguing that origin, culture, tradition and religion should be respected. He adopts a 'universalistic' approach of tolerance and pluralism on societal relations and condemns the narrow exclusionary view of the society. He supports the improvement and integration of migrants in society by creating the right infrastructure for jobs and education. Nevertheless, what is striking and contradictory is the rather negative attitude when questioned whether migrants should obtain political rights (even though Protocol 12 has been ratified by Cyprus). He somehow moderates this negative attitude by saying that migrants ought to be integrated into the society, but any constitutional arrangements in this direction would have 'devastating results for the society, since we already have four other communities'. He alleged that 'Cyprus cannot absorb a big number of immigrants due to its small size otherwise our culture and traditions will be altered significantly'.

Politicians with Positive orientation

A number politicians from different generally voice more positive views on the question of the rights of migrants and the impact of immigration to Cyprus. They show sensitivity and generally adopt a more cosmopolitan/ universalist approach, arguing that migrants as well as Turkish Cypriots should not be victims of any sort of discrimination. She adopts an anti-nationalist approach towards the Cyprus problem as well as the migrants' issue in Cyprus. Eleni Mavorou, MP for AKEL, has long campaigned for migrant rights.[69] MPs from other political parties, interviewed for the purposes of this study adopt different versions of pro-migrant views.[70]

<u>Trade Unions</u>

SEK

Out of a total of twelve items collected to analyse its attitude four fall under frame 1. There hasn't been any significant change in the approach SEK, although their discourses appear in general to become a little milder over time. From the beginning of 1990, when migrant workers were allowed, SEK adopted a xenophobic and defensive rhetoric. 'Foreign workers' are depicted as a threat to the Greek Cypriot 'collective identity', 'national purity' at a time of 'struggle for survival' and 'national liberation'. The then Deputy General Secretary, and now General Secretary of SEK, Kittenis claimed (*Ergatiki Foni* 18.10.1989) that due to the presence of 'foreign workers',

> "We will have social, family problems and with severe dangers for implication on our national issue, if especially migrants originate from countries of different religion and culture".

In 1990 the then SEK General Secretary (M. Ioannou, 10.04.1990) similarly warns the following:

> "The consequences of migrants' employment are not limited in the economic sector, but inevitably to the society and culture […] but mainly due to our national problem we should avoid in any cost the creation of an additional problem".

SEK asserts that migrant inflow will have negative consequences because with their arrival they create a larger Muslim community and this will have implication for 'our national issue' (SEK's General Secretary Ioannou, 29.11.1992, *Agon*). A title used in 07.07.1996 reflects in the best way SEK's approach,

> "Migrant workers: Third minority with severe consequences for our country".

In 1996, in an article (*Simerini* 19.10.1996), the Secretary General SEK's characterizes the presence of migrants as "cancer" for the society with dangerous consequences on our social, political and economic life. Seven years after, in 2003, a statement by SEK continues in the same vain: under the headline, "SEK: We need a moratorium on foreign workers", the union argues that the employment of an uncontrolled number of 'foreign workers' has resulted in severe consequences that "*strike Cyprus and its people*".

Even though the tone appears somehow milder, SEK officials use a similar language, concepts and arguments in support of their position. Ethno-nationalism is strongly

evident in SEK discourse. Its approach can be explained on the basis of the union's ideological stance on the nationalistic Right of society.

PEO

The arguments of PEO over migrants rarely fall into frame 1 regularly; out of a total of nine items used to evaluate its position only one is classified under frame 1. PEO's main arguments are connected with its reservations on the negative employment and welfare impact migrants have. Nevertheless, a shift can be traced regarding its main arguments on the issue. Before 1995, it adopted a defensive approach in its effort to protect indigenous workers and because of its inexperience with the issue had not developed an official policy. In 1995 PEO started speaking about equal treatment and rights of workers, nevertheless characterized 'illegal workers' as 'a serious problem' and called upon the government to take 'all necessary measures'. There is clear shift to integrate migrant workers.

During his speech at the first conference of migrant workers (06.10.2003), PEO General Secretary, asserted that PEO aims firstly, to develop a dialogue with migrants' representatives; and secondly, to encourage their participation in trade unions. Initially a negative stance of PEO on migrants is traced, yet not connected with issues included in frame 1.

Newspapers

Phileleftheros

Out of twenty items collected to analyse the paper's stance, six are included in frame 1 arguing on the negative impact of migrant's presence for collective identity and homogeneity. In a 1996 article (31.12.1996) titled *"Migrant workers and the 10 NOs",* it is asserted that their presence does not only bring economic problems, but social and political as well. In 1997 (01.01.1997) one *Phileleftheros* author argues that trusting domestic helpers on the growing of our children constitutes a major national threat, *"We trust our children to people totally alien to our culture, language, religion. What kind of children do we expect to have?"* In a tough anti-immigrant article (04.02.1997) the author

characterises the issue as "cancer", "gangrene" and that Cyprus became hostage of migrants,

> "therefore if we don't take drastic measures to combat 'Lernea Hydra'[71] and gangrene before the situation becomes even worse, we will severely damage the social, economic, cultural and even political life of Cyprus".

In an article of *Phileleftheros*, written in 2003, classified under frame 1 argues that migrants corrupt our society's structure, nonetheless 'we welcome them warmly'. The headline's alarmist tone is indicative: "who will control the hordes of aliens/ foreigners?"

As for the tone of the article is indicative:

> We opened our doors to and a multitude of aliens has entered without informing us about their identities. We see the results today: burglaries, theft, beatings and now slaughters. Who will really put a check on the hordes of aliens?"

Simerini

Out of twenty items used from *Simerini*, three were classified under frame 1. They use terms such as "nightmare", "cancer" and "gangrene". A 2003 article*'s* title is indicative of the above arguments *"Foreign illegal migrants are a "*nightmare*"* (*Simerini,* 02.08.2003). A reporter (P. Vasila, *Simerini* 29.06.2005) argues that immigrants with Arabic descent are undermining the labour market and society's security. In 2001 Simerini raised the question as to what finally happen with all these migrants:

> Why hasn't the state has not been pro-active in forcing them to learn Greek?"

The paper supports the assimilation of migrants into the society, instead of their integration.

Among the articles gathered from *Simerini*, only appears to adopt a less hostile immigrant approach (*Simerini*, 24.06.2004). The main argument is not that the position of migrants must be improved because it is a matter of 'human rights' or for the 'good' in it's own right, but that the improvement is warranted so as to 'avoid social tensions' and 'problems of racism and xenophobia from being recorded in Cyprus' (and thus be exposed internationally). Moreover, contains strong elements of biases and stereotypes.

Haravgi

Out of the twenty-one items gathered from *Haravgi*, three were classified in frame 1, twice arguing for the negative consequences on societal, political and national issues and once adopting a pro-immigrant approach. The two overtly anti-immigrant items were printed in the period 1989-99, which reflected the more 'defensive' stance of the trade union of the Left referred to above. Another article in 1999[72] argues for stricter 'controls' by the police and 'avoidance' of problems with 'foreign workers', whilst at the same time he called for pro-active measures to avoid phenomena of racism as expressed in France and Germany. The alarmist terms he uses to describe the situation in Cyprus as «ξέφραγο αμπέλι» literally translated as 'unfenced vineyard', which means 'uncontrollable trespassing'. During the same year, *Haravgi* (03.09.1999) published a pro-immigrant article that supports pluralism, whilst criticises state or other institutions for their indifference to help migrants towards their societal integration. The article is titled "Migrant workers and us".[73]

Mahi

Out of the two items collected, one is classified in frame 1. It uses the word 'cancer' to describe the presence of migrants and argues that criminality has risen because of their presence. No observable shift in its arguments can be recorded in neither the Cyprus problem, nor the Turkish Cypriots, nor migrants to Cyprus.[74]

C.2. The conflict-criminality frame (diagnostic/prognostic)

This is one of the media favourite frames and is often used by populists and right-wing ethno-nationalist politicians in Cyprus. The Police also regularly make the connection between migrants and criminality. Out of a total of 133 items used, eleven (11) have been classified under frame 4: six for table 1c; under table 1d four newspapers were used five times.

