

Gender, Migration and intercultural Interaction  
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**Ge.M.I.C.**



# Context Analysis and Methodology Review Report (WP2)

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Cyprus

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. The idealization of interculturalism

The American truism “we live in a multicultural society” (Appiah 1994: 12) has been adopted, replicated and tailored by the multicultural rest, particularly those located at the frontiers of European enlargement, in order to fashion a new sensitivity to cultural difference and nationalize the Eurocentric capital which this appeal to the values of tolerance and pluralism pertains. In the case of Cyprus, a migrant-receiving country since the '90s, this truism has found home in concessions of the kind “we have now become a multicultural society” and “[c]ontemporary Cypriotic [sic] society is no longer homogeneous” (Angelides et al. 2004: 57), as well as in consoling remarks about the non-threatening nature of the multicultural turn which Cyprus’ accession to EU entails: “the identity of Cypriots is plural; we will be Greek Cypriots, Cypriots, Europeans, cosmopolitans” (Kazamias 2004). The benevolent intercultural interest in immigrants, often accompanied by the announcement of educational measures that aim to the social integration of immigrant children and their parents, relies heavily on a purist ideology of Greek Cypriot national identity or, when nationalism is debated, on nativist ideologies of autochthony and an essentialist concept of a “common Cypriot culture”. This framing of the new “multicultural Cyprus” works to reconcile the rhetoric of “respect for diversity” with the regulation of migrants and intercultural contact between national and migrants through various forms of “inclusive exclusion”.

While the prevalence of these ideologies in state policy documents has been analyzed by several researchers, no research has been carried out yet on the ways ethnically and gender diverse audiences negotiate, challenge, receive, iterate and re-iterate dominant kinds of discourse. An interesting hypothesis, which is yet to be examined through field work, is that immigration and internal ethnic mobility across the Green Line, create new communicative contexts and speech situations where ideologies of autochthony, national purity, and high/low civilizations can be debated. The following excerpt, cited from a study conducted in the context of a review of the national youth policy (Gregoriou 2005), highlights such an example of a defiant reiteration of dominant discourses on national autochthony and Cyprus as “crossroad” of different cultures and civilizations. The discussion cited below takes place at Gardaş, a bi-communal cultural youth center which opened in 2004 on Arisnoi’s Steet, a street in the old city of Nicosia where most migrants live (Gregoriou 2005). Mürat, a Turkish Cypriot young man who had moved to the “Greek side” a couple of years before the 2004 opening of the checkpoints, reflects on his exchanges with Greek Cypriot fellow students at a Greek Cypriot higher education institution:

Mürat	<i>One day they asked me, “Why are you a Turkish-Cypriot?”</i>
Researcher	<i>[...]</i>
Mürat	<i>They called me “Turk” and I told them ... I explained the whole family life [audience laughs]. You know, my grandfather is from Greece, my father is from the [...] family, my mother’s side is from Lusignan ‘tribe’, you know, French colony ... (audience laughs).</i>
Researcher	<i>[carrying on in a lighter tone] You were convincing? (!)</i>
Mürat	<i>Yeah, I was ... [audience laughs; interjection by Özerk, another Turkish Cypriot, young man who bears witness to the following incident:]</i>
Özerk	<i>After that, sometimes they asked him if he can bring them cigarettes from the other side!</i>

Mürat *[shifts abruptly to a very serious, almost dramatic, tone] We are not convincing in this way. We are confusing this way .... [and, relapsing to his earlier tone of mixed cynicism and joke, he starts to parodize quotes from dominant public discourse] I explained to them, re koumbare,<sup>1</sup> I mean, "Helliniké Kypriaké Laé ..." <sup>2</sup> Cypriots are very emotional people ... [cynical tone].*

As the excerpt above suggests, young audiences can "play" with dominant discourses: they can restage and parody them, while also enacting through such reiterations a defiant youth identity. Whether children and teenagers use performative reiterations to contest dominant discourses of multiculturalism or whether they reiterate ethnocentric discourse in order to legitimize peer group alliances against other students are some research questions that peg the need to expand discourse analysis from document analysis to field work.

## 1.2. The integration of migrants: A case of "Inclusive exclusion"

Inclusive exclusion, a concept introduced by Giorgio Agamben (1998) refers to a kind of belongingness without inclusion. Yeğenoğlu (2005) cites as a paradigmatic example of inclusive exclusion the case of Turkish guest workers in Germany who are conditionally welcomed. They are included in order to nourish the sovereignty of the German subject and yet kept out of the purview of general law. In the case of Cyprus migration and integration policy, "inclusive exclusion" takes many forms: migrant students are mainstreamed in the inclusive Greek Cypriot secondary education classroom but their student status is framed as "exceptional" (i.e., they are "auditors", which means they are exempted from exams and from credit); trafficking is illegal but women migrants from Eastern European countries are given "artiste visas" to be employed in the entertainment/sex industry; anti-discrimination laws prohibit any direct or indirect discrimination on grounds of national or ethnic origin, race, religion etc, but weddings between Greek Cypriots and foreigners are put under the surveillance of the Migration Office (that latter insists that Migration Officers must attend such

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<sup>1</sup>"Re koumbare": common tropism in the Cypriot dialect, used between male friends in informal interpersonal discourse. Its enunciation is performative as it inaugurates a comradeship and acknowledgment of common understanding between addressor and addressee.

<sup>2</sup> The speaker re-iterates President Papadopoulos' highly emotionally charged speech on the occasion of the Referendum on the Annan Plan, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of April, 2004. The invocation "Helliniké Kypriaké Laé ..." (Greek Cypriot People) was often used by Ethnarchis Makarios (Archbishop and first President of the Republic of Cyprus from its independence in 1960 until his death in 1977) to address "the people" (i.e., the Greek people) in his public speeches. Such an address hails a Greek national sentiment as it invites the "People" to unite under the historical and primordial identity of the Nation. As a performative utterance, this address to the People consolidates their hailing as political subjects with their hailing as national subjects. Growing up as a child in Cyprus in the post-74 period, I remember reciting this opening address in our "role playing". Taking a pompous posture and addressing your peers as "Helliniké Kypriaké Laé ..." was the usual way to inaugurate 'Playing politics'. Whether such an address excluded Turkish Cypriots from polity (President Makarios referred to them as "σύνοικο στοιχείο" (co-dwelling element) or hailed a different kind of political response and triggered the demand for a different kind of participation in polity was something was not addressed in serious or non-serious political discourse. In the opening of his April 24 Speech to the People, President Papadopoulos addressed his audience as "Compatriots" (Simpatriótisses, Simpatriótes). In the end of his speech, however, as he concluded his assessment of the Annan Plan, President Papadopoulos addressed for last time his audience as "Helliniké Kypriaké Laé" and asked them to voice a vocal "No".

weddings and confirm that conditions such as legality of migrant status and truthfulness of intention are met in order for the wedding to take place).