Politicians

Diachronically, many politicians and government officials used arguments that fall under this frame to legitimise their negative attitude towards migrants' presence in Cyprus. In

1996 Minister Mousiouttas claimed that among the social problems relating to the presence migrant is the increase of criminality (*Simerini*, 30.06.1996). In 2003, the then head of the Aliens and Immigration Department, T. Theodorou argued that prostitution and illegal immigration are the two main problems Police has to deal with (*Simerini*, 'The curse of illegal aliens',11.03.2003). Also Justice Minister Doros Theodorou made the infamous statement about "50% of eastern European women dreamed of becoming prostitutes" (27.11.2003).

The conflict criminality frame is regularly invoked by ethno-nationalists and populist politicians, sometimes by narrating 'stories' they know involving migrants involved in crime. Taramountas MP used this extensively.[75] The most prominent example of a vocal is Pittokopitis, MP who argued that "crime is in their blood" (Interview, 18.2.2005). His main political anti-immigrant stance is heavily based on the claim that 'the' are a threat to society, culture and nation as they are inherently linked to criminality.

Politicians with pro-immigrant orientation counter argue the above statements as inaccurate. More particularly, Eleni Mavrou during her (interview 1.03.2005) stated that accusing migrants for the rise of criminality in Cyprus is a superficial approach that aims to divert people's attention from other, more serious crimes. MP Cleridou strongly refutes the assumptions that criminality is a sui generic phenomenon of increased immigration and relates it with intra-society reasons (interview 9.03.2005). As she asserted,

> "In the past we had criminality phenomena, the so-called 'vendetta'. I think we did not have the organised crime, but I don't think that migrants are responsible for this, it is a local phenomenon and is related wealth, cabarets as in all other countries".

Trade Unions

Out of the eleven items classified in frame 4, in one SEK article connects migrants to criminality and corruption. General Secretary Kittenis argues that migrants are the root cause of economic, social problems and the rise of criminality.

Newspapers

Simerini

On a total of eleven items used for frame 4, twenty-one extracted from *Simerini,* four were classified under this frame. In 1997 *Simerini* publishes an article titled *"Unemployment and criminality because of migrants employment"* (17.03.1997). In 2003, Simerini presents an official interview with the title *"The curse of illegal migrants* (11.03.2003). Using the same rhetoric *Simerini* (29.06.2005), alleges:

> "the detainment of illegal migrant workers happens only after criminal acts, in which they are engaged as robberies, drugs, and elements that reveals that the uncontrolled entrance of migrants from the occupied areas increases criminality rates in the government controlled areas".

Phileleftheros

Phileleftheros has a number of articles classified under frame 4:

(a) (27.11.2003): eastern European women dream of becoming prostitutes.[76]

(b) (31.12.1996): referred to the connection with criminality.[77]

(c) (6.01.2004): in the same tone *Phileleftheros* refers to illegal migrants in the Paphos area with the title *"Paphos as the paradise of illegal [immigrants]"*.

(d) (15.04.2005): the paper alleged 'foreigners' of 'Asian origin' were arrested for being involved in terrorist activities in a particularly biased manner persons were eventually released due to lack of evidence.

Mahi

In 19.05.2005 *Mahi* published an article with the offensive headline, 'The Aliens' kaggello)", which is paraphrasing the popular phrase, 'the whore's gate', argued that networks of migrants and Cypriots are pushing migrant women to prostitution.

Haravgi

In one article *Haravgi* links criminality with the presence of 'foreign workers', especially the Pontians (25.01.1991).

C.3. The welfare-chauvinist frame (diagnostic/prognostic)

The welfare-chauvinist frame is regularly used against migrants, asylum seekers, but it is also used against Turkish-Cypriots and Cypriot Roma. Out of a total of six items classified under frame 3, *Haravgi* is classified three times; *Simerini*, *SEK* and *Antilogos* are each classified once.

Haravgi all three times argued on the basis that migrants are unfair job competitors and have a negative welfare impact (11.02.1997, 10.11.2002); the paper used the characterisation "plague" with social, economic and political consequences (17.11.1996).

SEK/ *Ergatiki Foni* argued that migrants are illegitimate welfare competitors, their presence increases unemployment (*Ergatiki Foni* 19.02.1997, *Agon* 16.02.1997). Regarding the Cyprus problem, SEK asserts that local economy must be based on endogenous factors to build a strong economy to be used as a negotiating tool vis-à-vis the Turks (10.04.1990, *Ergatiki Foni*).

C.4. The job-stealing frame (diagnostic/prognostic)

This Frame along with Frame 1 are the two most popular. On a total of 133 items used, 52 were classified in frame 2. Particularly, eleven for Table 1a[78]; eight for Table 1c[79] and 32 items for table 1d.[80] Arguments connected with this frame found great support after 1990 with the change of migration policy, when a defensive and xenophobic attitude was adopted by mainly trade unions and individual politicians.

The Left: AKEL, *Haravgi*, PEO and 'Popular Movement'

Out of the 52 items classified in this frame, eleven were from *Haravgi* referring to a negative employment and welfare impact to articulate its fears and reservations over the inflow of migrants. In 1989 *Haravgi* used a revealing subtitle: *"Employers dismiss or do not employ Cypriots to create an artificial shortage of labour"* (19.09.1989). In 1996 in an article titled *Alien workers* asserts that migrant workers may be used by their employers against the national workers

"…migrant workers and especially illegal aliens have become a problem to the Cypriot society" (25.10.1996).

Similarly, in 2001 Pontian Greeks are referred to as 'job stealers' because they accept lower wages and benefits (*Haravgi* 22.07.2001). *Haravgi's* discourse has slightly changed over time. Initially the language used was harder and steadily started to speak on a positive employment impact because national economy seems to be lacking in several domains, without however abandoning the connection between immigration and unemployment.

PEO's arguments fall only twice in frame 2, once condemning their presences as illegitimate job competitors (*Haravgi* 20.05.1994) and once conceding that they have a positive employment impact, whilst at the same time arguing that the State should implement a strategic plan to limit their numbers, so that Cypriots, Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots, be employed (*Haravgi* 22.07.2001). It supported indigenous workers rights and noted that a great inflow of immigrants will create distortions in the workers' rights. It stresses the importance to give incentives to the inactive Cypriot labour force to re-enter the labour market. PEO's newspaper *Ergatiko Vema* in a similar tone supports more policing in regards to migrants, since they are a threat to the society and economy. The titles used in two of its articles are revealing of its stance, *"Dangers due to the uncontrolled entry of migrant workers"* (09.10.1996) and *"Whilst unemployment rises for Cypriots; Foreigners, Foreign workers everywhere"* (08.09.1993). Recently, Haravgi (14.6.2005) published a 'report' with a similar title: *"Increase in the number of Aliens, Rise in unemployment"*.

The Right: SEK, *Simerini, Agon*

SEK is categorised four times in frame 2 arguing that foreign workers are a threat to indigenous workers. Its rhetoric has not changed much over time in regards the presence of migrants in Cyprus. The 'job stealing' approach should be seen primarily as a supporting argument to its main position that migrants are a threat to Greek Cypriots national identity, safety and homogeneity. SEK asserts that migrants are illegitimate job competitors (10.04.2005). Moreover *Simerini* in 2003 published an article coding the

trade union position: *"SEK: We mortgage Cyprus to foreign workers"* (22.05.2003) and in 25.04.1990 titled *"We don't need the foreign workers".* SEK regularly uses Frame 2. Increased unemployment of the last years is usually connected with the rise of migrant inflow in Cyprus, ignoring the structural difficulties the Cyprus economy had to face in the last few years. An interesting titled that should be noted from *Agon* in 04.03.1997 *"Migrant workers as incurable cancer",* arguing that the employment of illegal migrants should be combated.