While state measures for migrant integration, following the slow pacing of programmatic multiculturalism, are often contained by the institutional limits of such inclusive exclusions, the intercultural contacts which have been triggered by increasing rates of immigration remains remain over-determined. Twenty years ago, institutionalization in a nursery home for the elderly would be an old person's nightmare and their working children's way to reconcile their new gender norms for working women with their traditional responsibilities towards their parents. Today, for many elderly people, aging and enjoyment of home care are not incompatible. Some of them can get into a fight with the *kopela* ("girl", vernacular term used for domestic migrant worker) who takes care of them over a piece of chocolate (they saved it for their granddaughter but Shirley ate it). Some of them (female domestic carers) can get into a fight with *pappou* ("grandfather", also, in Filipino female migrants' vernacular, "old man") because he ate the chocolate despite the fact that he suffers of diabetes and the doctor said "no more sweets."

### **1.3. The educational institutionalization of research on migration and multiculturalism**

Schools have become a privileged terrain of research on multiculturalism because they were the first places to attend both intercultural contacts and processes of racialization. Unlike the workplace, where the racial distribution of labour often keeps everyone in their place and limits intercultural contact, and residential areas, where apartheid is legitimized as social stratification, schools cannot, actively at least, separate migrant students from non-migrants students. The integration of migrant students in the comprehensive Greek Cypriot classroom, however, has been accompanied by forms of passive exclusion and cultural misrecognition (Taylor 1994) of minority migrant students. Guided by ideals such as "respect for difference" and "recognition", early research on intercultural education in Greek Cypriot focused on the experience of migrant students and Greek Cypriot students' xenophobic attitudes, but excluded from the scope on intercultural education questions on inter-ethnic conflict (a similar selective approach to the framing of migration and development of intercultural policies has been recorded in the WP3 Report, in regards to the internal migration of Turkish Cypriot workers who commute on a daily basis from the north side to the south side of the divide).

This selective delineation of the "intercultural" is not a characteristic of Greek Cypriot national educational politics but a structural limitation built within multiculturalism's double loyalties: on the one hand, its disciplinary loyalty to anthropology and, on the other hand, its political loyalty to nation state politics. As a project committed to the recognition of the other, multiculturalism has inherited anthropology's legacy of excluding from cultural critique the familiar (one's society) and searching instead for the 'native' other. Anthropology treatment of both the other and the other's culture as "spatially incarcerated" (Appadurai, 1988) has resurrected its legacy in multiculturalism's fascination with the cultural otherness of immigrants. As a project committed to the politics of nation state, multiculturalism recognizes the difference that culture makes in order to modify and enhance the process of nation building. As Gupta & Ferguson remark, multiculturalism is "both a feeble acknowledgement of the fact that cultures have lost their moorings in definite places and an attempts to

subsume this plurality of cultures within the framework of a national identity" (Gupta & Ferguson 1992: 7).

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1. The economy of themes and absences in the literature on Gender, Migration and Intercultural Interactions

In this part we provide a critical review of the literature on gender, migration and intercultural interactions in relation to the topics addressed by Ge.M.I.C. Research in the thematic areas of National Identity and Media, Intercultural Education and Intercultural Violence is discussed extensively. We have not been able to locate any academic publications on the other three thematic areas, i.e., Religion, Urban Intercultural Spaces and Movements, Mixed and Transnational Families.

The fact that church and religious life are not addressed as intercultural terrains can be attributed both to the normalized dominance of the Greek Orthodox church as well as the assumption that different religions and denominations co-exist peacefully (despite the ethnic partition of the island, the existence and operation of mosques was considered a historical fact rather than a sight of cultural diversity or a sign of multicultural becoming). This discourse on multicultural co-existence of religions has also contributed to the view of religions and religious practices as historically stable and homogeneous within. The impact of immigration on religious institutions, cultures and places of worship is yet to be addressed by migration studies or studies on interculturalism. One major change is the revitalization of both denominations and places of worship which up to the '80s held a minority status. A great percentage Catholic Filipino and Sri Lankan women have been attending mass in places of Catholic worship (such as the Catholic Church near the Paphos gate in the old city of Nicosia and the Catholic Church on the central seaside Boulevard of Limassol). This has had an impact on the size and ethnic profile of the congregation<sup>3</sup> but also on the cultural profile of these places, since now they are not just places of religious worship but have also been reinvented as places of ethnic get-together.

A similar kind of cultural re-invention by migrants affects many other urban spaces in Cyprus. Spaces which came to be considered decadent and dilapidated, today take-up new meanings and functions as they becoming redefined by migrants. Parks and public gardens located in the centers of the big cities are actually cultural residues of British colonial urban landscaping. Subject to a double process of cultural biodegradability and natural entropy, public gardens

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<sup>3</sup> Catholics constitute the smallest "religious group" (the term used in the Constitution for religious minorities) in Cyprus. According to the Statistical Service of the Republic there were 900 Cypriot Latins "living in the Government controlled territory of Cyprus" on 31.12.2004 (Cyprus Law Commissioner (2006) Cyprus Second Periodic Report on the Application of the Framework for the Protection of National Minorities (Council of Europe ACFC/SR/II(2006)006). Though the name "Latins" bears witness to the historical presence of Catholics as an ethnic group on Cyprus, it obscures the religious identity of the group. The Representative of the Latins in the House of Representatives had expressed the view that the term "Latins" does not properly reflect the essential element of their Roman Catholic rite and requested a change of the name to "Latin Roman Catholic Religious Group". A request for a change of name on the grounds of this position, which was submitted to the Council of Ministers, was rejected.

have become an exceptional kind of urban space: they are located in the center of the city yet they are treated as inconsequential and unimportant, as if they were outside the civic and economic limits of the *polis*. It is perhaps this exceptional quality—being inside and outside, at the same time—that rendered public gardens hospitable for migrant social activities. Today, public gardens constitute focal points for migrant civic, social and cultural activity.