C.5. The "threat to liberal norms" frame (diagnostic/prognostic)

The usage of this frame is mainly by conservative newspapers and politicians who are on the whole sceptical about (cultural) pluralism. Out of a total of 4 items classified in frame 5, *Phileleftheros* is included once in an article that supports stricter policing as regards the entry of migrants due to the alleged 'negative civic values' they inherently 'carry' and thus 'trasnmit' to our society. *Neolea* twice carried articles countering these sort of views, supporting the need for the equal acceptance and belonging of migrants since they contribute positively with their values to cultural and societal diversity.

Taramountas MP approach is classified under this frame for the negative stance as regards the alleged 'lack of the liberal norms' of migrants.

Newspapers

A 'report' by Phileleftheros (Sotiris Michael 4.2.2005) refers to civic marriages as 'evil' and destructive elements for societal cohesion. The 'report'/ article presents a debate that took place in the Parliament, when debating the conditions under which civic marriages, especially of foreigners, are conducted. They doubted whether the appropriate legal framework is followed asserting that this is 'a threat to the local culture, social, ethic values, morality and social cohesion'. The paper refers to a scenario where,

> "5 to 10 couples, Cypriots or foreigners, may come to the island, appoint by themselves a marriage conductor and get married, even naked!".

The ending line of the article asks rather provocatively,

"What happens if a Muslim wishes to marry a second wife?"

Phileleftheros adopts a rather conservative and hostile approach on migrants' presence in Cyprus, and the discourse used by *Phileleftheros* has not changed; the rhetoric used in the 1990s is used today in the same tone, without any rupture.

Neolea is classified twice under frame 5. The discourse and positions presented by Neolea are diachronically the same; its the only Greek-speaking paper examined, which up to recently had a consistent pro-immigrant, anti-nationalist approach and multicultural sense of identity stating,

"Even if foreigners were in a position to influence our culture, it is incomprehensible to see where is the problem, for a culture that not only praises, but it is indeed a mixture of civilizations" (Antoniou, 07.02.1997).

Taramountas MP (interview 22.2.2005) expressed the fear regarding civic values 'brought in' by migrants. He speaks of other cultures in terms or 'right' and 'wrong': "Some have the right attitude, others is unacceptable (as regards law)". He is negative to oriental cultures when he asserts,

"They seat on the pavement with an oriental style, drink until early in the morning, have a very loud music, you think you are in an oriental bazaar. Someone should point them out [that this is not the way that is done here in Cyprus) […] if the police goes there every day".

This is an opinion widely shared and regularly repeated by anti-immigration politicians in Cyprus.

C.6. Biological racism frames (diagnostic/prognostic)

Biological racism is not aired directly and regularly in official occasions but it is widely referred to in the streets and unofficially in 'corridors'. On rare occasion the 'colour' of a person is referred to as a 'relevant' factor, more like a term of racial abuse. On a number of occasions the fact the UN Secretary General is black was used on TV and in press during a political polemic against the UN proposal to resolve 'the Cyprus problem.'[81] At one occasion Koulias MP remarked about the UN Secretary General: "what do you expect form a black man?" When the other panellists expressed outrage over the remark,

he stove to explain that he meant that 'as a black man, he ought to have known better' Such views are legally and morally condemned and notions of 'political correctness' are gradually beginning to develop. Pittokopitis MP is the prominent example of an individual politician who is not concerned about making populist remarks with an express or implicit point reference of 'biological racism' to justify his opinion, particularly when tit comes to the Pontians, whose 'propensity to crime' is somehow related to the fact that they are not 'true Greeks'. He insists that

> the "Greek-Pontians are married with Russians, Chechens, etc. they are a mixture, a mixture, there is not an absolute pure element coming from one community, i.e. We are Cypriots, its not the same".

C.7. National specific frames (diagnostic/prognostic)

The 'peculiarity' of the Cyprus case requires a specific frame that would like the 'Cyprus problem' to immigration and the presence of migrants. As said before, due to the lack of a per se RRP party, every assessment extracted is related to ethno-nationalism as expressed in Cyprus. This frame is designed to reveal the impact of the Cyprus problem in all spheres of social, political, cultural life on the island and the everydayness of its citizens. The connection between migration issue and Cyprus problem reflects the domination of the national issue.

Three models have been created in order to contextualise the way several actors link the Cyprus problem with immigration. The first one 1(a) makes a "specific case" in connection with 'national purity' *and* human rights violations, arguing that humn rights abuses would somehow undermine the case for the Cyprus Republic at the international arena. For example Government officials and politicians criticise human rights activists and NGOs for 'self-inflicted whipping' (αυτο-μαστίγωμα) and 'exaggerating' about the problem of racism and xenophobia, as these kind of accusations are 'not helping Cyprus' in such hard times in the search of solution'. There is of course a strong counter argument (1.b) that asserts that Cypriots should become more sensitive and respect human rights since the Cyprus case relies heavily on the support of the case that the human rights of Cypriots have been violated by invading force.

The second frame 2.a refers to a potential danger/threat since a so-called 'third minority' due to huge percentage of migrants in relation to the population – that undermines the 'purity of the nation' and the 'spirit of struggle for a solution'. It is an essentially an ethno-nationalist and inherently racialist argument as it presupposes a 'purity of the nation' that is 'ethnically based'. The counter-argument (2.b) supports a pluralistic, pro-multicultural and pro-multiethnic view of the society, which may create good climate for better societal relations between Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, the other minorities and foreigners.

The third frame is mainly concerned with issues of national economy. 3(a) It argues that national economy must be based on national workers (Greek Cypriots/ Turkish Cypriots), because strong economy can be used as a bargaining tool for future solution negotiations. 3(b) The counter-argument is that migrants contribute to the welfare of the economy and payments, since they do not steal jobs from nationals but on the contrary the perform jobs that nationals refrain to. For more details see the relevant Table1-WP5-Frame Analysis Template (Frame 9) and the next section.

D. Assessing impact and E. Analysis/Conclusion

In the context of Cyprus there is a serious problem of defining the 'ethno-nationalist party' or 'Radical Right party' in the same way as in other European countries. The 'national issue' (i.e. 'Cyprus Problem') is the determining factor in defining whether a party is 'ethno-nationalist' or 'radical right': The determination of who belongs to the 'nation' is premised on how 'the nation' is defined, its 'ethnic' stock or make up, the form and rights of ethnic groups in the political organisation of the state. For the ethno-nationalists the 'state' is but the 'instrument' for the reproduction of the 'nation' and the 'security / protection of the territory', as well as the 'protection' from other 'threats' to its well being (health, welfare, internal security, ethno-national order, customs, ethics, traditions and moral standards). Immigration may become an issue, if, due to historical, contingent or structural factors (economic or social) the notion of the immigrant is articulated in terms of a 'threat'. Such views are regularly aired on the political arena and across the media.

However, this issue has always been subordinated to the 'main problem', as the main 'enemy', what many Greek-Cypriots referred to as 'the main front' (*το κύριο μέτωπο*) is as powerful as even and remains the way in which political actions conceptualize the Cyprus problem. First, the form of governance and internal organization of the state in what may be seen as the internal constitutional aspect of the Cyprus Problem (i.e. the kind of 'federation' or otherwise well emerge with the resolution of the Cyprus Problem) is a cone matter that divides Greek Cypriots. This is an issue which defines the way in

which the Turkish-Cypriot, who form numerically 18% of the population, but are under the 1960 constitution form an equal 'community' with the Greek-Cypriot community, will exercise their rights is the power-sharing system of governance.[82] Second, matters become more complicated as the 'Cyprus problem' also contains an inseparable 'external dimension', as three countries (UK, Greece and Turkey) have a direct influenced as 'guarantors' and stationed troops on the island and Greece and Turkey indirect influence on their respective communities. The Turkish occupation of 34% of the country's territory means that Greek-Cypriot political parties are mainly concerned with how to rid Cyprus from the Turkish occupation troops, who are in Cyprus allegedly to protect the Turkish-Cypriots and Turkish strategic interests.