## 2.2. Gender and Migration in the literature

### 2.2.1. National 'self' and the 'migrant' in the media

The first set of academic articles to explore images of the national self and the other in literature appeared in the volume *Cyprus and its People: Nation, Identity, and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1955–1997* (Calotychos 1998). The volume emerged from a conference held at Harvard University in 1994, one of the few conference to bring together Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot scholars. Stephanos Pasmazoglou comments on the volume as one of the rare examples of studies on Cyprus that have recently begun to “escape from narrow legalism and parochial ethnocentrism.” (Pasmazoglou 2000: 199) Drawing from a broad spectrum of the social sciences and the humanities, the essays constitute a point of reference which, “contrary to mainstream *idées reçues*, holds out some hope that a multinational, multi-cultural civil society in Cyprus is possible after all” (Pasmazoglou 2000: 199). In his introductory chapter to this volume, Kalotychos emphasizes the importance of the essays’ methodological shift from prevailing political discursive paradigms as well as the reflection from the margins of the politically-engaged humanities, i.e., cultural studies. Essays in this volume analyze the anthropological dimensions of binaries such as “friends and foes” (Peter Loizos), expose the competitive character of national grand narratives (Yiannis Papadakis) and explore the discontinuities between lived reality and legal frames as in the case of refugees (Roger Zetter on the problem of refugees).

The analysis of the construction of the national self through literature and museums is particularly interesting from the perspective of Ge.M.I.C. In her essay “Nationalism and embodied memory in Northern Cyprus” In “Nationalism and embodied memory in Northern Cyprus”, Moira Killoran’s analyses Turkish Cypriot poetry and pictures of “Greek atrocities” exhibited in the “Museum of Barbarism” and demonstrates how literary figurations of blood are used to contract a selective image of the other.<sup>4</sup> Killoran shows how “blood” is used metaphorically in poetry, in the national anthem, in school textbooks, and on monuments, exacerbating ethnic differences. In contrast to this literary figuration of memory (and identity) as presence (i.e., blood), Killoran analyses the figurations of incompleteness and historical amnesia in the poetry of Mehmet Yaşın, a poetry abound, as she comments, with images of “being without”: “without a passport, without a country, without a home, without a memory, without a history, without an identity, without a body.”

Another author who reckons with the textual/literary politics of national identity in the same volume is Marios Constantinou. Constantinou offers a critical reading of Seferis’ Cyprio-

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<sup>4</sup> Killoran’s reading of Mehmet Yaşın’s poetry is a condensed version of the more extensive analysis which is included in her dissertation thesis *Pirate state, poet nation: The poetic struggle over ‘the past’ in North Cyprus* (University of Texas, Austin, 1994).

centric poems (some of these poems have become institutionalized as the pillars of the Greek Cypriot literary school canon) and exposes the hegemony of national purity and national continuity of Greekness in Seferis' tropisms. To the Greek nationalism of the Cyprio-centric poems of Seferis, Constantinou will juxtapose the cosmopolitan and diasporic character of Hellenism which emerges in the poetry of the diasporic poet Constantinos Kavafis. Constantinou's approach to the canonical poetry of Seferis is particularly interesting, from the perspective of the Ge.M.I.C. project in two ways. First, his approach constitutes a good example of how Toni Morrison's resistant reading can be re-inaugurated and applied towards the deconstruction of normalized literary tropologies (rather than themes or content) in national literatures. In her text *Reading in the Dark*, Morrison deconstructs the American White Canon by drawing attention from the overt plot/narrative to the silent background black figure. Constantinou deconstructs the Greek hegemony of Cypriot-centric poetry but re-claims Hellenism in its diasporic form. Second, in Constantinou's approach we encounter some of the reconstructive approaches to the dominant curriculum which are proposed by James Banks (Banks points out that the deconstruction of the nationalist and ethnocentric ideologies that dominate the national curriculum is more demanding, more difficult and more subversive than adding approaches which just supplement the curriculum with texts/knowledge on other cultures). Instead of reclaiming Cypriotness as essence and valorizing literature that celebrates Cypriot culture and identity as a supplement to the dominant literature, Constantinou deconstructs the very notion of the canon by focusing on the periphery as a site of production, as a literary trope but also as a positioning of a cosmopolitan subjectivity.

Another significant volume on multiculturalism and literature is the edited volume *Step-Mothertongue. From Nationalism to Multiculturalism: Literatures of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey* (Yaşın 2000). Academic articles in this volume discuss multiculturalism in literatures and literature from the perspective of multiculturalism. The articles were originally delivered at a conference organized by Middlesex University on 12-13 December 1997, in London. The articles consider issues related to national and cultural identity in the Turkish and Greek language literatures, with the intention of creating a new, multicultural and bi-communal approach. The purpose of the book is to revive the tradition of cultural and linguistic contact between Turkish-es and Greek-s written in various forms in the three countries. This is the first time that a book brings together scholars, authors and poets of Turkish-Cypriot, Greek-Cypriot, Greek Turkish and other backgrounds, to consider issues related to national and cultural identity in the Turkish and Greek language literatures. Despite the volume's emphasis on multiculturalism and its distantiation from identity politics, stated emphatically by Yaşın in his introductory essay, the theorization of multiculturalism remains focused on inter-ethnic contacts and diasporic relations between national centers and national peripheries, without acknowledging the impact of migratory flows outside the triangle Turkey Cyprus Greece. Despite the narrow, bi-communal framing of multicultural contact in Cyprus, the book has been of crucial importance in terms of destabilizing the purity of national canons and questioning the very idea of canonization in the context of multicultural and multilingual diasporic spaces such as Cyprus.

The analysis of other forms of media and their impact on the construction of the national self in a multicultural context is a rather thin field of academic research. We were able to trace only a few cases of academic works which touch on the issue of migration and the representation of migrants by Cypriot media (Yüksel 2005; Panagiotou 2006; Papadakis 2006). Migration and representation of migrants is approached incidentally and almost

always is relation to the analysis of inter-ethnic conflict in Cyprus. Andreas Panagiotou (2006) refers to some empirical cases which involve issues of multicultural relations and identity formation. Muberra Yuksel's study (2005) on four particular films and explores the question "What roles do such conflict sensitive films play as "the mirror of our times"? The author explores the "normative" and "perceptual" processes which promote conflict. The main hypothesis of this analysis is that "humans have an unconscious need to dichotomize and to differentiate the "other", which gains significance in forming group identities. Yet the more alternatives are offered to people, the more hope there is for forming bridges with the other and the less likelihood there is for conflict."