In Cyprus there is an 'even present' discursive frame, the Cyprus problem, which is the point of reference in defining the strategy for the 'ethnos', the 'nation'. The 'Other' is primarily the 'Turk', however the 'Other' is increasingly multiplying beyond the Turk, we have in Turkish-Cypriot Roma and migrant workers.. For Greek-Cypriot nationalist ideology the Turkish-Cypriots are depicted as the mere 'appearance' or smoke-screen for a more powerful and sinister force. In the Greek Cypriot nationalist psych 'behind' the Turkish-Cypriots or via the Turkish-Cypriots lies the neo-Turkish policy perceived as the continuation of a 'neo-Ottoman will to dominate' as stipulated by what an all-powerful and authoritarian Kemalist Turkish state ultimately controlled by the army. Similarly, Roma, who are considered to the part of the Turkish-Cypriot community are seen with suspicion as 'spies', 'criminals' and 'vagabonds'. These are primarily media generated images which have become part of 'popular knowledge and common sense in creating what however once called 'common sense racism'. The dominant frame is therefore, according to the model of analysis for WP5, either 'frame 9 – Miscellaneous' and all others are mostly subsidiary to the Cyprus problem or Frame 1 contextualised with the Cyprus problem. Immigration is an issue that haw acquired greater importance over the years and has been subordinated to the needs of the nation. Whenever there is a stalemate in the Cyprus problem, other issues become dominant and the question of immigration and immigrants, generally painted in negative frames as Frame 1 'a threat to the cohesiveness and homogeneity of the Greek-Cypriot ethno-national identity and culture'.

Also Frames 2 and 3 threat to jobs for Cypriots and welfare competitors as well as Frame 4, particularly as regards the Portion Greeks [whose ethnic origin is anyway routinely questioned] they are perceived as 'corrupt' and 'criminals' Frame 5 is rarely used, if ever, whilst Frame 7 is usually connected to Frame 4. Frame 7 is regularly used in a negative form, whilst frame 8 is only used by anti-racists in response to racist statements. Pro-immigrants rely on all positive frames in reply to the negative frames. All these matters are taken-up in detail in section c. for the moment it is essential to appreciate that in Cyprus immigration is politicised primarily by 'racialising' migrant workers (see Trimikliniotis 1991, 2001c).

The role anti-immigrant populist politicians

In a small society such as Cyprus, the role individual politicians in acting as 'carriers' of anti-immigrant populist opinions and 'articulators' of xenophobic-loaded ideologies is of particular importance as the media amplifies such views in an alarmist fashion (see Trimikliniotis, 1999). The Second ECRI Report (2001) referred to "a growing tendency towards the perception of the immigrant and the foreigner as a potential threat to the Cypriot standard of living". A cultural racism appears to be especially strong amongst those nationalist 'intellectuals' who are in positions of power such as Minister of Education[83]. Individual ministers and other political leaders play a decisive role in making comments that find their way as media headlines; hence the second ECRI Report on Cyprus (2001) criticised the 'inflammatory speeches' by certain politicians against immigrant workers:

> ECRI deplores instances of racially-inflammatory speeches by public figures targeting these groups. ECRI strongly encourages the Cypriot authorities to take all possible measures to prevent such a trend from evolving into more overt and generalised manifestations of hostility vis-à-vis members of minority groups.

Over the last two decades, various Government officials such the ministers for the Interior [Home Affairs], for Justice and Public Order and the ministers of Education have been vociferously in raising their 'concern' about immigrants in Cyprus and have been accused by NGOs and International bodies for being 'anti-immigrant' and 'racist'. From the early to mid 1990s some ministers started the process. Mrs Angelidou, a former school teacher herself, then Minister of Education, wrote as an introduction to a booklet

publishing the findings of a conference entitled *Cyprus and Foreigners/Aliens* (KYKEM, 1995):

> We are no chauvinists; we are simply a small country with a permanent almost presence of a tourist population double in size to the Cyprus population and have to be careful so that we do not create another minority in free Cyprus, totally alien to our religious and cultural traditions.
> The positive consequences for the Cypriot economy must be evaluated properly and not be overestimated by ignoring the interests of Cypriot workers, public health, security and generally the influence over our institutions.

Moreover, she goes on to stress the need to "conserve the centuries-old national and cultural identity" which she presents as the "self-defence against the various invaders". Whilst recognising that "the European orientation" of Cyprus inevitably means coexistence with "foreign populations", she concludes that what is a priority is "to preserve our identity which was preserved by our ancestors with so many sacrifices and struggles".

Several government officials and politicians in the past used an ethno-nationalist view to approach the issue of migrants, among them several ministers. The striking element when analyzing Greek Cypriot politics is the continuity of the same discourse regarding core political and social issues, rather than adjustment to new developments that are taking place domestically and internationally. The Cyprus problem is the dominant issue around which all else is formulated and decided, it is a dominant aspect of Cypriots every day life, therefore it somehow inevitably connected to the immigration issue and the treatment of migrants.

Appendix 1: The Political Orientation of the Cypriot Press 1980-2005

NAME	**POLITICAL ORIENTATION AND COMMENTS**
Ο Φιλελεύθερος *(O Phileleftheros)*	Establishment paper; mainly mildly nationalist. Generally supports 'official' line Comment: Most popular 'broad sheet' paper. Strong editorial grip. Ownership: Owned by private company.
Πολίτης *(O Politis)*	Liberal/Centre-Left but 'pluralist' as it includes Right-wing opinions Comment: Tabloid in format but quality-wise like boroad-sheet. With *Simerini* it is the second in circulation, but only sells about half the copies of *O Phileleftheros* Ownership: Owned by private company.
Η Σημερινή *(I Simerini)*	Nationalist Right / extreme Right. Expresses those on the Right of the Governing party DESY and beyond Comment: Tabloid in format; popular particularly over the weekends Ownership: Part of the Media private company DIAS which owns a TV and radio.
(Αλήθεια) Alitheia)	Conservative Right / loyal to the leadership of DESY Comment: Tabloid in format; low in circulation (5000-6000 copies) Ownership: Owned by private company
Χαραυγή (Haravyi)	Left wing, AKEL's mouthpiece; the only purely party / newspaper Comment: Tabloid in format. Sells 5000-6000 copies but read estimated at 36000. Ownership: Owned by private company; controlled by AKEL
Η Μάχη *(I Mahi)*	Very Right-wing, populist; supporter by far-right fraction of DESY Comment: Broad-sheet in format, but of low quality. Paper set up by the 1974 coupist N. Samson; very small circulation
Ο Αγών (O Agon)	Conservative centre Right/ nationalist / loyal to the Right-wing parties, mainly DEKO Comment: Tabloid in format, now defunct.
Τα Νέα *(Ta NEA)*	Centre Left/ Nationalist controlled by EDEK, small circulation, now defunct
Εργατικό Βήμα *(Ergatiko Vima)*	Left wing / PEO newspaper, largest trade union paper. Comment: Tabloid in format, mostly dealing with labour and work issues. Given freely to all trade union members. Ownership: Owned by PEO
Εργατική Φωνή *(Ergatiki Foni)*	Conservative Right-wing / SEK newspaper, second largest Trade Union paper. Comment: Tabloid in format, mostly dealing with labour and work issues. Given freely to all trade union members. Ownership: Owned by SEK
Νεολαία *Neolea*	Left wing / EDON newspaper published originally on a weekly basis as an independent paper and then a monthly magazine (circulated as a monthly pull-out of *Haravyi*) Ownership: Owned by EDON

Appendix 2: List of Abbreviations

ADESOK- In Greek ΑΔΗΣΟΚ, *Ανανεωτικό Δημοκρατικό Σοσιαλιστικό Κίνημα*, Reformist Democratic Socialist Movement, which is a small group, but containing high ranking members, that split away from AKEL in 1990.

AKEL - In Greek *Ανορθωτικό Κόμμα Εργαζομένου Λαού,* acronyms for Progressive Party of Working People

CLP- In Turkish *Toplumcu Kurtulus Partisi (TCP),* Communal Liberation Party

DEK- In Greek *Δημοκρατικό Εθνικό Κόμμα (ΔΕΚ)*, Democratic National Party).

DEKO- In Greek Party the *Δημοκρατικό Κομμα*, Democratic Party, Greek-Cypriot political party led by former President of Cyprus Spyros Kyprianou.

DESY- In Greek *«Δημοκρατικός Συναγερμός*, Democratic Rally, Greek-Cypriot political party led by current President Glafkos Clerides.