### 2.2.2. Intercultural Education

The in-flow of migrants and refugees, the increase of mixed marriages, the move of Roma from the north to the south as well as the daily commuting of Turkish Cypriot students to schools in the south have ruptured the cultural and ethnic homogeneity of Greek Cypriot schools. Studies on intercultural education fall into two categories. First, studies which problematize the dominant discourse on education and, second, studies which focus on problems of phenomena of racism and discrimination against migrant students. Gregoriou (2004) argues that the articulation of multiculturalism as a "new phenomenon" by the Ministry of Education and Culture served to delineate the historical past of Cyprus as 'homogeneous' and to frame Greek Orthodox culture as the dominant culture of the receiving society. She suggests that "multiculturalism's idiom of otherness is 'received in quarantine': it is addressed as an effect of global socio-economic change rather than as a question pointing to the re-appreciation of our historical ethnic diversity and ethnic divides" (245). Before the "multicultural turn", several scholars had underlined the ethnocentric character of Greek Cypriot education, which they attributed to the traditional role of Greek Cypriot education as protector and inculcator of Greek national identity (Persianis 1998). Mina (2000) locates nationalist elements across a broad spectrum of practices and structures in Cypriot education: teacher training, the curriculum, books etc. Gregoriou's critique of ethnocentrism differs from these approaches in that she understands monoculturalism not as a sociological, demographic or even ontological state but instead as a discursive effect, that is, the effect of an apocalyptic history which always reads the past from the position of a present at risk. Stavroula Philippou takes this line of argument further to argue that spectral monoculturalism not only leaved the traditional ethnocentrism of the curriculum untouched but also excludes the possibility of articulating the potential of the European identity as a way of shifting existing nationalistic tensions and exclusions of "Others" (Philippou 2007: 72).

The second category of studies in multicultural education focuses on the exclusionary character of school practices and structures and phenomena of racism and xenophobia. Some studies point to the Cypriot educational system is a "melting pot" and a "kettle of cultural assimilation" which perpetuates biases, clichés, racist behaviors and cultivates the idea that difference has no place among "us" (Angelides *et al* 2004: 307). Even if foreign children are not always marginalized by their classmates, they are still marginalized by the educational system and its policies towards multicultural education (ibid: 308, 311). Some studies suggest that, in comparison to secondary education, primary education is more receptive to multiculturalism and point to the measures for language support of foreign children and

development of more "suitable" materials to be used by these students, such as work books, books for the teaching, and books with methodological instructions (Panagiotopoulos & Nicolaidou 2007).

Several other studies on racism and xenophobia focus on youth and children. A study conducted among European youth indicated that Cypriot youth were the least likely to agree with the view that that foreigners and locals have equal rights, and only 8% stated that they feel happy that foreigners live in their country. Other studies that focus particularly on Greek-Cypriot youth identify negative understandings and views towards a number of national "out-groups", such as the migrant ethnic minority of Pontioi (Koutselini *et al* 2002), Gypsies, Bulgarians and Russians (Philippou 2004). Xenophobic and racist attitudes are also noted by the Third Report (May 2006) by the European Commission on Racism and Intolerance (ECRI). The Report states that although many aims are announced in regards to "Multicultural united Europe and difference" (framed by the Ministry of Education as a comprehensive aim for the whole educational system, for the year 2004-5), "these aims contain general guidelines and [...] are only marginally translated into concrete long-term initiatives" (Philippou 2007: 73-4).

In the context to this report's preparation, we were able to locate only one study on intercultural education which addresses migration and migrant education as a gendered experience (Skapoulli 2004). This is a case study of an Arabic-speaking immigrant girl in a Cypriot school. The study demonstrates the particular implications of a second language learning and use and gender ideologies in the process of identity construction and highlights the complexities of Cyprus' multilingual and multi-textual social settings. Through Nadia's linguistic choices and discursive strategies, we come to see how competing gender codes, meeting at the crossroads of geographic, linguistic and cultural transition, lead to the emergence of a hybrid cultural identity. The findings of this study suggest that immigrants do not always aim to "passing" into a new cultural identity. Furthermore, the ability and the willingness to pass are mediated by social categories of gender.

### 2.2.3. Intercultural Violence

Research on Intercultural Violence in Cyprus is focuses on two areas, first, labour exploitation and domestic violence experienced by female domestic workers and, second, trafficking experienced by migrant women from Eastern European countries.

Violence against female domestic workers is analyzed in reference to the patriarchal structures (Lenz 2006), labour exploitation (Trimikliniotis 1999) and intersecting gender and race regimes (Gregoriou 2008). Ramona Lenz analyzes migrant domestic work as another example of gendered work, that is, work characterized by low pay, utilization, oppression, violence and invisibility. According to Lenz, Cypriot women are also implicated in violence against migrant domestic workers. Because state and society undermine traditional sectors of female labour, Cypriot women avoid these sectors and hire instead migrant women, contributing in this way to the androcentric devaluing of these sectors and the exploitation of migrant women (Ramona 2006, 19). Trimikliniotis connects gender based violence with the social blame against migrants. Generally in Cyprus, he argues, foreign workers are blamed for prostitution, drugs and the social "cancer" that is constantly advancing (Trimikliniotis 1999). Long hours of work and prohibition of little social contact are identified as a form of

psychological violence (Panagiotopoulos, Trimikliniotis and Pantelides 2003). Panagiotopoulos considers an indicator of the forms and degree of gender violence the increasing number of cases of abuse reported by the media (he cites the case of a pregnant housemaid who was told to have an abortion within 24 hours or face deportation) and the increasing number of labour disputes examined by the Labour Office in the Ministry of Labour appeal procedures in cases of dismissal (by the end of 2000, the Labour Office was dealing with 150 cases mainly involving disputes over work hours, food and leave). Panagiotopoulos points out that many cases of violations of labour rights are handled by the police which investigates "whether the housemaids abided or not the terms of their contract" (Panagiotopoulos 2005: 113). Forms of state violence include benign paternalism which structures relations of dependence. Employers may promote patron-client relations so that they make the workers more amenable to working longer hours or carrying out work not specified in their contracts. Economic violence against female domestic workers (e.g., low wages or delay payment) is related not only to migrant status but also to indirect forms of discrimination, such as gender and age discrimination (Ambrosini & Barone 2007). Anthias (2000), in particular, points out that in the case of female migrant workers the devaluing of domestic labour is combined with a normative gender regime that controls personal conduct (female migrants are used for the dirtiest work and they have little protection; they are not even allowed to have a boyfriend). Along the same line, Gregoriou (2008) analyzes the violence against female migrant workers in Cyprus in regards to four kinds of "othering": othered as "black women" (blackness framed by biological racism), othered as workers (assigned "dirty" jobs which are associated with the "abject" side of caring labour, while at the same time loaded with multiple tasks which are framed as "duties" rather than job), othered as migrants (their employment status and labour rights regulated by "special contracts" which are exempted from collective agreements and gender equality laws on equal pay) and othered as "sexual subjects" (despite the fact they are gendered others, they are offered, as stay-ins, hospitality in the domestic realm of the hetero-normative couple because their gender is commodified as mothering labour in the service of the Cypriot family; acting out their own sexuality and reproductive rights as women would be synonymous with moral deviance and social disturbance).

The condition of female migrant workers employed for house cleaning and domestic care in north Cyprus is described in different terms. Both their migration and their employment status are different from those of the Asian domestic workers described above. One personal condition that shapes to a great extent the conditions of their employment is their family status. According to Fatma Guven-Lisaniler et al (2005), most of "house workers" in the north are immigrants from Turkey and because of their command of the Turkish language and also, most of the times, because of the presence of their family members in north Cyprus, they are less vulnerable to human and labor rights abuse from the employers and the authorities. In other words, these are women who search for employment as house workers after their families had migrated to Cyprus, not women who left their families behind and came to Cyprus to be employed as stay-in domestic workers.

Research on gender, migration and intercultural violence also focuses extensively on trafficking. While research on labour exploitation focuses on victims and gender/race regimes of domestic employment, research on trafficking tends to focus on the insufficiency of legislative frameworks and legal instruments in an attempt to expose and explain the state's incapacity to combat trafficking. Most researchers emphasize the international pressure on Cyprus to take action against trafficking and cite as an alarming event Cyprus's placement in

the TIER 2 Watch List of the U.S. Department of State's Report on Trafficking (Trimikliniotis & Fulas-Souroulla 2006; MIGS 2007).<sup>5</sup>

Violence is also attributed to the legal precariousness of employment, the latter often being exacerbated by state violence (i.e., the state uses its power to regulate migration by arbitrarily cancelling residence/employment permits). Lenz reports that when an "artiste" victim of violence requests change of employer she is likely to be deported, without any inquiries being conducted or legal advice being provided (Lenz 2006). According to MIGS, even many women who were "identified as victims" (in the legal sense of the term) were unwilling to testify. Thus trafficking cases often remain unreported because the victims fear reprisals by their traffickers or government penalties because of their legal status (MIGS 2007).

In a different approach, Anna Agathangelou resists framing the problem of gender violence in terms of the legalistic and human rights discourse that has come to dominate the understanding of trafficking. The author revisits narratives of violence, exploitation and death of sex workers, on the one hand, and the "impresarios' idea", on the other hand, that women are sexual objects and they are their property. In revisiting narratives of women and "ideas" of male impresarios, she bears witness to the ontology of exchange rather than to the inefficient implementation or structural deficiency of the legal instruments. As she argues, the interrelation of material inequality and the "ideology of exchange" serve to reify sexual, racial, and class inequalities and the owning and controlling of women's bodies and labor (Agathangelou 2004: 77).

Studies on gender violence in north Cyprus are rather resistant to the frames of trafficking and female migrant victims. Fatma Guven-Lisaniler, Leopoldo Rodriguez and Sevin Ugural (2006, 2008) employ a "labour" approach to migrant "sex work". In their research they combine document analysis, media analysis and interviews (with members of the House of Representatives, nightclub owners and a sample of women working in the "industry"). Their findings show that there is no evidence of imprisonment or use of violence against sex workers. The sex workers they interviewed do not report being subjected to violence and do not identify themselves as victims of trafficking. Instead, the interviewees state that they travelled "voluntarily" to find sex work in more affluent societies (Fatma Guven-Lisaniler, Leopoldo Rodriguez and Sevin Ugural 2006, 2008). How do we make sense of these interview findings, then, in the face of other data that suggest that migrant sex workers from Eastern European countries in northern Cyprus suffer human rights abuses at the hands of the state and the employer (starting with the withholding of their passports by the police, the differential treatment in contracts and work visas and their limited freedom of movement)? Guven-Lisaniler et al resolve this contradiction by distinguishing between violence and trafficking. On the basis of this distinction, they argue that there is violence but there is no trafficking, i.e., there is no evidence of a systemic use of violence or threats that keep women

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<sup>5</sup> The 2001 U.S. Department of State Report on "Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000" placed Cyprus in the TIER 2 Watch List. Countries rated under TIER 2 Watch List are those who have not yet complied with the minimum standards set forth in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7101 et seq.) but are making efforts to do so. In 2005, the U.S. Department rated Cyprus TIER 2 because of the publication of the National Action Plan and the government's efforts to eliminate trafficking. In 2006, however, Cyprus was placed back on TIER 2 Watch List "because of its failure to show evidence of increasing efforts to address its serious trafficking for sexual exploitation problem" (MIGS 2006: 12)

working under those conditions. Instead, sex workers appear to accept the limits as a characteristic of their employment (Güven–Lisaniler, Ugural and Rodriguez: 2005, 13-14).