DP, Turkish-Cypriot political party led by Serdar Denktaş, son of the Turkish-Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş.

EDEK- In Greek *Ενιαία Δημοκρατική Ένωση Κέντρου (ΕΔΕΚ)* Socialist Party *EDEK*, which are acronyms for United Democratic Union of the Centre

EDY, In Greek *Ενωμένοι Δημοκράτες (ΕΔΗ)*, United Democrats.

EDON – *Ενιαία Δημοκρατική Οργάνωση Νεολαίας (ΕΔΟΝ)*, United Democratic Youth Organisation.

EU- European Union

EOKA- In Greek *Εθνική Οργάνωση Κυπρίων Αγωνιστών,* acronym for National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters.

EOKA-B -Illegal paramilitary organisation led by General Grivas, and aimed at bring at bringing union with Greece after the declaration of independence.

KKK- In Greek *Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα Κύπρου*, Communist Party of Cyprus.

NE.O -In Greek *Νέοι Ορίζοντες*, New Horizons, Greek-Cypriot political party.

PAK- *Παγκύπριο Απελευθερωτικό Κίνημα (ΠΑΚ)*, Pancyprian Liberation Movement.

PAKOP- In Greek *Παγκύπριο Απελευθερωτικό Κίνημα για Επιστροφή Προσφύγων(ΠΑΚΟΠ)*, Pancyprian Liberation Movement for the Return of Refugees.

PEO- In Greek *Παγκύπρια Εργατική Ομοσπονδία (ΠΕΟ)*, Pancyprian Federation of Labour

PKK- Kurdish Workers Party.

PSE- *Παγκύπρια Συνομοσπονδία Εργατών (ΠΣΕ)*, Pan-Cypriot Confederation of Labour.

PUM- Patriotic Unity Movement, Turkish-Cypriot political party.

RTP - In Turkish *Comhuriyeti Turk Partisi (CTP)*, Turkish-Cypriot political party, the Republican Turkish Party.

SEK- In Greek Παγκύπρια Εργατική Συνομοσπονδία, Pancyprian Labour Confederatıon.

TMT- In Turkish *Turk Mukavemet Teşkilati*, Turkish Resistance Organisation.

'TRNC'- 'The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus', the self declared regime that emerged in 1983, territory under the control of the Turkish military forces since 1974.

UBP- In Turkish *Usual Birlik Partisi (UBP)*, Turkish-Cypriot political party, the National Unity Party originally set up by Rauf Denktaş.

UNFCYP- UN Force in Cyprus.

Appendix 3: The Politicians Interviewed

Name	Political Party	Date
Keti Cleridou	DESY	09.03.2005
Michalis Papapetrou	E.DY	24.01.2005
Chrystodoulos Taramountas	Euro.De (European Democracy), now Europaiko Komma (European Party[84])	22.02.2005
Eleni Mavrou	AKEL	01.03.2005
Nicos Pittokopitis	DEKO	18.02.2005
Vassos Lyssarides	EDEK	25.01.2005
Nicos Tornaritis	DESY	23.02.2005
Ntinos Michaelides	ADHK	28.01.2005
Nicos Koutsou	NE.O (New Horizons), now Europaiko Komma (European Party)	21.02.2005

Appendix4: Election Results in Cyprus

Parliamentary Elections 1981

After a Governments' initiative in 1981 the majoritarian electoral system changed into proportional. The ceiling that a party had to receive in order to be able to participate in the Parliament was 10% of the votes on a pan-Cyprian basis; or to gain one seat and 8% of the votes in the first round. The new system made any kind of alliance formation impossible between parties, due to the fear of loosing their own electorate power.

In the 1981 elections, three new parties participated in the process, Nea Demokratiki Parataksi. (NEDIPA), Pagkiprio Ananeotiko Metopo (PAME), Enosi Kentrou. (E.K.). Nevertheless, the percentages that they finally gathered were very low, thus not eligible to participate in the formation of the new Parliament. AKEL was the first party with 32.77%, DESY was second with 31.92%, thus both of them gained 12 seats in the new Parliament. EDEK received 8.17% of the votes (3 seats), DEKO 19.50% (8 seats).

Presidential Elections 1983

Deliberations and consultations on forming an alliance began one year before the elections; AKEL and DEKO announced that they agreed on the *Minimum Program,* cooperation between the two. With this announcement all parties started campaigning. The cooperation between the two parties was alarming for all other schemes to form alliances aiming to tackle the *minimum program*. Initially, this encouraged the formation of a "pan-national) (in practice "pan-ethnic") alliance to nominate a strong candidate against DEKO-AKEL's candidacy. This did not occur finally and three candidates were presented. Kyprianou supported by AKEL-DEKO, Clerides supported by DISY and Lyssarides by EDEK and PAME. Kyprianou received 56.54%, Clerides 33.93% and Lyssarides 9.53%.

Many of the DESY's members belonged the extreme right and coupists (EOKA B) together with other liberal and conservatives on the 'nationalist' camp.

Parliamentary Elections 1985

The 1985 elections were conducted one year earlier, due to President Kyprianou decision to end the cooperation, *minimum program,* between his party (DEKO) and AKEL. This, as expected, enhanced AKEL's leadership and next month a severe internal dispute burst out on the Cyprus problem; after Kyprianou's refusal to accept a solution plan proposed by UNSG. Kyprianou's stance was very much criticized by AKEL and DESY, whom the cooperated and tried to force the President to quit. The President argued that these efforts were anti-Constitutional, but the two parties in their effort to put pressure decided to announced elections 6 months earlier, that was also a way to assert their majority in the Parliament.

During these elections, DEKO increased its percentage tremendously by reaching 27.65% and received the second place. AKEL's party influence decreased, it received the third place (whilst in the 1981 elections was first), falling to 27.43%. DESY was the party that received the highest percentage, 33.56%. EDEK also had a notable increase reaching 11.07%.

Presidential Elections 1988

During these elections the four bigger parties nominate their own candidate. AKEL supported Vasiliou, a person that had never been involved in Cyprus' political life. DESY for once again was represented in the election with its president Clerides. Same as EDEK with Lyssarides and DEKO with Kyprianou.

For the first time during Cyprus political history not a single candidate received majority in order to be elected from the first round. Kyprianou and Lyssarides did not receive the necessary percentage to participate in the second round. Vasiliou and Clerides were the main rivals. DEKO called its electorates to vote according to its opinion, whilst EDEK supported Vasiliou. AKEL's candidate was finally elected with a percentage of 51.63%, whilst Clerides gained 48.37%.

Parliamentary Elections 1991

The main focus of these elections was towards AKEL and DEKO. Despite the loss of votes that AKEL experienced in the previous parliamentary elections, an internal dispute burst that ended to the withdrawal of some members and the creation of a new party, ADISOK. AKEL this time was represented under a new leadership. DEKO, despite that in 1985 received an increased percentage, this time was going into elections without participating in the government.

Finally, DEKO lost almost 10% of its voting power by receiving 19.55%. AKEL gained a high percentage that consolidated actually its share among the electorate. ADISOK gained only 2.4% therefore excluded from the Parliament. DESY increased even greatly its share reaching 35.81% and EDEK remained in the same levels by receiving 10.89%. What is remarkable during this election procedure was that the debate on the Cyprus problem was focused mainly on each party presenting its thesis and proposals instead of a rivalry among them.

<u>Presidential Elections 1993</u>

Three were the candidates during the election procedure. Vasiliou, supported by AKEL and ADISOK, Clerides supported by DESY and the Liberal Party, DEKO and EDEK, along with smaller political parties decided to support Paschalis Paschalides[85] as their common candidate.

It was apparent that no candidate could receive vast majority from the first round. Paschalides received only 18.64% and therefore excluded from the second round. Clerides and Vasiliou wen to the second round. DEKO decided to support Clerides in the second round and EDEK declared that would leave its electorate free to vote according its willing. Clerides was nominated as President with a marginal difference. He received 50.28% and Vasiliou 49.72%.