Turkish studies on gender violence which include in their scope northern Cyprus also address issues of violence *by* women. Gunsen Icli et al (2000) examined the cases of all women criminals in 71 prisons in Turkey in order to determine the social and cultural reasons of committing crimes. Their results indicate a link between being subject to violence and committing violent crimes (Gunsen Icli, Tulin and Aslihan Ogun 2000)

## 2.3. Methodology

### 2.3.1. National 'self' and the 'migrant' in the media

Both Kalotychos' *Cyprus and its People* and Yaşın's *Step-mothertongue* reclaiming Cypriot literatures of Cyprus from the National Literatures of motherland Greece and motherland Turkey. They also recognize diasporic literature as a unique site of political and historical experience. This approach is also significant because it destabilizes the analysis and discursive regulation of the "Cyprus Problem" by the disciplines of political science and history and asserts the role the social sciences and the humanities can play towards a different kind of politics. These studies have enriched the discussion on identity and conflict by introducing the concepts of otherness, hybridity and diaspora. We must note, however, that none of these essays explores the impact of the Cyprus Problem on the representation of other "others," i.e., migrants, or, the impact of migration on the figurations of the national self and the bi-communal framing of ethnic conflict in Cyprus. Even though in-flows of Greek Pontian migrants to the south and settlers and irregular migrants to the north were already taking place when the question of identity and media representations is taking place, the representations of these others remain unexplored. Greek and Turkish Nationalisms are questioned and Cypriotness as political and historical experience is reclaimed, yet migrants and non-citizens others (e.g., settlers and illegal migrants) are not even mentioned.

Methodologies of textual analysis and cultural studies tend to reproduce the political bi-communal framing of ethnic conflict in Cyprus. One could also argue that this methodological constraint reflects and reproduces the textual structuralism (self/other) that dominates the literary imaginary. A deliberate search for the migrant trace in national representations (as literary representation, a shadow or even an absence), could enable a break from the dyadism of self/other, whether this dyadism is already present in the literary body or an effect of the methodological approach to the text. Such a methodological shift implicates both a resistant reading of the text itself but also a cultural studies approach to the production and circulation of literary texts. In order to illustrate what we mean by this alternative methodology, we focus on two texts by two Turkish Cypriot poets, Mehmet Yaşın and Fayze Özdemirciler.

The case of Mehmet Yaşın's poetry and its political use constitutes an interesting example of how the discourse on difference (including literary representations of others and otherness) can be reified by political programmes. Reckoning with the politics of Turkish Cypriot identity in the 1980s, Mehmet Yaşın contemplates on marginality as the locality of a subaltern resistance while also exposing the way communal identity building (i.e., the building of

Turkish Cypriot identity) implicates othering.. In his poem "Sığınaktan Çıknınca" ("Coming out of the trenches" (1984), we come across such figurations of othering (i.e., defining identity *vis à vis* "others"):

Cesetleriyle verildi yeni evlerimiz  
kış uykusuna in bulan aylar gibiydik  
hatta yeni doğum belgesi alırken ve kimlik  
"biz" diyorduk yine—ama hangi biz?—  
Hiç var olmuş muyduk aslında  
göçen komşulara karşıt olmaksız tek tanımımız

Geziye çıkmışız gibi Doğu'da  
fotoğraf makinalarımızla limana koşuyorduk  
Karşı'dan göçmenler gelirken çoluk çocuk.  
Çalım satarak "siz" diyorduk onlara  
kendimizi taşıyorduk kendimize  
Çırlıçplak kamıştık asker şapkamız çıkarılınca

Mehmet Yaşın, "Sığınaktan Çıknınca", 1984

Along with the dead bodies, we were given our new houses  
We were like bears in their winter sleep  
We received new birth certificates and ID cards  
"We," we were asserting once again—who was this "we"?—  
We did not really exist  
We defined ourselves only against our refugee neighbours

It was like travelling to the East  
dashing to the sea port with our cameras  
the migrants were coming from across,  
with their whole families, wives and kids. "You,"  
we were saying to them, pompously,  
ourselves to ourselves. We,  
stark naked when we took off our military hats.

Mehmet Yaşın, "Coming out of the air-raid shelters", 1984  
(trans. Z. Gregoriou)

This poem was included in a selection of "Turkish Cypriot texts" which was compiled recently by the Ministry of Education and proposed as a "supplement" to for the Greek Cypriot curriculum. This supplementary approach marks the first attempt of the Ministry to expand the range of intercultural education and to promote a culture of "peaceful co-existence" between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Obviously, the poem was selected because it examines the claim of Cypriotness from a Turkish Cypriot perspective but also because it takes a critical stance against ethnic division: "*We defined ourselves only against our refugee neighbours*". The displacement of Greek Cypriots and their refugee experience, almost always eliminated from collective Turkish Cypriot narratives, is recognized here and recovered here in order to criticize both totalizing narrative of identity and nationalist borders. What the Ministry did not realize, however, not knowing the politics of Yaşın and the context of this

poem's production, is that the poem also criticizes the "othering" of Turkish migrants by the Turkish Cypriots. When Yaşın writes of the "the migrants" who "were coming from across", he does not refer to the refugee Greek Cypriots but the settlers/migrants arriving from Turkey, those who would be seen as uncivilized and backwards Anatolians, those who would be framed other times as trivial and inconsequential and other times as dangerous for the political cohesion and cultural survival of the community of "native" Turkish Cypriots. The objectifying gaze which Yaşın describes and exposes at the same time is not the nationalist gaze against the Greek Cypriots but the native's gaze against the migrant others. This aspect of the text will probably remain unspoken even in the intercultural classroom, for the intercultural in the case of the politics of reconciliation is understood as a relation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Another aspect of the poem that will probably also remain silent in its political and pedagogical framing as a poem that speaks of Turkish Cypriot identity with emphasis on peaceful coexistence is the codification of migrants as male, with women and children constituting the "rest", an indefinable and abject appendage to the masculine itineraries ("çoluk çocuk").

Faize Özdemirciler is another case of a Cypriot poet whose text/body both writes and in being inscribed by the itineraries, ruptures and intercultural interaction of migrations. Her poetry explores the impact of migration on the construction of the national self, while rupturing the dominant his-story of the nation by reclaiming a female perspective to both rupture and contact. In her poem "tarih yalan söyler coğrafyanın burnunu uzatır göçler" ("history lies; migrations extend the [s]capes of geography"), Özdemirciler, she poetic language inscribes migratory itineraries but is also surrendering itself to the ruptures and discontinuities of migration.

*tarih yalan söyler  
coğrafyanın burnunu uzatır göçler*

Lakaplara göre dağıtılan mektuplarla  
keten üzerinde ateşkes olurdu kuşluk vakitleri  
istanbul'dan zeynel abidin cümbüş  
atına'dan titsanis,rita,manoli  
bizden de bir tutam yasemin şarkılara  
silahlar mı...şarkılardan sonra

gitmek kurumaktı  
kalmak doğu'yu batı'yı unutmak  
şu kuzey'de güney'de ne var?