One of the main characteristics during this campaign was that Clerides aimed to tackle Vasiliou's candidacy by criticizing him on his handlings regarding the Cyprus problem

(despite the fact that during the five years period of Vasiliou's presidency Clerides was positive on his strategy).

Parliamentary Elections 1996

These elections were conducted under the new electoral law that introduced the simple majoritarian procedure. Under this law if a party received 1.78% of the votes was becoming automatically eligible to have a seat in the Parliament. Due to this development small parties were encouraged to participate in the electoral process; four new political schemes were created. The changes in party influence were of limited size.

DESY was again the first party with 34.47% of the votes, AKEL was second with 33.0%, whilst DEKO and EDEK both had a substantial loss, with 16.43% and 8.13% respectively. The new party formation, *Kinima Eleutheron Dimokraton* (EDY), under the leadership of ex-president Vasiliou receive 2 seats. The Greens, an extreme right party (Neoi Dimokrates) and ADISOK did not finally manage to receive the percentage demanded to participate in the Parliament.

During these elections media had an important role to play in informing people, nevertheless not always without bias.

Presidential elections 1998

During the Summer of 1997 the three bigger parties hold meetings in an effort to nominate a common candidate, but they did not finally come to an agreement. During these elections seven candidates participated; Clerides who was supported by DESY and Iakovou, who was supported by AKEL were the two major candidates. DEKO finally supported Iakovou, nevertheless this decision had serious implications on the party's coherence. Some of its members withdrew and one of them, Galanos, announced his candidacy. EDEK supported its president Lyssarides, Vasiliou was supported by EDI, Koutsou by NE.O and Rolandis by the Liberals.

Clerides received 50.82% of the votes and won with a marginal difference, Iakovou who received 49.18%.

Parliamentary Elections 2001

These elections were as well conducted under the new law of simple proportionality. Smaller parties were encouraged to participate. ADISOK and KED merged and became EDI, Enomenoi Dimokrates. An new party was formed by an ex-DEKO member, Michaelides, ADIK.

AKEL received the majority of votes with 34.71%, DESY was second with 34% and DEKO 14.84% and the Socialists (ex-EDEK named KISOS) 6.50%. The small political schemes managed to receive the percentage demanded and participated in the Parliament with one seat (NE.O-3%, EDI-2.59%, ADIK-2.16%).

Presidential Elections 2003

One year before the elections DEKO and AKEL initiated consultations in the search for a common candidate; KISOS followed. KISOS seemed reluctant to continue the process quickly; internal disputes between members who wished KISOS to have its on candidate and those opposed to that option. AKEL and DEKO seemed by that time to have agreed on Tassos Papadopoulos candidacy. Disputes occurred between DESY's members over the proposed candidates; a potential candidate from KISOS did not receive consensus between members, A. Markides candidacy (Attorney General) although at first received great support, the leadership was reluctant and insisted on the policy of "transession" (ipervasis).

In November 2004 a new development occurred. UNSG Annan proposed a new plan for the solution of the Cyprus problem. A month later, 12 – 13 December, EU Enlargement European Council took place in Copenhagen, whereas several meetings and deliberations took place aiming to reach a solution before accession. That time was crucial for the Republic of Cyprus, whilst Turkey was working towards getting a fixed date for starting accession negotiations. Annan Plan put pressure on both sides to work towards a settlement. The negotiations for solution were fruitless, nevertheless The Republic was consider eligible for EU membership.

DESY then proposed Clerides to reclaim Presidency for only 16 months,[86] thought he announced some months ago he would withdraw from politics. Some circles in DESY supported Alecos Markides.[87] After Clerides announcement of candidacy, Markides immediately announced his own independent candidacy. DESY, after this development, was substantially weakened. Clerides was campaigning on the basis that dramatic developments would occurred in the coming months, whilst Markides was arguing that Cyprus needed a president in "depth of time" because no critical developments would happened in the near future.

KISOS finally after its reservations supported Papadopoulos candidacy; smaller political groups also joined the coalition.

The elections turnout was Papadopoulos to be elected from the first round with a percentage of 51.51% of the votes, Clerides received 38.80%, Markides 6.62% and Koutsou (extreme right) with 2.12%.

These elections were conducted in a quiet tone; Cyprus problem was the point of reference and each candidate tried to demonstrate his ability to handle the coming developments. Criticism against each other was minimal, compared to other times.

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[1] The veteran Turkish-Cypriot President, Rauf Denktaş, who has just retired frequently repeated to opposition criticisms that Turkish-Cypriots are emigrating en mass, whilst Turkish settlers are 'pouring in' by stating: "A Turk goes, another Turk arrives".

[2] Turkish-Cypriot politics have traditionally been divided since 1974 between the Turkish-centric *nationalist-partitionist* positions and the alternative *Cypriotist-Left* opposition. Recently the Turkish veteran nationalist leader has been forced to resign and is replaced by the Left opposition leader, Mehmed Ali Talad, who has won the Presidential elections.

3 See the statement of DEOK in 2004 on the rise of unemployment.

4 See PEO website http://www.peo.org.cy/greek ; and Trimikliniotis et. al (2005).

5 There is a Pending complaint being decided by the Ombudsman (specialised body tackle discrimination).

6 For a critical presentation of the conflict see Kyriakides 1968; Kershaw 1982; Hitchens 2000. For an examination of the conflict utilizing archival material see Sonyel 1997; Markides Weston 2001 and Droussiotis 2005.

7 During the debate over the decriminalising of homosexuality the archbishop threatened all politicians who led in favour of the law with ex-communication.

[8] Cristoforou presented this paper at a public lecture at the Eastern Mediterranean University 30/03/2005.

9 A recent study on the Cypriot mass media, the Annan plan and the referenda of the 24th of April 2004, as presented in their executive summary, Intercollege 31st March 2005, indicates that the boundary between news reporting and comment were frequently breached.

10 For example there is a recommendation that the Media ought to refrain from using the ethnic origin in describing a person in a news report unless absolutely necessary for the news. However, regular report in the media would state that 'a Pakistani', 'an Arab' or 'a Pontian' man was arrested… whilst it would never say 'a Greek-Cypriot man' etc.

11 AKEL (1995) *18th Congress, Material and Other Documents, 16-19 November 1995,* (official translation), Nicosia, Cyprus. AKEL (1996) The Class Structure of the Cypriot Society and the Economic and Social Changes, CC AKEL, Nicosia, Cyprus.

12 The point was made some time ago by Prof. Yiannis Papadakis in the course of a discussion on racism in Cyprus. I thank him for his comment , for he made me think a great deal on the subject.

13 *Orientalism*, to use Said`s concept (1978) as a colonial discourse underpins British colonialism.  *Orientalist* perceptions of Cyprus and Cypriots are apparent in texts of British officials in Cyprus (see Storrs`s Orientations 1930). *Orientalism* as the production of distorted and hegemonic knowledge by the colonist, which justifies conquering and exploitation of countries. The characterisation and essentialist accounts of Cypriots as a colonial subjects and versions of 'the noble savage' are found in these texts. However, these conceptions can better be found in the kind of policies practised by colonial authorities. The discourses of *Orientalism* of 'the nature' of Cypriots were instrumental and the ultimately oppressive rule of British in Cyprus. Attalides (1980) suggests that Greek Cypriot nationalism as a mass movement out the contradiction of liberal but divisive educational policies, which encouraged nationalistic ideologies with teachers from the mainland, but ultimately authoritarian rule.

14 For a discussion of this matter see Pollis (1998, 85 – 100).

15 The concept belongs to Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992.

16 For an analysis of this consepts in the context of Cyprus see Trimikliniotis (2004a).

17 For a theoretical discussion on the relation between racism and nationalism, see Balibar (1991).

18 By the Greek junda and EOKA B'

19 see 1998.

20 See Anagnostopoulou et al 2005.

21 See Spyrou 2003a and 2003b.

22 The Greek Cypriots in the north were never allowed to assimilate and they were constantly harassed by the authorities. Even in the south the few Turkish Cypriots were allowed to feel that they were 'equal' in society – they could not even vote or participate in politics up to 2004.

[23] The attack occurred at Ayia Napa, on the 29th of August 1996. Apparently, the students were brutally beaten with sticks and other instruments by a group of Greek Cypriot racists threatening to kill them if don't leave the country within 24 hours; the motive: the students are Muslims like the Turks. The matter was investigated by the Police and there arrests.

[24] The AI Report of 1999 gives the following description: "In June, 113 people from Africa and the Middle East rescued from a fishing trawler drifting off the coast of Cyprus were remanded under police guard in a hotel in Limassol pending a decision on their asylum applications. In August, 30 asylum-seekers, most of them Africans, were transferred from the hotel to the cells of the former Police Headquarters in Larnaca pending deportation. At least four of them

alleged they were beaten by police officers while a police inspector was watching. As a result of the beatings the asylum-seekers sustained various injuries; they were initially denied access to hospital. One asylum-seeker alleged that as he opened the door of his hotel room, he was kicked in his genitals, and that five police officers then came into his room, beat and kicked him for up to 15 minutes. As a result of the beatings he sustained injuries to his eye, which required stitches, and jaw. He alleged that a week later he was brought before the police inspector who had accompanied the police officers responsible for his ill-treatment at the hotel, and threatened with further beating if he refused to sign a statement denying that the ill-treatment had occurred. Thirty of the 113 asylum-seekers were deported to their country of origin between July and October." Also, the Report adds the following: " In October, when 48 of the 113 asylum-seekers were held in Larnaca detention centre pending deportation, officers from mmad (rapid intervention police force) units threw tear gas to force the asylum-seekers out of their cells into the yard and forced them to lie face down on the ground, in an effort to carry out the deportation order. Television footage showed police officers kicking and stamping on the asylum-seekers and hitting them with truncheons. About 10 of the asylum-seekers were reportedly transferred to hospital as a result of the beatings and respiratory difficulties caused by tear gas. An inquiry was subsequently set up." (See Amnesty International Annual Report 1999 http://www.amnesty.org/ailib/aireport/ar99/eur17.htm).

[25] For a critique of the Greek approaches by the Greek press and media to the tragic event of September 2001, see [Vasilakis, V. (2002) «Καλά να Πάθουν», Η ελληνική κοινή γνώμη μετά την 11 η Σεπτεμβρίου, ["*Well Deserved", Greek Public Opinion after the 11th of September], εκδ.* Γνώση, Αθήνα.] and Triantafyllou, S. (2002) *Αντι-Αμερικανισμός, Οδηγός Χρήσης [Anti-Americanism, A Users' Guide]*, Αθήνα.

[26] See Report by the Commissioner on Administration, 2005.

27 See Discriminated Voices - Cyprus Report", Work Package 2, The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/.

28 See Spyrou, S. (2003) Educational Needs of Turkish-speaking Children in Limassol, UNOPS, February-March 2004. Also see Trimikliniotis, N. (2003) "Discriminated Voices - Cyprus Report", Work Package 2, The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/.

29 Hadjicosta, M. (2001) "Fears over gypsy influx", The Cyprus Weekly, 13-19.04.2001 available at Dom Research Center http://www.domresearchcenter.com/news/cyprus/index.html

30 Remarks by Mr. Koshis, see Matthews, J. (2001) "More gypsies crossing from north as Koshis warns about spies", The Cyprus Mail, 03.04.2001, available at http://www.domresearchcenter.com/news/cyprus/index.html

31 Apparently, the Interior Minister at the time, Mr. C. Christodoulou, now Governor of the Central Bank, said that he would not reveal the options discussed, because, "in this country, when it comes to illegal immigrants or gypsies (moving into an area), everyone reacts". See Editorial (2001) "Our reaction to Gypsies raises some awkward questions", in The Cyprus Mail, 10.04. 2001, available at http://www.domresearchcenter.com/news/cyprus/index.html

32 A former Interior Minister and the Chairman of ADIK, Dinos Michaelides stated that "To date all Turkish Cypriots, Turkish settlers and gypsies who have attempted to cross into the Republic have been sent back to where they came from," as "they are all considered to be spies." See Zenon, M. (2001) "Gypsies 'offered accommodation' in jail", The Cyprus Review, 20.04.2001.

33 Hadjicosta, M. (2001) "Gypsies released from remand cells", *The Cyprus Weekly*, 20-26.04.2001.

34 See Trimikliniotis, N. (2003) "Discriminated Voices - Cyprus Report", Work Package 2, The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of 'Racial' Discrimination, Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/.

35 Salih Mehmet Ez Houvarda.

36 The victim died in hospital and the assailant, a 29year old Greek-Cypriot was arrested and taken immediately for a medical examination at the hospital psychiatric ward and is facing murder charges (Police Press release n.10, 13.07.2004).

[37] Police mobilised units around the hospital and the Turkish Cypriot quarter of the town fearing reprisals. The Government spokesman and political parties rushed to play down the incident, expressing deep regret and condemning it as a "heinous crime".

38 KISA are initials which stand for "Kinisi gia tin Isotita, tin Stiriksi kai tin Allilegii" [Action for Equality, Support and Anti-racism] previously called ISAG- Immigrant Support Action Group. KISA press release 16th July 2004.

39 KISA press release 16th July 2004.

[40] SOURCE: National Statistics, as analysed in INEK 2004

41 Attalides (1994) located the distinct absence of critical thought in Cypriot society.

42 Balibar, 2004.

43 See the article in the most popular daily Phileleftheros 04/11/2004, by Iakovos Artemiou «Ελληνοκύπριοι και Τουρκοκύπριοι στην Ε.Ε.» ["Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots in the EU"].

44 See WP1.

45 Historically, it had close links with CTP (Republican Turkish Poverty) and has good 'commonly' relations with the other left parties the communal liberation party, the new Cyprus party, the United Cyprus party and the socialistic party.

46 It supported then "a united front of Greeks and Turks against British Colonialism" (Anthias and Ayres 1978: 238) up to the 1940s'. Originally it was opposed to the idea of Enosis as reactionary and counter-revolutionary, diverting the Cypriot masses from the real social issues facing them, "hoping salvation in the Greek paradise". It was also seen as utopian and divisive, as a "weapon in the hands of British imperialism", who use it to divide Greeks from Turks (Vatiliotis46 1997α). The party then saw the struggle for Communism as the best strategy for the Cypriot proletariat (Vatiliotis 1997b) and supported an "autonomous Cyprus" and "a soviet worker-peasant government" within a Balkan Federation (AKEL 1976:61; Leventis 1998:7.

47 See 22nd Congress Report of 1995 where reference to "social problems" that allegedly derive from the arrival of "alien cultures" undermines this. Under the heading "The Problem of Foreign workers" the Report by the outgoing General Council of PEO suggests that "the foreign workers are importing new customs ("alien cultures and social problems" (PEO 1995: 64). To quote once more the PEO report "the alien workers are carriers of different attitudes, principles and values, who have the potential to influence on social institutions. Furthermore problems are created either as a result of extra-marital relations or when the upbringing of children is given to foreign domestic helpers" (PEO, 1995: 64).

48 Some individual writers in the paper may refer to this, but official line and most writers are against this view.

49 The relevant section reads as follows: «Όσον αφορά την έλευση μεταναστών εργαζομένων από χώρες εκτός της Ε.Ε., το καθεστώς της ελεγχόμενης χορήγησης αδειών εργοδότησης στην βάση αυστηρών κριτηρίων θα πρέπει να συνεχιστεί. Βασικά κριτήρια θα πρέπει να παραμείνουν η έλλειψη προσφοράς εργασίας από Κύπριους και η τήρηση από μέρους των εργοδοτών της εργατικής νομοθεσίας και των συλλογικών συμβάσεων.»

50 «Η προστασία των μεταναστών εργαζομένων από την εκμετάλλευση και η καταπολέμηση κάθε προσπάθειας για χρησιμοποίηση τους ως φτηνής εργατικής δύναμης, ανταγωνιστικά προς τις πρόνοιες των όρων απασχόλησης που περιλαμβάνουν οι συλλογικές συμβάσεις, αποτελεί καθήκον πρώτης γραμμής για την ΠΕΟ και το Συνδικαλιστικό κίνημα ευρύτερα.