[...]  
tarih yalan söyledi coğrafyanın burnu uzadı  
yeşil çizgiye kadar sevebildik birbirimizi  
dışarda geçen zamanlar çok uzadı

her aşk gibi bizimki de benzeyecekti  
yaşadığı göçlere...

*Aşk Doğduğu Yere Benzer (Istanbul, 2001)*

*history lies;  
migrations extend the [s]cap[e]s of geography*

Along with the letters the post delivered to nicknames  
came the morning seize fire  
to lie onto the embroidered linen  
from Istanbul, zeynel abidin cümbüş  
from Athens, tsitsanis manolis rita  
from us, also a bunch of jasmine to these songs  
the guns? ... afterword, after the songs

to go away meant to dry up  
to stay meant forgetting there is east and west  
what is the meaning of north and south

[...]

history lies; migrations extend the [s]capes of geography  
up to the green line the reach of our love  
outside time goes by, the time becomes too long

our love is alike to every other love;  
it will resemble the migrations it dwelled in

*Every love resembles the place where it was born (Istanbul 2001)*  
(trans. Z. Gregoriou)

In the poetry of Özdemirciler, migration is not codified in disguise, offered hospitality in the narration of the self as an "included exclusion" (e.g., the immigration of Turkish others who are codified as marginalized and inconsequential or dangerous others, as in the previous poem by Yaşın) but rather is reclaimed as an experience central to the construction of the Cypriot experience. At the same time, against the historical genealogy of identity and memory, a genealogy which remains linear and obsessed with sameness and continuity, Özdemirciler will reclaim the spatial mappings of multiple migrations, migrations which constitute both the self and the motherland as a site of dispersal and hybridization.

What we are suggesting in this methodology critique is that a close textual reading is as not ideologically neutral. What is deemed important, relevant or even readable as a cultural representation or as an intercultural politics within the text depends to a great extent on what lies outside the text, that is, the politico-historical context which accentuates or eliminates sensitivities to particular kinds of otherness. In the case of Cyprus, an archaeology of textual and media representations would reveal and revive a number of texts and media which include representations of t migrations and migrants. In order to analyze the significance of these representations, we need to take into consideration the context of these texts' production and circulation as well as the dominant codes through which the reception of these texts is mediated. A cultural studies approach combined with textual readings which are informed by audience/reader reception theories are two kinds of methodology still to be

applied towards the investigation of the relations between the national self and representations of migrant others.

In terms of filmic representations, film studies and the latter's methodological approaches, we would like to comment more extensively on representations of trafficking and the economy of the gaze. A rather extensive analysis of filmic representations of migration, also the only one to acknowledge its gender perspective, is Papadakis' reading of *Kalabush*, the first film, according to the author, to "address migration and prostitution in Cyprus". The anthropologist's quest for meaning marks the author's approach to media representations, since the discussion of the film is framed by a focus on the plot. The story of trafficking in Cyprus is condensed to a two line description that sets up the cultural context in order to support a "native's", probably, perspective to the drama of the film: "Cabarets' on both sides of Cyprus are fronts for its flourishing prostitution industry, where semi-naked 'artistes' dance for the benefit of the customer to choose from" (245). Against this background, Papadakis re-iterates the love story of *Kalabush*:

Miro, the Bulgarian male illegal worker, is thrown out of the cabaret after he tries to carry away Tatiana, the Russian 'artiste' whom he loves, unable to bear the way she is treated. After being beaten up and thrown out by the pimp and his bullies, he manages to stand up and angrily smashes the statuette of Aphrodite decorating the cabaret's entrance (ibid).

The reason we insist on Papadakis' analysis (and re-staging) of *Kalabush* is because this example offers itself for a broader discussion of methodological concerns on the analysis of violence in general and the gaze in particular. Can the academic discourse distantiate itself from the forms of objectification it claims to analyze and expose? Can the anthropological inquiry describe and understand the male gaze in a cabaret without reiterating the violence of trafficking? In above excerpt from "Aphrodite delights", the anthropological gaze seems to reiterate and normalize the male perspective (that of the Bulgarian worker and that of the native pimp). The perspective that remains unimaginable in this play of inter-layered gazes (gazing someone who is gazing a naked woman) is the perspective of the female migrant. A feminist methodology could rupture this economy of male gazing subjects and gazed female objects by investigating on the female migrant artiste's perspective to both trafficking and representations of trafficking. What would be Tatiana's, for example, take-up on *Kalambush*?

### **2.3.2. Intercultural Education**

The studies we reviewed in the thematic area of intercultural education employ a range of methodologies: discourse analysis (Gregoriou 2004; Philippou 2006), semi-structured and structured interviews (Angelides et al 2004; Panagiotopoulos & Nicolaidou) and participatory ethnography (Skapouli 2006). A comparative analysis of these studies suggests that there is a gap between theory and practice. While discourse analysis methodologies question the essentialist approaches to cultural identity as well as the "hankering" of otherness, empirical methodologies replicate essentialism and sometimes even neo-orientalism by framing migrant students as the exclusive bearers of "cultural difference."

The presence of Asian and Eastern European others in the streets of Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, is usually exoticized and naturalized as the multicultural sight (and site). Against this

exotic background “the increasing contact” between “indigenous Cypriots” and “people who have different cultural backgrounds” is thematized as the intercultural event (Angelides *et al* 2004). In contrast to this interest in the exotic other, the intercultural interest in Greek Cypriots stresses similarities rather than differences, always in the sense of folk Cypriot culture and never in terms of ethnicity and lived experience. The discourse on peaceful co-existence has framed Turkish Cypriots’ otherness in terms of a historico-political supplementarity rather than cultural difference. *Siniko stichio* (σύννοικο στοιχείο), which literally translated means, ‘co-dwelling element’, is the term which has been used by the Greek Cypriot community in post-independence Cyprus in order to recognize and contain Turkish Cypriots in the new state. While the first part of the term (“co-dwelling”) recognizes the historical presence of the Turkish Cypriot community in Cyprus and attests to its constitutional recognition as one of the two state communities, the second part of the term (“element”) trivializes Turkish Cypriot ethnicity. The habitual use of the term *Siniko Stichio* (co-dwelling element) across has naturalized the perceived “supplementarity” of the other.