Το Συνδικαλιστικό κίνημα έχει επίσης το ταξικό καθήκον να καταπολεμήσει τα φαινόμενα ρατσισμού και ξενοφοβίας.»

51 It fought two elections on a hard line policy: In 1993 it pledged to bury the Ghali set of ideas which aimed to revolve the Cyprus problem and five years later it fought on the basis of introducing a Russian missile system (s-300) to Cyprus to 'defend the country' which caused an international outcry against the Greek Cypriots as Turkey reacted strongly. In the end, once Mr Clerides won the elections, we toned down the debate, paid for the missiles and send them to Greece and stirred the country towards the EU, abandoning the rhetoric of militarism. In his last two years in office he pilled completely towards reconciliation on the grounds that he merely wanted to resolve the Cyprus Problem.

52 Clerides became the honourary President of the party and was succeeded by Nicos Anastasiades.

53 For example the DESY MP Ionas Nicolaou and former Education Minister Ouranios Ioannides)

54 For example. Keti Clerides (see interview with Keti Clerides)

55 See Droussiotis's article under the title "How racist is Mr. Pittocopitis", *Politis*, 21/12/2003.

56 See Dimitris Ioannides, «Σκληρή γλώσσα ΔΕΟΚ για OEB», *Filleftheros*, 27.4.2005 quoted in the internet based *Stockwatch* 27.4.2005, http://www.stockwatch.com.cy/nqcontent.cfm?a_name=press_view&pr_id=7417. Also at a press conference the General Secretary of DEOK, Diomidis Diomidous said "the employment of foreign/alien labour is one of the reasons for the rise in umployment" [«Η απασχόληση αλλοδαπών είναι μια από τις αιτίες για "τη συντήρησης και αύξησης της ανεργίας στους παραγωγικούς κλάδους της οικονομίας μας»], see Radio Proto, «Η ανεργία δεν οφείλεται στην επιβράδυνση της ...» http://www.radioproto.com/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=6802

57 See "Outline Proposals for the Establishment of a Federal Republic and for the Solution of the Cyprus Problem", PIO 1990)

58 See Trimikliniotis 2000; the idea of mutation of irredentism comes from Constantinou, 2003.

59 In Athens the extreme Right group DRASIS-KES and in Thessalonica PEOF, presenting themselves as 'autonomous' and 'unattached' to political parties, are amongst the largest groups together with PROTOPORIA, the grouping of DESY. All groupings, with the exception of Left-wing PROODEFTIKI, are to some extent nationalistic and Helleno-centric. The fortunes of the Cypriot student movement are tied to the local political conditions; up to the early 1980s the Communists were the largest groups but then it was overtaken by groupings of PASOK (Socialist but nationalistic under Papandreou) and Nea Demokratia (Right).

60 The only Left-wing media are newspapers are the AKEL daily *Haravgi*, and weekly *Ergatiko Vema* and the radio station Astra. Another exceptions *Politis*, which is a liberal/Left, cosmopolitan and pro-solution to the Cyprus problem. *Alithia*, since 2001 has become more 'pragmatic', pro-solution and reconciliation supporting the new line by the DESY leadership, but it is still a 'soft-nationalist' newspaper. All other private TV and radio stations and newspapers are owned and controlled by the media tycoons and the state. The regulation of the media in Cyprus is minimal.

61 See Report of the Employment and Social Insurance Parliamentary Commission 1997 and Report of the Human Rights Parliamentary Commission 1997.

62 Only two paragraphs are devoted on the position of migrant workers, where it is noted that there are no social services specialising on migrant workers. It is also noted that at times financial assistance was provided but the attempts to create a centre for the recreation of migrants failed (1997a: 8).

63 There is little research to illustrate this. However, it can be drawn out of other studies, which note the nature of the state of Cyprus as 'pot-colonial state' (Panayiotopoulos, 1995), the ideological content of post independence Cyprus (Kitromilides, 1979; 1981), the political structures and institutions (Attalides, 1979; Anthias and Ayres, 1983; Anthias, 1987).

[64] For the purpose of this study the MP for Pafos, Nicos Pittokopitis, who is the Vice-President of DEKO has been selected.

65 See the statement that most east-European women dream of becoming prostitutes (*Phileleftheros* …/10/2003).

[66] See Sim, SEK and GOV- Interior Minister Christodoulou codes.

[67] The statements of DESY's officials when in power were discussed above.

[68] The difficulty in finding recent statements or speeches from these political groups is due to their recent appearance as separate parties and they have not yet formulated an official policy as such.

[69] Part of her interview, 1.03.05, is classified under Frame 1 as having a positive stance towards pluralism and diverse societal relations.

[70] Keti Cleridou, DESY MP, adopts a pluralistic, multicultural conception of collective identity, supports solidarity and tolerance as major cultural and political values. She suggests that, "each community should maintain its culture, traditions and national identity, but it should not be distinguished from the social total, on the contrary it should add, this is the substance of living in diversity" (Interview, 9.3.05). Papapetrou, EDY Deputy President (former AKEL MP) is positive towards migrants, criticizes that unequal treatment of migrants and relates the issue to nationalistic politics in Cyprus (Interview, 24.01.2005).

[71] The *Lernea Hydra* is a mythical figure of a nine-headed sneak-beast, one of the 'nine tasks' that Hercules had to perform was to kill this beast. This was a particularly difficult task given that each time Hercules cut one of the heads, two would grow in its place.

[72] Written by AKEL MP, Stavros Evagorou.

[73] This was written by a high ranking PEO official, the Treasurer of PEO, Demetris Constantinou.

[74] Although in some rare occasions a featured article it may take pity on the plight of migrant workers.

[75] In his 2005 interview MP Taramountas tries to evidence through the narration of specific events that criminality is indeed as sui generis phenomenon of migrants; he vividly unfolds two incidents that took place in his neighbourhood according to the first one some migrants (Pontians) stole building materials from a constructor; and secondly some Pontians wanted to wash their cars using the common tap, whilst only one of the four was a resident of the specific building: "These attitudes stigmatize these people. They do not allow them to be integrated in the society".

[76] Title: *"It is with their free will that they prostitute themselves''.*

[77] Title: "Migrant workers and the ten 'no's'"

[78] Four times, PEO, OEV and Government officials twice each.

[79] Haravgi and Simerini three times each and Phileleftheros twice.

[80] Haravgi is classified eleven times, PEO twice and Ergatiko Vima seven times Neolaia once. SEK four times, Agon once, Ergatiki Foni six times, Simerini six times, twice arguing for a positive impact and four on a negative. Alithia five times arguing, Phileleftheros twice, the Government twice, OEV twice, Elefhterotypia once and Apogeumatini twice.

[81] There are two complaints pending with the Authority to combat Racism and Discrimination (dated 4.3.05.2005 and 13.4.2005) for racial comments by the same *Phileleftheros* author against the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan and one against *Alithia* (dated 4.3.05.2005) for racial comments against the US Secretary of state. The Complaints stressed that the political opinions of these persons and any disagreements with them should not be in any way connected with the colour of their skin or their ethnic or 'racial' origin; any 'jokes' about these persons must not be racist jokes.

82 For an analysis of the subject, see Trimikliniotis 2005a and 2000.

[83] Ministers of Education are usually selected persons who are considered to be 'med or woven' of letters, teachers or University professors.

[1] New Horizons political party (NE.O) merged with Euro.De (European Democracy) party and an independent parliamentarian, ex-DESY member and announced in 03.07.2005 the creation of a new party called Europaiko Komma (European Party). Some members of European Democracy decided for ideological reasons not to join the new coalition.

[85] He was not in any way participating in Cyprus political life. He was a close collaborator of Makarios, especially regarding economic affairs.

[86] It was believed that during these months a new initiative would finally be proposed and President Clerides due to his experience was the most appropriate to be the negotiator for the Greek Cypriot side; after the signing of the solution he would withdraw since according to the proposed Plan a new governance structured would occurred.

[87] Attorney General and close collaborator of Clerides during the negotiations of the Annan Plan, affiliated to DESY.