In the absence of other positive terms to register the need for cultivating a culture of inter-ethnic inter-cultural cooperation with the Turkish Cypriots and promoting the political vision of an interethnic European Cyprus, the term *Siniko stichio* has re-surfaced in the context of recent debates on the government’s Manifesto for Educational Reform (2004). The problematic political legacy of the term is ignored and the ‘co-dwelling element’ is re-articulated as an-other cultural other. Denouncing Hellenocentrism and reclaiming multicultural Cyprus becomes the cardinal value of a state policy of exemption, one that makes space for the other as an “included exclusion.” Responding to the question whether Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots would have to modify (i.e., compromise) their national identity in order to be able to function within the new European context, Kazamias, president of the [National] Educational Reform Committee, replies:

No, Not at all. Nevertheless, can Cyprus persevere as state when you treat the *siniko stichio* as “other”? Cypriots have a plural identity. We will be Greek Cypriots, Cypriots, Europeans, cosmopolitans. Our Greek Cypriot essence is not abandoned, it rather becomes part of a broader, plural identity (Kazamias 2005; emphasis added).

Another weakness in empirical research is the exclusive focus either on school structures and institutions or on groups and their beliefs and attitudes. This can be attributed to the understanding of interculturalism as contact, communication and interaction between two different groups whose identity and distinctness, however, remains unchanged throughout the contact. If intercultural contact, however, implicates a transformation of both communities and identities (one of Ge.M.I.C.’s theoretical premises), methodological approaches to intercultural education need to be redesigned with a focus on interactive practices and the renegotiation of codes and norms by all actors involves, both migrant and non-migrant students.

With particular reference to intersectionality, we could state that there is a methodological blindness, both in terms of theory and in terms of methodological tools. When gender is taken into consideration, it is understood either as a sociological category, as a cultural dimension, or as an additive experience of marginality.

### 2.3.3. Intercultural Violence

So far no comparative studies have been conducted on the status of migrant domestic work on the two sides of the divide. Guven–Lisaniler’s study presents us with a different scenario, that is, the possibility that women migrant workers use traditional gender and family norms in order to negotiate (and perhaps resist) the exploitative terms of informal domestic labour. On the contrary, the case of domestic workers in the south suggests that the gender and family norms of the receiving society work contribute to the establishment of a domestic employment that is oppressing for domestic workers. The hypothesis that gender norms and roles might be negotiated by both female migrant domestic workers and female employers in Cyprus needs to be examined across a variety of interpersonal and intercultural contacts. In order to examine this hypothesis we need to expand the scope of research from the domestic realm. Instead of focusing on the Cypriot domestic realm, research could focus on the migratory and gender itineraries of domestic workers and examine how these women understand their agency in terms of practices that extend beyond the household, such as transnational mothering. Interviews with migrant women that position these women as victims of labour exploitation are likely to bring up narratives of victimization, since these women are given the impression that their agency and authority as authors of personal narratives matter only to the extent they can bear witness to events of violence. In this way, research runs the risk of re-positioning migrant women as cultural and gender subjects in the very same position the state puts them when it gives them the right to speak out as legal subjects, that is, to bring charges against their employer for mistreatment, to break their contract with the specific employer, and to get a release paper which gives them relative freedom to decide on their new employer.

Research on the gender violence in regards to the employment regime of domestic work also tends to reproduce the assumptions that the “domestic” is a unified realm and that the family is a conservative communal space hostile to others and their otherness. What kinds of experiences, relations, interactions and negotiations are being studied when a researcher does “fieldwork” in the “domestic”? Which domestic? Which family? Does the researcher focus on the migrant worker’s interaction with the employer, with children, with elderly people? These rhetorical questions suggest that there is a need for gender violence research to diversify the frame “domestic” and to reframe the design of “fieldwork” in ways that acknowledge that intercultural interaction in differently staged across different familial settings and different arenas of caring labour.

In terms of research methodologies used in the case of trafficking and sex exploitation, we find that researchers tend to reproduce dominant discourse, that is, either the framing trafficking as an issue of insufficient migration policy and ineffective implementation of the law or as a double violation of immigrant labour rights and gender equality. Lenz (2003) argues that all of these discursive framings of the issue do not do justice to the complex process of decision making that women who migrate into the sex industry undergo. Either freedom of choice is emphasized or the domination of women. That’s why, she argues, in order to analyze the ambivalent tension between freedom of choice and submission to force, we could employ Foucault’s concept of governmentality, which describes forms of political regulations that uses the individual’s freedom of action as an instrument to exercise power.

Further methodological constraints but also possibilities seem to emerge when we consider Agathangelou’s intersectional analysis of the problem of gender violence. As she argues, the

issue of violence within the gendered, sexed, and racialized market is a far-reaching problem that raises all sort of issues about the social organization of desire, the process of socialization, agencies of social control such as the immigration office, "hetero-patriarchy" and the state, and the constitution of gender relationships with regard to power and labor in our society. Agathangelou's analysis points to the limitations of the legalistic discourse of trafficking, since the combating and penalization of trafficking focuses on individuals and individual actions while the economy of trafficking seems to rely heavily on market forces and the social production and trafficking of desire.

This aporetic framing of trafficking, pegs the following questions: Can researchers record the "voices" of women migrants without replicating either a neo-liberal understanding of human rights and choice or a social framing of sex labour and prostitution as a condition of inevitable victimization? A possible way out to reckon with this aporia would be to theorize the subject position of women migrants employed in the sex industry as a position of subalternity: if they accept their limited access to the juridical as a characteristic of their employment (Güven-Lisaniler, Ugural and Rodriguez 2005, 13-14), they succumb to the violence of the state; in order to bring charges against their traffickers and become "recognized victims" they have to "speak out" as victims and silence experiences, desires and even forms of empowerment related to their social positioning as agents in a global market, on migratory itineraries and in intercultural interfaces.

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## **Films**

Espresso (1998), directed by Adonis Florides and Theodoros Nicolaidis. Camera Stylo Recording Arts Productions.

Kalabuch (2003), directed by Adonis Florides and Theodoros Nicolaidis and scripted by Adonis Florides. Camera Stylo Recording Arts Productions and Hyperion Productions.

My House on Tape (2004), produced and directed by Christos Georgiou, screenplay by Christos Georgiou and Giorgos Koumouros, in Mikael Olsen and Meinolf Zurhorst (producers) Visions of Europe. Denmark: Zentropa Entertainments7, in association with Arte.